

SEX AND IMMORTALITY

A Study of Chinese Sexual Activities for Better-Being

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Abstract

My thesis sets out to figure out the whole outline of Chinese sexual art, *fangzhongshu* 房中術 (the art of the bedchamber). Although studies on this subject have drawn academic attention especially since the reappearance of the earliest extent of the genre in 1973, the clarification of Chinese sexual techniques seems obscure to me. It is my contention that clearer understanding of what is *fangzhongshu* will contribute towards a greater appreciation of ideas, theories and intellectual backgrounds in Chinese sexual techniques as well as of their practical methods.

The thesis is divided into four main chapters. I begin with a diachronic review of account of the sexual art, with investigations into several individual viewpoints for and against it. In the second chapter, I will survey intellectual backgrounds of phenomena surrounding the sexual art, so as to establish a tentative explanation of the art. The third chapter focuses on practical aspects of sexual techniques by categorising them in accordance with the purposes that each method attempts to achieve. The fourth and the final chapter will be devoted to investigate sexual arts in relationship with the images of *xian* 仙人 (Immortals) and religious operation. The results of this analysis would indicate that *fangzhongshu* was a collection of sexual techniques

containing three different dimensions; they were methods to actualise general hope for better-being, techniques not for male but for female pleasure and numinous practices for communication with the world beyond.

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Introduction

“The appetite for food and sex is nature.”

*Mencius*¹

Sex always inspires curiosity. The spirit of inquiry about sex is irresistible and human beings have constantly been engaged in exploring the elusive truth of sexuality. The search for this truth is channelled sometimes into the pursuit of pleasure, sometimes of procreation. But for the Chinese, it involved more than this. While accepting the sexual appetites as natural, they delved deeper into sexual phenomena and came to believe that sexual intercourse held the power to bring about certain other benefits. These benefits encompassed the improvement of bodily health; the attainment of longevity, immortality, and the status of *xian* 仙, “an Immortal”; and also the achievement of certain procreative ends. The quintessence of

¹ *Mengzi* 孟子 (Mencius). Collection of sayings of Meng Ke 孟軻. Compiled sometimes after 320 B.C. I have used *Mengzi Zhushu* 孟子註疏 (Commentary on Mencius). Commented by Zhao Qi 趙岐 (d.201) et al. Collected in Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) ed. *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三經註疏 (Commentaries and Sub-commentaries for Thirteen Classics). This edition. 1997. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chuban. (Abbreviated as SSJZ). 11th juan. “Gaozi Zhangju shang 告子章句上”. p.2748. English translation is adopted from D.C.Lau. Lau, D.C. 1979. *Mencius*. 2 volumes. Hongkong: The Chinese University Press. Vol.2. p.225.

their tireless exploration of the subject crystallised in a range of special techniques which became known as *fangzhongshu* 房中術, often rendered as “the art of the bedchamber”.

The sexual art has existed in China for millennia, and was presumably established in outline by the middle of the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) at the latest². The practical and theoretical origins of the art, however, remain uncertain; and any investigation of its development may need to take in archaeological as well as mythological aspects, since a range of elements such as the worship of the generative force and the genital organs may have been involved³.

Probably, Ye Dehui 葉德輝 was the first modern scholar to cast light on this ancient sexual art in general. The publication in 1903 of his reconstruction of several classic sex manuals drew academic attention from other historians in the field of Chinese studies, and especially attracted the notice of Western scholars, such as Henri

² The earliest extant sex manuals found from Mawangdui no.3 tomb in 1973 are considered to have taken their original form sometime during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.). Yet, we do not know whether these were the first texts put in canonical form. See Harper, Donald. 1987. “The Sexual Arts of Ancient China as Described in a Manuscript of the Second Century BC”. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. vol. 47. number 1. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard-Yanping Institute. p. 542; Ma Jixing 馬繼興, . 1992. *Mawangdui Guyishu Kaoshi* 馬王堆古醫書考釋 (*Interpretations for Ancient Medical Manuscripts from Mawangdui*). Hunan: Hunan kexue jishu chubun. p. 11, p. 21.

³ For instance, see the following work. Zhao Guohua 趙國華. 1990. *Shengzhi Chongbai Wenhua Lun* 生殖崇拜文化論 (*Study on Culture of Worshipping the Power of Procreation*). Beijing: Zhonghua shehui kexue chubun.

Maspero, Joseph Needham and Robert H. van Gulik. Along with Ye's contribution to the field, the reappearance of the earliest extant literary exemplars of the genre, unearthed from the Mawangdui tomb cache in 1973, undoubtedly increased academic interest in the Chinese sexual art and promoted the study of the subject.

Surveying the preceding studies, three Western scholars can be termed the pioneers of the field. Henri Maspero may have been the first Western scholar to take account of sexual practices, in his "*Les Procédés de "Nourrir le Principe Vital Dans la Religion Taoiste Ancienne"*"⁴. As the title would suggest, he seems to view sexual techniques as Daoist practices, especially in relation to the idea of *yangsheng* 養生, which is translated as "nourishing life" or "self-cultivation", and to religious rites. Joseph Needham was also interested in the sexual art in connection with Daoism, specifically in their relations with alchemy⁵. Despite his concern with Daoist alchemy, he approaches the subject from a scientific viewpoint, and he refers to the art of the bedchamber as "Chinese sexology" or "sexual

⁴ Maspero, Henri. 1983. *Dōkyō no Yōseijyutsu* 道教の養性術 (Daoist Art of Nourishing Life). Translated by Mochida Kimiko 持田季木子. Tokyo: Serika Shobo. (Originally Maspero, Henri. 1937. "*Les Procédés de "Nourrir le Principe Vital" Dans la Religion Taoiste Ancienne"*. *Journal Asiatique*, vol.229.)

⁵ Needham, Joseph. 1956. *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol2. section 8-18. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Needham, Joseph. 1983. *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol5. part 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

technology”⁶. If Maspero regarded the subject from a Daoist perspective and Needham from a scientific angle, Robert H. van Gulik’s studies of the sexual art took in a vast range of sociological concerns⁷. Although some criticisms have been levelled at his works, which seem to indicate a strong fascination with Chinese sexual techniques⁸, they are important primarily as the first published studies entirely concerned with Chinese sexual practices.

Inspired by the rediscovery of the earliest exemplars, several articles dealing with the literature of the sexual art, especially the earliest texts, have been published since 1973. Since then too, contemporary Chinese scholars like Zhou Yimou 週一謀⁹ have started to research *fangzhongshu* in connection with Mawangdui literature. Many studies, however, are confined to the interpretation of graphs and the contents of manuscripts and some merely provide an outline of

⁶Needham, Joseph. 1983. p.191, p.209.

⁷ van Gulik, R.H. 1951. Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period—With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch’ing Dynasty. B.C.206-A.D.1644. Tokyo: Private edition.; van Gulik, R. H. 1961. Sexual Life in Ancient China. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

⁸ Charlotte Furth criticises Van Gulik’s standpoint as “androcentric” as well as “orientalist fantasy of an exotic, eroticized ‘other’ woman of the East”. Furth, Charlotte. 1994. “Rethinking Van Gulik: Sexuality and Reproduction in Traditional Chinese Medicine”. In Christina K. Gilmartin et al. ed. Engendering China—Women, Culture, and the State. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press. p. 128.

⁹ Zhou Yimou 週一謀. 1990. Zhongguo Gudai Fangshi Yangsheng Xue 中国古代房事養生学 (Theory of Ancient Chinese Self-Cultivation through Activity in the Bedchamber). Beijing: Zhongwai Wenhua Chubanshe.

the texts. Amongst various studies of the Mawangdui manuscripts, however, the surveys by Ma Jixing 馬繼興¹⁰, Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬 and Hu Xianghua 胡翔驊¹¹ deal with the earliest sex manuals in a thorough and scholarly manner and provide valuable clues to interpretation. These Chinese scholars are concerned with ancient sexual techniques from a medical point of view, and categorise the earliest literature of *fangzhongshu* amongst medical texts.

Thanks to these pioneering studies, academic interest in *fangzhongshu* has gained momentum. In the Western academic field, Kristofer Schipper, who generally approaches the subject from a Daoist perspective as well as in relation to *shenxiandao* 神仙道 (the Immortal Cult), attempts a classification of Chinese sexual practices¹². Douglas Wile has devoted himself to the translation of variant texts of the genre primarily from a “philological” and “historical¹³” point of view, in the

¹⁰ Ma Jixing. 1992.

¹¹ Wei Qipeng 魏啟鵬 and Hu Xianghua 胡翔驊 ed. 1992. *Mawangdui Hanmu Yishu Jiaoshi* 馬王堆漢墓醫書校釋 (Commentaries on Medical Manuscripts from Mawangdui Han Tombs). Chengdu: ChengdUchūban.

¹² Kristofer Schipper’s idea of categorisation seems to have shifted at some time between 1969 and 1982. Schipper, Kristofer. 1969. “Science, Magic, and Mystique of the Body”. In Michel Beurdeley ed. *The Clouds and the Rain: The Art of Love in China*. London: Hammond and Hammond. pp.14-20. Also see Schipper, Kristofer. 1982. *The Taoist Body*. This edition. Translated by Karen C. Duval. 1993. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 144-155.

¹³ Wile, Douglas. 1992. *Art of the Bedchamber---The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics Including Women’s Solo Meditation Texts*. Albany: State University of New York Press. p.4.

context of the Daoist manuals as a whole. Donald Harper, who must be the first scholar to look at sex manuals from a literary point of view¹⁴, has also undertaken translations of the earliest extant texts as medical literature¹⁵.

In China, Liu Dalin 劉達臨 has contributed greatly to the study of Chinese sexual practices¹⁶, in various aspects. His approach to the subject seems similar to van Gulik's, and he takes a wide range of social and anthropological factors into account. Jiang Xiaoyuan 江曉原 also focuses on the study of Chinese sexual practices within a sociological context¹⁷. Ma Boying 馬伯英 is concerned with sexual techniques in relation to medical culture, although he does not deal thoroughly with the subject¹⁸. Li Ling 李零, who is interested in *fangzhongshu* from a Daoist perspective¹⁹, sets out to investigate schools and sects of sexual

¹⁴ Harper, Donald. 1987.

¹⁵ Harper, Donald. 1997. Early Chinese Medical Literature--The Mawangdui Manuscripts. London, New York: Kegan Paul International.

¹⁶ Liu Dalin 劉達臨. 1993. Zhongguo Gudai Xing Wenhua 中国古代性文化 (The Sex Culture in Ancient China). Ningxia: Ningxia renmin chubun; Liu Dalin 劉達臨 ed. 1998. Zhongguo Lidai Fangneikao 中国歷代房內考 (Study on Chinese Tradition Within the Chamber). 3 volumes. Beijing: Zhongguo guji chubun.

¹⁷ Jiang Xiaoyuan 江曉原. 1995. Xing Zhangli xia de Zhongguoren 性張力下的中国人 (Chinese under Sexual Tension). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubun.

¹⁸ Ma Boying 馬伯英. 1994. Zhongguo Yixue Wenhushi 中国醫學文化史 (A History of Medicine in Chinese Culture). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubun.

¹⁹ Li Ling 李零 ed. 1993. Zhongguo fangshu Gaiguan-Fangzhong 中国方術概觀—房中 (Outline of Chinese Recipes and Techniques-The Art of the Bedchamber). Beijing: Renmin zhongguo chubun.

techniques²⁰.

Also in Japan, quite a few scholars have shown interest in the subject. Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸 is concerned with sexual techniques especially in connection with nourishing life, the idea of *qi* 氣²¹ and Daoism²². Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実 investigates the earliest literature of the genre from a medical point of view²³. Ikai Nobuo 猪飼祥夫, who is interested in the sexual art from both the Daoist and the medical perspective, attempts to reassess the sexual arts in their cultural context²⁴. Tsuchiya Hideaki 土屋英明 undertakes a wide-ranging discussion of the Chinese classics in relation to sexual practices²⁵.

²⁰ Li Ling 李零. 2000. *Zhongguo Fangshu Xukao* 中国方術續考 (An investigation of Chinese Recipes and Techniques). Beijing: Dongfang Chubanshe. pp.350-393.

²¹ *Qi* 氣 has been variously rendered as “air”, “vapour”, “energy” and so on. Since no one of these translations is adequate to express the content of this term, this thesis simply uses the transliteration “*qi*”.

²² Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸. 1996. *Ki to Dōkyō / Hōjyutsu no Sekai* 氣と道教・方術の世界 (*Qi* and the World of Daoism and Allied Techniques). Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten; Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸. 1995. “*Chūgoku no Ki to Yōsei no Shisō* 中国の氣と養生の思想 (Chinese Ideas of *Qi* and Nourishing Life)”. *Jintai Kagaku* 人体科学 (Journal of Mind-Body Science). Vol.7. no.1. Tokyo: Jintai Kagaku Kai. pp157-164.

²³ Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実. 1987. *Ki / Nagareru Shintai* 氣・流れる身体 (*Qi*—Floating Body). Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppan.

²⁴ Ikai Nobuo 猪飼祥夫. 1994. “*Bōchūjyutsu* 房中術 (The Art of the Bedchamber)”. In Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸 ed. “*Dōkyō no Daijiten—Dōkyō no Sekai wo Yomu* 「道教」の大辞典——道教の世界を読む (Encyclopaedia of Daoism -- Reading the World of Daoism). Tokyo: Shin Jinbutu Oraisha. pp. 218-226.

²⁵ Tsuchiya Hideaki 土屋英明. 1997—. “*Chūgoku no Seiai Bunken Juhachi* 中国の性愛文献十八 (Chinese Literature of Eros No.Eighteen)”. *Tōhō* 東方 (Eastern Book

Besides the works on *fangzhongshu* mentioned above, other studies of feminism, gender and culture are pertinent to the subject. As regards feminist and gender studies, the works of Charlotte Furth²⁶ and Wang Shunu 王書奴²⁷ are relevant. Zhao Guohua 趙國華's study of the worship of the reproductive force²⁸ is also significant in terms of possible connections with the origins of Chinese sexual techniques.

Looking back over preceding studies, however, a few questions arise. The variety of approaches to the subject shows that Chinese sexual techniques have connections with medicine, Daoism and the Immortal cult. But in what sense and in what way are they related to those phenomena? What after all is *fangzhongshu*? How is it to be interpreted? Without a clear definition, how can the literature of the sexual art be distinguished from other genres? These are the first questions to be answered.

Secondly, many works in this field describe techniques or methods mentioned in the literature of the genre, some having medical efficacy, others beneficial for pregnancy and conception. Or else,

Review). Vol. 194—. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten. Currently ongoing.

²⁶ Besides her work cited in note 7, also see her following work. Furth, Charlotte. 1999. A Flourishing Yin—Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665. Berkeley: University of California press.

²⁷ Wang Shunu 王書奴. 1988. Zhongguo Changji Shi 中国娼妓史 (History of Chinese Prostitutes). Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian.

²⁸ Zhao Guohua. 1990.

techniques are introduced in connection with particular sex manuals, which may involve variant practices for various attainments. Then, how do the techniques of *fangzhongshu* vary? What purposes does each technique serve? Why is a certain technique expected to be effective in producing a certain result? This is my second set of questions.

Finally, scholars point out that one of the attainments promised by *fangzhongshu* is achieving the state of *xian* 仙 (an Immortal), and that this shows the influence of the Immortal cult. Certainly, the literature of the genre presents the status of *xian* as one of the most desirable attainments. However, the greatest mystery, in my personal perception, is how sexual intercourse enables one to become *xian* and how sexual activities facilitate that process.

This thesis primarily sets out to find satisfactory answers to the questions posed above.

The fundamental principle of this thesis is to examine *fangzhongshu* as far as possible from multifarious aspects – Daoism, medicine, or the Immortal cult as the case may be. Each survey of the relevant phenomena can scarcely hope to be as thorough or as precise as those undertaken by my precursors in each area. Yet, building on the foundations laid down by the preceding works of scholars in individual fields, this study may endeavour to grasp the concept of *fangzhongshu* as a whole in order to establish a preliminary account of

it.

Despite the principle of multiple approaches to the subject, this study is text based. Thus, although this thesis considers religious and gender aspects to a certain extent, detailed investigations about worship of the powers of procreation and the genital organs, the relationship with gender studies and feminism, and the influence exerted on and by the social and historical background is beyond the scope of this thesis. Although I am well aware of the risks involved in eliminating the sociological and anthropological context as well as gender and feminist principles from a particular study such as this, without a clear account of *fangzhongshu*, it is difficult to evaluate.

This thesis also sets out to categorise variant techniques in the literature of the genre. Understanding the practical aspects of the sexual art would facilitate obtaining a complete picture of *fangzhongshu*. A work by the Japanese physician, Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼, composed in the tenth century, *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine)²⁹ may serve as a model for this attempt. Although I would not subdivide groups of methods in such as detailed way as Tanba did, I attempt to investigate the grounds for supposing that certain techniques were effective for certain purposes.

²⁹ *Ishinpō* 醫心方, (Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine). Compiled by Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼 of 10th century, in 984. *Ishinpō* comes down to us with a few editions, but I refer to transcriptions of Asakuraya edition. Reprinted in 1955. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubun.

In addition, the thesis confronts what to me is the greatest mystery, the correlation between sexual intercourse and becoming *xian*, by taking into consideration *wu* 巫 (medium) and shamanism. The relation between Chinese *wu* and shamanism has been studied by several scholars, such as Chen Mengjia 張夢家³⁰, Livia Kohn³¹ and Julia Ching³², and that among *xian*, *wu* and shamanism is hinted at in some works such as those by Donald Holzman³³ and Kominami Ichiro 小南一郎³⁴. The theme of *xian* and the Immortal cult itself has also attracted many historians and various important studies have been published, such as that of Yu Yingshi 余英時³⁵. However, despite the clear presence of the concept of *xian* in the literature of *fangzhongshu*, as well as the existence of these suggestive studies³⁶, no scholar has

³⁰ Chen Mengjia 張夢家. 1936. "Shangdai de Shenhua yu Wushu 商代的神話與巫術 (Myth and Arts of *Wu* in Shang Dynasty)". *Yanjing Xuebao* 燕京學報 (*Yanjing Journal of Chinese Studies*). Vol.20. Beijing: Yanjing University. pp.485-576.

³¹ Kohn, Livia. 1992. *The Early Chinese Mysticism—Philosophy and Soteriology in the Taoist Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

³² Ching, Julia. 1997. *Mysticism and Kingship in China—The Heart of Chinese Wisdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³³ Holzman, Donald. 1994. "Immortality-Seeking in Early Chinese Poetry". In W.J.Plaks and Y.S.Yu ed. *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1994, pp. 103-118

³⁴ Especially see Kominami Ichiro 小南一郎. 1999. *Chūgoku no Shinwa to Monogatari* 中国の神話と物語り (Myths and Stories in China). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. pp. 152-159, pp.160-166, pp.278-297.

³⁵ Yu Ying-Shih 余英時. 1964-1965. "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han Chinese". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol. 25. Cambridge: Harvard-Yanjing Institute. pp.80-122.

³⁶ In addition to these articles on the relationship between *wu* and shamanism, *xian*

investigated the image of *xian* in *fangzhongshu* from a shamanistic perspective. Nor, to my knowledge, has anyone examined why and how sexual activities are particularly associated with becoming *xian*.

I am well aware of the complexities inherent in the study of shamanism itself, and of the difficulties involved in examining the role of *xian* in *fangzhongshu*. However, the works of my precursors such as Mircea Eliade³⁷ in the sphere of shamanism provide strong indications, especially when considering the link between sexual activities and the concept of attaining *xian*-hood by these specific means. Thus, even if my final endeavour in this thesis can yield no more than a tentative hypothesis, it is nonetheless a new departure for the subject in two ways: it casts light on the connection between images of *xian* and the literature of *fangzhongshu*; and also sheds light, from the perspective of shamanism, on the whole complex entity of *fangzhongshu*, which has hitherto been investigated mainly from a medical, Daoist or sociological point of view.

In view of the complexity of the topics involved, I present the order of

and *shenxiandao* mentioned, the correlation of *wu* in the field of medicine which have repeatedly been pointed out by scholars such as Yamada Keiji 山田慶児 and Donald Harper inspire me for this particular attempt. Yamada Keiji 山田慶児. 1990. *Yorunaku Tori* 夜鳴く鳥 (Birds Twittering in the Night). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. pp. 56-63; Harper, Donald. 1987. p.560; Harper, Donald. 1997. pp.47-68.

³⁷ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. *Shamanism—Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Translated by Willard R. Trask. London: Arkana.

this thesis as follows. The first chapter of the thesis will undertake a diachronic review of accounts of *fangzhongshu*, with investigations of several personal views for and against the sexual art, in order to find possible clues for an outline of the subject. The second chapter will survey the intellectual background of phenomena surrounding the sexual art, so as to establish a tentative explanation of the art for the purposes of this paper. The third chapter will examine the practical aspects of sexual techniques, categorising them in accordance with the purposes that each method aims to achieve. The fourth and the final chapter will be devoted to an investigation of the sexual arts especially as a method to become *xian*, with the aid of studies of shamanism, preceded by a re-examination of images of *xian*.

I hope that the surveys presented in each chapter will contribute to reveal the lineaments of *fangzhongshu* in as thorough a way as possible and that this thesis as a whole will facilitate further understanding of the subject.

Chapter 1:

History of Shift in Clarification for *Fangzhongshu*

1-1. Introduction

Fangzhongshu 房中術 (the art of the bedchamber), is a Chinese term that has historically referred to the use of sexual techniques as a means to certain ends. The nature and relative emphasis of these ends have changed throughout the historical period considered in this thesis, and writers of a given epoch do not necessarily agree on what they should be. In general, however, *fangzhongshu* aims to enable one to improve one's status as a human being and to achieve certain procreative ends. The notion of raising one's human status comprises health improvement, the attainment of longevity, and even immortality. Ultimately it may involve becoming *xian* 仙 (an Immortal) and hence transcending the merely human level of existence altogether.

These ends are pursued in the sexual arts in relation to several different phenomena. For instance, the overarching concern with life is associated with the concept of *yangsheng* 養生 (nourishing life), which is often understood as self-cultivation. A more direct concern

with the physical state relates *fangzhongshu* to the concept of *yi* 醫 (medicine). Again, the pursuit of longer or eternal life and the aspiration to attain the state of a *xian* are closely connected with the beliefs of *shenxiandao* 神仙道 (the Immortal cult), as well as *daojiao* 道教 (religious Daoism), which was in turn influenced by that cult. In addition, the aim of procreation is bound up with the Chinese concept of the family and *xiao* 孝 (filial piety). These complex interrelations give *fangzhongshu* considerable conceptual complexity, which leads to problems of interpretation.

For example, the first surviving reference to the sexual art already displays this complexity. The heading “*fangzhong* 房中 (within the bedchamber)”, which denotes sexual arts, is mentioned in the bibliographic chapter of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han)³⁸ which is compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 A.D.) around 100 A.D., as a branch of “*fangji* 方技 (allied techniques)”, it is the third of four subdivisions, following “*yijing* 醫經 (the medical canon)”, “*jingfang*

³⁸ *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han). Compiled by Ban Gu 班固(32-92A.D.) around 100 A.D. The material now in the *Hanshu* was compiled on the basis of the listing of imperial library holdings by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8B.C.) and his son Liu Xin 劉歆 (46B.C-23A.D.) a century earlier. It is impossible for us to tell how much the Bans changed the material they borrowed from the Lius. The given completion date was of a major part of *Hanshu* which was finally completed by his sister Ban Zhao 班昭(?48-?116) after his death. I have used the collated and punctuated edition. 1996. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 30th *juan*. “*Yiwenzhi* 藝文志”. pp.1776-1779. See Loewe, Michael ed. 1993. Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide. Berkeley: University of California. Institute of East Asian Studies. pp 129-130 for further details about *Hanshu*.

經方 (canonical prescriptions)” and preceding “*shenxian* 神僊 (divine Immortals)”. According to the annotation by the editor of this section of the *Hanshu*, the methods classified under *fangji* all serve for “*shengsheng* 生生 (engendering life)³⁹”, which is conceptually similar to nourishing life. Thus, the earliest evidence for the complexity of the art locates the medical, sexual and immortal arts alike within a larger perspective of nurturing life.

In this chapter I set out to understand the complex interconnections of the sexual arts by examining diachronic changes in perception and classification. I will look at changes in the categorisation of the art of the bedchamber in bibliographic sources from the Han to the Song periods. I will then survey private views of the sexual art, critical views first and then supportive ones.

It should be noted in advance that this chapter deals with “received” literature rather than practical manuscripts that involve technical advices for the sexual activities. It is partly because the chapter is primarily about attitudes to *fangzhongshu* rather than contents of it. It is also because this chapter focuses on the objective viewpoints rather than subjective one. Thus, although materials such as those unearthed from Mawangdui Han tombs⁴⁰ and those preserved in a 10th

³⁹ *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. pp. 1776-1779.

⁴⁰ Several manuscripts were unearthed from Mawangdui no.3 tomb locating at Changsha in 1973. The burial date of these manuscripts as well as a person who is

century Japanese medical text *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine)⁴¹ are also relevant to the question of attitude especially in practical point of view, I will leave technical approaches

presumed as a son or brother of *chengxiang* 丞相, chancellor of the kingdom of Changsha, Li Cang 利蒼 is assumed at 168 B.C. Among these manuscripts, *Yangshengfang* 養生方 (Recipes for Nourishing Life), *Zajingfang* 雜禁方 (Recipes for Various Charms), *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions), *Hevinyang* 合陰陽 (Uniting Yin and Yang), and *Tianxiashidaotan* 天下至道談 (Discourse on the Ultimate Way under Heaven) involve contents of sexual intercourse or related activities. Notably, the last three texts deal with great amounts of sexual affairs. Additionally, *Taichanshu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of the Fetus) may be relevant to sexual art. Although the dates of compositions about any texts found from Mawangdui remain uncertain, scholars agree that outline of the texts might have been set by sometimes during Warring States Periods (475-221 B.C.). He Jiajun 何介鈞 and Zhang Weiming 張維明 ed. 1982. *Mawangdui Hanmu* 馬王堆漢墓 (Mawangdui Han Tombs). Beijing: Wenwu chubun. pp. 6-7, p.10; Zhou Shirong 周世榮. 1979. "Tantan Mawangdui Sanhao Hanmu de Jiandu 談談馬王堆三號漢墓的簡牘 (Discussing about epistles from Mawangdui no.3 Tomb)". In Hunanxing Bowuguan 湖南省博物館 ed. *Mawangdui Hanmu Yanjiu* 馬王堆漢墓研究 (Studies on Mawangdui Han Tombs). Changsha: Hunan renmin chubun. pp. 338-339; Harper, Donald. 1997. pp. 4-5.

⁴¹ The 28th *juan* of *Ishinpō* preserves fragments of several sexual classics, such as *Sunüjing* 素女經 (The Classic of Plain Girl), *Xuannüjing* 玄女經 (The Classic of Dark Girl), *Donxuanzi* 洞玄子 (Master Dongxuan), *Yufang Mijue* 玉房秘訣 (Secrets of the Jade Chamber), and *Yufang Zhivao* 玉房指要 (Essentials of the Jade Chamber). Until the "rediscovery" of this Japanese text, these sexual classics had been believed to be lost in China. These classics were reconstructed by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 in 1903 and collected in *Shuangmei Jingan Congshu* 雙梅景閣叢書 (Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Collection). See the first chapters of following works. Sugitachi Yoshikazu 杉立義一. 1991. *Ishinpō no Denrai* 醫心方の伝来 (Transmission of Prescriptions from *Ishinpō*). Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan; Yamahara Hiroaki 山原太明. 1953. *Kodai Chūgoku no Seirigaku—Ishinpō Bōnaibu Shakugi* 古代中国の性理学—醫心方房内部釋義 (Sexology in Ancient China — Commentary on the Within a Chamber of *Ishinpō*). Tokyo: Igaku Shoin.

behind in this particular chapter. Regarding the practical aspects of sexual techniques, the third chapter of this thesis will deal with them in the relevant literature of the genre.

1-2. Bibliographical References to *Fangzhongshu*

The bibliographic chapters in the Han (206B.C.-220A.D.), Sui (589-618A.D.), Tang (618-907A.D.) and Song (960-1279A.D.) standard histories show by their variant categorisations that each dynasty viewed sexual arts somewhat differently. From the data in these chapters it is however clear that the literature of the genre circulated widely among elite communities during these periods, even if there was not a continuous concept or common categorisation of *fangzhongshu*. Of course these materials do help us know what views of the sexual arts may have existed in non-elite circles.

As mentioned before, the bibliographic chapter in the *Hanshu* contains the earliest known reference to sexual arts. The editor of this official document was Ban Gu (32-92 AD), assisted by his sister Ban Zhao 班昭(?48-? 116), who is said to have completed the chapter on astronomy after Gu's death⁴².

⁴² Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp. 129-130. It is not clear whether Ban Zhao also contributed to the bibliographic chapter.

As can be seen in Table 1, there were four divisions of *fangji*: the art of “*yijing*”, “*jingfang*”, “*fangzhong*” and the “*shenxian*”. *Fangji* to which all these divisions belong is explained as follows: “*Fangji* are all methods for engendering life which is what kings and officials keeps... Nowadays, its techniques are unclear. Therefore, in order to discuss materials concerning it, *fangji* are classified into four kinds. ⁴³”. Clearly, the four branches of this category are unified by the fact that they are all skills for “engendering life”, inasmuch as *fangji* as a whole were methods for this purpose.

Although the content of the section on the art of the bedchamber provides a certain amount of information, more is available from its context. It figures as the third branch in the category, so its relationship with the other three is important for our better appreciation of its role. The first two branches are specifically concerned with the physical state of the body. The works categorised under “*yijing*” are described as follows.

Tracing to the source the human blood vessels, bones and marrows, *yin* and *yang*, and outer and inner, in order to bring forth the roots of every disease, as well as the boundary between life and death. To this end it employs and measures out the deployment of the needles of bamboo and stone, decoctions and fire, and regulates the appropriate harmonisation of

⁴³ *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p. 1780.

compounds of all medicinal substances⁴⁴.

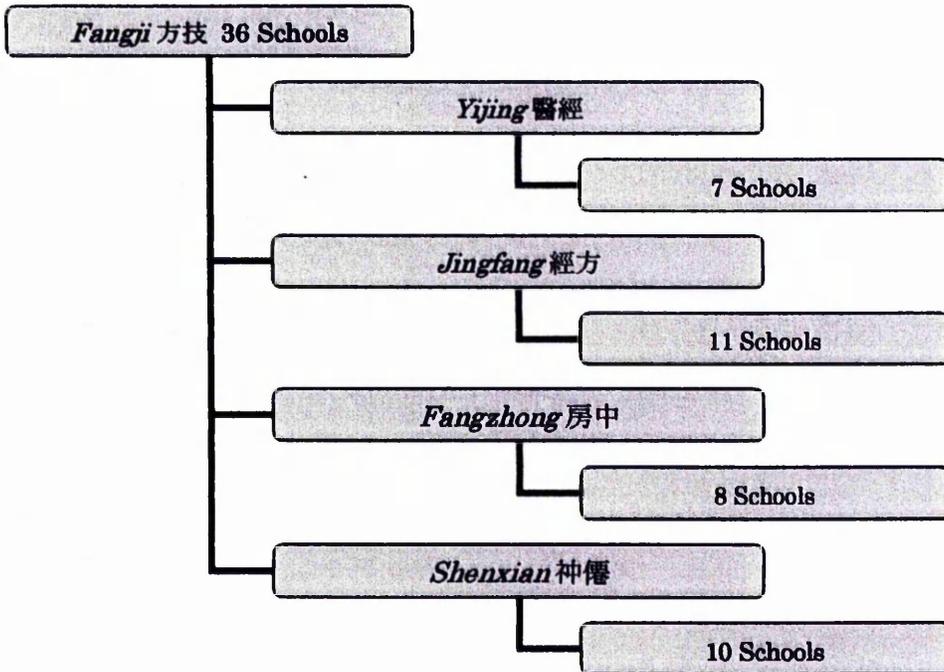


Table 1: Subsections of *Fangji*

Hence, it is clear that this branch dealt amongst other things with acupuncture and moxibustion. On the other hand, “*jingfang*” are elucidated as follows:

By looking for the root of the coldness and warmth of herbs and minerals, measuring the shallowness and depth of ailments and diseases, borrowing the exquisiteness of medicines and flavour, based on the

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 1776.

inductive correspondence of *qi*, dividing tastes into the five bitter and six acrid ones, putting water and fire in order, it gets through that which is blocked and untangle that which is bound up and returning them to an equilibrium⁴⁵.

This technique clearly dealt with herbal and medicinal healing. Obviously, both skills focused on bodily health and its improvement.

The section on the sexual art follows these two essentially medical methods. It is described as follows:

The art within the chamber is the extreme of feelings and the brink of the ultimate way. Therefore the sage kings moderated outer pleasure in order to curb inner emotions. And thus, [they] regulated the sentence. Tradition says “it is a former kings’ way to making pleasure that enabled them to ensure a proper measure in a hundred affairs.⁴⁶” When there is moderation in pleasure, then there is tranquillity and longevity. When we come to the confused, who pay no regard [to such matters], then they produce diseases and harm life.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 1778.

⁴⁶ “先王之樂、所以節百事也”。*Zuoshizhuan* 左氏傳 (*Zuo's Tradition of Spring and Autumn Annals*). (*Zuozhuan*, hereafter). Attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, of possibly 5th century B.C., but composed probably 3rd to 1st century B.C. I have used *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (*Commentaries on Chunqiu Zuozhuan*). Commentaries by Kong Yingda 孔穎達(574-648) et al. SSJZ edition. 41st *juan*. “*zhaogong yuannian* 昭公元年”. p. 2024. As for authorship and date of composition, see Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp. 69-71.

⁴⁷ *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p. 1779.

The sexual art is unique in two aspects. First, its purpose is not the healing or improvement of the physical state, but the maintenance of life. Secondly, the sexual art is regarded as the special domain of “sage” kings as opposed to “*shenxian*”, which is said to be “it is not what sage kings taught⁴⁸”.

The concept of the “sage” must be crucial here. Although the clarification of *fangji* is not limited to “sage” kings, but rather kings in general⁴⁹, Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, for instance, whose names are associated with a text on *fangzhong*, were “sage” kings⁵⁰ as shown in Table 2 below. Apparently, “sage” kings particularly cultivated sexual arts, notably because of its power to nourish life.

The bibliography also demonstrates the existence of several different schools of the sexual art. It mentions eight texts on the sexual arts, as shown in Table 2. Since the informant generalises these eight texts by saying “[those listed on] the right hand side are eight schools of *fangzhong*, and one hundred and eighty six *juan*⁵¹”, these eight materials are apparently representatives of teachings or disciplines for each school. In other words, at least eight distinct sexual methods or principles must have been recognised by the date of

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 1780.

⁴⁹ It is said that “*fangji* is generally methods for engendering life which is what kings and officials keep” which does not say “sage” kings. Ibid., p. 1779.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 1780.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 1779.

the composition. Evidently, some mythical or legendary figures like Yao and Shun were specially associated with the traditions of each school, as most titles incorporate particular personal names⁵².

<i>Rong Cheng Yindao</i> 容成陰道 (Secret Way of Rong Cheng)
<i>Wu Chengzi Yindao</i> 務成子陰道 (Secret Ways of Master Wu Cheng)
<i>Yao Shun Yindao</i> 堯舜陰道 (Secret Ways of Emperor Yao and Shun)
<i>Tang Fangeng Yindao</i> 湯盤庚陰道 (Secret Ways of Tang and Pan Geng)
<i>Tianlao Zazi Yindao</i> 天老稚子陰道 (Secret Ways of Tianlao and Others)
<i>Tianyi Yindao</i> 天一陰道 (Secret Ways of the Heavenly One)
<i>Huangdi Sanwang Yangyang Fang</i> 黃帝三王養陽方 (The Methods of the Yellow Emperor and Three Kings for Nourishing Yang)
<i>Sanjia Neifang Youzi Fang</i> 三家內房有子方 (The Methods of Three Sects for Having Offspring)

Table 2: Textual Titles for the Eight Schools of *Fangzhong*

These personages were considered to be the leading practitioners

⁵² Besides the section for “*fangzhong*”, other sections in “*fangji*” category also involve texts titles incorporating personal names, although not every title. Except for Huangdi 黃帝 (the Yellow Emperor) whose name is entitled in one of the eight texts in the section for “*fangzhong*”, names Shennong 神農 (divine farmer), another “sage” king and two physicians Bian Que 扁鵲 and Baishi 白氏 (Mr. Bai) are incorporated. None of the names except for the Yellow Emperor in the section for “*fangzhong*” associate with texts in other sections, at the same time, any three names appearing in other sections do not turn up in the section for sexual art. *Ibid.*, pp. 1776-1779.

of the sexual art of their time. For example, Huangdi 黃帝 (the Yellow Emperor), who was also a “sage” king, was thought to be an adept in the sexual art. His name often appears in the later literature of the subject as a questioner regarding sexual techniques⁵³. Also, he was believed to have become a *xian* through the use of sexual practices⁵⁴. Rong Cheng 容成, to take another example, was a famous *xian* of antiquity who was regarded as a master of sexual arts. His name appears in the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions)⁵⁵, one of the earliest extant

⁵³ For instance, the Yellow Emperor appears to be a adept of sexual art who learns the essence of the techniques from masters of the art such as Sunü 素女 (Plain Girl) or Xuannü 玄女 (Dark Girl) in *Sunüjìng* and *Xuannüjìng* both of which are preserved in *Ishinpō*.

⁵⁴ For instance, *Beiji Qianjin Yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions for Emergency) recounts a story relating to the Yellow Emperor's becoming *xian* according to which he had sexual intercourse with 1200 women in order to achieve *xian* status. *Beiji Qianjin Yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions for Emergency). Compiled by Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581-681?). Completed between 650-659. I have used following edition. 1995. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe. 27th *juan*. “*fangzhong buyi* 房中補益”. p. 489. Hereafter, I cite the name of this text as *Qianjin Yaofang*. Since *Hanshu* bibliography mentions his name, in association with *fangzhongshu*, as *Huangdi Sanwang Yangyang Fang* 黃帝三王養陽方 (The Methods of the Yellow Emperor and Three Kings for Nourishing Yang), he was clearly connected with sexual art by the period of *Hanshu*. *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p. 1778.

⁵⁵ The fourth dialogue in *Shiwen* involves the Yellow Emperor as a questioner and Rong Cheng 容成 as a lecturer. As for any materials unearthed from Mawangdui Han tombs, I basically employ transcriptions edited by a group of Chinese scholars throughout this thesis. Mawangdui hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 ed. 1985. *Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (Manuscripts from Mawangdui Han Tombs). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe. Vol.4. In addition, I also consult with following three texts as reference for interpretation of any Mawangdui

works of the literature of the sexual art, which, possibly reflecting the ideas of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.)⁵⁶, was unearthed in 1973 from the Mawangdui tombs of the Han period⁵⁷. Although it is unclear what form his sexual teachings took, his methods are described in official records like the Hou Hanshu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) as sexual techniques⁵⁸.

None of the texts in Table 2 has survived, therefore it remains unclear what each of these principles entailed. However, partial guesses are possible for a couple of techniques on the basis of textual titles such as

materials; Ma Jixing. 1992.; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992.; Li Ling. 1993. Shiwen 十問 (Ten Questions). pp. 146-147

⁵⁶ See note 41

⁵⁷ See note 41

⁵⁸ Liexianzhuan 列仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals) mentions that Rong Cheng 容成 is said to have been good at “replacing and leading (補導之事)” and to have become an Immortal by “taking *Jing* from the dark female (取精於玄牝)”. Although his method for the art is unknown, it is said in Houhanshu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) that “[Leng] Shouguang who could be one hundred and fifty to sixty years old practised the methods of Rong Cheng for riding on women ([冷]寿光可百五六十歲、行容成公御婦人法)”. For this, the commentary says “The methods of Riding on Women is said to hold tight in order not to ejaculate and to return *jing* to add to the brain (御婦人之術、謂握固不瀉、還精補腦也)”. Liexianzhuan 列仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals). Attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向(79-8B.C.), probably compiled between 1st to 3rd century A.D. I refer to the following edition. Teng Xiuzhan 滕修展 et al. ed. 1996. Liexianzhuan, Shenxianzhuan Zhushi 列仙傳神仙傳注釋 (Commentary on Liexianzhuan and Shenxianzhuan). Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe. p.15; Houhanshu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han). Compiled by Fan Ye 范曄(398-446), presented in 445. I have used the following edition. 1971. Xianggang: Zhonghua shuju. 82thjuan, xia. “fangshu liezhuan 方術列傳”. p. 2740.

the Huangdi Sanwang Yangyang fang 黃帝三王養陽方 (The Methods of the Yellow Emperor and Three Kings for Nourishing the *Yang*) and the Sanjia Neifang Youzi Fang 三家內房有子方 (The Methods of the Three Sects for Having Offspring)⁵⁹.

Yang 陽 generally indicates positive or active forces, in contradistinction to *yin* 陰, which indicates that which is negative or passive. *Yang* also signifies the male gender and possibly the male genital organs while *yin* refers to the female and her genital organs. For instance, sex manuals preserved in the Ishinpō often employ *yang* to indicate male while *yin* to female⁶⁰, as “*yang* will absorb *qi* while *yin* will have a loss⁶¹”. On the other hand, *yin* in the statements like “she should receive his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) by raising her *yin*⁶²” and “a woman will be troubled that [her] *jing* 精 (the essence—i.e. secretion)⁶³ flows, *yin*’s inside moves swiftly while its outside opens

⁵⁹ Hanshu. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p. 1780.

⁶⁰ The classifications in Ishinpō which involves sections for *yangyin* 養陰 (nourishing *yin*) which specially deals with female cultivation while *yangyang* 養陽 (nourishing *yang*) which is to do with male cultivation may also support this idea. Although this Japanese text was completed in much later periods (984 A.D.), they can be possible evidence for the usage *yin* and *yang* referring to gender.

⁶¹ Although one of the easiest accesses to sexual classics preserved in Ishinpō is to refer to reconstructions by Ye Dehui 葉德輝’s, his editions are sometimes claimed that there are some miss. transcriptions in characters. Therefore, about any statements in any texts preserved in Ishinpō, I refer to the following edition so to avoid possible misreading. Transcriptions of Asakuraya edition. Reprinted in 1955. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei* 房內”. p. 636.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ The elucidations of *jing* vary, especially in accordance with context in which the

unconstraint⁶⁴ clearly indicate female genital organ⁶⁵. Although *yang* by itself does not usually signify male organ, the term turns up like *yangfeng* 陽鋒 (*yang* sword tip)⁶⁶ which apparently indicates the glans of the penis⁶⁷. As a couplet, *yang* might also correspond with male genitalia as well as male gender, since *yin* certainly does to female and her genital organs. Thus, “nourishing *yang*” in the former title implies either of the special methods for nourishing male or the care of the male genitalia – in substance, techniques of penis treatment.

As for the latter text, it clearly dealt with methods for procreation, which evidently fell into three distinct types. It is noteworthy that techniques for the care of the penis and for conception formed part of the sexual art, because this indicates that the male genital organ and procreation were considered influential for the maintenance of life.

The final method of *fangji* is the method of “*shenxian*”. A certain

term appears. Here, *jing* from the context apparently specifies female secretion.

⁶⁴ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p. 640.

⁶⁵ It should be noted that *yin* sometimes signifies male genital organs instead of female one.

⁶⁶ For instance in *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p. 641. It should be noted that terms associate with male genitalia sometimes combined with *yin* as well, such as *yinnang* 陰囊 (the testicles). For instance, *Ibid.*, p. 643.

⁶⁷ Ma Boying assumes that *yangfeng* 陽鋒 (*yang* sword tip) indicates the glans while terms such as *yüjing* 玉莖 (jade stalk) and *yüce* 玉策 (jade whip) signify the penis itself. Ma Boyin. 1994. p.685.

ambiguity remains as to its practical realisation. It is described as consisting of techniques to “maintain the essence of life and look for [it] outside” in order to “equalise the boundaries of life and death⁶⁸”.

Shenxian, “the divine Immortals”, the term employed for this method was also associated with the ideas of the Immortal cult and became a common term to indicate people who achieved immortality or prodigiously long life. The reflection of *shenxian* and ideology of the Immortal cult are suggestive of the philosophy of Zhuangzi 莊子⁶⁹. Amongst the teachings of Zhuangzi, the principle of regarding death in the same light as life is one of distinctive ideas. The informant, for instance, mentions that the “*zhenren* 真人 (true man) of antiquity did not know pleasing life nor hating death⁷⁰”. For another example, a

⁶⁸ “*Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p. 1780.

⁶⁹ The scholarly tradition has divided the text *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (*Zhuangzi*) into *neipian* 內篇 (inner chapter) and *waipian* 外篇 (outer chapter). The text is attributed to Zuang Zhou 莊周 (c. 369-286 B.C.), and seems to have taken its form in a period of over a century as an heterogeneous collection of materials of Zhuangzi or his followers. Generally, “inner” chapters are presumed to contain Zhuangzi’s actual writings, while “outer” consist of some later writings. See Hansen Chad. 1992. *A Daoist Theory of Chinese Thought—A Philosophical Interpretation*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. pp.272—273; Graham, A.C. 1989. *Disputers of the Dao—Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. Chicago, La Salle, Illinois: Open Court. pp. 172-174; Loewe, Michael. 1993, pp. 56-58.

⁷⁰ As for *Zhuangzi*, I refer to a modern commentary edited by Xianjian and Liu Wu and all the page numbers are based on the following text. Wang Xianjian 王先謙 and Liu Wu 劉武 ed. 1999. *Zhuangzi jijie/Zhuangzi jijie neipian buzheng* 莊子集解/莊子集解內篇補正 (*Commentaries on Zhuangzi/ Supplementary Corrections on Inner Chapters of Commentaries on Zhuangzi*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. *Zhuangzi*. 2nd *juan*. “*dazongshi* 大宗師”. p. 59.

concept in a famous episode about dreams of Zhuangzi which ends with the saying “[he] did not know if it was dream of Zhou (i.e. Zhuangzi) in which he turns out a butterfly or if it was a dream of a butterfly in which it becomes Zhou⁷¹” can be similar to the idea of “equalising the boundaries of life and death⁷²”.

Although it remains unclear to what extent the term *shenxian* in the *Hanshu* is to be identified with concepts in the Immortal cult, it seems to share a common or cognate intellectual background⁷³.

One very specific statement concerning the method of *shenxian* is to be found in the bibliographic chapter of the *Hanshu*. Once again the notion of “sage-ness” is invoked, although in this case it appears in a rather negative connection. It is stated that the method of *shenxian* is “not what sage kings taught⁷⁴”. This suggests that this particular method, uniquely, did not originate in “sage” teachings, but that all the other methods did. It further implies that the elite classes accepted the method of *shenxian* despite its lack of a “sage king” foundation and considered it efficacious for nourishing life.

At this point, it is necessary to review all the branches of *fangji*

⁷¹ Ibid., 1st *juan*. “*qiwulun* 齊物論”. pp. 26-27.

⁷² *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p. 1780.

⁷³ About the possible link between notions of immortality or the ideas of *shenxian* in the philosophy of Zhuangzi and the Immortal cult, see following studies. Sivin, Nathan. 1995. “On the Word “Taoist””. In Nathan Sivin. *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China—Researches and Reflections*. Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate Variorum VI. pp. 318-319; Yu Ying-Shih. 1964-1965. pp. 91-94.

⁷⁴ “*Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p.1780.

for engendering life described in the bibliography of the *Hanshu*. Although all four methods were considered equally efficient for nurturing life, they certainly differed in two regards.

First, their approaches to life and death were distinct. Both *yijing* and *jingfang* were medical or therapeutic skills, but the former possessed a more active character than the latter in that they dealt with disease rather than poor physical condition. Thus, the techniques of *yijing* can be understood as “converting potential death into life” while those of *jingfang* serve to “return to life by regulating the physical condition”. On the other hand, the techniques of *fangzhong* and *shenxian* were not positively concerned with the improvement or restoration of physical health. Rather, sexual techniques were intended purely to maintain the condition of healthfulness, which might result in longevity, while the method of *shenxian* sought only to equalise life and death. Thus, in concept, the former can be understood as the “maintenance of life” and the latter as “equalising life and death”. Consequently, it can be seen that in terms of attitude toward life, the four methods are enumerated in order from the most positive to the least.

Another differentiation hinges upon the “sage 聖” character. As pointed out, three out of the four methods were apparently invented by “sages”, with the exception of the techniques of *shenxian*. Although *yijing* and *jingfang* involve no explicit reference to “sage” kings, Shennong 神農, one of the “sage” kings was generally acknowledged as

a founder of Chinese medicine, with a special association with herbal therapy⁷⁵. Hence, these first two methods, being medical in nature, must have been regarded as having a “sage” origin. Techniques for engendering life were understood in essence to be skills invented by “sage” kings for the use of the non-sage elite. But also, sexual techniques and the method of *shenxian* differ clearly from the medical methods in the matter of “sage” character. The art of *fangzhong* is a method that originated with the “sage” kings and for which they had special predilection. On the other hand, the method of *shenxian* is not of “sage” origin, but made an exceptional entry into the category of skills of “sage” kings’ invention.

In sum, based on the evidence in the bibliography in *Hanshu* the Han elite, or at least Ban Gu and his sister Ban Zhao, following the work of Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8B.C.) and his son Liu Xin 劉歆 (46B.C-23A.D.) a century earlier conceived of sexual arts as a set of

⁷⁵ Shennong, along with Fu Xi 伏羲 and the Yellow Emperor, are categorised as *sanhuang* 三皇, three rulers in the commentary of *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian). He is regarded as *wudi* 五帝, five emperors, according to commentary in *Hanshu*. Since *sanhuang* and *wudi* indicate legendary sage kings or divine kings, Shennong was clearly one of the “sage” kings. His association with medicine seems to become clearer slightly later periods, like in *Baopuzi*, but *Hanshu* bibliography includes a text named *Shennong Huangdi Shiyao* 神農黃帝食藥 (Eating Drugs of Shennong and Huangdi), which indicates that he was regarded in connection with medicine by the date of *Hanshu*. Ibid., 6th *juan*. “*wudiji* 武帝紀”. p. 167; 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p.1777; *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian). Compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-87 B.C.), completed around 99 B.C. I have used collated and punctuated edition. 1959. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 1st *juan*. “*wudi benji* 五帝本紀”. p 1.

techniques for nourishing life. They thought the art especially effective for maintaining the condition of healthfulness but did not regard it as a technique for actively combating diseases. For them, preserving the state of life entailed possibly the care of the penis and procreation which is for sure. Further, they believed that these moderate techniques for promoting life were created by “sage” kings and that the method was particularly favoured by “sages”.

None of the bibliographic chapters in standard histories after the Han period include independent sections or explanations on sexual arts. Instead, later standard histories locate sexual techniques within some larger category, either medicine or Daoism. For instance, the second extant reference to the sexual arts occurs in “*jingjizhi* 經籍志”, a bibliographic chapter of the *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui)⁷⁶ which is compiled in 636. This work includes material on the sexual arts in the section on medicine⁷⁷.

In the *Suishu*, medicine is fundamentally considered in terms of “*bao xingming zhi shu* 保性命之術 (the art for maintaining nature and

⁷⁶ *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui). Compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵(580-643) et al. Completed in 636. I have used the following edition. 1973. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

⁷⁷ It should be noted that the description for “*daojing* 道經(Daoist canon)” suggests that the sexual art was also regarded in connection with Daoist at that period. It states to involve thirteen divisions of “*fangzhong* 房中 (within the chamber)” and thirty eight *juan* of texts. However, no title recognisably related with sexual arts was not listed in the bibliography for Daoism. *Suishu*. 35juan. “*jingjizhi* 經籍志”. p.1091.

life)⁷⁸. It is explained as follows.

Heaven has the *qi* of *yin* and *yang*, wind and rain, and day and night. Man has the emotions of delight, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love and hatred. If one sets them in action with regularity, then one would calm and smoothen, and harmonise and arrange. If one acts arbitrarily according to his feelings, then one would come to confusion and produce diseases.⁷⁹

It basically involves acupuncture, moxibustion, and herbal therapy, which are supposed actively to convert potential death into life⁸⁰. The techniques in the category of medicine are, again, assigned a “sage” origin, along with the teachings of Confucius, Daoism and information of a lower order like talk of the town, although a certain bias is to be seen here⁸¹.

The medical section in the *Suishu* belongs to some extent to the same intellectual tradition as the section on *fangji* in the *Hanshu* where the sexual art is listed. In the Han document, *fangji* are seen as a means of engendering life; and medicine in the *Suishu* is likewise

⁷⁸ *Suishu*, 34th *juan*. “*jingjizhi*”, p.1050.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁸⁰ It is said that “If one has illness which has not cured, one should always get an appropriate physician (有疾不治，恆得中醫)”. *Ibid.*, p.1051.

⁸¹ “Confucianism, Daoism, minor information are what sage people taught, but there are biases. Ways of military and medication is what sage people governed, that work respectively. (儒、道、小說、聖人之教也、而有所偏。兵及醫方、聖人之政也、所施各異。)”. *Ibid*.

related to life, and is elucidated as “art for maintaining nature and life by way of removing diseases and illness⁸²”.

Although the benefits claimed for these techniques are now moderated, acupuncture, moxibustion and herbal therapy, which were certainly therapeutic skills in the conception of the *Hanshu*, are preserved as the main body of the tradition in the *Suishu*. In addition to sexual arts, teachings relating to *xian*, “the Immortals” are also included in the medical category. Apparently, of the four divisions in the Han official classification, the two medical and therapeutic methods came to dominate the category of *fangji*, so that by the time of standard history for the Sui, medicine has become an independent section in which two remaining divisions are absorbed, concerned with nourishing life.

The number of different doctrines of the sexual art had apparently increased in number by the date of the *Suishu*. The documents catalogued in the bibliography mention thirteen different titles of sexual arts. Although each book does not necessarily refer to schools, the increased number of texts might indicate that in doctrines. None of these, however, corresponds to the titles in the Han record.

The *Suishu* bibliography records the existence of texts on the sexual art which are still extant today. For example, it cites the “*Sunü Midaojing bing Xuannüjing* 素女秘道經併玄女經 (The Classic of the

⁸² “醫方者、所以除疾疢、保性命之術者也”. Ibid.

Secret Way of the Plain Girl together with the Classic of the Dark Girl)"⁸³. The *Sunü Midaojing* has been identified with the texts preserved today as the *Sunüjing* 素女經 (The Classic of the Plain Girl) and the *Sunüfang* 素女方 (Recipes of Plain Girl)⁸⁴. The former contains general teachings on sexual practices, while the latter includes recipes for drugs that are effective for the stimulation and maintenance of the genital organs. A portion of the *Xuannüjing* still survives with its original title, but it is essentially a short digest of the *Sunüjing*⁸⁵.

On the strength of the citation in the Sui official record, which is the first known reference to these three extant texts, the first two works bearing the name of the Sunü, "plain girl" are considered to be disparate variants of the same original composition⁸⁶. On the other hand, the teachings of the Xuannü, "dark girl" apparently belonged to a

⁸³ Ibid., p.1050.

⁸⁴ Tsuchiya Hideaki 土屋英明. 1998. "*Chūgoku no Seiai Bunken: Jūhachi* 中国の性愛文獻: 十八 (Chinese Literature of Eros : No.18)". *Tōhō* 東方 (Eastern Book Review) . Vol.212. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten. p.16.

⁸⁵ Fragments of *Sunüjing* and *Xuannüjing* are preserved in the Japanese medical text *Ishinpō*. However, this Japanese text does not include *Sunüfang* 素女方 (Methods of Plain Girl). Ye Dehui 葉德輝 reconstructed *Sunüfang* along with others based on the following materials: Sun Moyan's *Pingjingguan Congshu* 平津館叢書 (Collection of Pingjing Mansion) , Zhen Quan's *Gujingluvanfang* 古今錄驗方 (Records of Ancient and Modern Effective Recipes) quoted in Wang Tao's *Waitai Miyao* 外台秘要 (Secrets Keys outside the Pagoda) and Sun Simiao's *Qianjin Yaofang*.

⁸⁶ Tsuchiya Hideaki. 1998. p.16.

different tradition from the “plain girl”. The standard history for the Sui shows, however, that the tradition of the “dark girl” was so similar to that of the “plain girl” that the two could be combined by the time of the *Suishu*.

Another instance is the *Yufang Mijue* 玉房秘訣 (Secret of the Jade Chamber), which is also listed in the bibliography of the *Suishu* and is likewise still extant⁸⁷. Although it is uncertain to what extent the content has been preserved, this text survives today with exactly the same title.

The third and the fourth bibliographic sources for the sexual art are the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang)⁸⁸ completed in 945 and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang)⁸⁹ completed in 1060. Both basically follow the categorisation of the Sui bibliography, in listing the literature of the genre within a large section on medicine. Nonetheless, it is not clear if the elite of these periods conceived of medicine in the same way as their counterparts in the periods of the *Suishu*. Although the sexual art was generally regarded as an aspect

⁸⁷ The fragments of this text are also preserved in *Ishinpō*.

⁸⁸ *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang). Completed by Liu Xu 劉煦 (887-946), in 945. I have used the following edition. 1975. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

⁸⁹ *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang). Completed by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), in 1060. I have used the collated and punctuated edition. 1975. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

of medicine, the *Jiu Tangshu* includes the literature of the art in a sub-section of “*zajingfang* 雜經方 (methods of various canons)”. Thus, the elite of those days, at least, considered sexual methods to be somehow distinct from ordinary medical techniques. This slight distinction of sexual techniques completely disappeared by the time of the *Xin Tangshu* which lists sexual literature in the medical category without any explanation or subdivision.

Neither bibliography includes titles associated with the “plain” or “dark girl”, but they do cite titles cognate with the *Yufang Mijue*. For instance, the *Jiu Tangshu* mentions the *Yufang Milujie* 玉房秘錄訣 (Secret Records of the Jade Chamber) which is apparently the same as the *Yufang Mijue*. It also mentions the *Yufang Mishu Geshi Xuan* 玉房秘術葛氏撰 (Secret Methods of the Jade Chamber Edited by Mr Ge)⁹⁰, providing a clear attribution of this work to someone called Mr Ge, who is presumably Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343 A.D.). The *Xin Tangshu* also documents the text, which it refers to two different texts as the *Chonghezi Yufang Mijue* 沖和子玉房秘訣 (Master Chonghe’s Secret of the Jade Chamber) and the *Geshi Fangzhong Mishu* 葛氏房中秘術 (Secret Method within the Chamber of Mr Ge)⁹¹. In the bibliography of this new standard history for the Tang, the author of the *Yufang Mijue* is recorded as Chonghezi, whose identity and background remain

⁹⁰ *Jiu Tangshu*. 47th juan. “*jingjizhi* 經籍志”. p. 2051.

⁹¹ *Xin Tangshu*. 59th juan. “*yiwenzhi* 藝文志”. p. 1570.

obscure⁹².

The fifth reference to the sexual art inaugurates a new classification. In the bibliography of the *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song) which is completed in 1345, writings on sexual activities are for the first time included in the section on Daoism⁹³. Although the connection with medicine does not disappear completely, it is noticeable that only one text associated with the sexual art is included in the medical division. The text in question is the *Qianjin Biyao Bejifang* 千金秘要備急方 (Priceless Secret Prescriptions for Emergencies)⁹⁴ by Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581-681?⁹⁵), which is very often identified today as the *Beiji Qianjin*

⁹² Sakade Yoshinobu presumes that Chonghezi 沖和子 might have been a person who lived the similar period with Tao Hongjing 陶弘景(456-536). See Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸. 1999. *Chūgoku Shisō Kenkyū—Iyaku Yōsei/Kagaku Shisō hen* 中国思想研究—醫藥養生・科学思想篇 (The Study on Chinese Thoughts—Essays on Traditional Medicine, Pharmacy, Nourishing Vitality and Science). Osaka : Kansai Daigaku Shuppan. p.72; Sakade Yoshinobu. 1996. p.165

⁹³ *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song). Compiled by Tuo Tuo 脱脱(1313-1355), in 1345. I have used the following edition. 1977. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju. 206th *juan* , p.5202.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 207th *juan*. p.5313.

⁹⁵ There are some inconsistencies concerning the date and the age of Sun Simiao's life. See Yong Rong 永榕 (1744-1790) et al. ed. 1798 *Siku Quanshu Zongmu Tiyaoyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Annotated Catalogue of the Four Imperial Libraries). I have used the following edition. 1934. 4 vols. Beijing: Shangwuyin shuguan. vol. 3, 103th *juan*, pp. 2091-2092; Sivin, Nathan. 1968. *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. pp. 81-144; Sakade Yoshinobu. 1999. pp.248-249. Here, I basically follow Sivin and Sakade who consider the birth date was in 581. Sivin regards Sun's retirement from imperial career was



Yaofang 備急千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions for Emergencies) or simply the Qianjin Yaofang 千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions). The entry of this book in the medical section, however, may not directly relate to the attitude of the editors to works on sexuality, since the relevant material to sexual activities is quite a small part of this book.

All things considered, this record for the Song includes more entries on the literature of sexual practices in the Daoist category. For example, it cites the Yangxing Yanminglu 養性延命錄 (Records of Nourishing Nature and Lengthening Life)⁹⁶ of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536A.D.), which includes a chapter specifically dealing with sexual techniques “Yunü Sunyi Pian 御女損益篇 (Chapter on the Dangers and Benefits of Intercourse with Woman)”⁹⁷. It also cites the Huangshu Guoduyi 黃書過度儀 (Book of Yellow for Rules for the Ceremony of Crossing the Line)⁹⁸. The Huangshu 黃書 (Book of Yellow) is said to be a series of texts for Daoist rituals involving ceremonial sexual

in 673 while Sakade mentions it was in 674. At least, both of them decline Sun's demise date in 652.

⁹⁶ Songshi. 206th *juan*. p. 5191.

⁹⁷ Yangxing Yanminglu 養性延命錄 (Records of Nourishing Nature and Lengthening Life) has two versions; one is collected Yunji Qijian 雲笈七籤 (Cloudy Basket and Seven Sticks) compiled by Zhang Fangqun 張房君 of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1120), and the other is preserved in Zhengtong Daozang 正統道藏 (Daoist Patrology). The former does not contain the chapter names as well as two chapters one of which is “Yunü Sunyi 御女損益 (The Dangers and Benefits of Intercourse with Woman)”.

⁹⁸ Songshi. 206th *juan*. p.5199.

activities⁹⁹. These two textbooks certainly involved practical instructions in sexual techniques.

As another instance, the Daoist section in the bibliography of the Song record contains several volumes of teachings on *dan* 丹 (alchemy/elixir)¹⁰⁰. Generally, a distinction is made in Chinese alchemy between *wai* 外 (outer) and *nei* 内 (inner). The former is a method for producing the elixir of immortality through laboratory processes while the latter is a skill enabling one to generate the elixir within the body. In either case, the ideology of Chinese alchemy is strongly associated with heterosexual symbolism, especially the concept of the embryo as the result of coitus¹⁰¹. Although the disciplines of inner and outer alchemy did not involve actual sexual practices, these texts obviously dealt with sexual activities.

⁹⁹ About the rituals in *Huangshu* 黄書 (Book of Yellow), see the following works. Li Ling. 2000. pp.369-379; Ge Tiaoguang 葛兆光. 1998a. “*Dōkyō ni okeru Sei no Girei* 道教における性の儀禮 (Ceremony of Sexuality in Taoism)”. *Chūgoku Gakushi* 中国学志 (Journal of Chinese Studies). Volume for coterie. Osaka: Osaka Shiritu Daigaku Chūgoku Gakkai pp.1-28.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, 63th *juan* to 71th *juan* of *Yunji Qijian* contain texts for “*jindan* 金丹 (golden elixir)”, while 72th and 73th *juan* holds those for “*neidan* 内丹 (inner alchemy)”.

¹⁰¹ Needham mentions that “holy embryo of eternal life” rather than “children according to the flesh” was element in Chinese alchemy. Also, Miura points out that the Inner Alchemy is a method to create an embryo which is inner elixir by means of symbolic intercourse of *yin* and *yang* within the body. Miura Kunio 三浦国雄. 2000. *Furō Fushi toiu Yokubō—Chūgokujin no Yume to Jissen* 不老不死という欲望—中国人の夢と実践 (Desire of Immortality—Chinese Dreams and Practices). Kyoto: Jinbun shoin. p.112; Needham, Joseph. 1983. p.217.

In the view of the elite at the periods of the *Songshi*, the sexual art was clearly more closely related to Daoism than to medicine. Because it is overwhelmingly represented in the Daoist section, Douglas Wile states, "Sexual practices finally came to rest under 'Taoist Works' in the *History of Song*¹⁰²". Although the literature of the sexual art was not entirely transferred into the Daoist section, the reduction of its importance in the medical section and its expansion in the Daoist section clearly suggest that major changes in the concept of sexual arts had taken place by the time of completion of the *Songshi*.

It should be noted that the *Songshi* which primarily deals with standard records of the Song dynasty is, however, completed in 1345 during the Yuan dynasty. It means that the content of this source does not necessarily or fully imply the concept during the Song dynasty. Although to what extent the bibliography of this informant reflected the ideas during the Song dynasty remains uncertain, the shift of clarification for the sexual art from medicine to Daoism still seem to have happened sometimes during this dynastic period. For instance, the bibliography in the *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Treatise on Institutions)¹⁰³ which is compiled in 1161 includes a section of "fangzhong" in a category of "daojia 道家 (Daoist)"¹⁰⁴. Since this

¹⁰² Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.24.

¹⁰³ *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Treatise on Institutions). Compiled by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162) in 1161. I have used the following edition. 1935. Shanghai: Shangwuyuan shuguan.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 67th juan. "yiwen 藝文", pp. 787- 794.

source was completed during the Song dynasty, the conception to view sexual arts as a method belonging to Daoism was surely held during the Song periods.

To summarise, *fangzhongshu* was, at the outset, a technique for nourishing life in order to maintain life. As the concept of nourishing life merged into the superordinate concept of medicine, the sexual art was absorbed into the category of medicine. Although the notion of medicine may have moved away somewhat from being a synonym of nourishing life, the sexual art remained in the medical category for several centuries. Nonetheless, during the Song period, the intellectual conception of sexual arts had undergone a major shift, which brought it to rest mainly in the Daoist category.

1-3. Critical Views of the *Fangzhongshu*

The fact that books on the sexual art are listed in standard histories does not necessarily mean that the elite and intelligentsia of China have always unanimously approved of the teachings of *fangzhongshu*. Although the sexual art was regarded by some as an important method in the contexts of nourishing life, medicine and Daoism, it was also a constant target of criticism. Daoist sexual practices bore the brunt of

censure, especially from the rival Buddhist camp. The criticisms against Daoist sexual rituals are not directly disapproving of *fangzhongshu* itself. Nonetheless, these are no more than indirect indications that suggest a critical approach to sexual arts. Thus, this section will look at the critical views of Fa Lin 法琳 (572-640 A.D.), Dao An 道安 of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557-581 A.D.), Zhen Luan 甄鸞 also of the Northern Zhou dynasty and Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365-448 A.D.).

The first three writers were external to the Daoist cult, while the last was a practising Daoist. Both Fa, who composed the *Bianzhenglun* 辨正論 (Discussion of Judging the Right)¹⁰⁵, and Dao, who wrote the *Erjiaolun* 二教論 (On the Two Teachings)¹⁰⁶, were Buddhist monks. They denounced Daoism, including its sexual practices, from the standpoint of the rival religion. Zhen, who is a contemporary to Dao, was not a Buddhist monk, but a metropolitan commandant who favoured Buddhism above Daoism at the time when

¹⁰⁵ *Bianzhenglun* 辨正論 (Discussion of Judging the Right). Written by Fa Lin 法琳 (572-640). Collected in *Guanghongmingji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded Record to Spread and Clarify). Compiled by Dao Xuan 道宣(596-667) of the Tang dynasty. I have used the following edition. *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Collections in Four Imperial Libraries) (hereafter abbreviated as SKQS). Originally published in 1782. This edition: Photographic reprint. 1987. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban. Volume 1048. 13th *juan*. pp.407-431.

¹⁰⁶ *Erjiaolun* 二教論 (Discussion about Two Teachings). Written by Dao An 道安 of Northern Zhou (557-581). Prepared around 570. Collected in *Guanghongmingji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded Record to Spread and Clarify). SKQS edition. Volume 1048. 8th *juan*. pp.321-336.

he wrote the *Xiaodaolun* 笑道論 (Laughing at the Dao)¹⁰⁷. In contrast, Kou had been a Daoist who belonged to the sect of the *tianshidao* 天師道 (the way of the celestial masters).

Fa attacked the founders of a specific Daoist sect, the *tianshidao*, and the structures of the organisation. He especially deplored the relationship between many female adepts and the founders of the sect, surnamed Zhang, saying that the Zhangs had been “storing wives for ages¹⁰⁸”. These disgraceful relations resulted in numerous children being born to the leaders. Fa cynically assumed that the Daoists of this sect invented the titles “*nanguan* 男官 (male official)” and “*nüguan* 女官 (female official)” in order to pass them on to the heirs and heiresses of their founders¹⁰⁹. He also disapproved of the functions to which the temples of this sect were put. The temples, which were supposed to be sacred places of religion, were used as homes where babies were delivered and brought up¹¹⁰.

If Fa attacked the founders and the structures of the

¹⁰⁷ Kohn, Livia. 1995. *Laughing at the Tao—Debates among Buddhist and Taoists in Medieval China*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. pp. 33-34, p.177; *Xiaodaolun* 笑道論 (Laughing at the Dao). Compiled by Zhen Luan 甄鸞 of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557-581) and presented around 570 A.D. Collected in *Guanghongmingji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded Record to Spread and Clarify). SKQS edition. Volume 1048. 9th *juan*. pp. 337-356.

¹⁰⁸ “張陵張魯、世世畜妻”. *Banzhenglun*. p. 427.

¹⁰⁹ “有男官女官之兩名、係師嗣師之別號”. *Ibid*.

¹¹⁰ “魏晉以來、館中生子、陳梁之日、靖內養兒 (Since the periods of Wei and Jin dynasties, [they had] born infants within the temple, and during the dates of Chen and Liang dynasties, they brought up children inside the sanctuary)”. *Ibid*.

organisation, Dao reviled aspects of Daoist dogma. In his *Erjiaolun*, Dao takes particular issue with the contents of the *Huangshu*. Dao describes that text as “embracing the true man, returning to the baby, and playing the game of dragon and tiger¹¹¹”. Since “the game of dragon and tiger” was a cryptic term indicating heterosexual activities¹¹², the teachings of the *Huangshu* clearly included ritual sexual practices. Dao vehemently denounces the Daoists’ attachment to sexual activities, asserting that they are “no different to animals¹¹³”.

Zhen Luan’s *Xiaodaolun* was composed for presentation to the emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou dynasty and was submitted to the emperor in 569. This text is unique in providing detailed descriptions of the sexual practices that formed part of Daoism, based on Zhen’s personal experience. He admits that he was once interested in

¹¹¹ “抱真人、嬰兒回、龍虎戲”. *Erjiaolun*. p.330

¹¹² The combination of dragon and tiger apparently comes from constellations of *qinglong* 青龍 (blue dragon) and *baihu* 白虎 (white tiger) representing the east and the west. Yan Shanzhao 嚴善炤 mentions that the pair of these two animals often symbolises *yin* and *yang*. Thus, the usage such as “龍虎交不相賊 (dragon and tiger interacts which [causes] no harm to each other)” in the *Lunheng* 論衡 (*Discourses Weighed in the Balance*) apparently implies the sympathy between *yin* and *yang* which should be heterosexual intercourse at the human level. Yan Shanzhao 嚴善炤. 2001. “*Shoki Dōkyō to Kōseki Konki Bōchūjyutsu* 初期道教と黄赤混気房中術 (Early Taoism and the Art of the Bedchamber of Mixing Qi of Yellow and Red)”. *Tōhō Shūkyō* 東方宗教 (*Journal of Eastern Religion*). Vol. 97. Kyoto: Nihon Dōkyō Gakkai. p 11; *Lunheng* 論衡 (*Discourses Weighed in the Balance*). Compiled by Wang Chong 王充(27-91), possibly between c.70-80 A.D. SKQS edition. Volume 862. 3rd *juan*. “*wushi* 物勢”. p.44.

¹¹³ “不異禽獸”. *Erjiaolun*. p.330.

Daoism and learned the teachings of the *tianshidao*¹¹⁴. According to the *Xiaodaolun*, the first thing Zhen was taught was the techniques of “*heqi* 合氣 (uniting *qi*)”, following the *Huangshu*. These techniques were in fact “*san wu qi jiu nan-nü jiaojie zhi shu* 三五七九男女交接之術 (three, five, seven and nine arts of sexual intercourse of man and woman)” which took place, as a ritual, “in front of fathers and brothers, not knowing embarrassment or shame ”¹¹⁵. Writing from personal knowledge, Zhen condemned the sexual practices of this Daoist sect as “impure¹¹⁶”, not befitting an order whose purpose was to seek the *dao*, the way.

Such external censure gradually brought about internal denunciation of Daoist sexual practices. For instance, Kou Qianzhi who was a follower of the *tianshidao* reformed and purged the sect. In 415, he abolished what he called the “false methods of the three Zhangs” including instruction in sexual practices¹¹⁷ and founded a

¹¹⁴ *Xiaodaolun*, p.338.

¹¹⁵ “黃書合氣、三五七九男女交接之道 . . . 父兄立前、不知羞恥”. Ibid., p.355.

¹¹⁶ In SKQS edition, it is stated as “men of *dao* these days always practise this method. With seeking the way through this method, anyone has not familiarized oneself yet. (今道士常行此法、以之求道、有所未諳)”. However, Li Ling reads “*an* 諳” as “*jing* 淨”. Since the preceding sentence gives another comment on sexual activities saying “these various indecencies and slipshodnesses should not be heard or talked (此諸猥雜、不可聞說)”, I follow Li to interpret the term in question as “pure” and take “*weijing* 未淨” to mean “not yet pure”. Ibid.: Li Ling. 2000. p.369.

¹¹⁷ *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei). Compiled by Wei Shou 魏收(507-572), between 551-554. I have used the following edition. 1974. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 114th *juan*. “*shilaozhi* 釋老志”. pp.3050-3051

renewed sect, the *xin tianshidao* 新天師道 (the new way of the celestial masters).

These four critiques targeted sexual practices in Daoism, especially those involved in the *tianshidao*. Although I regard that these are no more than indirect indications that suggest a critical approach to *fangzhongshu* among them, they were not necessarily directed at all sexual techniques, for instance those with a medical purpose.

1-4. Supportive Views of *Fangzhongshu*

Alongside this constant criticism, sexual techniques always had many supporters. As briefly mentioned earlier, Ge Hong, Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao were representative devotees of the sexual art. As has been pointed out, much of the criticism of Daoism crystallized around sexual practices, yet these three people were all involved in Daoist activities.

Ge was a Daoist who aspired to become *xian*, the Immortal. He was also familiar with Confucianism and produced a text entitled the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master Baopu) which was probably compiled between 306-317 and is a source of very interesting references for attitudes towards sexual techniques as I will discuss later. Texts dealing with

sexual practices¹¹⁸ are possibly attributed to him in the *Jiu Tangshu* and the *Xin Tangshu*, although these works are not extant today.

Besides Ge, the other two writers are also considered to have composed chapters devoted to sexual practices, though their aims in promoting sexual techniques may have differed from his. The latter two are also interesting in that they shared a similar background, both being familiar with medicine as well as Daoism. Tao was the author of the *Zhengao* 真誥 (An Announcement by the Perfected), a Daoist text, and the *Bencaojing Jizhu* 本草經集注 (Commentary on the *Materia Medica*)¹¹⁹, while Sun was famous for his *Qianjin Yaofang* 千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions).

On the evidence of his “*neipian* 內篇 (inner chapter)” of the *Baopuzi*, Ge undoubtedly believed in the existence of *xian*, the Immortals, and in the possibility of becoming *xian* through the use of certain methods. It should be noted, however, that the term *xian*, translated “the immortals”, did not necessarily denote persons who had achieved eternal life¹²⁰. Therefore, it is important to make clear that

¹¹⁸ *Yufang Mishu Geshi Xuan* 玉房秘術葛氏撰 (Secret Method of the Jade Chamber Edited by Mr Ge) is mentioned in *Jiu Tangshu*. 47th *juan*. “*jinjishi*”. p.2051. And *Geshi Fangzhong Mishu* 葛氏房中秘術 (Secret Method within the Chamber of Mr Ge) is mentioned in *Xin Tangshu*. 59th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi*”. p.1570.

¹¹⁹ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1996. pp.176-177.

¹²⁰ The second chapter will examine the matter in question about *xian*'s immortality in details, but it should be noted here that the character *xian* 仙, or its older character 僊 do not always imply the eternal life, especially in accordance with the explanation in *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Single-Component Graphs and

Ge, in setting out to attain the state of *xian*, did not necessarily seek the immortality of the physical body¹²¹. Apparently, he relied more on alchemical means than other methods to achieve the *xian* state, but he also considered sexual techniques to be important instruments for the achievement of his aim.

He claims that “if you want to become one of the *xian*, you need only the key essences of the methods. The key methods are treasuring *jing* 精 (*baojing* 宝精) and circulating *qi* (*xingqi* 行氣). It would be sufficient to take one major drug [*fuyao* 服藥 (taking a drug)]. There are not many pivots for this purpose¹²²”. *Jing* 精, which sometimes indicates semen, can be understood as a form of *qi*, but it sometimes is more likely to indicate certain sort of “essence”¹²³. This thesis

Analyzing Compound Characters). *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Single-Component Graphs and Analyzing Compound Characters). Compiled by Xu Zhen 許慎 (c.50-c.121), in 100 A.D. I refer to *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu* 說文解字注 (Commentaries on the *Shuowen Jiezi*). Commented by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) in 1807. This edition, 1997. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban. 8th *pian shang*. “*renbu* 人部”. p.383.

¹²¹ Ge Hong mentions “*shijie* 尸解 (Releasing from Physical Body)” as one of the situation in which one can become *xian*, which actually involves somehow metaphoric or false death. It is very often considered that the idea of this *shijie* might have been connected with spiritual immortality or otherworldly existence as *xian*. *Baopuzi Neipian* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner Chapter of the Master Baopu). Compiled by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343), probably between 306-317. I have used the collated modern edition, Wang Ming 王明 ed. 1996. *Baopuzi Neipian Jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Commentaries on Inner Chapter of *Baopuzi*). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju. 2nd *juan*. “*lunxian* 論仙”. p.20.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 8th *juan*. “*shidai* 釋滯”. p.149.

¹²³ The elucidations of *jing* vary, especially in accordance with context in which the

therefore fundamentally retains the Chinese term, *jing*, so as to avoid any possible misinterpretation and annexes appropriate English interpretation when it is applicable. However, *jing* in Ge's usage, especially in the terminology of *baojing* which clearly relates to the sexual art¹²⁴, indicates semen rather than merely a form of *qi* and the key method of treasuring semen was indeed sexual techniques¹²⁵.

Although Ge obviously regarded the sexual art as one of the

term appears. For instance, Miura generalises the usage of *jing* 精, *qi* and *shen* 神 in the context of Daoism as that *jing* is an primitive energy, while *qi* is sophisticated energy and *shen* is purest essence of energy. On the other hand, Ishida mentions that *jing* in the context of Chinese medicine contains two distinctive connotations, one is to indicate inborn *jing* which is caused by sexual intercourse between male and female while the other is to imply acquired *jing* due to *qi* of foods and drinks which circulates five internal organs. He further indicates that *jing* is an essential fluidity which is a source for the mind. See Miura Kunio. 2000. p.102; Ishida Hidemi. 1987. p.65, pp.95-97.

¹²⁴ Ge Hong replaced the term "treasuring the semen" into "*fangzhong* 房中 (within the chamber)" in following sentences. *Baopuzi Neipian*. 8th *juan*. "shida". p.149.

¹²⁵ The idea of "treasuring *jing*" is also relevant to methods like *neidan* 内丹 (inner alchemy) which do not have anything to do with physical sexual intercourse. In the concept of inner alchemy, *jing* may not necessarily indicate semen. But inner alchemy is thought efficient for "*huangjing bunao* 還精補腦 (returning the *jing* to repair the brain)" which is an important technique in the sexual art and *jing* in this technique frequently indicate semen. See the second chapter about the Mawangdui concept of semen and the association of inner alchemy with *jing* as well as sexual art. About the instance for the inner alchemy and "returning *jing* to supply the brain", see "*Wangwu Zhenren Koushou Yindan Mijue Lingpian* 王屋真人口授陰丹秘訣靈篇 (Oral Teachings of the True Man Wangwu concerning the Secret of Yin Alchemy)". Collected in *Yunji Qijian* 雲笈七籤 (Cloudy Basket and Seven Sticks). Compiled by Zhang Fangjun 張房君 of the Northern Song dynasty(960-1120), in 1020. I have used the following edition. 1996. Beijing: Huaxia chuban. 64th *juan*. p.473.

crucial techniques for becoming *xian*, this does not inevitably imply that he believed this could be achieved through the sole practice of *fangzhongshu*. On the contrary, he criticised those who exclusively practised sexual techniques in the belief that this would suffice to make them one of the *xian* by saying as follows: "One track minded man always fancy only to keep the art of the sexual intercourse in order to prepare to become *shenxian*, but do not make a great drug of *jingdan* 金丹 (golden pills). It is the extremity of stupidity¹²⁶".

Indeed, he recommended the complementary practices of drug taking, circulating *qi* and sexual arts. He mentions as follows.

Although taking drugs is the basis for longevity, if one is capable to combine circulating *qi*, its efficacy [appears] exceedingly rapidly. If one is impossibly to obtain a drug, but one exercises *qi* and completely understands the rationale, one would still achieve hundreds years of life. But one should also know the art within the chamber, because those who do not know the art of *yin* and *yang* often make effort in vain. These people exercise *qi* but it is difficult to absorb power¹²⁷.

He further gives following comments;

Although breathing, gymnastics, and taking a drug made of tree and plants are capable to prolong life,

¹²⁶ *Baopuzi Neipian*. 8th *juan*. "shidai". p.150.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5th *juan*. "zhili 至理". p.114.

these are not capable to avoid death¹²⁸;

Those who do not have golden pill, but take a drug made of trees and plants and practise minor arts would be able to prolong life and delay death, but would not become *xian*¹²⁹;

Generally, the art of *yin* and *yang* (i.e. sexual arts) is able to cure small ailments at its high, and, then, to avoid the emptiness and exhaustion. Its rational naturally contains the limit. Then, how could one achieve to become *shenxian* and remove calamities as well as come about fortune?¹³⁰

Thus, in Ge's view, each discrete key technique was efficacious to some extent for prolonging life, but without synergy among the techniques, one could not attain the goal of becoming *xian*.

By the time of Ge Hong, the sect concerning the sexual art had increased to hundreds¹³¹. These sects which probably attached to more than ten schools¹³² were basically different in their main aims: "some are to supply for and rescue injuries and deficiencies, others are

¹²⁸ Ibid., 4th *juan*. "*jindan* 金丹". p.74.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 13th *juan*. "*jiyan* 極言". p.242.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 6th *juan*. "*weizhi* 微旨". p.129.

¹³¹ Ge Hong mentions that "the art of the bedchamber have hundreds things these days." Since he mentions tens of schools for the techniques of sexual art at the different points, "hundreds methods" may not explicitly be schools. Yet, he recognises hundreds of "things" which probably includes small sects in tens of schools or at least methodologies. Ibid., 8th *juan*. "*shidai*". p.149, p.150.

¹³² "房中之法十余家". Ibid., p.150.

to attack and heal every diseases, while others sought to strengthen *yang* by picking *yin* (*caiyin yiyang* 采陰益陽), and others set out to prolong life¹³³. In Ge's perspective, "the largest fundamental quality [of all the sexual methods]¹³⁴", despite their different purposes, "stays only in one thing to return semen to supply the brain (*huanjing bunao* 還精補腦)¹³⁵". Thus, he saw the role of the sexual art in becoming *xian* as "returning semen to supply the brain" by means of preserving *jing*—semen or a special form of *qi*.

Tao Hongjing is generally considered to be one of the authors of the *Yangxing Yanminglu*, which contains a chapter on the sexual art entitled "Yunü Sunyi Pian". Although most of the catalogues and collections that cite this text attribute it to Tao, there are some claims that it might have been composed by Sun Simiao, to whom we will return later¹³⁶. Here, this thesis will follow the majority of catalogues

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶The commentary in *Daozang* 道藏 (Taoist Patrology) mentions that there was an opinion that *Yangxing Yanming Lu* is edited by Sun Simiao. Also, *Tongzhi* cites both Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao as the author of the texts, saying as "養性延命集二卷·陶弘景撰、又二卷、孫思邈撰". *Yangxing Yanminglu* 養性延命錄 (Records of Nourishing Nature and Lengthening Life). Attributed to Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536). Compiled before 536. Collected in *Daozang* 道藏 (Taoist Patrology). Compiled between 1436-1449 with an additional portion added in 1606. I have referred to the following edition. Reprinted in 1923. *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 (Taoist Patrology Compiled between Zhengtong Era). Shanghai: Shangwuyin shuguan. (Abbriated as DZ,

and collections in attributing authorship to Tao, and will examine his view of sexual arts as evinced in “*Yunü Sunyi Piar*”.

Tao was evidently familiar with ancient literature on sexual arts that has not been transmitted, since he quotes many extracts from this literature, as well as the sayings of ancient experts on the sexual art. For instance, he cites sayings of Pengzu that are presumably from the *Pengzu Yangxing Jing* 彭祖養性經 (Canon for Nourishing the Nature of Pengzu)¹³⁷, which is listed in the bibliography of the *Suishu*. He also frequently quotes the aphorism of a person named Tianlao 天老 who was probably an ancient authority on the sexual art. Since the name Tianlao is found in the title of a work on sexual arts in the bibliography of the *Hanshu*, the *Tianlao Zazi Yindao* 天老雜子陰道 (Tianlao’s Variety for Sexual Methods), it is probable that the statements attributed to him by Tao in this chapter formed part of that text¹³⁸.

Tao basically shared Ge’s view that the sexual art consisted in “treasuring *jing*”. In the opening section of the chapter on sexual techniques, he declares that “the way is to make *jing* a treasure¹³⁹”.

hereafter). no. 838 (in accordance to Schipper, Kristofer. ed. 1975. *Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages*. Paris: EFEO). *shang juan* 上卷. “*jiaojie pian* 教誡篇”. p.1; *Tongzhi*. 67th *juan*. “*yiwen*”. p.794. Also see Sakade Yoshinobu. 1996. pp.176-177.

¹³⁷ Tsuchiya Hideaki 土屋英明. 1999. “*Chūgoku no Seiai Bunken: Nijyūsan* 中国の性愛文献: 二十三 (Chinese Literature of Eros: No.23)”. *Tōhō* 東方 (Eastern Book Review). Vol.217. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten. p.17.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ *Yangxing Yanming Lu*. *xia juan* 下卷. “*yunü sunyi pian* 御女損益篇”. p.14.

As a medical practitioner, he was concerned with the therapeutic aspects of the sexual art¹⁴⁰, yet his main concern in employing sexual methods was with the purpose of “*shengshen* 生身 (engendering a body)¹⁴¹” which is presumably equivalent with the idea of “*yangxing* 養性 (nourishing nature)¹⁴²” by means of the preservation of *jing*. At the same time, he makes the crucial observation that the release of *jing* could also be beneficial for procreation, by saying “releasing it [i.e. *jing*] gives a birth of man¹⁴³”.

The opening statements which show Tao’s primal perspectives are as follows.

The way is to make *jing* a treasure. Releasing it give a birth of man, while retaining it engenders a body. Engendering a body is to desire a salvation in the status of *xian*, while that of man is that an accomplishment has been achieved and then, the body is withdrawn¹⁴⁴.

Tao clearly considered that the sexual art provided two sorts of benefits. With the preservation of *jing*, it achieves the nourishment of nature,

¹⁴⁰ For instance, Tao Hongjing claims that the strong restriction of sexual desire causes a “emission of *jing* and turbid urine (漏精尿濁)” which further results in an “ailment of demonic intercourse (鬼交之病)”. Ibid., p.15.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.14.

¹⁴² “*Yangxing* 養性 (nourishing nature)” is appeared in the title of the whole text which indicates “nourishing nature” is the central concern in this particular work.

¹⁴³ *Yangxing Yanming Lu. xia juan*. “yunü sunyi pian”. p.14.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

while through their discharge, it achieves offspring. Again, *jing* in the usages of Tao indicates semen. Tao's insight into procreation is noteworthy in two regards. First, it is exceptional as most of the literature of the genre does not explicitly state the relationship between the release of semen and pregnancy. Secondly, in his exordium he does not strongly insist on the conservation of semen¹⁴⁵, but instead he clearly permits its release for a certain purpose; procreation. Many other sexual manuals tend to place the emphasis firmly on the preservation of *jing* and *qi* and they are not prefaced by statements permitting seminal emission. Yet, in Tao's view, the decision to retain or ejaculate *jing* and *qi* should depend on whether one's purpose is the nourishment of life or procreation.

Finally, Sun Simiao, the great medical practitioner of the Tang dynasty exhibits a rather different interest in sexual practices in his chapter on "*Fangzhong Buyi* 房中補益 (Health Benefits of the Bedchamber)" in the *Qianjin Yaofang*. Inasmuch as this chapter demonstrates, he might not aspire to become *xian* particularly through sexual activities¹⁴⁶,

¹⁴⁵ It should be noted, though, he warns a waste of *jing* as well as the accomplishment and withdrawal of body which obviously implies the physical separation from female after the ejaculation. The ejaculation, in his perspective, causes that "a fall into desire becomes extreme" and therefore, he cautions how "reckless ejaculations" damages life. Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Although Sun Simiao's historical identity includes a reflection of Sun Simiao as the Immortal, he mentions the idea to "become *xian* (得仙, for instance)" only a few times in this particular chapter. Presumably, Sun was not so much fascinated by the

unlike Ge Hong. But also, he was concerned, much more than Tao Hongjing, with the medical aspects of the sexual art. Indeed, Sun regarded sexual techniques as a valuable therapeutic method¹⁴⁷.

At the very beginning of the chapter on sexual techniques, Sun claims that “when one reaches one’s forties, one should know the art within a chamber¹⁴⁸”. This is because “at the age of forty and over, one would gradually realise the power of *qi* starts to decrease at once. When the decline [of *qi*] is completed, every disease will revolt¹⁴⁹”. He obviously considers that the decline of *qi* makes one more susceptible to diseases. Thus, Sun assigns *fangzhongshu* a complementary role in medical therapy, in the prevention of disease. He further clarifies this point by stating that sexual arts are techniques for “a therapy for man by man¹⁵⁰”, which suggests that he regarded the sexual art as a therapeutic method.

Sun was much preoccupied with the loss of *qi* as a cause of disease. With the art of the bedchamber, he says that “the power of *qi* increases hundredfold¹⁵¹”. On the one hand, he looked to sexual

art of the bedchamber as a method to become *xian*. About Sun’s historical identity including the reflection of him as the Immortal, see Sivin, Nathan. 1968, pp.81-144.

¹⁴⁷ “The idea is to supply a benefit by removing ailments. This is the profound intent of [the art] within a chamber (意在補益以遣疾。此房中之微旨也)”. *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27thjuan. “fangzhong buyi”. p.489.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 488

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.489

techniques to supplement *qi*, while on the other hand he considered that sexual practices could dangerously deplete *qi*. His concern with the loss of *qi* through sexual activities is well illustrated by the story of an elderly man, over seventy years of age, whose sexual excesses led to his death. Sun, on hearing the tale of this old man, admitted that he had been worried about the man¹⁵², with an allegory of “a paraffin which is about to be exhausted¹⁵³”. He says that “a paraffin which is about to be exhausted is always dark at the beginning and then becomes bright. When the brightness ends, it collapses.¹⁵⁴” Since this elderly man is over seventy at the age, he must have scant reserves of *qi*. To Sun, this old man’s sudden rejuvenation is like “brightness¹⁵⁵” before the “collapse¹⁵⁶”.

In his view, sexual arts were not appropriate for younger people either.

Those who are under forty years old are not sufficient to discuss matters within the chamber. Their greedy mind has not ended. They would hold foods simultaneously to support the drug [of the art within a chamber] and practise [the activities in] the bedchamber twice as powerful. Not later than half a year, their *jing* and marrow are dried out only to

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 489-490

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 490

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

face death closer¹⁵⁷.

Clearly, Sun considers that the young were unable to exercise moderation and would squander their precious *qi* in sexual activities.

After all, he sees the sexual art as a method for regaining declining or depleted *qi*, of which role is “to supply a benefit by removing diseases¹⁵⁸”. Moreover, Sun with preoccupation with loss of *qi* clearly regards the sexual art as a technique for obtaining *qi* from a female partner¹⁵⁹, which is evident in his statement that “if one rides on many women, one is able to absorb *qi*¹⁶⁰”.

It should be noted that Sun was probably familiar with the ancient literature of the art, as was Tao Hongjing. He likewise quotes extracts from lost texts. One such quotation is taken from the *Xianjing* 仙經 (Canon of The Immortals), to which Tao also refers in his chapter. Although Sun Simiao does not really show his great ambition to become *xian* in this chapter, his familiarity with this particular ancient material suggests that he certainly realised that the sexual art was employed as a method for *xian*¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 489

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ On this point of Sun Simiao's conception about sexual art as a technique to absorb *qi* from female partner, Charlotte Furth comments that it is androcentric idea, especially in terms of medical context to support male well-beings. Furth, Charlotte. 1994. p.128, p.135.

¹⁶⁰ *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27thjuan. “fangzhong buyi”. p. 489

¹⁶¹ “*Xianjing* says to enable man to live long without aging....Also says a way in

In sum, these three writers did not consider the sexual art in the same manner, although certain similarities exist. For Ge Hong, *fangzhongshu* was evidently a method for becoming *xian*, which functioned by returning semen to the brain. For Tao Hongjing, it was a method both for nourishing life and for procreation, depending on whether or not the semen was preserved. Sun Simiao clearly conceived of the sexual art as a therapeutic adjunct and a technique for acquiring *qi*. All three were concerned with *qi* and/or *jing*, but the former two were interested in retaining *qi/jing*, whereas the last was concerned with obtaining it. Further, Ge clearly related sexual skills to the ideas of the Immortal cult, while Sun related it rather to medicine, and Tao remained somewhere in between.

1-5. Conclusion

It should by now be quite clear that *fangzhongshu* was from the outset a highly complex issue. Its essential complexity is shown in the earliest bibliographical reference, in which the sexual art is related to self-cultivation, medicine, and the Immortal cult. Also the classification of sexual techniques in the elite world view changed from

which both man and woman become *xian* together...". Ibid.

the sphere of nourishing life, to medicine, to Daoism. Although sexual practices were condemned in the context of Daoism, individual positive views are also found, and these differ according to which aspects or outcomes of the sexual art a person hoped to achieve.

It may be interesting to point out that changes in personal viewpoints apparently corresponded to changes in the dynastic classification of the sexual art. For example, both Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao both deal with the sexual art as medical or at least health-related techniques rather than a method for becoming immortal or as Daoist practices, and similarly the dynastic bibliographies of their periods, the Sui and Tang dynasties, place the sexual art in the category of medicine¹⁶². Although standard histories most of which were compiled in later periods, they reflect the notion during the relevant dynasties to certain extent, as was the clarification of sexual art in the *Songshi* which corresponded with another bibliography composed during the Song dynasty.

Since Sun was so much more concerned with the medical aspects of sexual arts than the other writers, it is probable that the dynastic,

¹⁶² Ge Hong's personal conception about the sexual art was not medical, but we do not have bibliographic reference to sexual art close to his days. Although Tao Hongjing's dates were also excluded from composition dates of any standard histories given in this chapter, his days were close to the *Suishu* composition in which sexual art was categorised as part of medicine. Presumably, Ge Hong whose life time was closer to the date of composition of the *Hanshu* than the *Suishu* might have the conception quite close to the clarification of the sexual art in the *Hanshu* in which methods for *shenxian* obviously belonged to the same category.

elite and general view of the sexual art was increasingly oriented towards medicine rather than Daoism during the Tang dynasty. If general viewpoints affect individual ones, or vice versa, this increasing dominance of the medical aspect of the sexual art might be the reason for its inclusion in the medical category up until the Song dynasty.

Finally, it should be noted that the remaining thesis fundamentally focuses on the tradition of *fangzhongshu* by the end of Tang dynasty. Although this periodical setting does not denote the exclusion of Daoist connection with the art, it is primarily because that the Song dynasty is outstanding from preceding periods in the bibliographic categorisation of the sexual art. Since the tradition of sexual arts spans many historical periods, this immense shift from medicine to Daoism can be taken as a yardstick to narrow the periods to deal within this thesis.

Chapter 2:

Intellectual Context of *Fangzhongshu*

2-1. Introduction

The complexities and ambiguities of traditional concepts of *fangzhongshu* cause complications for modern studies, which are reflected in a diversity of approach and interpretation. For instance, some scholars approach the sexual art from the perspective of Chinese medicine, while others study it in the context of Daoism. Likewise, we still lack a clear definition of the literature of the sexual art.

No scholar has classified texts such as the *Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅 (The Golden Lotus), a famous Chinese erotic novel of the Ming dynasty, as literature of the sexual art, even though such erotic texts include material on sexual techniques. Li Ling, for instance, includes a *fu* 賦 (rhyme prose), entitled the *Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu* 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦 (The Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang Rhyme Prose of Great Satisfaction in Sexual Pleasure), in his collection of texts of the sexual art. This text, which is attributed to Bai Xingjian 白行簡¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Ye Dehui's claim that the poem is by Bai Xingjian 白行簡(776?-826) is unattested. Ya Dun 茅盾, for instance, considers the poem to be an old forge using the name of

(776?-826)¹⁶⁴, a brother of the famous Tang poet, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), includes copious descriptions of sexual activities and employs various technical terms which are specific to the literature of the sexual art¹⁶⁵. Nonetheless, Li Ling is at pains to point out that he takes account of this text for reference purposes only, and that he does not consider it to belong to the genre of sexual arts¹⁶⁶.

Although an analysis of the differences between erotic literature and literature of the sexual art is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is

Bai Xingjian. See Ye Dehui 葉德輝. 1903. *Shuangmei Jingan Congshu* 双梅景閣叢書 (Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Collection). Changsha: Private publication. "Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu Xu 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦序". p.1; Ya Dun 茅盾. 1927. "Zhongguo wenxue neide xingyu miaoxie 中国文学内的性与描寫 (Sexual descriptions in Chinese Literature)". *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (Monthly Magazine of Novels). Vol. 17. I have used the following edition. 1986. *Ya Dun gudian wenxue lunwenji* 茅盾古代文学論文集 (The Collection of Essays on Classic Literature of Ya Dun). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe. pp.167-168.

¹⁶⁴ As for the life of Bai Xingjian, see Dudbridge, Glen. 1983. *The Tale of Li Wa--Study and Critical Edition of a Chinese Story from the Ninth Century*. Essex: Ithaca Press London for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies Oxford University; Waley, Arthur. 1949. *The Life and Times of Po Chu-I, 772-846 A.D.*. New York: The Macmillan Company. Especially see p.10-26, 84, 124-179.

¹⁶⁵ For instance, two names for sexual positions, *Long wanzhuan* 龍宛轉 (writhing dragon) and *cantianmian* 蚕纏綿 (tenderly entwined silkworms), appear in this poem as well as *Dongxuanzi*, a text of sexual art. *Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu* 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦 (The Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang Songs of Great Satisfaction in Sexual Pleasure). (*Dalefu*, hereafter). Attributed to Bai Xingjian 自行簡(776?-826). Collected in Ye Dehui 葉德輝 ed. 1903. *Shuangmei Jingan Congshu* 双梅景閣叢書 (Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Collection). Changsha: Private Publication. p.4; *Ishipō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p. 640.

¹⁶⁶ Li Ling. 1993. p.93.

necessary to clarify what is meant by *fangzhongshu* and its literature for the purposes of this thesis.

Therefore, this chapter will attempt a tentative definition of the sexual art and its literature by examining the intellectual background of the art.

In addition to the ideas of the Immortal cult, medicine and Daoism, which were shown in the previous chapter to be connected with the sexual art in the conceptual systems of early elite culture, this chapter explores the relevance of the concepts of *qi* as an underlying idea for life, family and *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) in regard to procreative aspects of sexual activities. In this chapter I will examine, in order, the ideas of *qi*, the family and filial piety, the Immortal cult, medicine and Daoism.

2-2. The Concept of *Qi*

Probably the earliest reference to the concept of *qi* is found in a text of possibly 5th century B.C., *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States)¹⁶⁷, the

¹⁶⁷ *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States) . Attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, of possibly 5th century B.C. The text, which is said to be composed when Zuo was seventy years old, could not have come into being before c. 425 B.C. I have used the collated modern edition. Lai Hehong 來可泓 ed. 2000. *Guoyu zhijie* 國語直解 (Direct

collective record of the states of the Spring and Autumn periods (770-476 B.C.). This document not only employs such terms as “*tuqi* 土氣 (*qi* of soil)¹⁶⁸”, “*yangqi* 陽氣 (*qi* of *yang*)¹⁶⁹”, and “*tiandi zhi qi* 天地之氣 (*qi* of the heaven and the earth)¹⁷⁰”, but also explains the effects of *qi*. It states that a disturbance among people is the result of disorder between the *qi* of the heaven and the earth, whereas a natural disaster results from disorder between the *qi* of *yin* and *yang*¹⁷¹.

Following that reference, the concept of *qi* appears in both Confucian texts and Daoist philosophical texts. To take a Confucian example, Mencius (372-289B.C.) famously mentions “*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣 (flood-like *qi*)¹⁷²”. Although he comments explicitly on the difficulty of explaining “flood-like *qi*”¹⁷³, he suggests that “This is a *qi*

Interpretation of *Guoyu*. Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe. An attributed author of this book is the same with that of *Zuozhuan*, and it is said the contents of the two books are in many cases very similar, although this view is now generally refuted. As for more information, see Loewe, Michael. 1993. p. 263.

¹⁶⁸ *Guoyu*. 1st *juan*. “*zhouyu shang* 周語上”. p. 24.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁷¹ It says “夫天地之氣、不失其序。若過其序、民亂之也。陰伏而不能出、陽迫而不能蒸、于是有地震 (*Qi* of Heaven and Earth should not lose their order. If they go beyond the order, the people will be thrown into chaos. If Yin is concealed and cannot rise while Yang becomes immense but cannot burst, it will cause earthquakes.)”. Although *yin* and *yang* are not accompanied by the character *qi*, both of them apparently indicate the *qi* of *yin* and *yang*. *Ibid*.

¹⁷² *Mengzi*. 3rd *juan*. “*gongsun chou shang* 公孫丑上”. p. 2685. I have refer to D.C. Lau’s translation. see Lau, D.C. 1979. p. 57. Although Lau follows Wade-Giles system in his translation, I keep Chinese terms with *pinyin* system.

¹⁷³ “敢問何謂浩然之氣。曰。難言也。 ([Chou asks] May I ask what is this ‘flood-like *qi*?’

which is, in the highest degree, vast and unyielding. Nourish it with integrity and place no obstacle in its path and it will fill the space between heaven and earth¹⁷⁴". He also states that "qi is that which fills the body... Take hold of your will and do not abuse your qi¹⁷⁵". Although Mencius gives *zhi* 志 (the will) priority over qi¹⁷⁶, his words indicate that he regarded qi as the foundation of physical and mental entities. Similarly, Laozi who is known as the alleged author of the Daodejing 道德經 (Scripture of the *Dao* and Virtue)¹⁷⁷ which appeared about 250 B.C. seems to have viewed qi in conjunction with body and mind, as is suggested by his statement: "concentrating qi completely softens one which enables one to be like an infant¹⁷⁸" which means "not

[Mengzi answers] It is difficult to explain.)". Mengzi. 3rd juan. "gongsun chou shang". p. 2685; trans. Lau, D.C. 1979. p.57.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ "The will is commander over the qi (夫志、氣之師也)". Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ The existence of Laozi as a persona who is often identified as Li Er 李耳 or Dan 聃 is unclear. There are roughly two observations about the matter, one to consider that he is the author of the Daodejing 道德經 (Scripture of the *Dao* and Virtue) which appeared about 250 B.C. and a philosopher around the sixth century B.C., while the other to think that he is an representative image of several unknown ancient philosophers and no actual Laozi ever lived. See Lau, D.C. 1982. Tao Te Ching. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p.122; Hansen, Chad. 1992. p. 202, pp. 210-214; Kohn, Livia. 1992. pp.41-43.

¹⁷⁸ Laozi Daodejing 老子道德經 (Laozi's Scripture of the *Dao* and Virtue) says "專氣致柔、能嬰兒乎". Laozi Daodejing 老子道德經 (Laozi's Scripture of the *Dao* and Virtue). Attributed to Laozi, thought to have composed around 250 B.C. Commented by Heshanggong 河上公 (attributed to Ge Xuan 葛玄; 164-244). SKQS edition. Volume. 1055. p.53; Laozi Daodejing 老子道德經 (Laozi's Scripture of the *Dao* and Virtue).

desiring anything¹⁷⁹’.

As a source of body and mind, *qi* holds sway over life and death. The following pronouncement of Zhuangzi may best describe life and death in accordance with the idea of *qi*: “Life is the concentration of *qi*. As it gathers together, it organises life, but dispersal of *qi* results in death¹⁸⁰.” Wang Chong 王充 (ca.27-97?) also regards *qi* along with *jing* as the basis of life. Although in his view, especially in his discussion of ghosts and death, *qi* is more like a source for figure and body rather than that for life¹⁸¹, he clearly states as follows: “The means whereby human beings live is *jing* and *qi*. When they die, *jing* and *qi* become extinct¹⁸².” These views of life and death are fundamental to Chinese concepts of longevity and immortality. If one

Commented by Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249). SKQS edition. Volume 1055. p.142.

¹⁷⁹ Wang Bi glosses “能若嬰兒之無所欲乎 (enabling one to be like an infant” in *Laozi* as “enabling one as if he or she were a baby who does not desire anything”). According to Wang Bi’s commentary, it is not clear if the softness refers to the body, which is explained as “致至柔之和 (reaching the supreme harmony of softness)”. On the other hand, commentary of Heshangong explains that “(能如嬰兒內無思慮外、無政事則精神不去也 (enabling one to be a baby-like being who does not have thought inside and does not have political affairs outside and thus *jing* and *shen* of whom does not leave)”. *Laozi Daodejing*. Commented by Heshangong. p.53; *Laozi Daodejing*. Commented by Wang Bi. p.142.

¹⁸⁰ “人之生氣之聚也、聚則為生、散則為死”. *Zhuangzi*. 6th *juan*. “*zhibeiyou* 知北遊”. p.186.

¹⁸¹ “死而形體朽、精氣散 ([When one] dies and figure and body decay, *jing* and *qi* disperse.)”, “血氣常附形體 (blood and *qi* always attaches to figure and body)”. *Lunheng*. 20th *juan*. “*Junsi* 論死”. pp. 245-246.

¹⁸² “人之所以生者、精氣也。死而精氣滅”. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

could find a way perpetually to preserve enough *qi* to sustain life, then and only then would eternal life be theoretically possible.

Very generally, methods for *yangsheng* 養生 (nourishing life) are based on this view of life and death. These are techniques for controlling *qi* by taking, preserving and circulating it within the body, in order to attain longevity and, hopefully, immortality. Nourishing life generally entailed fasting, drugs, breathing techniques, gymnastics and the sexual art¹⁸³. This notion of techniques for life corresponds to the idea of “*shengsheng* 生生 (engendering life) ¹⁸⁴”, which appears in a bibliographic chapter of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han), and which already involves the use of drugs and sexual arts¹⁸⁵. Hence, as can be seen, the concept of the sexual art encompassed techniques for life as well as techniques for controlling *qi*, from the very earliest reference.

The Chinese concept of *qi* has several important aspects. Sakade Yoshinobu, for instance, identifies five key elements¹⁸⁶. First, *qi* is the

¹⁸³ “*Yangsheng* 養生 (nourishing life)” can be further divided into two categories, “*yangxin* 養心 (nourishing heart)” which is also called “*yangshen* 養神 (nourishing spirit)” and “*yangxing* 養形 (nourishing the form)”. The former mainly involves mental training, such as meditation, whereas the latter aims to cultivate the body. Here, I refer to the latter. See Sakade Yoshinobu.1996. pp.124-139.

¹⁸⁴ *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. “*yiwenzhi* 藝文志”. pp. 1776-1779.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸. 2001. “*Ki no Shizenkan/Seimeikan* 気の自然観・生命観 (The Ideas of Qi in Nature/ The life)”. *Chūgoku Bunka Kenkyū* 中国文化研究 (The

source of all things, without distinction of animate and inanimate objects. This idea is evident in the Guanzi 管子 (Master Guan)¹⁸⁷, put together in present form about 26 B.C., which states that “*jing* (the essence) of all things, changes in order to procreate. It produces the five crops in the lower part, whereas it becomes stars in the upper part... How profound is this *qi*, as though deep within the abyss, how broad, as if it filled the ocean, and how complete, as if it were contained within itself¹⁸⁸”. Secondly, *qi* has no beginning or end, is continuous and indivisible and permeates the universe. This idea too is well illustrated by statements in the Guanzi, which tells us that “*qi* flows between heaven and earth¹⁸⁹” and that “divine *qi* stays in the heart even as it comes in and goes out; its smallness does not involve that which is internal and its largeness does not involve that which is external¹⁹⁰”. Thirdly, the microcosmic and macrocosmic aspects of *qi* always correspond to each other. This feature is bound up with the second aspect of *qi*, especially its quality of continuity and indivisibility,

Study of Chinese Culture). The initial number. Kyoto: Chūgoku bunka Kenkyūkai. pp. 3-5.

¹⁸⁷ Guanzi 管子 (Master Guan). Written by Guang Zhong 管仲(d. 645 B.C.). Put together in its present form by Liu Xiang 劉向(79-8B.C.) in about 26 B.C. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 729.

¹⁸⁸ “凡物之精，化則為生。下生五穀，上為列星....是故此氣，杳乎如入於淵，綽乎如在於海，卒乎如在於口”。Ibid., 16th *juan*. “*neiye* 內業”. p.174.

¹⁸⁹ “流於天地之間”。Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ “靈氣在心，一來一逝，其細無內，其大無外”。Ibid., p. 178.

and is physically represented in moxibustion and acupuncture¹⁹¹. Fourthly, *qi* can never be exhausted and constantly regenerates itself. To illustrate this, Sakade gives an example from the *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui), where the Daoist idea of the end of “*queshu* 劫數 (kalpa)” is explained. According to this source, although the dissolution of the heaven and the earth occurs regularly, the Yuanshi Tianzun 元始天尊, the highest divine being of Daoism who is an embodiment of “*ziran zhi qi* 自然之氣 (natural *qi*)¹⁹²”, does not decay¹⁹³. Sakade calls this idea of “immortality and regeneration through the constant circulation of *qi*”¹⁹⁴. Finally, the movement of *qi* does not relate to causation, but to induction or sympathy. The commentaries on the *Zhouyi* 周易 (The Book of Changes)¹⁹⁵, added by Kong Yingda 孔

¹⁹¹ Sakade Yoshinobu. 2001. p. 5.

¹⁹² *Suishu*. 35juan. “*jingjizhi* 經籍志”. pp. 1091-1092.

¹⁹³ “Canon of Dao says that there is Yuanshi Tianzun who was born at the tip of dominant essence where *qi* of nature pervades the emptiness and coagulates the distance of which end is unknown. The content that talks about the heaven and the earth collapse and tumble and that kalpa ends and becomes void is approximately the same with what canon of Buddha [talks about]. [It] regards the body of Tianzun to exist all the time and never to perish.道經者，云有元始天尊，生於太元之先，自然之氣，沖虛凝遠，莫知其極。所以說天地淪壞，劫數終盡，略與佛經同。以為天尊之體，常存不滅”。Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Sakade Yoshinobu. 2001. p. 5.

¹⁹⁵ *Zhouyi* 周易 (The Book of Change). Anonymous. Traditionally regarded as the product of Fu Xi 伏羲, King Wen 文王, Chou Gong 周公 and Confucius 孔子. Received text is thought to have compiled during 7th century B.C. I refer to *Zhouyi Zhengyi* 周易正義 (Commentary on *Zhouyi*). Commented by Kong Yingda 孔穎達(574-648), Wang Bi 王弼(226-249) et al. SSJZ edition.

穎達(576-648), expressly explain this idea of induction or sympathy. In the words of the commentaries, “all things between the heaven and the earth sympathise with one another, according to the groups of *qi* to which each one belongs...¹⁹⁶” and “*gan* 感 means to move, while *ying* 應 signifies the reaction. It is always the movement which proceeds, and it is always the reaction which follows”¹⁹⁷.

In addition to five aspects of *qi* in Sakade’s observation, the power of creation is another important feature of *qi*. Although *qi* is by nature the source of every being, the interaction of two different types of *qi* actively brings forth something new. This is clear from a statement in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan)¹⁹⁸ compiled sometimes before 139 B.C.

The universe produces *qi*. *Qi* has borders¹⁹⁹,
whereof *yang* clearness which is flimsy and fluttering

¹⁹⁶ “天地之間共相感應各從其氣類”. Ibid., 1st *juan*. “*qian* 乾”. p.16.

¹⁹⁷ “感者動也。應者報也。皆先者為感後者為應”. Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan). Edited by Liu An 劉安(?179-122B.C.). Compiled sometimes before 139 B.C. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 848.

¹⁹⁹ “氣有漢垠”. Gao You 高誘 comments “*hanyin* is the situation of strict security (漢垠、重安之貌)”. However, other commentaries including modern ones read the term “*yayin* 涯垠 (the bank and boundary)”. Here, I follow the majority. *Huainanzi*. 3rd *juan*. “*tianwenxun* 天文訓”. p.530. I have also consulted with the following modern commentaries. Chen Yiping 陳一平 ed. 1994. *Huainanzi/jiao/zhu/shi* 淮南子·校·注·釋 (Correction/Commentary/Interpretation of *Huainanzi*). Guangzhou: Guangdong renming chuban. p. 99; Zhang Shuangdi 張双棣 ed. 1997. *Huainanzi Jiaoshi* 淮南子校釋 (Annotations for *Huainanzi*). 2 volumes. Beijing: Beijing daxue chuban. Vol. 1. p.248.

flows up to become the heaven, while heavy foulness solidifies and gathers to become the earth....The interaction of *jing* between heaven and earth gives rise to *yin* and *yang*, while the induction of that between *yin* and *yang* engenders the four seasons. ²⁰⁰

The important points here are that both the heaven and earth, *yin* and *yang* originate in *qi*, and that induction between two different kinds results in the creation of something new: *yin* and *yang* are brought into being by the interaction between heaven and earth, and the four seasons by interaction between *yin* and *yang*. Procreation is the certain result when the sympathy of *qi* is applied at the human level. Wang Chong's statements assure us of this point. He says that when "heaven and earth united their *qi*, this created human beings. And when a husband and a wife unite their *qi*, it brings forth offspring²⁰¹".

Thus, fundamental features of *qi* can be summarised in six characteristics: 1. it is the source of all things; 2. it has no beginning or end, is continuous and indivisible and permeates the universe; 3. its correspondence between micro and macro cosmos; 4. it never be exhausted and constantly regenerates itself; 5. its inductive or sympathetic movement; and 6. its procreative power as a result of *yin* and *yang* induction.

It should be noted as a terminological problem that "induction",

²⁰⁰ *Huainanzi*. 3rd *juan*. "tianwenxun". p. 530.

²⁰¹ "夫天地合氣偶人自生也，猶夫婦合氣子則自生也". *Lunheng*. 3rd *juan*. "wushi 物勢". p. 42.

“interaction” and “sympathy” are all renditions of the Chinese term *xianggan* 相感 or *ganying* 感應. It is not easy to establish the significance of these terms, still less to supply satisfactory English equivalents.

For instance, C.G.Jung refers to “synchronicity” as the logical principle of Chinese thinking,²⁰² whereas J. Needham uses the term “resonance” in reference to the correlative thinking which for him underlies all Chinese science²⁰³. Again, Manfred Porkert, preferring to avoid the terminology of Jung and Needham, adopts the term “inductive” or “inductivity”. He explains the idea of “inductivity”, in relation to Chinese medicine and science, as “a logical link between two effective positions existing at the same time in different places in space²⁰⁴”.

Many scholars consider that Jung’s term “synchronicity” comes closest to the Chinese concept of *xianggan* and *ganying*. However Sakade, who generally accepts the term, believes that the usage of “synchronicity” should be confined to cases involving human

²⁰² See C. G.Jung’s following works. “Synchronicity: an acausal connecting principle.”, “Synchronicity: an acausal connecting principle. 1. Exposition.”, “Synchronicity: an acausal connecting principle. 3. Forerunners of the idea of synchronicity.” I have referred to Jung C.G. 1972. Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Vol. 8. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 417-420; pp. 421-458; pp. 485-504.

²⁰³ Needham, Joseph. 1956. p.216.

²⁰⁴ Porkert, Manfred. 1971. The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine -- Systems of Correspondence. Cambridge: MIT Press. p. 1.

consciousness²⁰⁵. A further complication is that the Chinese terms *xianggan* and *ganying* are not necessarily limited to the “logical link”, as Jung thought, or to correspondences between things “at the same time in different places in space” as Porkert holds. The basic characteristic of *qi* is, precisely, the absence of time, place or space. Thus, Needham’s interpretation of “correlative thinking” best accords with the non-mechanical movement or action of *qi*. Besides, this very resistance to explanation might be the reason why the terms *xianggan* and *ganying* were enlisted to explain the non-mechanical movement of *qi*.

At all events this thesis follows Porkert’s example in avoiding the use of existing terminology to prevent possible misconceptions. Thus, “induction” and “interaction” will be used here to indicate the non-mechanical correlation or correspondence of two entities or phenomena without regard for time or space. In addition, “sympathy” will be employed to designate correspondences entailing affective associations.

Owing to the ambiguous nature of *qi*, it is variously represented in the literature of the sexual art. For instance, one of the earliest extant literary works in the genre, the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions) mentions “*tiandi zhi zhijing* 天地之至精 (the ultimate *jing* of heaven and

²⁰⁵ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1999. p.324.

earth)²⁰⁶ which is presented as the key element influencing the length of life. This ultimate essence is an obscure entity which has “no sign when it is produced, no shape when it grows, and no figure when it is completed²⁰⁷”. Plainly, this ultimate essence can be a form of *qi*, insofar as features of this essence correspond to first and second characteristics of *qi* as the source of every being and having no beginning or end.

The obscurity of shape or form of *qi* implies that it can manifest itself in any guise. Invisible air and breath can be forms of *qi* especially in the context of breathing exercises, while foods and drugs can be crystallisations of *qi* in the context of medication. According to the literature of the sexual art, *qi* appears during sexual intercourse in the shape of air, breath, saliva, breast milk, semen and female secretions.

For example, the *Shiwen* mentions “*shenfeng* 神風 (divine wind)²⁰⁸” and “*xuanzun* 玄尊 (dark honoured one)²⁰⁹”. These terms do not appear to have had general currency in the literature of the genre and their precise reference has not been established. However, they play an important role in the processes of the sexual activity according to this source. *Shenfeng* is described as something that is “breathed in”

²⁰⁶ For texts unearthed from Mawangdui tombs, see footnote 2 and 41.

²⁰⁷ “生於無徵、長於無形、成於無體”. *Shiwen*. p.146. All the English translations for Mawangdui materials in the texts and footnotes, unless notified, are my own.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.145.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

while *xuanzun* is said to be “drunk”²¹⁰. Both of them are supposed to circulate within the body, for the purpose of self-cultivation, which indicates that they are manifestations of *qi*. Although *shenfeng* seems to have further connotations relating to timing during sexual activities, it is possibly a name for airy things like breath, while *xuanzun* is a term for saliva²¹¹.

Semen which is often indicated by the term *jing* is another form of *qi*. It is regarded as the most important *qi* of a male, especially in the earliest literature of the art²¹². Since the woman emits secretions during sexual activities as the man emits semen, it is unsurprising that female secretions were similarly considered a manifestation of female *qi*. Because semen is ejaculated at the point of male orgasm, the

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Harper cites four possible references concerning “*Xuanzun* 玄尊, dark honoured one”, i.e. *Mingsui* 明水 (bright water), *Xuanjiu* 玄酒 which is the best of bright water, *Zheng Xuan* 鄭玄 which is the dew of a moonlit night and *Lingzun* 靈尊 which is a Daoist term, taking his examples from the classics. Ma Jixing also mentions another reference to good wine, while Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua identify a reference to wine for ceremonial use. However, all three scholars concur in interpreting this term as designating “saliva”. Ibid.; Harper, Donald.1997. pp.386-387; Ma Jixing.1992. pp.874-875; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.96. Also see the following text for classical references to *Xuanjiu* 玄酒 for ceremonial use. *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites). Anonymous. Composed probably before 58 B.C. I refer to *Liji Zhengyi* 禮記正義 (Right Interpretation on *Liji*). Commented by Kong Yingda 孔穎達(574-648), Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200) et al. SSJZ edition. pp.1416-1417, p.1455.

²¹² “There is nothing like [male] dwindling *jing* amongst human *qi* 人氣莫如脞精”. *Shiwen*. 148. Ma, Wei and Hu interpret the sentence valuing the semen. Ma Jixing. 1992. p.923; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.112.

sexual art evidently identified the timing of the human orgasm as crucial for producing the best *qi*. Reasonably enough, the female secretions discharged at orgasm were particularly prized in the sexual art. The problem is, however, that the release of female secretions is not limited to orgasm. With their lubricative properties, the emission of female secretions begins before the insertion of the penis and continues throughout coitus.

Interestingly, the literature of the sexual art employs several different names for female secretions. For instance, “*jinye* 津液 (saliva fluid)”, which most often indicates actual saliva, “*yinjīn* 姪津 (lubricious saliva)” and “*yinye* 陰液 (*yin* fluid)” are frequently found in texts of the sexual art as designations for female secretions. These terms appear at random in descriptions of sexual processes. One term may appear in connection with foreplay and reappear later to suggest female orgasm. Thus, it is not clear if these terms were differentiated in the literature of the art in order to indicate lubricating secretions in contradistinction to secretions produced at orgasm. Nonetheless, the existence of these different expressions suggests that the sexual art supposed the female to produce various types of secretion.

Modern sexology confirms that the female generates several types of secretion²¹³. For instance, secretions from Bartholin’s glands,

²¹³ It may be worth to note a modern Chinese sexologist, Zhang Jingsheng 張競生 (1888-1969) who discusses “the third water” produced by the woman at the climax of sexual arousal. Although his suggestions about the third water’s relation with

which are a pair of glands opening at the junction of the vagina and external genitalia, are emitted in order to lubricate the vulva to assist penetration by the penis. However, other female discharges that contain vaginal wastes and hormones are rather disposals constantly released than those with mechanical faculty²¹⁴.

In addition to functional differences, the character of female secretions in general fluctuates not only in accordance with diseases and a menstrual cycle, but also with the degree of sexual excitement. Female discharge is usually white and opaque, sticky and thick. However, the increase of ovarian hormones that takes place not only according to the menstrual cycle but also to the rise of sexual pleasure alters the appearance and properties of female discharge. Estrogens increase the amount of cervical mucus that it contains. The same hormone also has the effect of increasing the transparency of female secretions. At the same, it decreases adhesiveness and thickness, which causes the secretion to stretch (a property known as

human appearance sound rather eccentric, he is an interesting example who continues to enunciate views in the traditional style in modern times. About his theory of the third water, see Zhang Jingsheng 張競生. 1998. *Zhang Jingsheng Wenji* 張競生文集 (Collected Works of Zhang Jingsheng) . 2 Volumes. Guangzhou: Guangzhou chuban. Vol. 2. pp. 245-259. For further information, see Yang Qun 楊群. 1999. *Zhang Jingsheng Zhuan* 張競生傳 (Biography of Zhang Jingsheng). Guangdong: Huachang chuban; Qiu Haitao 邱海濤. 2000. *Chūgoku Gosennen Sei no Bunkashi* 中国五千年-性の文化史 (Five Thousands Years of China: Cultural History of Sex). Translated by Namura Kimiko 納村公子. Tokyo: Shūeisha. pp. 208-216.

²¹⁴ Sugawa Yu 須川侑 et al. ed. 1991. *Shin Fujin Kagaku* 新婦人科学 (New Science of the Female). Tokyo: Nanzandō. p.38, p.50.

Spinnbarkeit)²¹⁵.

These evidences from modern sexology may convince us of the possibility that, besides the variations of female secretions, the sexual art might have noticed, to some extent, that the changes in female discharge relate with those of female sexual stimulation. Insofar as sexual manuals manifest, they did not precisely distinguish female secretion at the orgasm from others, yet, variant names may show their desperation to tell female most important *qi* from other discharges apart.

With *qi* during sexual activities observed to appear in literature of sexual arts with various forms and names, one of the potent notions in *fangzhongshu* is the value on *qi*. Amongst six characteristics of *qi* condensed above, four features particularly relate to the intellectual background of the sexual art. These are: *qi* as the source of every being; correspondence between micro and macrocosmic aspects; inductive action; productivity as a result of interaction between two different types of *qi*.

Since *qi* is the basis of life, the sexual art, as a technique for controlling *qi*, sets out to obtain, preserve and circulate *qi*. Doubtlessly, the adaptation of *qi* is the most aggressive and concerned technique amongst the three. Methods of gaining *qi* through sexual

²¹⁵ Ibid., p.38, p.50, p.98.

activities are intended to be used in conjunction with breathing exercises, dietary practices and medication. Nevertheless, the principal means of increasing *qi* is to obtain it from a partner through heterosexual coitus, which in itself represents a micro interaction of *yin* and *yang*. Furthermore, offspring or other benefits such as improved physical health, longevity and immortality are achieved as a result of this sympathy between two different kinds of *qi*.

Since one of the major preoccupations of the sexual art is obtaining *qi*, the art is much concerned with determining the conditions for acquiring as much as possible of the best available *qi*. One factor from the point of view of a subject presumed in the literature to be male is the state of the female partner. Thus, *fangzhongshu* establishes criteria for desirable and undesirable female partners. Since these criteria involve the woman's appearance, they are very often targets of criticism by modern feminists, and are perceived as patriarchal in inspiration. It is undeniable that the strategy of taking precious *qi* from women for the benefit of men is an "androcentric²¹⁶" idea, as Charlotte Furth points out. However, the attention paid, at least to female appearance in these criteria is not necessarily motivated by patriarchal concepts alone. Rather, it derives from the concept of *qi* and one of its features, correspondence between micro and macro aspects.

²¹⁶ Furth, Charlotte. 1994. p.128, p.135.

The notion of micro and macro correspondence theoretically permits the condition of parts of the body like the face, skin, and tongue as well as the voice and odour to manifest the general state of the whole person. For example, practitioners of Chinese medicine, acupuncture and moxibustion examine the condition of patients by looking at the tongue and face, listening to the voice, smelling and feeling the pulse²¹⁷. Similarly, in the sexual art, the physical appearance of a woman, including the condition of her hair, skin, and voice could serve as a means of judging the overall state of a partner. Beauty was not a prerequisite, nor were individuals with non-standard characteristics dismissed out of hand.

For instance, a woman with a large Adam's apple is undesirable, as this suggests that she has more *yang* than *yin qi*, whereas the latter is sought after for the purposes of the sexual art. A woman with chapped skin is also undesirable, because her skin condition shows that her overall state of *qi* is poor. To take another example, a woman suffering from diarrhoea is undesirable, since diarrhoea indicates that her abdominal *qi* is currently disturbed. Obviously, some circumstances such as the size of the Adam's apple are beyond the individual's control. However, many criteria are concerned with transient physical states, such as rough skin or diarrhoea, which can be changed, cured or improved. It is essential to understand that these

²¹⁷ Sakade Yoshinobu. 2001. p.4.

criteria applied to the identification of a partner for the successful practice of sexual techniques, not to the selection of a marriage partner.

Patriarchal values are undeniably inherent in these standards for female sexual partners, especially in ideological terms. This is certainly true of the basic aim, to take high quality *qi* from women. However, it is important to recognize that the female characteristics regulated by these criteria, at least the rules applied for these, are not premised on patriarchal ideas. Although the intention behind the criteria is strongly "androcentric", the criteria themselves accord strictly with the concept of *qi*.

Although *fangzhongshu*, which is apparently addressed to a male audience, encourages its adepts to take *qi* from women, its fundamental theory contradictorily requires harmonious sympathy between male and female, the microcosmic representatives of *yin* and *yang*. While the techniques of the sexual art are intended primarily to take, preserve and circulate large quantities of high quality *qi*, the core idea underlying sexual arts is the production of benefits through the interaction of *yin* and *yang*. In terms of the value placed upon induction between *yin* and *yang*, the sexual art distinguishes itself clearly from other techniques for nourishing life, such as breathing techniques, dietetics, drug taking and gymnastic exercises.

Although *yin* and *yang* system is sometimes called "binary

oppositions²¹⁸” or “qualifiers²¹⁹”, they are, fundamentally, not opposing elements. Differently from the absolute antagonism between *ahura-mazda* (the darkness) and *angra-mainyu* (the brightness) in Zoroastrianism²²⁰, *yin* and *yang* are correlative and mutually coadjutant. For instance, the *Huainanzi* mentions “combining *yin* makes *yang*, while combining *yang* makes *yin*²²¹”. This statement may indicate that *yang* by itself contains elements of *yin*, while *yin* by itself contains that of *yang*, as well as that by means of “*he* 合, to combine²²²” or possibly “to interact”, the two produces the each other²²³. The productiveness of the induction creates not only another *yin* and *yang*, but also something new. It brings forth the four seasons according to the *Huainanzi*²²⁴; a healthier body, longevity, immortality and offspring according to *fangzhongshu*. Thus, the idea of *yin* and

²¹⁸ Graham, A.C. 1989. p.330.

²¹⁹ Porkert, Manfred. 1971. p.11.

²²⁰ Okada Akinori 岡田明憲. 1995. *Zoroasuta no Shinpi Shisō* ノロアスターの神秘思想 (The Mysticism of Zoroastrianism). Tokyo: Kodansha Gendai Shinsho. p.57, pp.61-64.

²²¹ *Huainanzi* 3rd juan. “*tianwenxun*”. p.535. Here, I refer to the translation of John. S. Major. Major, John. S. 1993. Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought—Chapters Three, Four and Five of the Huainanzi. Albany: State University of New York Press. p. 94.

²²² *Huainanzi*. 3rd juan. “*tianwenxun*”. p.535.

²²³ The mutual containment of opposing elements of *yin* and *yang* further explained in *Huainanzi* is well demonstrated by Manfred Porkert. Charlotte Furth, although she deals with later periods (960-1665), also well illustrates this matter. See Furth, Charlotte. 1999. pp. 48-52; Porkert, Manfred. 1971. pp.31-35.

²²⁴ *Huainanzi*. “*tianwenxun*”. p. 530.

yang is not a strict dualism, but rather two elements in mutual compensation²²⁵.

The literature of the sexual art employs this idea of interaction between *yin* and *yang* especially for the explanation in accordance with cosmology for the healthy and efficient sexual intercourse. Although *yang* is generally observed superior to *yin*²²⁶, the sexual literature strongly values perfectly harmonised interaction between the two owing especially to the idea that “*yin* and *yang* are mutually moved and reacted²²⁷”. Hence, the sexual art sets out to translate the ideal induction into reality, in microcosm, in the perfectly harmonious sympathy between male and female.

Since adaptation of *qi* from woman is one of the presupposed techniques of the sexual art, male belonging to *yang* is definitely put priority to female belonging to *yin* on the practical and beneficial aspects in particular. Yet, on the other hand, the ideology in *fangzhongshu* praises the balanced interaction between *yin* and *yang* as an ideal macrocosmic demonstration of heterosexual intercourse.

It is for this reason that the sexual art continuously emphasises the importance of complete concord between man and woman,

²²⁵ The crystallisation of the idea of *yin* and *yang* as mutually compensatory system became to be illustrated, with *taijitu* 太極圖 (a figure of the supreme ultimate) constructed by a Song scholar, Zhou Lianwo 周濂沃 (1017~1073), as the most famous example.

²²⁶ Graham, A.C. 1989. p.331.

²²⁷ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. “*fangnei*”. p. 637.

especially on an emotional level. The following chapter will examine technical features of this ideological background, but it should be noted here that all the techniques of the sexual art anticipate the harmonious union of male and female *qi*. This presupposes satisfactory foreplay as the means of achieving sufficient mental and physical preparation for perfectly harmonised sexual intercourse.

2-3. The Idea of Family and *Xiao* 孝 -- Filial Piety

One aspect of the Chinese idea of the family was a gathering of people who shared the common duty of performing ceremonies to worship ancestors. This duty involved not only correctly carrying out the ceremonial rites, but also continuing to do so regularly without interruption. The responsibility for ancestor worship was one factor in the Confucian concept of *xiao* 孝 (filial piety)²²⁸, along with three other

²²⁸ "After the completion of three [*fu* 服 (service), *yan* 言 (words) and *xing* 行 (performance)], then, it is possible to guard one's shrine for ancestors. [It must be] the filial piety of lords and officials. (三者備矣、然後能守其宗廟、蓋卿大夫之孝也)"; "Not losing the loyalty and obedience to serve one's superior (i.e., master), then, makes possible to maintain the salary and position so that to keep one's sacrifice [for the ancestors]. It must be the filial piety of man. (忠順不失以事其上、然後能保其祿位、而守其祭祀、蓋士之孝也)". *Xiaojing* 孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety). Attributed to Zengzi 曾子, a disciple of Confucius, compiled probably before 239 B.C. I refer to *Xiaojing Zhushu* 孝經注疏 (Commentaries on *Xiaojing*). Commented by Xuan Zong 玄宗 (reigned 712-756), Xing Bing 邢昺 (930-1010) et al. SSJZ edition, 2nd *juan*. "Liudafu

elements, namely supporting one's parents, not harming the body which is given to one by one's parents, and leaving one's name to posterity²²⁹. In addition, the necessity to ensure the continued enactment of ancestor worship resulted in the high importance accorded to lineage continuation. Thus, reproduction was another principal duty required of the Chinese family to satisfy filial piety. This is well evidenced in Mencius' statement: "There are three ways of being a bad son. The most serious is to have no heir"²³⁰.

The family, including ancestors and descendants, was believed to be composed of a common *qi*. The *Nanshi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties) which was compiled in 659, for instance, states that "father and son are most closely related: they share their *qi* although their forms are distinct"²³¹. Wang Chong, to give another instance, quotes a statement from *Zhuangshu* 傳書 (The Book of

zhang 柳大夫章". p.2547; 2nd *juan*. "士章". p. 2548. As for the further information about the authorship of this text, see Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp.142-144.

²²⁹ "The filial piety starts at supporting parents. (夫孝始於事親)"; "The body, hair and skin are gifted from father and mother. Not pretending to damage or hurt them is the start of filial piety. Announce [one's] father and mother by establishing oneself, performing the *dao* and making one's name to posterity, is the last of filial piety. (身體髮膚、受之父母。不敢毀傷、孝之始也。立身行道、揚名於後世、以顯父母、孝之終也。)". *Xiaojing*. 1st *juan*. "kaizong mingyi zhang 開宗明義章". p.2548.

²³⁰ "孟子曰。不孝有三。無後為大。". *Mengzi*. 7th *juan*. "liloushang 離婁上". p. 2723; trans. Lau, D.C. 1979. p.155.

²³¹ "父子至親，分形同氣". *Nanshi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties). Compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (c. 618-676) in 659. I have used the following edition. 1975. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 15th *juan*. p444.

Transmission) that “the filial piety of Zeng Zi 曾子²³² is making *qi* identical to that of their mother²³³”. The sympathy between the deceased and living family members presupposed by ancestor worship was thought to be possible thanks to this sharing of the same *qi*²³⁴.

The *Zhuzi Yulei* 朱子語類 (The Collected Sayings of Zhu Xi)²³⁵ was composed considerably later (1270) than the periods which this thesis deals with. However, it conveys particularly well the idea of ancestor worship based on the sharing of *qi*.

“All in all, descendants are the *qi* of ancestors. Although the ancestor’s *qi* is dispersed, his roots still remain here. Rendering service with all respect, we can invite his *qi* gathering back here again. It is just like waves in the water: the following water cannot be the leading water, and the leading wave cannot be the following wave, but they are still just a single oscillation of the water. The matter of *qi* between ancestor and descendent is just the same as the waves of water. He himself has been dispersed at once, however his roots still remain here. Since his roots are still here, it is possible to gather his *qi* here again.²³⁶”

²³² Probably, “the filial piety of Zeng Zi (曾子之孝)” indicates *Xiaojing*. See footnote 228 above.

²³³ “傳書言曾子之孝與母同氣”. *Lunhenggg*. 5th *juan*. “*ganxu* 感虛”. P.70.

²³⁴ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1996. p.262.

²³⁵ *Zhuzi Yulei* 朱子語類 (Collected Words of Zhuzi). Compiled by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) in 1270. I have used SKQS edition, Volume 700.

²³⁶ “畢竟子孫是祖先之氣。他氣雖散，他根卻在這裡；盡其誠敬，則亦能呼召得他氣聚在此。如水波樣，後水非前水，後波非前波，然卻通只是一水波。子孫之氣於祖考之氣，亦

Because of the long interval of time, it cannot be assumed that exactly the same concept governed the idea of ancestral worship as in earlier periods. However, the enduring concept of family as a group sharing the same *qi* suggests that similar notions persisted in the Chinese psyche.

Thus, Chinese ancestor worship evidently requires that a clan should possess common *qi*. It is this identity of *qi* which permits sympathy between ancestors and descendants. This mechanism can be explained by the idea of *qi* as “*tonglei ganying* 同類感應 (induction among the same species)” or “*tonglei xianggan* 同類相感 (mutual sympathy among the same species)”²³⁷. Thus, the performance of ancestor worship was, in one sense, an opportunity to reaffirm the family ties of *qi* amongst the deceased and the living, parents and children.

The importance of ancestor worship was not confined to the ratification of family ties; it was also powerfully bound up with political concerns. Kaji Nobuyuki 加地伸行 argues that the high profile of ancestor worship was artificially enhanced in order to support the centralisation of the Chinese empire²³⁸. In order to maintain the

是如此。他那箇當下自散了，然他根卻在這裡，根既在此，又卻能引聚得他那氣在此”。Ibid., 3rd *juan*, pp.54-55.

²³⁷ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1999. p.323.

²³⁸ Kaji Nobuyuki 加地伸行. 1990. *Jyukyō towa Nanika* 儒教とは何か (What is Confucianism?). Tokyo: Chūō Shinsho. pp. 133-134.

quality of worship, members of the political and administrative elite needed to remain in their inherited positions. And to uphold their current status, they were required to be loyal to the empire. In other words, aristocrats could continue adequately to fulfil their duty of worship, only if they remained loyal to the empire, so as to preserve their current inherited official rank. The high value placed upon ancestor worship was required for this mechanism to function²³⁹.

According to Kaji, this artificial enhanced emphasis on ancestor worship was successful owing to belief in the authority of the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (The Classic of Filial Piety)²⁴⁰. This text on filial piety, along with the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals)²⁴¹ was believed to have been composed by Confucius himself, while other texts such as the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs)²⁴², the *Yijing* 易經 (The Classic of Changes)²⁴³ and the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou)²⁴⁴ were thought to have been edited by him. Although the *Xiaojing* was certainly not a composition of Confucius, it was universally believed to be so by the

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ See footnote 228.

²⁴¹ It is anonymous who composed this text, but the text is most probably known to Confucius. See Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp.98-71.

²⁴² *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs) which is also known as *Maoshi* 毛詩 . Attributed to Confucius. Includes 305 poems which may be dated between c. 1000 to c. 600 B.C. See Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp.415-416.

²⁴³ See footnote 194

²⁴⁴ *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou) is probably a product of mid-second century B.C. See Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp.25-29.

pre-Han period²⁴⁵ at the latest. This mistaken faith in its authority facilitated the artificial encouragement of ancestor worship.

The great importance attached to ancestor worship further reinforced the necessity for continuity. Begetting offspring meant that one could provide a performer of ceremonies for the next generation. This is the reason that procreation as the means of continuing the lineage became another essential family duty within the terms of filial piety. The obligations of filial piety concerning procreation were not discharged by engendering one child. The more children one had, the greater assurance of continued ceremonial worship one could bequeath to them. Furthermore, numerous offspring in the generation immediately following increases the chances of obtaining a third and subsequent generations. Consequently, prolific families were able to pass down the duty of ancestor worship successfully to their children, and at the same time, they could secure a higher probability of continuing ancestor worship. Thus, the duty of procreation, in order to accomplish the requirements of filial piety meant, for Chinese families, begetting as many offspring as possible.

The idea of begetting children to accomplish the family duty of filial piety evidently influenced *fangzhongshu*, given that heterosexual intercourse is indispensable for procreation. Begetting heirs was

²⁴⁵ Kaji Nobuyuki. 1990. p.130.

clearly one of the benefits promised by the sexual art, but techniques for this purpose apparently occupied a distinct place in the literature of the art. The generic sexual art, which sought to achieve a healthier body, longevity and immortality, essentially restricted male ejaculation, while techniques for procreation indubitably required ejaculation.

For instance, the earliest extant literature of the genre separates techniques for procreation from those with other aims. The *Shiwen*, The *Tianxia Zhidaotan* 天下至道談 (Discourse on the Ultimate Way Under Heaven), and the *Heyinyang* 合陰陽 (Uniting Yin and Yang) are three of the texts discovered in the Mawangdui tombs of the Han dynasty, having been interred there in 168 B.C. These three texts are primarily concerned with sexual techniques for self-cultivation and longevity, to the exclusion of techniques for procreation. However, the Mawangdui medical manuscripts include a text entitled *Taichanshu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of the Fetus) which is a compilation of methods for procreation, pregnancy, and conception. This text should certainly be classed as literature of the sexual art, since the bibliographic chapter in the *Hanshu*, which is the reference closest to the period of the Mawangdui manuscripts, includes texts on procreation²⁴⁶ in the category of sexual arts. However, it is apparent that techniques for childbirth were differentiated from methods for other purposes at least during the periods of the Mawangdui

²⁴⁶ *Sanjianeifang youzifang* 三家內房有子方 (The Methods of Three Sects Having Offspring) mentioned in *Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. "yiwenzhi". p.1778.

manuscripts.

Unlike the Mawangdui examples, later literature of the sexual art generally includes techniques for pregnancy and childbirth. These texts, however, tend to make a slight distinction in the case of techniques for procreation. Usually, techniques for procreative purposes are differentiated from other practices as *qiuzifang* 求子方 (techniques for seeking a child). Basically, techniques for seeking a child involve the whole process of sexual intercourse, pregnancy, childbirth and sometimes menstruation control. However, the most significant aspect of these techniques is the regulation of suitable and unsuitable circumstances for intercourse. These circumstances include dates of conception, for instance. Conception as a result of sexual intercourse on appropriate dates was believed to produce high-quality offspring, while conception on inappropriate dates was thought to produce children with inferior qualities.

With regard to procreation, the sexual art was more concerned with what was inappropriate or unsuitable than with positive regulation. The following chapter will survey the specific contents of techniques for seeking a child, but it should be noted here that insemination taboos were intended to reduce the probability of begetting children with a low chance of survival. The focus on inappropriate situations for conception suggests that the fear of engendering offspring who might not thrive outweighed the wish to have a healthy child. Furthermore, this concern with survival ability

was closely related to ideas of the family and filial piety.

Clearly, offspring with a poor constitution or congenital deficits would have less chance of growing to maturity or living long. Family duty would remain unfulfilled if a descendant failed to grow up to shoulder the responsibility of continuous ancestor worship. Moreover, such children might have difficulty in accomplishing the duty of procreation. Filial piety would not be satisfied if a descendant failed to procreate the next generation. Therefore, one aspect of this concentration on unsuitable circumstances for conception was the desire to preclude failures of family duty. Furthermore, the existence of these regulations in the sexual art indicates that the quality of progeny was attributed to the circumstances under which the parents had sexual intercourse.

As mentioned previously, the literature of the sexual art stipulated the conditions and situations favourable to conception. Children engendered under these favourable conditions are said to be "sagacious, fine and have longevity²⁴⁷", "wealthy, exalted, bright and skilled²⁴⁸" or to obtain "*shangshou* 上壽 (superior longevity)²⁴⁹", almost as if they were *xian*, the Immortals. Unlike offspring less well equipped for survival, healthy, long-lived children were likely to satisfy the family duties of continued ancestor worship and the procreation of

²⁴⁷ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "fangnei". p.648.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

the next generation.

The health and longevity of one's offspring must be the universal wish of all parents. However, the techniques for pregnancy and conception were established in response to the exacting requirements of filial piety, rather than such a general wish. Thus, the sexual art, in particular the techniques for seeking a child, was a method for obtaining children adequate to the fulfilment of family responsibilities. In this sense, the concepts of the family and filial piety are obviously part of the intellectual basis on which *fangzhongshu* rests.

2-4. The Immortal cult

Xian 仙 or *shenxian* 神仙 can be understood as "Immortal" or "transcendent"²⁵⁰. The chance to attain this status was one of the most attractive benefits promised by the sexual art. However, the image of the *xian* or *shenxian* is fraught with ambiguity. For instance, though *xian* or *shenxian* are very often represented as possessing eternal life, this is not always the case²⁵¹. Therefore, a distinction

²⁵⁰ Rendition by Livia Kohn. Kohn, Livia. 1992. p.84.

²⁵¹ For instance, Pengzu 彭祖, an ancient *xian* was said to have lived eight hundred years. This clearly indicates his longevity, but does not necessarily imply immortality. *Shenxianzhuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Divine Immortals). Attributed to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343), compiled probably before 317. I refer to collated modern edition. Teng Xiuzhan 滕修展 et al. ed. 1996. *Liexianzhuan. Shenxianzhuan Zhushi*

needs to be made between *busi* 不死 — “immortality” or “deathlessness”, which was theoretically possible with the constant preservation of an adequate amount of *qi*, as discussed in the second section — and *xian* or *shenxian*, the Immortals.

The movement known as *shenxiandao* 神仙道 which is “the way of the Immortals” or “the Immortal cult”, was responsible for building up a common image of *xian* or *shenxian*, the Immortals. This cult consisted in a widespread popular belief both in the existence of the Immortals and the availability of techniques to become “the Immortal”. The intellectual background of the cult is rather complex. It is said to draw inspiration from beliefs in Mt. Kunlun 崑崙 in the west as well as the three divine islands in the Eastern Sea²⁵². The idea of *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 spirits also relates to the figure of *xian* or *shenxian*.

As one of the aims of the sexual art was indisputably that of becoming a *xian* or *shenxian*, it is important to understand the concept

列仙傳神仙傳注釋 (Commentary on *Liexianzhuan* and *Shenxianzhuan*). Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe. p.163. About the authorship and date of composition, see Fukui Kojyun 福井康順. 1951. “*Shinsenden Kō* 神仙傳考 (Study on the Legends of Divine Immortals)”. *Tōhō Shūkyō* 東方宗教 (Journal of Eastern Religion). Vol. 1. Kyoto: Nihon Dōkyō Gakkai. pp.1-21; Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.145-236.

²⁵² Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明. 1987. “*Shinsendō* 神仙道 (The Immortal cult)”. In *Dōkyō Daiikkan—Dōkyō towa Nanika* 道教第一卷—道教とは何か (Taoism Vol.1—What is Taoism?). Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppan. p. 34; Obuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾. 1952. “*Shoki no Sensetsu ni Tsuite* 初期の傳説について (About the Early Idea of Immortals)”. *Tōhō Shūkyō* 東方宗教 (Journal of Eastern Religion). Vol.2. Kyoto: Nihon Dōkyō Gakkai. p.25, p.28; Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.46-61; Miura Kunio. 2000. pp.176-177.

of the “Immortal”. Therefore, this section will investigate images of *xian* and *shenxian* and the intellectual backgrounds of the Immortal cult. However, there are two terminological difficulties for this undertaking, which should be discussed in advance. One is the semantics of the terms *xian* and *shenxian*, while the other is the English translation of these terms.

The words *xian*, which was often combined with the character *ren* 人 (man) in the compound *xianren*, and *shenxian* were both used to denote the Immortals. The former term, which, as we will discuss below, philologically involves certain images of Chinese Immortals, could be the primal terminology for those Immortal people. On the other hand, the latter term, *shenxian*, could be interpreted as implying divinity in addition to immortality, given that it is composed of two characters: *shen* 神 (divine/ god) and *xian* 仙 (an immortal). However, *shenxiandao*, the Immortal cult, was concerned precisely with the Immortal as an acquired status with otherworldly pursuit²⁵³. This suggests the term *shenxian* in the Immortal cult referred to Immortals rather than divinities. Two biographies of *xian* and *shenxian*, as another instance, show the common concept shared between two terms. All the people mentioned in both the *Liexianzhuan* 列仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals) ²⁵⁴ probably compiled sometimes between 1st to 3rd century B.C. and the *Shenxianzhuan* 神仙傳 (The Biographies of Divine

²⁵³ Kohn, Livia. 1992. pp.84-85.

²⁵⁴ See footnote 56.

Immortals)²⁵⁵ which was compiled before 317²⁵⁶ were the Immortals. And none of them were treated as divinity. Thus, the term *shenxian* most probably referred to the Immortals in general rather than divine beings, though it presumably carried more numinous or sacred connotations than *xian* alone.

English terms such as “Immortal” or “transcendent” undoubtedly reflect images of *xian* or *shenxian*. However, neither of these renditions succeeds in capturing all the connotations of the Chinese terms. Therefore, to avoid misapprehensions, this thesis will not employ any English translation for *xian* or *shenxian*. Instead, for the rest of the thesis I will adhere to the primary Chinese term, *xian*.

Usually, *xian* refers to a person possessing immortality, generally living in the mountains or other remote places, and having several special abilities. According to Isabelle Robinet, popular images of the *xian* included “selling medicinal herbs, curing the ill, playing tricks on the authorities through their ability to be ubiquitous and their gift for metamorphosis, predicting the future, flying through the air, dying and being reborn several hundred years later, causing rain or putting out fires”²⁵⁷. Although individual *xian* did not necessarily display all of

²⁵⁵ See footnote 251 above.

²⁵⁶ Fukui Kojyun. 1951. p.1.

²⁵⁷ Robinet, Isabelle. 1985-1986. “The Taoist Immortal: Jesters of Light and Shadow, Heaven and Earth”. Journal of Chinese Religion. No. 13 & 14. Denver: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions. P. 87.

these characteristics, representations of *xian* are very often associated with at least some of them.

Early philological explanations of the character *xian* reflect some basic conceptions associated with *xian*. For instance, the *Shiming* 釋名 (Explanation of Words), a dictionary of the later Han dynasty, glosses the character *xian* as “a person who has become old, but has not died²⁵⁸”. Although it remains uncertain if having “not died” indicates immortality, this text plainly specifies physical longevity as a defining characteristic of *xian*. The same source also states that “the character *xian* 仙 is the same as *qian* 遷 (to move). Therefore, the *xian* moves into the mountains. Thus, the character *xian* 仙 consists of the combination of man(亻) and mountain (山) ²⁵⁹”. This explanation is claimed to be not purely etymological, but rather an adaptation of images of *xian* current at that time²⁶⁰. At all events, this is the best known philological interpretation, and it precisely shows the common image of *xian* living in a mountain.

Another later Han dictionary, the *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Single-Component Graphs and Analyzing Compound

²⁵⁸ *Shiming* 釋名 (Explanation of Words). Compiled by Liu Xi 劉熙 of later Han (25-220), compiled ca.200. I have used *Sibu Congkan* 四部叢刊 (Four Branches of Literature Collections) edition. Originally published 1919-1922. This edition. 1929. Shanghai: Shangwuyin shuguan. 3rd juan. “*shichangyou* 釋長幼”. p. 21.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ogata Toru 大形徹. 1992. *Furōfushi--Sennin no Tanjyō to Shinseniyutsu* 不老不死—仙人の誕生と神仙術 (The Immortality--The Birth of *Xian* and techniques of *Xian*). Tokyo: Kodansha Gendai Shinsho. p.37.

Characters) presents rather different images of the *xian*. This source explains the character *xian* 僊 which is an alternative graph for *xian* 仙 as “ascending on high²⁶¹”. Ascent to high places suggests two features of common images of the *xian*, the magical flight into the sky and ascent to distant otherworldly utopias. The *xian*’s flight into the sky is also evidenced in some archaic wall paintings, where the *xian* is depicted as a person with wings²⁶². The other type of ascent, the ascension to paradise, is corroborated by another explanation for the same character in the same source. This alternative character is also elucidated as “a person who has lived for a long time and left the world²⁶³”. One implication of “leaving the world” is death, in which case the character denotes a long-lived person who is now deceased. This interpretation is all the more plausible, since physical death was in certain cases regarded as a sign of becoming *xian*. However, another meaning of the expression is to leave this world to ascend to an otherworldly place. The explanation in the source does not specify whether the *xian* is transported to another world. However, otherworldliness was certainly one of the characteristics associated

²⁶¹ *Shuowen Jiezi*, 8th *pian shang*. “*renbu*”. p. 383.

²⁶² For example, Kominami cites “*Tongyuren* 銅羽人 (copper man with wings)”, a bronze statue of a person with wings. In Kominami’s view, these depictions of winged humans might have developed from an identification of *xian* with human beings based on ancestor worship. He also raises the possibility of interpreting the drawings in terms of totemic beliefs. Kominami Ichiro. 1999. p.149,p.151.

²⁶³ *Shuowen Jiezi*, 8th *pian shang*. “*renbu*”. p.383.

with *xian*, and it has been claimed that the element of otherworldliness in images of *xian* increased with the growing popularity of the Immortal cult²⁶⁴.

Although *xian* were generally conceived to have eternal life, the philological evidence above makes no clear claims of physical immortality. Owing to this uncertainty regarding the *xian*'s immortality, some scholars consider that it was not an element in early images of *xian*. For example, Donald Holzman believes that the term *xian* in early poetry refers to a person who accomplishes a "distant voyage²⁶⁵", not an immortal being²⁶⁶. Moreover, Shirakawa Shizuka 白川静 who also considers that immortality was not associated with early images of *xian* proposes new interpretations about the character *xian* that completely oppose to traditional ones.

Shirakawa claims that *xian* 僊, the older graph for *xian* 仙, might have meant "a dead person who has already been moved to a place where the corpse waits to putrefy²⁶⁷", while *xian* 仙 indicated "the putrefied body²⁶⁸". He further suggests that the character *qian* 遷 (to move) is closely connected with the characters *xian* 僊 and *xian* 仙, a rotting and a rotten corpses in his understanding. Although the

²⁶⁴ Yu Ying-Shih. 1964-1965. pp.87-89.

²⁶⁵ Holzman, Donald. 1994. p.107.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Shirakawa Shizuka 白川静. 1994. *Zitō* 字統 (The Tradition of Characters). Tokyo: Heibonsha. p.515, p.522.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p.522.

character *qian* is generally explained to mean “to move”, he asserts that the character rather meant “to transfer the divine spirit²⁶⁹”. Thus, Shirakawa considers that the association of *xian* with immortality was an outcome of the Immortal cult, but not part of the original concept²⁷⁰.

Although Shirakawa’s proposal of philological analyses on the characters might be too unique to be generally accepted, his indications that the images of *xian* from the early stage might have associated with the tone of death seem to be worth considering. *Xian* and their immortality or longevity might possibly imply spiritual rather than physical one, especially when taking account of the link between the images of *xian* and ideas of *hun* and *po* spirits which we shall discuss later. In addition, the idea of *shijiexian* 尸解仙 (*xian* released from the body) to which we also return later actively involves demise. Hence, although the reflections of *xian* generally correlate with praise and glory of life, they could have involved, in unison, shade of the other side: death.

Besides the philological references outlined above, the Zhuangzi 莊子 (Zhuangzi) which is attributed to Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (c. 369-286 B.C.), and seems to have taken its form in a period of over a century as an heterogeneous collection of materials of Zhuangzi or his followers, is also considered to contain early images of *xian*. Concepts like *shenren*

²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.520-521.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

神人 (divine man), *zhenren* 真人 (true man) and *zhiren* 至人 (consummate man), which occur in this source, evidently have elements in common with generic images of *xian*. For instance, a divine personage living on Mt. Miaogusha 藐姑射 is said to “ride on clouds, control a flying dragon and go on journeys beyond the four oceans²⁷¹”. This obviously corresponds to the magical flight of the *xian*. Again, the source explains “true man” as a person who “does not fear if he ascends on high, he does not become wet if he enters the water nor is he burned if he enters the fire²⁷²”. In addition to the idea of ascent, this description also corresponds to popular images of *xian* controlling fire and water as pointed out by Robinet²⁷³. Furthermore, these persons are said to keep themselves apart from the common world and to belong to nowhere²⁷⁴, which provides a link with the otherworldliness of the *xian*.

In addition to these conceptual parallels, this text mentions various people those who are called *xian*, even if not in the *Zhuangzi*. For example, Pengzu, a *xian* of antiquity, is described as a person enjoying longevity²⁷⁵ and Guangchengzi 廣成子, another ancient

²⁷¹ *Zhuangzi*, 1st *juan*. “*xiaoyaoyou* 逍遙遊”. p.5.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 2nd *juan*. “*dazongshi* 大宗師”. p.55.

²⁷³ Robinet, Isabelle.1985-1986. p.87.

²⁷⁴ *Zhuangzi*, 6th *juan*. “*xuwugui* 徐無鬼”. p.221; 8th *juan*. “*lieyukou* 列禦寇”. p.281.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1st *juan*. “*xiaoyaoyou*”. p.3; 1st *juan*. “*qiwulun* 齊物論”. p.19; 4th *juan*. “*keyi* 刻意”. p.132.

xian,²⁷⁶ is said to live above *kongtong* 空同, which has been explained as the Plough²⁷⁷. Evidently, this source has affinities with some concepts or images of *xian*. At least, the reference to Pengzu illustrates the association of *xian* with longevity. However, Shirakawa, who apparently accepts the connection of this source with concepts of *xian*, argues that these terms in the *Zhuangzi* indicate a deceased person or corpse. For instance, he interprets “true man” as a person who died in great pain. He asserts that the putrefied corpse, which he understands to be the meaning of *xian* 仙, was a sign of *yuhua dengxian* 羽化登仙 (becoming *xian* by growing wings) for Zhuangzi and his followers²⁷⁸.

Again, this assumption of Shirakawa is too unconventional to be accepted. Although a deceased person can be fearless about anything just like “true man” described in the *Zhuangzi*²⁷⁹, there is no positive trace of the dead in the concept of “true man” insofar as I regard. Yet, his indication possibly suggests us when considering the strong nuance not to eliminate demise in the *Zhuangzi*. As discussed in the previous chapter, the principle of regarding death in the same light as life is one

²⁷⁶ Guangchengzi 廣成子 is mentioned in *Shenxianzhuan* as an ancient *xian* living in a stone cave on Mt. Kongtong. According to this source, he told the Yellow Emperor that “human beings cease to be at death, but I continue to exist”. *Shenxianzhuan*. p.156.

²⁷⁷ *Zhuangzi*. 3rd *juan*. “*zaiyou* 在宥”. p.93.

²⁷⁸ Shirakawa Shizuka. 1994. p.522.

²⁷⁹ *Zhuangzi*. 2nd *juan*. “*dazongshi* 大宗師”. p.55.

of the distinctive ideas amongst the teachings of the *Zhuangzi*. An ancient "true man" in the informant, "did not know pleasing life or hating death²⁸⁰", and this viewpoint is quite the same with "equalising the boundaries of life and death²⁸¹" explained for method of *shenxian* in the *Hanshu*. Since the *Zhuangzi* apparently reflects early images of *xian* to certain extent, the idea of *xian* or *xian*-like figures in the source might be supposed not really concerning death as an opposition of life, although they might not willingly approach their demise as Shirakawa may imagine.

Evidently, for Shirakawa the early concepts of *xian* arose in relationship to death, or the corpse. Although I do not fully agree with his assumptions, the connotation of death which he repeatedly suggests persists in the reflections of *xian*, as pointed out earlier. Moreover, death is particularly associated with the idea of *shijixian* (*xian* released from the body), which first emerges in the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master Baopu), composed by Ge Hong(283-343)²⁸². This actively involved apparent physical death, and its accomplishment was signalled by disappearance of the corpse or by its perfect state of preservation. Although death as a criterion for this type of *xian*-hood has been construed as a simulation or as some kind of initiation rite, the end of physical life is clearly implied. Thus, those images of *xian*

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p.59.

²⁸¹ "*Hanshu*. 30th *juan*. "yiwenzhi". p.1780.

²⁸² *Baopuzi Neipian*. 2nd *juan*. "lunxian 論仙". p.20.

which definitely involve physical longevity, as evidenced in philological exegesis, also imply physical mortality. However, the mortality of the body in association with the idea of *xian* holds the possibility, especially associated with the idea of *hun* and *po* spirits, of another form of eternity; spiritual immortality.

These ambiguities in the concept of *xian* gave rise to typological variants. For instance, the *Baopuzi* refers to two other types: *tianxian* 天仙 (the heavenly *xian*), and *dixian* 地仙 (the earthly *xian*), besides *xian* released from the body²⁸³. More instances are to be found in biographies of *xian* such as the *Liexianzhuan* and the *Shenxianzhuan* which portray *xian* in association with diverse characteristics, specialities and techniques for achieving *xian* status. Although these three sources are confined to *xian* of human origin, images of *xian* were further amplified to include *xian* with non-human origins. In particular, later novels such as the *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (The Journey to the West) and the *Fengshen Yanyi* 封神演義 (Story of the Enfeoffment of the Divinities) refer to *xian* originating from animals, plants, implements, musical instruments and so forth.

These complicated variations on the concept of *xian* can be divided into two broad categories: *xian* “from the beginning” and *xian* as an acquired status²⁸⁴. According to Obuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *xian* was originally conceived of an inborn quality, not one that could be

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Obuchi Ninji. 1952. pp.34-35.

achieved. He presumes that conceptual shifts later gave rise to the idea of *xian* as an attainable state, as is implied by the popularity of the Immortal cult²⁸⁵. Biographies of *xian* confirm Obuchi's theory that some were born *xian*²⁸⁶ and some became *xian* through certain practices²⁸⁷. Ishida Hidemi, who generally accepts Obuchi's assumption, claims, however, that this conceptual difference is not diachronic, but that the two ideas of *xian* coexisted from an early stage²⁸⁸. The coexistence of two different concepts of *xian* can apparently be observed in the Mawangdui materials. At least, a painting from tomb no.1 of Mawangdui in which a woman on the way to

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ For instance, *Liexianzhuan* introduces Chisongzi 赤待子, Chijiang Ziyu 赤將子與, Wo Quan 儻侗, Rong Cheng and etc., whereas *Shenxianzhuan* presents Gongchengzi, Ruo Shi 若士 and so forth. *Liexianzhuan*. p.3, p. 9, p.13, p.15; *Shenxianzhuan*. p.156, p.158.

²⁸⁷ For instance, Zhang Junming 章君明 is mentioned in a biography about Zhu Zhu 主柱 in the *Liexianzhuan*. He practised alchemy under the instruction of Zhu, became possible to fly and left with Zhu Zhu. The ex-wife of Wen Bing 文賓 in the same source can be also accounted as *xian* to become by means of drug takings. The *Shenxianzhuan* introduces rather wider variations of *xian* of this type: Li Wenyan 李文淵 in a episode about Chen Wentai 沈文泰 who became the one through drug taking, Bai Shisheng 白石生 who dares to learn the method of immortality instead of becoming *xian* mainly through sexual techniques and taking golden liquids and medicine, Huangshanqun 黄山君 who studies the methods of Pengzu for the purpose to become *dixian* 地仙 (the earthly *xian*) rather than that to *feisheng* 飛昇 (fly to ascend) and so forth. *Liexianzhuan*. p.95, p.117; *Shenxianchuan*. p.161, p.174, p.176.

²⁸⁸ Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実. 1995. *Kokoro to Karada—Kodai Chūgoku ni okeru Shintai no Shisō* こころとからだ—古代中国における身体の思想 (Mind and Body—The Idea of Mind and Body in Ancient China). Fukuoka: Chūgoku shoten. pp. 217-219.

the paradise is depicted suggests the idea to become *xian* after her demise²⁸⁹. Thus, Ishida's version of Obuchi's assumption best reflects ideas of *xian* current by the time the Mawangdui texts were interred. Whether we regard *xian* as possessing longevity, eternal life, otherworldliness or spiritual immortality, there is no doubt that the acquired status of *xian* was the prize to which the Immortal cult aspired.

The Immortal cult is considered to have connections with several Chinese beliefs: the notion of human spirits; the belief in divine islands, which emerged in the northern part of China some time during the third or fourth century B.C.; and the belief in the holy mountain located somewhere in the west, which presumably originated in the western part of China²⁹⁰. In addition, the belief in the eight divine spirits, which was current in the state of Qi, is considered to have exercised some influence on the cult²⁹¹. However, it is the ideas of spirits, divine

²⁸⁹ Loewe, Michael. 1979. Ways to Paradise—The Chinese Quest for Immortality. London: George Allen & Unwin, pp.34-35; Ishida Hidemi. 1995. p. 217.

²⁹⁰ Kominami Ichiro 小南一郎. 1989. "*Tsubogata no Uchū* 壺型の宇宙 (Cosmos in a Jar)". Tōhō Gakuhō 東方学報 (Journal of Oriental Studies) .vol. 61. Kyoto: The Institute for Research Humanities. pp. 165-222, p.169; Obuchi Ninji. 1952. p.25; Yamada Toshiaki. 1987. pp.331-334.

²⁹¹ Miura Kunio. 2000. pp.176-177; Obuchi Ninji. 1952. p.25, p.28; Yamada Toshiaki. 1987. p. 334. Also see Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.46-61.

islands and the holy mountain that are most clearly present in the intellectual background of the cult. The idea of human spirits is regarded as the inspiration for the *xian's* faculty of ascent, which includes both magical flight and ascension to the otherworld. The same idea is apparently connected with suggestions that the *xian* possessed spiritual immortality. At the same time, the divine islands and the holy mountain, which we may presume were originally not directly connected with the concept of *xian*, are transformed into the paradises of the *xian*.

The Chinese believed that human beings possessed multiple spirits. The number of spirits increased in later periods, especially in association with Daoism²⁹², but two spirits *hun* and *po* were basically distinguished. During the Han periods at least, these two spirits were dominant in the concept of human spirits²⁹³. *Hun* was characterised as *yang*, and identified with *qi*. On the other hand, *po* was classified as *yin*, and was considered to be attached to the body. Also, *po* was believed to come into being at conception while *hun* developed at birth.

²⁹² Ge Hong seems to be the first person who mentioned three *hun* and seven *po*. Since Ge, the idea of three *hun* and seven *po* became popular especially among Daoism as well as popular beliefs. *Baopuzi Neipian*. 18th *juan*. "dizhen 地真". p.326. As for the idea of *hun* and *po*, see also de Groot, J.J.M. 1964. The Religious System of China—Its Ancient Forms, Evaluation, History and Present Aspect. Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith. Taipei: Jingwen Shuju. vol. 4. Book II.pp.70-75; Liu Cunren 柳存仁. 2000. *Daojiaoshi Tanyuan 道教史探源 (Searching the Origin of History of Daoism)*. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe. p.18.

²⁹³ Loewe, Michael. 1979. pp.9-11.

Although *hun* and *po* were thought to stay together throughout life, they were believed to separate at the time of death: *hun* ascended heavenward, while *po* returned to the earth. A passage from the Zuoshizhuan 左氏傳 (Zuo's Tradition of the Spring and Autumn Annals) (Zuozhuan, hereafter) of 3rd to 1st century B.C. explains this process as follows: “*Qi* naturally ascends. Therefore, *hun*, which is identical to *qi*, returns to the sky. In contrast, *po* essentially belongs to a body. Since the corpse goes back to the soil, *po* also returns to the earth²⁹⁴”.

Hun and *po*, once separated, became objects of worship²⁹⁵. As they had different characteristics, so they become different entities after separation. *Hun* turned into *shen* 神 (divinity), and *po* into *gui* 鬼 (the spirit of the deceased)²⁹⁶. The term *gui* generally indicates the spirit of a dead person, but at the same time it often implies a demon. *Shen* in connection with *hun* also designates the spirit of a deceased person, however the term clearly has divine or numinous connotations. As discussed in the preceding section, ancestor worship was predicated on sympathy of *qi* between ancestors and descendants who shared the same kind of *qi*. Since *shen* was identical to *qi*, worshipping *shen*

²⁹⁴ Zuozhuan. 44th *juan*. “*zhaogong qinian* 昭公七年”. p.2050.

²⁹⁵ For example, in Liji, it says that the “*Qi* (of dead people) goes up and becomes bright... is the *jing* of everything. This is the manifestation of Divinity. (其氣發揚于上為昭明...此百物之精也、神之著也)”. This expresses the idea that human *qi* leaving the corpse for heaven is regarded a divinity to be worshipped. Liji. 47th *juan*. “*jisi* 祭祀”. p.1595.

²⁹⁶ Zuozhuan. 44th *juan*. “*zhaogong qinian*”. p.2050.

obviously meant worshipping the numinous aspects of ancestors. Thus, *shen* rather than *gui* was an object of worship.

The features of *hun* parallel some of those of *xian*. *Hun*'s natural tendency to ascend has its counterpart in the characteristic ascent of the *xian*. Moreover, *hun* was apparently considered to rise up towards a heavenly paradise²⁹⁷, while *po* was thought to descend to the *huangquan* 黄泉 (the yellow spring), which was evidently believed to flow beneath the earth²⁹⁸. The ascent of *hun* to paradise corresponds to *xian*'s association with otherworldly utopias. In addition, *hun* in its aspect of the *qi* of ancestors was believed to endure over time, since ancestor worship was expected to continue through the generations. This implies the eternal existence of *hun*, which further supports suggestions of the *xian*'s spiritual immortality.

The three divine islands, Penglai 蓬莱, Fangzhang, 方丈 and Yingzhou 瀛州 in the Eastern Sea of China, together with Mt. Kunlun 崑崙 in the west, were believed to be paradises of the *xian*. Although these holy islands and the holy mountain were assimilated together under the influence of the Immortal cult, they were in origin unrelated phenomena. For instance, the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of Historian) completed around 99 A.D., mentions three divine islands floating

²⁹⁷ For instance, a Mawangdui painting on cloth is considered to depict the journey of *hun* to the heavenly paradise, although scholars disagree over the interpretation of the details of the painting. See Loewe, Michael. 1979. pp.34-59.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., pp.10-11.

among the sea, called Bohai 渤海²⁹⁹. These islands were difficult to reach, since they looked like clouds from a distance, but sank beneath the sea as one approached them. Also, the winds blowing about these islands were strong enough to tear a boat apart³⁰⁰. These characteristics of the three divine islands suggest that they may have partly originated in experience of mirages. Indeed, the Shandong peninsula facing the East China Sea, where the belief in the three divine islands presumably originated, is famous for its mirages³⁰¹. However, the *Shiji* clearly shows that these three islands were connected with *xian* and with drugs for immortality. They were regarded as *xian* utopias, where the drugs for immortality grew and where all the animals were shining white³⁰².

On the contrary, Mt. Kunlun does not figure as a *xian* paradise in early references. For example, the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Oceans) of probably 290-240 B.C compilation refers to Mt. Kunlun without mentioning any association with *xian*³⁰³.

²⁹⁹ *Shiji*. 28th *juan*. "fengchanshu 封禪書". pp.1369-1370.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1370.

³⁰¹ Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子. 1991. *Ryū no Sumu Radosukeipu—Chūgokujin no Kūkan Dezain* 龍の住むランドスケープ—中国人の空間デザイン (Landscape Where the Dragon Lives — Spatial design of the Chinese). Tokyo: Fukutake Shoten. pp. 82-85.

³⁰² *Shiji*. 28th *juan*. "fengchanshu". p.1370.

³⁰³ *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Oceans). Anonymous. Compiled probably between 290-240 B.C. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 1042. 16th *juan*. "dahuang xijing 大荒西經". p.77. About the dating of this text, see Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp.357-361.

Although this source alludes, in relation to Mt. Kunlun, to Xiwangmu 西王母 (the queen mother of the west), who later became the representative female *xian*, she is not portrayed in the text as a *xian*. Etymologically, the name of Mt. Kunlun is considered to be related to *hulu* 葫蘆 or *hulu* 壺蘆 (a gourd-shaped jar); *huntun* 混沌 (chaos); and *kongdong* 崆峒 (cave)³⁰⁴. Partly because a gourd-shaped jar symbolises the depths of the chaotic otherworld³⁰⁵, Mt. Kunlun became associated with an unattainable paradise. In addition, Mt. Kunlun was associated with drugs for immortality, as were the three divine islands. Apparently, the otherworldly features of the three divine islands, which were almost inaccessible, and the corresponding features of Mt. Kunlun, together with their association with drugs for immortality, allowed them to be grouped together as *xian* utopias.³⁰⁶

In addition to the three beliefs discussed above, various classical canons are often claimed to contain references to the concept of *xian* in the Immortal cult³⁰⁷. For instance, the idea of the equivalence of life

³⁰⁴ Nakano Miyoko. 1991. p.47.

³⁰⁵ Kominami Ichiro points out three ways in which a gourd-shaped jar relates to otherworldly symbolism. First, the double or dual structure of a jar indicates the otherworld inside the jar. Secondly, a jar implies chaos. Thirdly, mythological ideas which were based on social customs rather than ideology connected a jar with the otherworld. For instance, an urn was used at funerals, suggesting that the deceased journeyed to the world of the ancestors by way of a jar. Kominami Ichiro. 1989. pp. 176-178.

³⁰⁶ Miura Kunio. 2000. pp.176-177. Also see Nakano Miyoko. 1991. pp.40-66.

³⁰⁷ Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫. 1995. *Kodai Chūgokujin no Fushi Gensō* 古代中国人の不死幻想 (The Illusion of Immortality among the Ancient Chinese). Tokyo: Tōhō

and death, found in the *Zhuangzi*, probably forms part of the intellectual background of the concept³⁰⁸. To give another example, some scholars claim that the *Chuci* 楚辭 (The Songs of the South) of probably late 4th century B.C., provides evidence of the concept of the immortal *xian*³⁰⁹. These canonical references indicate that images and concepts of *xian* were widespread throughout China by the third century B.C. at the latest.

The diffusion of the Immortal cult is believed to owe a particular debt to the activities of *fangshi* 方士 (masters of techniques), who emerged primarily in the Shandong area³¹⁰. These individuals, who had knowledge of medicine and herbal remedies as well as alchemy, were the medium through which the Immortal cult gained its ascendancy. They were often engaged by aristocrats and emperors, and their extraordinary knowledge and skills fostered a belief among the elite in the existence of *xian* and the means of acquiring *xian* status.

Shoten. p.22 ; Miura Kunio. 2000. p.177; Obuchi Ninji. 1952. p.32; Yamada Toshiaki. 1987. pp.333-334.

³⁰⁸ Miura Kunio. 2000. p.177; Obuchi Ninji. 1952. p.32; Yamada Toshiaki. 1987. p.334. It should be noted that it is a matter of debate whether this idea of the equality of life and death is related to *xian* and immortality. For example, Yoshikawa refers to Fukunaga Koji for examples of the counterarguments. Yoshikawa Tadao. 1995. p.22.

³⁰⁹ For instance, see Yamada Toshiaki. 1987. p.333; Holzman, Donald. 1994. pp.105-106.

³¹⁰ Kominami Ichiro. 1989. p.169; Obuchi Ninji. 1952. p.25; Yamada Toshiaki. 1987. pp.331-334.

These *fangshi* apparently had individual specialisms. For instance, Li Shaojun 李少君 who was famous as a protégé of the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, was an expert in the rites of the cooking stove as well as “*gudao* 穀道 (the way of grain)”³¹¹. It remains unclear what exactly was intended by the “way of grain”, although commentaries in the *Shiji* suggest that it may have been a method of “*bigu* 辟穀 (avoiding grain)” or “*shigu daoyin* 食穀導引 (eating grain and gymnastics)”³¹². At all events, Li’s specialism in the rites of cooking stoves was related to alchemy. He explained to the emperor Wu of the Han that the rites of cooking stoves enabled one to create gold, which was usually made from cinnabar with the aid of alchemical techniques. Using the gold dishes and cups produced by this method at a meal enabled one to visit the Penglai island, one of the three divine islands in the Eastern Sea, and to meet the *xian* living on the island, according to Li. He also mentioned “*fengshan* 封禪 (the *feng* and *shan* rituals)” which, although they are well known in the context of the imperial cult, and are not just about becoming *xian*, finalised the process of becoming *xian*³¹³. Thus, these rites of cooking stoves were the initial step towards becoming *xian* according to Li’s method.

To take another example, Bo Youji 薄誘忌 is mentioned as specialising in the worship of a divine entity, Taiyi 泰一 (the peaceful

³¹¹ *Shiji*. 12th *juan*. “*xiaowu benji* 孝武本紀”. pp.453-454.

³¹² *Ibid*.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p.455.

one), while Gong Sunqing 公孫卿 is said to have had knowledge of *baoding* 宝鼎 (the treasured tripod kettle)³¹⁴. In each case, these special techniques and lore were associated with a method of becoming *xian*. In particular, the tripod kettle in the latter case was believed to have belonged to the Yellow Emperor and was supposed to have enabled him to become *xian*³¹⁵.

The close association between these *fangshi* and Chinese emperors apparently influenced the spread of the Immortal cult. As is well known, the first emperor of the Qin and the emperor Wu of the Han were addictive seekers after *xian*-hood, hoping to become *xian* and to attain individual immortality. While Li Shaojun encouraged the activities of the emperor Wu of the Han, Lu Sheng 盧生 and Xu Fu 徐福³¹⁶ used their favour with the first emperor of Qin to induce him to devote himself to the quest for *xian* and drugs of immortality³¹⁷. Xu indeed set out several times on fruitless quests for Penglai island in the Eastern Sea. At last, he demanded thousands of boys and girls as a gift for the island of the *xian*³¹⁸. Children were apparently brought

³¹⁴ Bo Youji 薄誘忌 is mentioned as claiming to worship the Taiyi 泰一, and Gong Sunqing 公孫卿 is said to have referred to the book of the Tripod Kettle, in which the Yellow Emperor is claimed to have possessed the Treasury Tripod Kettle. *Ibid.*, p.456, p.468.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.456, pp.467-468.

³¹⁶ Xu Fu 徐福 is sometimes mentioned as Xu Shi 徐市. *Ibid.*, 6th *juan*. "*qinshihuang benji* 秦始皇本紀". p.247, p.258, p.263.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.265, p.257.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.247. p.268; 118th *juan*. "*huainan hengshan liezhuan* 淮南衡山列傳". p.

together from all over the country. However after their departure to seek the island, neither he nor they were ever seen or heard of again³¹⁹. Notwithstanding, the eagerness of the first emperor of the Qin to support this venture announced his faith in *xian* and in methods for becoming *xian*, to the whole country of China, which he had unified.

In addition to these two masters of techniques under the patronage of the first emperor of Qin, two other figures were influential in this period. Song Wuji 宋毋忌 and Xianmen Gaoshi 羨門高誓³²⁰ were believed to specialise in “*xingjie suohua zhi shu* 形解鎖化之術 (the art of solving and transforming the figure)”, which was probably similar to or connected with *xian* released from the body³²¹. Although they did not enjoy the protection of the empire, they proclaimed the

3086.

³¹⁹ Lu Sheng 盧生 blames Xu Fu deceiving the first emperor of Qin and escaping from the emperor. It indicates that Lu Sheng and the first emperor of Qin did not know Xu and the children's where about. However, the commentary on the *Shiji* mentions that Xu Fu and children stayed Danzhou 甌洲 which is ten thousands *li* away from Langya 琅邪. Also, the text in chapter of “*huainan hengshan liezhuan*” mentions that Xu obtained vast plain field with marshes and became the king of the land. *Ibid.*, 6th *juan*. “*qinshihuang benji*”. p.248, p.258; 118th *juan*. “*huainan hengshan liezhuan*”. p.3086. It is also noteworthy that Xu became to be believed to have arrived on Japan. It may be primarily because of the location of Danzhou 甌洲, however, this idea is rather folkloristic and I could not have found any scholarly or traditional apprehensions for it. Besides the Chinese anecdote, Japanese by themselves hold several legendary oral traditions of Xu's arrival at various locations.

³²⁰ Xianmen Gaoshi 羨門高誓 is also mentioned as a *xian*. *Ibid.*, 28th *juan*. “*fengchanshu* 封禪書”. p.1367.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p.1368.

existence of *xian* to the public. Their influential public activities clearly strengthened the belief of the first emperor of the Qin in *xian* and techniques for becoming *xian*³²². On the one hand, public proselytising the existence of *xian* assisted the private activities of *fangshi* in the imperial courts. On the other hand, the imperial patronage of *fangshi*, as well as royal enthusiasm for the quest for *xian*, facilitated the nationwide diffusion of the Immortal cult.

Fangzhongshu was one of the specialities that *fangshi* employed as a technique for becoming *xian*. For instance, the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) which was completed in 445, mentions four *fangshi* who practised sexual techniques: Leng Shouguan 冷寿光, Gan Shi 甘始, Dongguo Yannian 東郭延年, and Feng Junda 封君達³²³. All of them are said to have prolonged their lives by practising the art of Rong Cheng, a *xian* of antiquity³²⁴. Although it remains unclear in what precisely the sexual art of Rong Cheng consisted, this source is apparently the oldest official reference to adepts specialising in sexual art, as Needham points out³²⁵.

Since Rong Cheng was regarded as one of the ancient *xian*, his sexual techniques, as practised by these *fangshi*, were obviously

³²² Ibid., 6nd *juan*. "qinshihuang benji". p.251; 28th *juan*. "fengchanshu". p.1367.

³²³ *Houhanshu*. 82th *juan xia*. "fangshu liezhuan 方術列傳". pp.2749- 2750.

³²⁴ Ibid. Rong Cheng is mentioned as a master of gymnastics as well as the sexual art and as an instructor of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi. See *Liexianzhuan*. p.15.

³²⁵ Needham, Joseph. 1956. p.150.

connected with the aspiration to become *xian*. Pengzu, another ancient *xian*, was likewise considered a master of the sexual art³²⁶. Besides such associations between sexual arts and ancient *xian*, the benefits to health and longevity gained through the sexual art, as well as its power to control *qi*, presumably intensified faith in the art as an efficacious method for becoming *xian*. Thus, the number of *xian* who were believed to have achieved their status through sexual techniques evidently increased as the Immortal cult progressed³²⁷.

Although the sexual art was definitely one of the methods of becoming *xian* employed by *fangshi*, there are few references to this fact. Textual evidence is especially sparse for the association with aristocrats and emperors. Apparently, the *Hanwu Gushi* 漢武故事 (Events during the Reign of the Emperor Wu of the Han)³²⁸ contains

³²⁶ *Liexianzhuan*, p.36; *Shenxianzhuan*, p.163. Also see, Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸. 1998. "Happykusai ikita Sennin/Bōsoi 八百歳生きた仙人・彭祖 (An Immortal Who Lived Eight Hunderds Years/ Pengzu)". *Shibun* 斯文 (This Culture), no.106. Tokyo: Shibundo. pp141-150

³²⁷ For instance, the Yellow Emperor, who was said to have become *xian* by means of the Treasured Tripod Kettle, was also believed to have practised the sexual art. Also, some female *xian* are said to have attained their status through the sexual art. For instance, Nü Wan 女丸 is said to have had relations with many young men under the guidance of a text on the sexual art left to her by a *xian*. In addition, Xiwangmu, the queen mother of the west, is said to have practised the sexual art. *Shiji*, 12th *juan*. "xiaowu benji 孝武本紀". pp.467-468, 28th *juan*. "fengchanshu 封禪書". pp. 1392-1394; *Liexianzhuan*, p.136; *Ishinpō*, 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p.636.

³²⁸ *Hanwu Gushi* 漢武故事 (Events During the Reign of the Emperor Wu of the Han). Traditionally attributed to Ban Gu 班固(32-92) but also attributed to Wang Jian 王儉. Compiled probably before 625. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 1042.

the only reference to imperial involvement in the sexual art. According to this source, the emperor Wu of the Han practised sexual arts. The source reports as follows: "The emperor was worshipping a female divinity named Shenjun 神君. One day she visited a general of the emperor, Huo Qubing 霍去病, who was dying. She offered to have sexual intercourse with him, which he refused. A few days later, Huo passed away. The divinity explained to the emperor that Huo died because he refused her offer. She was trying to rescue him from death by giving him her *qi* through intercourse, since she knew this method. Hearing this, the emperor asked her to teach him the method. Thus, the emperor practised the sexual art with the female divinity, and it was indeed efficacious for him³²⁹".

This text is not a standard history and its contents are not completely reliable³³⁰. However, this episode indicates that the emperor Wu of the Han was considered by some people to have practised the sexual art. Although this narrative does not describe the practical benefits which the emperor obtained from the sexual art, there is an implied association with sexual arts for the purpose of

³²⁹ *Hanwu Gushi*, pp.285-286.

³³⁰ As for scholarship on the authorship of this text, see *Gujin Weishukao* 古今偽書考 (Study on Old and Modern Forgeries). Compiled by Tiao Jiheng 姚際恆, probably after 1693. In Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 ed. 1955. *Gujin Kaobian Congkan* 古籍考辨叢刊 (Collection of Works Discussing the Authenticity of Ancient Texts). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. p. 285; Huang Yunmei 黃雲梅. 1933. *Gujin Weishukao Buzheng* 古今偽書考補證 (Supplementary Proofs about the Study on Old and Modern Forgeries). Nanjing: Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu suo. pp.93-94.

becoming *xian*. This is partly because the sexual art was one of the specialities of *fangshi* who believed the existence of *xian* attainable and the emperor aspired to become the one. It is still more evident, moreover, since the source specifies that the sexual techniques of the female divinity were similar to those of Rong Cheng³⁸¹. Presumably, it was not an actual divine being, but a female medium acting as an intermediary between the emperor and the divinity with whom the emperor practised the sexual art. If so, the medium is likely to have been a female *fangshi* under imperial patronage who specialised in sexual techniques.

Although there is scant textual evidence for the practice of sexual arts among *fangshi* or at the imperial court, frequent references to its efficacy for the purpose of becoming *xian* in the literature of the sexual art testify to its association with the Immortal cult. The fact that various masters of the art who were believed to have become *xian* figure so largely in the literature of the genre³⁸² provides further confirmation of its connection with the cult. Nonetheless, there are considerably fewer technical or practical accounts of techniques for the purpose of becoming *xian* than for other purposes, even though it was one of the art's most desirable benefits. This suggests that the Immortal cult relates to *fangzhongshu* in terms of ideological

³⁸¹ *Hanwu Gushi*, p.286.

³⁸² For instance, Rong Cheng, Pengzu and the Yellow Emperor frequently appear in the literature of the sexual art, either as questioners or as instructors.

background, rather than providing an explicitly recognised theoretical framework to support its techniques.

2-5. Chinese Medicine

The art of sexual activities was for centuries regarded in the same light as medical techniques. As discussed in the previous chapter, the official historiography of the Han dynasty places the sexual art, herbal therapy, acupuncture and moxibustion in the same category, and standard histories for the Sui to the Tang dynasties classify sexual techniques under the category of medicine. However, most literature classified under the rubric of Chinese medicine became inaccessible from unknown period.

It is owing to the “rediscovery” of the literature of the genre and the reconstruction of various texts that our understanding of the medical aspects of the sexual art has since improved. The *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine) was composed in 984 by a Japanese royal physician, Tanba no Yasuyori. The 28th chapter of this text deals precisely with sexual techniques. The text is a collection of quotations from Chinese medical classics, and thus preserves fragments of several sexual classics, many of which are mentioned in the Sui and the Tang standard histories. The theories

and contents of the work influenced the ideas and techniques of Japanese medical practice³³³, but the text itself was long concealed. It was strictly confined to the use of Japanese royal families and only accessible to a few families of royal physicians. The text was first published at the end of the Edo era (1603-1867), yet even then it was not on sale to the public³³⁴. It was not until 1903 that a Chinese student happened to see the 28th volume of this text on exhibition in Tokyo and he “rediscovered” the “lost classics” of the art there. Later in 1903, the Chinese scholar Ye Dehui reconstructed those classics on the basis of a copy sent to him by the student and published them in his collection³³⁵. Since Ye’s restorations were based on those fragments

³³³ Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒(1630-1714)’s *Yōiyōkun* 養生訓 (Regulations for Nourishing Life) composed in 1713 shows the obvious influence of the Chinese medical ideas preserved in *Ishinpō* especially matters concerning sexual activities. He especially considers restriction of ejaculation beneficial for the maintenance of health. *Yōiyōkun* 養生訓 (Regulations for Nourishing Life) . Compiled by Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒(1630-1714), in 1713. I refer to a modern collated edition. Ishikawa Ken 石川謙 ed. 1994. *Yōiyōkun/Wazoku Dōjūkun* 養生訓・和俗童子訓 (Adomonitorions on Nourishing Life/ Adomonitorions of Japanese Children in General). Tokyo: Iwanami bunko. pp.96-100.

³³⁴ *Ishinpō* including copies of the text, had been preserved privately and was not accessible to the public for a long time. Therefore, this was a matter not precisely of “rediscovery”, but rather of “opening to the public”, although access was still limited. The text was first published in 1860, although it was not yet sold publicly. Regarding the history of the transmission of this text, see the first chapter of the following works. Sugitachi Yoshikazu. 1991; Yamahara Hiroaki. 1953.

³³⁵ It was Ye Dehui’s pupil who realised that the once “lost” texts of the sexual arts were preserved in the 28th *juan* of the *Ishinpō*, when he saw the text in Tokyo in 1903. Based on the hand written transcriptions of the pupil, Ye undertook a reconstruction

that were preserved in the Japanese medical text, this cannot not be accounted a complete rebirth of the classics. Nonetheless, the approach to those texts clearly became easier owing to his efforts.

Thanks to Ye, six texts became available. They were the *Sunü jing* 素女經 (The Classic of the Plain Girl), the *Sunüfang* 素女方 (Recipes of the Plain Girl), the *Xuannüjing* 玄女經 (The Classic of the Dark Girl), the *Yufang Mijue* 玉房秘訣 (Secrets of the Jade Chamber), the *Yufang Zhiyao* 玉房指要 (Essentials of the Jade Chamber) and the *Dongxuanzi* 洞玄子 (Master Dongxuan). Not only were these included in medical collections in Japan, but also all the texts except for *Dongxuanzi* are listed under the medical category in the official bibliographies of the Sui and the Tang. Thus, these canons of the sexual art were clearly viewed in relation with medicine. In addition, the Japanese medical classic contained quotations from chapters in the *Qianjin Yaofang* 千金要方 (Priceless Prescriptions), written by Sun Simiao in the Tang dynasty, and the *Yangxing Yanminglu* 養性延命錄 (Records of Nourishing Nature and Lengthening Life), composed by Tao Hongjing.

Generally, the theoretical background of Chinese pathology had two main strands which can be traced back to antiquity. One was the idea that illness was caused by some invasive agent from outside the body,

of the texts, which he published in the same year with some additions such as *Dalefu*. Sugitachi Yoshikazu. 1991. p.24.

originally conceived as *guishen* 鬼神 (demons and divinities). For instance, a passage from the *Zuozhuan* clearly states that demonic spirits were a cause of diseases. It says that “the divinities of mountains and rivers punish people with floods, droughts and pestilence³³⁶”. The idea of demonic illness resides in the belief that some entity external to the body “has relocated itself on or in the body³³⁷”, affecting the state of health. Thus, exorcism and magical therapies were considered appropriate treatments for diseases of this sort³³⁸.

Another causation of illness is based on the idea of *qi*. The *Zuozhuan* also describes how the condition of *qi* brings about illness. “A man of virtue has four periods, with listening to politics in the morning, visiting in the afternoon, reciting orders in the evening and easing the body at night. So, [one should] control well that *qi*. Without the use of it, it would causes the separation, the blockage, the accumulation and the halt [of blood and *qi*], that appears on the body.³³⁹”. Here it is a lack of controlling *qi* which causes an imbalance of health. Losing the control over *qi* often indicates excess and deficiency of *qi*. Again in the *Zuozhuan*, the excess of six different kinds of *qi* – of *yin*, *yang*, wind, rain, darkness and brightness – are interpreted as the

³³⁶ *Zuozhuan*, 41st *juan*. “*zhaogong yuannian*”. p.2024.

³³⁷ Harper, Donald. 1997. p.69.

³³⁸ Harper, Donald. 1997. pp.43-44, pp.148-149; Yamada Keiji. 1990. pp.37-47.

³³⁹ *Zuozhuan*, 41st *juan*. “*zhaogong yuannian*”. p.2024.

cause of diseases. For example, excess of *yin qi* will result in illnesses of cold, that of *yang* will cause diseases of heat, and that of wind will cause numbness of the limbs³⁴⁰.

Qi inside the body was considered to circulate or float with blood in the *mai* 脈 (vessels). These two elements are considered to dominate physiological speculation by the third century B.C.³⁴¹. It was the *Huangdi Neijing* 黄帝内经 (The Canon of Yellow Emperor), the earliest received medical corpus in China, which established the ideas of *qi* and blood in the vessels on a rational basis by employing the theories of *yin* and *yang*, and *wuxing* 五行 (the five phases). For example, *qi* circulating among the vessels was named *yingqi* 营气 (occupying *qi*), while *qi* of food and beverages, which was transmitted to the lungs from the stomach, was named *weiqi* 卫气 (guarding *qi*). Although the floating system of *qi* and blood was considered to differ by day and by night, the former was supposed usually to circulate within the vessels, typifying *yin*, whereas the latter was categorised as *yang* since it floats outside the vessels³⁴².

Explanations for illness also became more logical and detailed in the schools of the Yellow Emperor tradition. Blockage, deficiency and excess of *qi* were still reasons for diseases, but imbalances of particular

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p.2025.

³⁴¹ Harper, Donald. 1997. p.69.

³⁴² Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実. 1992. *Chūgoku Igaku Shisōshi* 中国医学思想史 (History of Chinese Medical Thought). Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai. pp.131-132.

qi or parts of the body were thought to be linked with specific disorders. For instance, the Huangdi Neijing Suwen 黄帝内经素问 (The Inner Canon of Yellow Emperor: The Primary Questions) states that a person without “*weiqi* 胃氣 (stomach *qi*)”³⁴³ is dead³⁴⁴. Here, stomach *qi* is especially implicated in the relationship between life and death. Furthermore, the same source says that the balance of *qi* of stomach and other *qi* inside the body holds the key to human health³⁴⁵. In this context, stomach *qi* is definitely one of the major *qi*, holding sway over human life and death.

Although the canons of the Yellow Emperor schools are the dominant classical authorities for Chinese medical thought, their prototypes can already be observed in the medical manuscripts unearthed at Mawangdui. For instance, texts concerning the vessels found at Mawangdui are considered archetypes of the theories of the Yellow Emperor tradition³⁴⁶. As another example, the concept of

³⁴³ Huangdi Neijing Suwen 黄帝内经素问 (The Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor: The Primary Questions). Anonymous. Compiled possibly during 1st century. I have used modern collated edition. 1994. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe. 5th *juan*. “*pingrenqi xianglun pian* 平人氣象論篇”. pp.109-110.

³⁴⁴ “*Weiqi* 胃氣” is explained as the general *qi* of the “a eased man 平人”, who are regarded as being very healthy, with their pulse moving twice with each breath. Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.110-111.

³⁴⁶ Zupi Shiyi Maijiujing 足臂十一脈灸經 (Canon for Moxibustion on the Eleven Vessels on Foot and Arms), Yinyang Shiyi Maijiujing 陰陽十一脈灸經 (Canon for Moxibustion on the Eleven Vessels on Yin and Yang), Maifa 脈法 (Model of Vessels), and Yinyang Maisihou 陰陽脈死候 (Death signs of Yin and Yang Vessels), found in

“*qisun bayi* 七損八益 (the seven disadvantages and eight advantages)”, which appears in the *Huangdi Neijing Suwen*, already figures in the Mawangdui medical manuscripts. The exact meaning of the term was formerly obscure, since the canons of the Yellow Emperor do not explain the practical details of it. However, it was evident that this term pointed to some extremely important techniques in the Yellow Emperor tradition, since the text states that “if you know the seven disadvantages and eight advantages, these two (which are *yin* and *yang*) can be harmonised. But if you do not know the use of them, it will result in early decline.³⁴⁷” Owing to the “rediscovery” of the *Ishinpō*, the seven disadvantages and eight advantages were understood to be beneficial and deleterious conditions of *qi* for health. This interpretation is confirmed by the Mawangdui manuscripts, in which they are also described as effective and ineffective practices for the state of *qi*³⁴⁸.

Furthermore, as we shall see below the descriptions of the seven

the Mawangdui tomb, are believed to predate the theories of the Yellow Emperor schools. See Yamada Keiji 山田慶児. 1999. *Chūgoku Igaku no Kigen* 中国医学の起源 (Origin of Chinese Medicine). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. pp.263-268.

³⁴⁷ *Huangdi Neijing Suwen*. 2nd *juan*. “*yinyang yingxiang dalun* 陰陽應象大論”. p.43.

³⁴⁸ “If you are unable to utilize the eight benefits and eliminate the seven detriments, at the age of forty, *yin* vapour has halved itself...Eliminate the seven detriments, thereby shaking off its ailments. Utilize the eight benefits, thereby assisting its vapour. Therefore, the aged are restored to vigor, and the vigor does not deteriorate.” *Tianxia Zhidaotan* 天下至道談 (Discourse on the Ultimate Way under Heaven). p.164; I have referred to the translation of Donald Harper. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.428.

disadvantages and eight advantages, both the Japanese medical collection and the Mawangdui texts clearly indicate that these conditions of *qi* are indeed related to the sexual art. The following chapter will review the technical aspects of these advantages and disadvantages in the context of the sexual art. Nonetheless, it is important to note two points here. First, therapeutic and sexual methods shared specific techniques concerned with the state of *qi* for health. Secondly, these techniques stemmed from the sexual art and were of major importance in the Chinese medical tradition. Literature of the art provides explanations of the disadvantages and advantages, whereas that of the Yellow Emperor schools does not. This indicates that the term belonged primarily to the tradition of the sexual art and moreover that its meaning was assumed to be familiar to physicians of Chinese medicine.

Accounts of pathology in literature of the sexual techniques are apparently based on the idea of *qi* rather than that of demonic entities outside the body. This is clearly evident in a passage from the *Qianjin Yaofang*. Sun states in this text that the sexual art is a method for replenishing *qi*, especially from the fourth decade when human *qi* starts to decline. Since the diminution of *qi* causes "every disease³⁴⁹", supplementing *qi* by sexual arts is effective in preventing ailments.

³⁴⁹ *Qianjin Yaofang*, 27th juan. "fangzhong buyi". p.488.

Thus, he defines sexual techniques as “a therapy for man by man”³⁵⁰.

Yet this does not necessarily mean that the sexual art was entirely unconcerned with the demonic causation of illness. Severe restrictions on ejaculation or excessive constraint of sexual desire were thought to be reasons for demonic intercourse in dreams³⁵¹. This symptom presumably indicates nocturnal emission in the male, and this accidental loss of semen, which was an important *qi* of the body, was obviously undesirable for the maintenance of health. These demonic entities external to the body are sometimes described as worms in the body. For instance, the *Sunüjing* describes female symptoms as follows.

There are women who at the age of 28 to 29 years still look as though they were 23 or 24 years old, with strong *yin qi* and desire for men. They will not be able to taste food or drink, their pulse races so furiously that it makes their body quiver, and they sweat so much that their clothing is soiled because too much *jing* flows from them. These symptoms are caused by worms inside the vagina, which resemble to shape a horse's tail, about three *cun* long. Red worms cause agony, while black worms produce bubbles³⁵².

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. pp. 651-652; *Yangxing Yanming lu*. *xia juan*. “*yuntü sunyü*”. p.15, p.18.

³⁵² *Ishinpō*. 21th *juan*. p.484.

Although these worms are not described as demonic, they are certainly entities essentially belonging outside the body which are “relocated on or in the body³⁵³”. In many cases, the literature of the art portrays excessive restraint of sexual desire and orgasm as the cause of demonic illness. Thus, appropriate treatments for this sort of ailment were sexual intercourse or alternatively masturbation, especially in the case of female patients³⁵⁴, and for males, occasional ejaculation, although this was normally restricted with the aim of preserving *qi*³⁵⁵.

Still, repeated exhortations concerning ejaculation and the association of sexual techniques with other methods of nourishing life demonstrate that the sexual art was more concerned with pathologies

³⁵³ Harper, Donald. 1997. p.69.

³⁵⁴ Another prescription for female having sexual intercourse with a demon during the dream mentions “to let a woman have sexual intercourse with a man”. *Ishinpō*. 21th *juan*. p.484.

³⁵⁵ For instance, the *Yangxing Yanming lu* warns too much restriction of ejaculation leads a man to have sexual intercourse with demon, although the preservation of semen is essential for longevity. The regulation for ejaculations according to the ages and stimulation of individual which the thesis discusses in the 3rd chapter can be a preventive measure for this sort of ailment by means of allowing occasional ejaculations. Although Needham regards *daoyin* 導引 as masturbation which is generally rejected by scholars in the field, *daoyin* is not employed for this sort of ailments in literature of the genre. *Yangxing Yanming lu. xia juan. “yunü sunyi”*. p.15; Needham, Joseph. 1983. p.201. As for demonic intercourse in dream, in the fourth chapter of her PhD thesis, Chen Hsiu-fen 陳秀芬 argues in relationship with Chinese concept of madness as well as gender differences. Chen Hsiu-fen 陳秀芬. 2002. *Medicine, Society, and the Making of Madness in Imperial China*. Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. pp.146-197.

of *qi* than with demonic entities. Furthermore, using the same logical constructs as the Yellow Emperor tradition, the literature of the art often explains particular ailments in relation to disorders of specific types of *qi* or of the *qi* of specific parts of the body. This aspect is especially clear in therapeutic sexual methods and techniques for seeking offspring. These techniques basically attempt to regulate unhealthy or undesirable conditions by means of sexual practices, sometimes with the assistance of other methods of controlling *qi*, the details of which will be examined in the following chapter.

Besides sexual techniques intended to address the state of *qi*, recipes for drugs form the other main medical aspect of the art. The drugs described in the literature of the sexual art are basically intended to increase sexual potency and *qi*, and some of them are preparations for the care of the genital organs. Interestingly, these two effects are often found in tandem. A drug effective for increasing *qi* can also aid sexual stimulation, while another recipe for curing impotence may also be efficacious for strengthening vitality. Many recipes which are especially directed at the male user involve an effect of increased stimulation, which can be interpreted as an aphrodisiac effect. For instance, the *Dongxuanzi* describes a drug named “*tujiwang* 秃鷄丸 (pill of the bald rooster)”. This name is said to derive from an anecdote about a rooster which accidentally took this pill, whereupon it furiously mounted a hen and could not be removed from

the hen for several days³⁵⁶. Although this pill is fundamentally intended to cure male disorders, this episode clearly implies that the drug is also effective for sexual stimulation.

The recipes found in the literature of the sexual art include pills, powders and infusions for internal use as well as preparations for external use such as plasters. In all of these forms, *fuling* 茯苓 (*poria cocos*) often figured as an ingredient in drugs beneficial to males, as it was apparently thought to increase *qi* as well as potency. Some drugs were specifically intended for women, although there are considerably fewer recipes for female than for male use. Recipes exclusively for female use are most often concerned with menstrual disorders. As impotence was one of the male disorders that aroused most concerns, so menstrual disorders may have been regarded as the female counterpart of impotence, which required to be cured.

2-6. Daoism

Daoism was the final patron of *fangzhongshu*. Although the association of Daoism with sexual techniques dates from a very early stage in the history of the religion, it was during the Song dynasty that

³⁵⁶ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". pp. 652-653.

the Daoism became the major sponsor of the sexual art³⁵⁷. Much literature concerning sexual techniques is preserved in Daoist collections such as the *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Patrology), which provides plentiful material for the study of the art. These Daoist collections were the main textual sources for the sexual art until the “rediscovery” of the literature of the sexual art in the Japanese medical collection, the *Ishinpō*.

However, it is hard to generalise about the Daoist connection with the sexual art. First, although Daoists engaged in certain sexual practices, their methods did not always coincide with the ideas and techniques of the traditional sexual arts. Secondly, they valued sexual techniques which did not involve physical contact or actual coitus. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, their involvement in sexual practices was a target of criticism by the rival religion, Buddhism³⁵⁸. This external condemnation led to internal censure, which found expression in Kou Qianzhi’s purge³⁵⁹. Under pressure of constant criticism, exercises involving heterosexual intercourse seemingly disappeared from Daoist practices at one stage. However, the disappearance of sexual techniques did not necessarily mean that the ideas of the art had vanished from Daoism. On the contrary, the

³⁵⁷ I have discussed this matter in chapter 1.

³⁵⁸ For example, Dao An, Fa Lin and Zhen Luan. About their opinions, I have discussed in chapter 1.

³⁵⁹ *Weishu*. 114th *juan*. “*Shilaozhi* 釋老志”. pp.3050-3051.

concepts of the sexual art endured in other Daoist practices and continued to exert their influence. For instance, techniques such as *liandan* 煉丹 (alchemy), *neidan* 內丹 (inner alchemy), and *cunsi* 存思 (the preservation of concentration), are imbued with sexual symbolism clearly derived from the tradition of the sexual art, even though they do not involve actual coitus³⁶⁰.

While developing new techniques influenced by the sexual art, Daoism eventually returned to the traditional methods of the art. The literature of sexual techniques appears to have resurfaced in Daoism some time before or during the Ming dynasty³⁶¹. This later Daoist literature of the art basically follows traditional patterns in technique

³⁶⁰ Lu K'uang. 1970. Taoist Yoga, Alchemy and Immortality — A Translation, with Introduction and Notes, of The Secrets of Cultivating Essential Nature and Eternal Life (Hsin Ming Fa Chue Ming Chih) by the Taoist Master Chao Pi Ch'en, Born 1860. London: Rider&Company. p.34; Schafer, Edward.H. 1997. "The Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery". History of Religions, vol7. no.1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 389-391; Ishida Hidemi. 1987. p.201, pp. 223-228; Ishida Hidemi. 1995. p.182. Also see Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子. 1995. Saiyūki no Himitsu—Tao to Rentanjyutsu no Shinborizumu 西遊記の秘密—タオと煉丹術のシンボリズム (The Secrets of the Journey to the West—Symbolism of Dao and Alchemy). Tokyo: Fukutake shoten. pp.117-145; the chapter for "Alchemy and Chemistry" of Needham, Joseph. 1983.

³⁶¹ For example, Chunyang Yanzheng Fuyou Dijun Jiji Zhenjing 純陽演正孚祐帝君既濟真經 (The True Canon of Salvation by Dijun Rightly Described by Chunyang) and Xiuzhen Yanji 修真演義 (Stories of Practising the Truth) are thought to be texts of the Ming, although the attributed author of the latter text is the Han persona. These texts emerged after the purge of Kou Qianzhi are specially designated as belonging to the sexual arts. For the literature of the sexual arts in Daoism after the purge of Kou, see Ikai Nobuo. 1994. p. 226

and theory, with certain technical modifications. However, while the earlier literature of the art fundamentally emphasised physical and emotional harmony between male and female, these later texts clearly reflect a view of heterosexual intercourse as a battle for *qi* between the two sexes. Thus, Daoism effected a certain conceptual shift regarding sexual intercourse.

Due to the complex situation described above, this section will look at the following in order: a description of Daoism; sexual techniques in the earliest Daoist groups; other methods influenced by the sexual art including the later sexual art as it reappeared amongst Daoist schools. Each of these topics especially the first and the third, is difficult to summarise and an adequate investigation of all of them is beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, the survey that follows will focus on general aspects relating to sexual practises, mainly taking account of ideological features.

Daoism is a complicated concept. The Laozi book does not seem to have been associated with a distinct intellectual lineage, and the documents collected together in the *Zhuangzi* are very heterogeneous. Clearly we are not dealing with organised "schools" here. Further, the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi was not a direct ancestor of the later Daoist religion, although Daoism as a religion gave these texts scriptural status. Moreover, whereas the teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi were philosophical traditions developed in China, Daoism as

an organised religion was considered to have been influenced by Buddhism, which had developed organised religious systems.

The tendency to consider the teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi as distinct from religious Daoism was especially widespread among Chinese and Japanese scholars. They differentiated the former with the term *daoia* 道家 (the school of *dao*), and the latter with the term *daoiao* 道教 (Daoism)³⁶². However, Western scholars took another view of this distinction. They considered the teachings of Laozi and Zhuangzi and the rise of Daoism to form a continuous movement rather than two distinct traditions³⁶³.

³⁶² According to Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅, this idea of approaching *Daoia* and *Daoiao* separately is still a "common view" in Japan. Again according to Fukui, this idea was first put forward by Fukui Kojyun 福井康順. Also, Michel Strickman seems to be of the opinion that the term "Taoism" must refer to very restricted groups. Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅. 1998. *Kanji Bunkaken no Shisōto Shukyō—Jyukyō. Bukkyō. Dōkyō* 漢字文化圏の思想と宗教—儒教、仏教、道教 (Thoughts and Religions in the Sinographic Cultural Sphere — Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism). Tokyo: Goyō Shobō. pp. 243-244; Strickman, Michel. 1979. "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching". In Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel ed. *Facets of Taoism*. Yale: Yale University Press. pp.165-167. The terminological matter for philosophical or religious Daoism as well as the grouping of various Daoist activities, see Kirkland, Russell. 1998. "*Chūgoku ni Okeru Dōkyō no Rekishi teki Gaikan—Bunrui to Yōgohō no Mondai ni Kansuru Kōsatu* 中国における道教の歴史的概観—分類と用語法の問題に関する考察 (Historical Outline of Daoism in China—A Study on the Matter of Classification and Terminology)". Translated by Maruyama Hiroshi 丸山宏. In Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 and Tanaka Fumio 田中文雅 ed. *Dōkyō no Rekishi to Bunka* 道教の歴史と文化 (History and Culture of Daoism). Tokyo: Yūzankaku. pp.1-27.

³⁶³ Sivin, Nathan. 1995. "Taoism and Science". In Sivin, Nathan. *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China—Research and Reflections*. Aldershot:

Since Daoist ideas were clearly influenced by those of Laozi and Zhuangzi, it is appropriate to view their relationship in terms of organisational change rather than discontinuity. Nonetheless, the functional aspects of the followers of Laozi and Zhuangzi, and schools of the Daoist groups were clearly different. The latter obviously involved more religious features as well as more systematised officialdom than the former. Thus, although they represent a continuous tradition, the former is often called philosophical Daoism and the latter religious Daoism.

The rise of religious Daoism is represented by two groups: *taipingdao* 太平道 (the way of great peace) and *wudoumi dao* 五斗米道 (the way of five *dou* of rice), which was more famously known as the *tianshidao* 天師道 (the way of the celestial master). Both of these appeared some time during the Han dynasty. Since the *Taipingjing* 太平經 (The Canon of Great Peace)³⁶⁴ of probably early 3rd century, which gave certain influences on both schools³⁶⁵ mentions “men of *dao*

Ashgate Variorum. VII. p.5, pp.24-25; Robinet, Isabelle. 1997. Taoism—Growth of a Religion. Translated by Phyllis Brooks. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. pp.3-6; Hansen, Chad. 1992. p. 203; Fukui Fumimasa. 1998. p.244.

³⁶⁴ *Taipingjing* 太平經 (Canon of Great Peace). Attributed to Yu Ji 于吉 (?-200?), compiled probably before 220. I refer to Wang Ming 王明 ed. 1992. *Taipingjing Hejiao* 太平經合校 (Combined Commentary on *Taipingjing*). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

³⁶⁵ *Taipingdao* 太平道 (The Way of Great Peace) espoused the teachings of *Taipingjing*, it can be assumed that they involved some sort of sexual practices, and the context of the text is paralleled by *Laozi Xiang'er Zhu* 老子想爾注 (Xiang'er's Commentary on Laozi), a text containing suggestions of sexual practices for

studies not to stop becoming men of *xian*³⁶⁶, one of the main religious purposes of both sects was to become *xian*³⁶⁷.

It seems certain that religious Daoism was influenced by the Immortal cult in this regard. In one sense, religious Daoism was a hierarchy of *fangshi* who had specialist knowledge of alchemy, medicine and religious worship as well as effective charm and talismans, hierophants and believers. Presumably, the distinction between the Immortal cult and Daoism is that whereas the Immortal cult represented the popular belief in *xian* and methods for becoming *xian*, Daoism was a systematic organisation involving a religious creed.

Religious Daoism had a dynamic association with the sexual art. Both strands of early religious Daoism were believed to involve certain

tianshidao 天師道 (the way of celestial master). Concerning the correspondence between *Laozi Xiang'er zhu* and *Taipingjing*, see Yan Shanzhao. 2001. pp.5-6.

³⁶⁶ *Taipingjing*. "queti 闕題 between 56-64th juan". p.222.

³⁶⁷ Kirkland, who generally considers the basic aim for Daoist was to obtain immortality and to become *xian*, carefully cautions that it remains uncertain to what extent adepts of Daoism seriously attempted to this particular goal in reality. Kirkland, Russell. 1998. p.14. About the attainment of the status of *xian* as one of the main purposes in Daoism, see also Ge Tiaoguang 葛兆光. 2000. "*Dōkyō no Seimei Tetsugaku—Uchū, Shintai, Ki* 道教の生命哲学—宇宙、身体、氣 (Taoist Philosophy of Life—Cosmos, Body and Qi)". Translated by Ikehira Noriko 池平紀子. In Noguchi Teturo 野口鉄郎 ed. *Kōza Dōkyō Daisankan—Dōkyō no Seimeikan to Shintairon* 『講座道教』第三卷—道教の生命観と身体論 (Lectures on Dōkyō Volume 3—The Idea of Life and Death and Theory of the Body in Taoism). Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan. p.15,p.19.

sexual practices for religious purposes³⁶⁸. Thus, the connection between sexual arts and Daoism was present from the outset. As discussed earlier, the Immortal cult and the idea of becoming *xian* were associated with the sexual art. Therefore, the Daoist goal of becoming *xian* was surely one of the reasons for adopting sexual techniques.

Ge Hong's criticism can be adduced as evidence for the association between Daoism and sexual arts as a means of becoming *xian*. He states that there are people who believe that the art of sexual activities is the only method of achieving this, whereas in his opinion, it is merely one among three key techniques along with circulating *qi* and taking drugs³⁶⁹.

Although Ge does not specifically identify these people as Daoist,

³⁶⁸ As far as I regard, there is no precise evidence that *taipingdao*, actually involved the practice of sexual arts, although there is some evidence for the use of sexual practices in *tianshidao*. However, the *Laozi Xiang'er Zhu* containing suggestions of sexual practices for *tianshidao* parallels the *Taipingjing*, it can be assumed that they involved some sort of sexual practices. The evidence that the *Taipingjing* contains the idea of sexual practices can be found in sentences, such as the following. "Four times five is twenty, with four seasons, Qi is harmonised and you would wish to ejaculate. Four seasons administer life, and this is why you would want ejaculation for life...Five times six is thirty and strong. Therefore Heaven always let [you] think about ejaculation...When you become old and suffer decline, reduce your sexual activities. (四五二十、興四時氣合而欲施。四時者主生、故欲施生。 . . . 五六三十而強、故天使常念施 . . . 老當衰、小止房內)." and "The categories of male and female have enjoyment and fun together. Then, uniting their hearts, they procreate together and do what they should do together. (牝牡之屬、相媿相樂、然後合心、共生成、共為理)". *Taipingjing*, "queti between 56-64th juan". p. 217; "queti between 115 to 116th juan". p.648.

³⁶⁹ *Baopuzi Neipian*, 8th juan. "shizhi 釋滯". p.150.

other sources clearly point to a Daoist connection with the sexual art. Tao Hongjing also writes of a Daoist who regrets having practised the sexual art³⁷⁰. In addition, Kou Qianzhi, a Daoist belonging to the *tianshidao*, purged sexual practices within his own sect. Evidently, Ge's criticism was directed at Daoist sexual practices³⁷¹ and these practices were clearly employed with the object of becoming *xian*.

Although religious Daoism adopted sexual techniques, Daoist religious ideology did not completely accord with the ideas of the sexual art. For instance, the *tianshidao* rejected those aspects of the sexual art that involved nourishing the individual person³⁷². The nourishment of the individual at the expense of the partner's *qi* ran counter to the religious concept of universal salvation³⁷³. Daoists

³⁷⁰ *Zhengao* 真誥 (An Announcement by Perfected). Personal revelations by the saints of Shangqing heaven during the years 364-375, edited and commented by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景(456-536). Compiled before 536. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 1059. 6th *juan*. p.370.

³⁷¹ Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. p.12.

³⁷² "Nowadays, the world fakes techniques to label them fraudulently as the Way. Under the pretext of writings of the Yellow Emperor, Plain Girl, Gongzi and Rong Cheng, they select and teach to engage with woman without ejaculation and to intend returning the *jing* to supply the brain. 今世間偽伎詐稱道、託黃帝玄女龔子容成之文相教、從女不施、思還精補腦". *Laozi Xiang'er Zhu* 老子想爾注 (Xiang'er Commentary of Laozi). Thought to have commented by Zhang Daoling 張道陵(?-184). Compiled probably during 2nd century. I refer to Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 ed. 1956. *Dunhuang Liuchao Xieben Zhang Tianshi Dao Ling zhu Laozi Xiang'er Zhu Jiaojian* 敦煌六朝寫本張天師道陵著老子想爾注校牋 (A Study on Chang Tao-ling's Hsiang'er Commentary of Tao Te Ching). Hong Kong: Tong Nam Printers & Publishers. p.13.

³⁷³ Apart from Yan Shangzhao, there have been additional studies of *Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi* 上清黃書過度儀 (Book of Yellow of Shangqing Sect for Rules for

employed sexual arts for the purpose of becoming *xian*, but their motive in doing so was not only the acquisition of *qi* from the partner. They had developed their own theories on the attainment of *xian* status.

For instance, adepts of the *tianshidao* employed the sexual art not for the purpose of individual nourishment, but in order to multiply *shanxing* 善行 (good deeds)³⁷⁴. They believed that accumulating good deeds was a means of becoming *xian* and that reproduction as a result of heterosexual intercourse was regarded as a good deed³⁷⁵. Fa Lin's criticism of the Zhang family who accumulated wives and had many children is, ironically, supporting evidence for this view of procreation as a good deed. Thus, the art was adopted because of its benefits for pregnancy and childbirth, rather than its function of controlling *qi*³⁷⁶.

the Ceremony of Crossing the Line), which explore ceremonial aspects that may be accounted religious. See Maspero, Henri.1983. pp.125-178; Ge Tiaoguang 葛兆光.1998a. pp.1-28. Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi 上清黄书过度仪 (Book of Yellow of Shangqing Sect for Rules for the Ceremony of Guadu) is collected in DZ. no.1291.

³⁷⁴ Yan Shanzhao. 2001. pp.5-6.

³⁷⁵ For example, the idea of "*gong guo* 功過 (grace and mistakes)" which affects one's chances of becoming *xian*. This idea can be seen in Ge Hong's Baopuzi Neipian, "weizhi 微旨" and is also well exemplified in Chisongzi Zhongjiejing 赤松子中诫经 (the Canon of Admonitions of Chisongzi). For instance, Baopuzi Neipian. 6th juan. "weizhi 微旨". p.125. Further information about the idea of *gongguo*, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. 1960. "Sekisonshi Chūkaikyō to Kōka Shisō 赤松子中诫经と功過思想 (Canon of Admonitions of Chisongzi and the Idea of Grace and Mistakes)". In Fukui Hakase Shōjyu Kinen Tōyō Shisō Ronshū 福井博士頌壽記念東洋思想論集 (Collection of Essays on the Anniversary for Dr.Fukui). Tokyo: Fukui Hakase Shōjyu Kinen Ronbunshū Kankokai. pp.722-737.

³⁷⁶ However, the Daoists did not neglect the function of sexual art to control *qi* altogether. For instance, Zhen Luan mentions that Daoists called their sexual

This concept of procreation as a good deed was obviously influenced by the idea of lineage continuation as a duty of the Chinese family. However, it also involved Daoist religious ideas. Sexual intercourse as a religious practice in the school of the *tianshidao* was evidently highly ritualised and entailed numerous regulations³⁷⁷. These ceremonial features, which were apparently a form of divine worship,³⁷⁸ were also intended to purify practitioners of their bad deeds. By ridding themselves of bad deeds through sexual rituals, they believed that they would leave only good deeds to their descendants³⁷⁹. Thus for the adepts of this school, sexual practices were not only a means of creating good deeds through procreation, but also a technique of individual purification and a rite of salvation for

techniques “*zhongqi zhenshu* 中氣真術 (the true arts of targeting *qi*)”. *Xiaodaolun*. p.355

³⁷⁷ For a summary of the ceremonial procedure described in *Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi*, see Li Ling. 2000. pp.370-379; Ge Tiaoguang.1998a. pp.1-28. See also Ge Tiaoguang 葛兆光. 1998b. *Huangshu, Heqi yu Qita-Daojiao Guoduyi de Sixiangshi Yanjiu* 黃書、合氣與其他—道教過度儀的思想史研究 (Book of Yellow, Uniting Qi and Others—Ceremony of Guodu in Taoism with the Study on History of Philosophy). The substance of which was presented in the special lecture held in Osaka Shiritu Daigaku on 10th June, 1998. This paper is the original of Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. But this original paper contains a section entitled “*Guoduyi Jianshuo* 過度儀簡說 (Outline of Ceremony of Guodu)”. Thanks to the kindness of Prof. Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸, I have consulted with this lecture paper.

³⁷⁸ For example, adepts intending to perform this ritual must have performed their ablutions according to the regulations and must have been fumigated with incense. Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. p.6.

³⁷⁹ Yan Shanzhao. 2001. p.3, p.6.

their future descendants.

The ritual aspects of Daoist sexual practices further indicate that they were intended not only to save the practitioners and their descendants, but also to purify larger numbers of people. For instance, Daoist sexual ceremonies were performed in public. This is evident from Zhen Luan's report, in which he states that the sexual rites were executed in front of "fathers and brothers"³⁸⁰. The *Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi* 上清黃書過度儀 (Book of Yellow of Shangqing Sect for Rules for the Ceremony of Crossing the Line)³⁸¹ furnishes another

³⁸⁰ "Four eyes and two tongues face each other rightly and [people] practice to place the Way on *dantian*. People those who practice the Way [are able to] drive out the misfortune and to prolong life. [They] teach husbands to change wives. [They] and regard sexual affairs as the start which is took place in front of the father and brothers, not knowing embarrassment or shame. [They] calls [their rituals] as the true art of filling *qi* 四目兩舌正對、行道在于丹田、有行道者度厄延年、教夫易婦、唯色為初、父兄立前、不知羞恥、自称中氣真術". *Xiaodaolun*, p.355.

³⁸¹ It should be noted that the remaining or related texts of the text called *Huangshu*, that were regarded as sacred by adepts of the *tianshidao*, are few and far between. Probably, *Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi* contains more practical detail than the other remaining texts, however it is quite difficult to understand. *Laozi Xiang'er Zhu* relates to sexual practices in *tianshidao* and *Taipingjing*, and it might have provided the model for that idea in *tianshidao*, not to mention *taipingdao*. See Yan Shanzhao. 2001. p.2; Li Ling. 2000. p.368. The following are the texts preserved in the DZ, in conjunction with the *Huangshu*, although the first two include little material on sexual activities. *Dongzhen taiwei Huangshu Tiandijun Shijing Jinyang Sujing* 洞真太微黃書天帝君石景金陽素經 The Plain Canon of Heavenly Emperor for Scenery of Stone and Golden Yang for Book of Yellow of Authenticity Grotto with Great Detail. Collected in DZ. no.81; *Dongzhen Taiwei Huangshu Jiutian Balu Zhenwen* 洞真太微黃書九天八錄真文 (True Documents of Nine Heavens and Eight Records for Book of Yellow of Authenticity Grotto with Great Detail). Collected in DZ. no.256; *Dongzhen*

instance of the public nature of Daoist sexual practices. According to this source, there was a special ceremony of sexual intercourse, functioning as an initiation rite, which was only permitted to men and women over twenty years old. This initiatory sexual intercourse was performed under the instruction of a senior Daoist whose gender was not strictly stipulated³⁸². As an initiation rite, the purpose of this ceremony was not procreation; rather, it was intended to celebrate divinities and harmonise with delighted divinities through sexual intercourse³⁸³.

The involvement of a third or further persons was evidently characteristic of the sexual practices of the *tianshidao* sect as well as those who followed the *Huangshu* 黄書 (Book of Yellow)³⁸⁴. On the one hand, this openness in sexual affairs, which were supposed to be “individual activities³⁸⁵”, can be understood as a necessary aspect of initiation, especially in the case of the *Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi*³⁸⁶. On the other hand, the idea of mass salvation may provide another motive for the public performance of sexual intercourse. Dao An, for instance, states that sexual practices under the guidance of the the

Huangshu 洞真黄書(Book of Yellow of Authenticity Grotto). Collected in DZ. no.1340.

³⁸² Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. p.6.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ The information from Zhen Luan was based on the practices of *tianshidao* as well as those set out in the *Huangshu*.

³⁸⁵ Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. pp.7-10.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

Huangshu are supposed to be effective “*xiao miegua* 消災禍 (to remove calamities)³⁸⁷”. Presumably then, the object of sexual intercourse in public was to share the benefits of removing calamities or of mass purification with anyone who was present at the ritual³⁸⁸.

Thus, as well as the concept of procreation as a good deed, openness in sexual performance was an important element of Daoist sexual practices. Furthermore, these features are clearly related to Daoist religious ideas of mass salvation. Thus, the sexual art began to acquire religious aspects through its association with Daoism³⁸⁹.

Alchemy (e.g. *liandan* 煉丹), *neidan* and the technique for *cunsi* are other Daoist techniques which are considered to have been influenced by the traditions of the sexual art. None of these actively involves physical sexual intercourse; however, the symbolism of heterosexual intercourse and sometimes an imagined process of sexual intercourse are fundamental to all these techniques³⁹⁰.

³⁸⁷ “They provide [methods] of the sort that the Yellow Canon explains, [such as a method of] three, five, seven and eight and that of heavenly bird net and earthly fish net. Men and women are perverse, filthy and no different to animals. To remove calamity and misfortunes is what these methods are regarded as good for. 備如黃書所說三五七九天羅地網士女溷漫不異禽獸用消災禍其可然乎”. *Erjiaolun* . p.330.

³⁸⁸ Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. pp.7-10.

³⁸⁹ Yan Shangzhao points out that the aim of eternal life by rebirth or resurrection was also pursued through sexual practices in *tianshidao*. Yan Shangzhao. 2001. p.14. See also Maspero, Henri. 1983. pp.125-178.

³⁹⁰ In addition to the studies cited in footnote 361, see also the following texts for

Alchemy which is often called *waidan* 外丹(outer alchemy) in contradistinction to *neidan*, is generally considered to predate the techniques of *neidan*. Unlike Western alchemy, which aimed primarily to create gold, both Chinese alchemies set out to produce an elixir for immortality. While “outer” alchemy attempts to create an elixir by means of synthesis or refinement, *neidan* endeavours to produce a drug for immortality within the body by means of meditation³⁹¹. The descriptions of alchemical processes in both cases contain numerous cryptic terms which are very often metaphors of heterosexual intercourse. The metaphor of the embryo produced by sexual intercourse further relates to the production of a new entity through interaction between two different elements³⁹².

neidan 内丹 and *cunsi* 存思. Despeux, Catherine. 1996. *Onna no Taoisumu—Chūgoku Jyosei Dōkyōshi*, 女のタオイスム—中国女性道教史 (*Immortelles de la Chine Ancienne — Taoïsme et alchimie féminine*). Translated by Kadota Machiko 門田真知子. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin; Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実. 2000a. “*Bōchū to Naitan—Shintai Renkinjyutsu no Kigen wo Saguru* 房中と内丹—身体錬金術の起源を探る (The Art of the Bedchamber and Inner Alchemy—Seeking for the Origin of Physical Alchemy)”. In Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実 ed. *Higashi Ajia no Shintai Gihō* 東アジアの身体技法 (*Physical Techniques of East Asia*). Tokyo: Benseishuppan. pp. 56-85; Sakauchi Hideo 坂内栄夫. 1997. “ ‘Genkiron’ Kō—Sono Naitan Shisō wo Chūshin ni 「元気論」 攷—その内丹思想を中心に (Study of ‘Discussion of Yuanqi’ — with special reference to its thoughts on Inner Alchemy)”. *Gifu Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kenkyū Hōkoku* 岐阜大学教育学部研究報告 (*Study Reports of the Department of Education of the University of Gifu*). vol.46-2. Gifu: Jinbunkagaku. pp 29-38; Schafer, Edward. H. 1977. pp.387-398. See also Ishida Hidemi. 1995. pp.89-159.

³⁹¹ Ishida Hidemi. 1995. p.181.

³⁹² The new entity is the “holy embryo of eternal life” rather than “children according

Neidan is evidently closer to the concept of sexual arts than “outer” alchemy. Very briefly, this is a technique integrating, in some way, breathing methods, gymnastics and meditation, which is specifically intended for individual practice. This particular alchemical technique was considered efficacious for *huanjing bunao* 還精補腦 (returning semen to supply the brain). However, the technique of returning semen to supply the brain was itself one of the important techniques of *fangzhongshu*. Interestingly, in the sexual art, the technique of returning semen was sometimes specifically called *yindan* 陰丹 (*yin* alchemy), a term which parallels *yangdan* 陽丹 (*yang* alchemy), the other appellation for “outer” alchemy³⁹³. These circumstances indicate that *neidan* was in essence one of the techniques of the sexual art which excluded physical sexual acts.

Although *neidan* was precisely a technique practised by an individual, it involved connotations of sexual intercourse. For instance, an illustration appended to a text named the *Xingming Guizhi* 性命圭旨 (Excellent Directions for Nature and Life), bears the

to the flesh”, in Needham’s words. Also, Miura points out that Inner Alchemy is a method for creating an embryo, which is the inner elixir, by means of symbolic intercourse between *yin* and *yang* within the body. Miura Kunio. 2000. p.112; Needham, Joseph. 1983. p.217.

³⁹³ For example, “*Yang* Alchemy is returning *dan*, while *yin* Alchemy is the art of returning *jing*. (陽丹者、還丹也、陰丹者、還精之術也)”. *Wangwu Zhenren Koushou Yindan Mijue Linpian* 王屋真人口授陰丹秘訣靈篇 (Oral Teachings of the True Man Wangwu concerning the Secret of *Yin* Alchemy). Collected in *Yunji Qijian*. 64th juan. p.393.

title “*longhu jiaogou tu* 龍虎交媾圖 (picture of dragon and tiger having sexual intercourse)”³⁹⁴. The pairing of dragon and tiger is itself often used to indicate heterosexual intercourse, with the dragon symbolising the male and the tiger the female. The illustration more directly implies that inner alchemy follows heterosexual intercourse, by depicting a man and a woman riding on the dragon and the tiger³⁹⁵. Furthermore, some texts of *neidan* state that the practitioner will experience an ecstasy which is similar to the excitement “such as you have sexual intercourse out of lustful desire³⁹⁶”. This ecstasy is mentioned as a criterion of having achieved the goal of *neidan*.

Apparently, the technique of *cunsi* has a stronger traditional presence than *neidan* within Chinese culture. This technique is sometimes classed as one of the methods of *yangsheng*, in particular as one for *yangxin* 養心 (nourishing the heart). This technique is a sort of visualisation exercise which is often equated with meditation³⁹⁷.

³⁹⁴ *Xingming Guizhi* 性命圭旨 (Excellent Directions for Nature and Life). Compiled by Yi Zhenren Menren 尹真人門人. Collected in 1965. *Daozang Jinghua* 道藏精華 (Quintessence of Granary of Ways). Taipei: Ziyou chuban. Vol.1. no.5. p.34.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ For example, “*Xiuneidan Pijue* 修內丹秘訣 (Secrets of Practising Inner Alchemy)” in *Shangdong Xindan Jingjue* 上洞心丹經訣 (Canon of Heart Alchemy of the Upper Cave) says “body and the pores in the skin will be shaken with pleasure and you will feel ecstasy such as you experience when you have intercourse out of lustful desire (身孔毛間躍然如快、又如淫欲交感之美)” as a result of practising inner alchemy. *Shangdong Xindan Jingjue* 上洞心丹經訣 (Canon of Heart Alchemy of the Upper Cave). Collected in DZ. no. 948. *zhongjuan*. p.14.

³⁹⁷ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1996. pp.152-156; Schafer, Edward.H. 1977. p.389.

One of the main images employed in this particular technique is the embryo within the body. Therefore, the idea of *neidan* producing an elixir within the body is often thought to be an outcome of this technique³⁹⁸.

Insofar as it is a technique for *yangsheng*, the association of the sexual art with *cunsi* probably began at an early stage. Some scholars believe that references to *cunsi* can be identified in the earliest extant works on the sexual art³⁹⁹. Whether or not this is so, this technique was clearly associated with sexual techniques by the time of Tao Hongjing at the latest. He describes a method of sexual intercourse during which one is required to meditate⁴⁰⁰. Later, similar techniques are presented in more detail by Sun Simiao.

In order to prolong life without aging, firstly foreplay with a woman is required. Drinking the *yujiang* 玉漿 (jade water), which is saliva in the mouth, let the

³⁹⁸ Kato Chie 加藤千恵. 2000. "*Tai no Shisō* 胎の思想 (The Idea of Embryo)". In Noguchi Teturo 野口鉄郎 ed. *Kōza Dōkyō Daisankan—Dōkyō no Seimeikan to Shintairon* 「講座道教」第三卷—道教の生命観と身体論 ("Lectures on Dōkyō" Volume 3 — The Idea of Life and Death and Theory of the Body in Taoism). Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan. pp.112-114.

³⁹⁹ Some expressions concerning sexual positions in *Heyinyang* 合陰陽 (Uniting Yin and Yang) (one of the Mawangdui sexual manuscripts) are considered by some scholars to be notes for the use of *cunsi* techniques in association with certain sexual positions. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.432; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.1047-1049; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.150.

⁴⁰⁰ *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. "*fangzhong buyi*". p.489; *Yangxing Yanminglu*. xia juan. "*yunü sunyi*". p.20.

feelings of the man and the woman be moved. Holding each other by the left hand, the thoughts should remain in the cinnabar hole. Imagine that there is a red *qi*, which is yellow inside and white outside, transforming itself into the sun and the moon and circulating in the cinnabar hole. Imagine that it rises into the brain where both of them, the sun and the moon, become one element.⁴⁰¹

The red *qi* which contains yellow and is surrounded by white, the sun and the moon, and the single element created by the sun and the moon can be understood as symbols of the embryo. In particular, the final element produced by the sun and the moon represents an entity produced through the interaction of *yin* and *yang*. Furthermore, the colours red and white in the first image of *qi* indicate sympathy between male and female. Red, being the colour of female menstruation, often designates the female, while white, being the colour of semen, often indicates the male. Thus, this image of *qi* can be understood as a female guarded or covered by the male, while the impregnation of the female as a result of interaction is represented by the yellow colouring within the red.

Thus, alchemy, *neidan* and the technique of *cunsi* clearly involve the symbolism of heterosexual intercourse as well as certain ideas belonging to the sexual art. Indeed, the development of these

⁴⁰¹ *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th *juan*. "fangzhong buyi". p.489.

techniques within Daoism culminated in a return to their starting point: the performance of sexual intercourse. *Rendan* 人丹 (human elixir) is one of the three elixirs produced by *neidan*, the other two being *tiandan* 天丹 (heavenly elixir), and *didan* 地丹 (earthly elixir). This human elixir was supposedly obtainable only through heterosexual intercourse. The concept of the human elixir presumably emerged at some time during the Ming dynasty⁴⁰², and the techniques for obtaining this particular drug were specially named “*zaijiefa* 栽接法 (methods of planting interaction)⁴⁰³”. Due to the persistence of negative attitudes towards sexual practices following Kou Qianzhi’s purge, this technique of planting interaction was not accepted by all the Daoist schools⁴⁰⁴. Yet many Daoist schools evidently took a positive view of the renaissance of sexual techniques, and literature on this particular method abounds from the Ming period onward. Texts such as the *Chunyang Yanzheng Fuyou Dijun Jiji Zhenjing* 純陽演正孚祐帝君既濟真經 (The True Canon of Salvation by Dijun Rightly Described by Chunyang) and the *Xiuzhen Yanyi* 修真演義 (Stories of Practising the Truth) are representative literature for this method. In terms of

⁴⁰² Many Daoist texts concerning the human elixir attainable especially by means of heterosexual intercourse, such as *Chunyang Yanzheng Fuyou Dijun Jiji Zhenjing* and *Xiuzhen Yanyi* are seemingly compositions during Ming dynasty. See footnote 361.

⁴⁰³ Ikai gives the northern sect of *Quanzhenjiao* 全真教 (teachings of all truth), which emerged in the 12th century, as an example of a “pure” sects which rejected the practice of actual sexual intercourse. Ikai Nobuo. 1994. p.226.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

content, this new method for sexual intercourse basically follows the tradition of sexual arts. It advocates restricting ejaculation, bringing the woman to orgasm, and the complementary use of other methods for nourishing life. However, the main difference between this new practice and the traditional sexual art is that the new techniques clearly conceptualise heterosexual intercourse as a battle of the sexes over *qi*. This concept is exemplified by the term "*sanfeng caizhen zhi shu* 三峯採戰之術 (the arts of Sanfeng for winning the battle)", which is presumed to designate the sexual techniques of Zhang Sanfeng 張三峯 of the Ming dynasty⁴⁰⁵. Thus, the new tradition of the sexual art did not value harmony between male and female. Rather, it embraced a view of the female as the enemy of the male.

2-7. Conclusion

The survey above has shown the complex background of *fangzhongshu*, which is related to numerous different phenomena. From the earliest bibliographic entry, the sexual art was considered close to ideas of nourishing life, to Chinese medicine and to the concept of *xian*. The sexual art indeed shares certain ideologies, theories and techniques with these phenomena. Furthermore, it is related to the ideas of

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

family and filial piety, which are representative of Confucian teachings. It was preserved and protected as a religious technique under the auspices of Daoism. The sexual art never functioned as the patron of any other phenomena, but was always as a method at the service of other doctrines and trends. It is the concept of *qi* that enabled the sexual art to associate itself with so many other trends. The ideas of family and filial piety are founded on the concept of a common *qi* shared by ancestors and descendants, Chinese medicine is concerned with *qi* for health, and the images of *xian* in the Immortal cult are also associated with ideas of *qi* ascending to the sky and permitting eternal life. Daoism, as a religion of *xian* aspirants, is also concerned with the implications of *qi* for immortality, although it adds a religious dimension to the sexual art.

Considering all these circumstances, the following points emerge clearly. First, the sexual art was regarded as efficacious for a variety of purposes, which can be roughly summed up as self-cultivation, longevity, immortality, becoming *xian*, procreation, and curing and preventing diseases, sometimes with religious connotations. Secondly, the sexual art involves actual sexual intercourse and its secondary techniques entail metaphoric sexual intercourse. Thirdly, the techniques of the art were supported theoretically and ideologically by concepts of *qi*, and were basically methods of controlling *qi*. Finally, the traditional sexual art in general especially valued perfect harmony between *yin* and *yang qi*.

Hence, I clarify *fangzhongshu* as “techniques to control *qi* mainly by means of sexual activities, especially valuing the harmony between *yin* and *yang*, which attempt to achieve one or more of the following purposes: self-cultivation, longevity, immortality, becoming *xian*, procreation, the cure or prevention of disease, sometimes with religious connotations”. Also, this thesis will define any writings, in any literary form, dealing with techniques and remedies associated with sexual activities, with a clear focus on any of the above purposes, as literature of *fangzhongshu*. In addition, this thesis will basically exclude any secondary sexual techniques, notably alchemy, *neidan* and *cunsi*, as well as the later tradition of sexual art which does not value harmony between *yin* and *yang*.

Chapter 3:

Techniques of *Fangzhongshu*.

3-1. Introduction

With its complex associations with so many different phenomena, the art of the bedchamber offers an array of differing methodologies and techniques. For instance, a man who aims to have offspring is required to ejaculate, whereas one who intends to prolong his life needs to restrict seminal emission. These imperatives, for the release and the retention of semen, are in theory contradictory. However, the different procedures and skills involved in the art are not inconsistent when viewed in relation to the purposes that they set out to achieve.

In general, the sexual art pursues three main aims: the maintenance of life, which includes longevity, immortality and the idea of becoming *xian*; recovery from illness and unhealthy states, which often includes prophylaxis in terms of disease prevention; and procreation, which includes pregnancy and conception.

Insofar as they are techniques for controlling *qi*, all the methods aimed at any of these purposes are fundamentally based on concepts of *qi* and are concerned with the condition and quantity of *qi*. For

instance, many methods, irrespective of their purpose, are habitually supported by other techniques for the management of *qi*. In particular, dietetics, breathing exercises and drugs frequently appear in the literature of the art as complementary techniques. Moreover, the female secretion emitted at orgasm is evidently one of the most highly-prized forms of *qi* that can be obtained through sexual methods. Thus, the concern with *qi* aside, achieving the orgasm of the female partner is apparently the most important aspect of the sexual art. Although the idea of obtaining *qi* from women often leads to the conclusion that the sexual art is a patriarchal and androcentric method, we might take a different view of the matter if the practical effect of the art turned out to be the maximising of female sexual pleasure.

In this chapter I set out to investigate technical features of the sexual art. First, I will examine the importance of *qi* and the female orgasm by studying generic techniques, which may be used to support any method regardless of purpose. Here I include complementary dietetic and breathing methods, the extreme concern shown for the penis and impotence, and basic techniques for female orgasm. Secondly, I will investigate practical skills with three different purposes, i.e. techniques for the maintenance of life, healing, and procreation. Finally, I will examine the tradition and practical aspects of sexual positions, which may provide evidence for the function of the sexual art as a technique for achieving female orgasm.

Two points should be noted in advance. Firstly, although

Daoist sources are concerned with other purposes such as initiation and salvation, these religious aims are not common to the non-Daoist literature of the art. Therefore, this chapter will exclude any skills having a religious purpose. Secondly, the literature of the sexual art spans many historical periods. The earliest extant literature is believed to have been composed some time during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.)⁴⁰⁶, but there are also texts written during the Ming period (1368-1644)⁴⁰⁷. Although this thesis essentially excludes any texts later than the Tang dynasty (618-907), this still involves a very wide time span. Differences in epoch may have influenced practical trends in the literature. However, since the aim of the discussion that follows is to investigate techniques in light of their varying purposes, this chapter will basically disregard the periodic divisions into which the texts fall.

3-2. The Importance of *Qi* and the Female Orgasm

Chinese sexual techniques being a method to control *qi*, *qi* is always the

⁴⁰⁶ Murakami Yoshimitsu 村上嘉実. 1981. "Kanbo Shinhatugen no Isho to Hōbokushi 漢墓新發現の医書と抱朴子 (Medical Manuscripts Newly Excavated from the Han Tombs and *Baopuzi*)". *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方学報 (Journal of Oriental Studies). Vol3. Kyoto: The Institute for Research Humanities. pp387-421, p.385; Harper, Donald. 1987. p.542, p.546; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.8, p.23.

⁴⁰⁷ Ikai Nobuo. 1994. p.226.

paramount concern of the literature of the sexual art in its practical aspects. This is evidenced by its association with other methods for *qi*, especially dietetic and breathing methods. Moreover, semen has particular significance, in that it is regarded as the most precious form of human *qi*. This being the case, the penis is automatically endowed with special significance, which is directly linked to the concern shown for maintaining the functional capabilities of the male organ. The significance attached to semen as a special form of *qi* leads by analogy to a particular interest in the female secretions thought to be produced at orgasm. Semen is *qi* which should be preserved and maintained within the body, whereas female secretions are a form of *qi* that should be actively obtained and accumulated.

In view of the significance of *qi* in the literature of the sexual art, this section will investigate practical aspects of Chinese sexual techniques from the following three aspects: combination with dietetic and breathing methods, concern with the penis and impotence, and basic methods for female orgasm.

1) Combination with Dietetic and Breathing Methods

Dietetic and breathing methods frequently appear as complementary techniques in one of the earliest examples of the literature of the sexual art, the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions). This source, along with two

other texts of the genre, the *Heinyang* 合陰陽 (Uniting *yin* and *yang*) and the *Tianxia Zhidaotan* 天下至道談 (Discourse on the Ultimate Way Under Heaven), was presumed to have been outlined sometimes during the Warring States Period (475-221 BC)⁴⁰⁸ and unearthed from the Mawangdui tomb in 1973. Whereas the latter two texts tend to provide practical explanations for techniques, this work in dialogue form supplies more general outlines of the ideas and processes of sexual techniques.

In this text, dietetic and breathing methods are very often employed for general or daily preparation and aftercare for coitus. For instance, pine kernels⁴⁰⁹ and acorns, goats' and cows' milk, the flesh and eggs of birds especially chickens and roosters, and also leeks are mentioned as beneficial for the accumulation and restoration of *qi*⁴¹⁰.

⁴⁰⁸ See footnote 2 and 41

⁴⁰⁹ *Yangshengfang* 養生方 (Recipes for Nourishing Life) which is one of medical manuscripts found in the Mawangdui tombs also mentions the didactic use of pine kernels (白松脂). *Yangshengfang* 養生方 (Methods for Nourishing Life). p.100.

⁴¹⁰ For instance, the second, ninth and tenth dialogues in *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions) present several items beneficial for health. “助以柏實盛良...鳴雄有精、誠能服之、玉策復生 (Assist with oak fruit to [to make one] vigorous and well...Crowing rooster possesses *jing*. If you can take it practically, [it would make] the penis reborn.)”. *Shiwen*. p.145; “草千歲者唯韭、故因而命之。其受天氣也早、其受地氣也葆 (The grass [that can live] a thousand years is leek alone, because of which it is named as such. It receives *qi* of heaven early, and receives *qi* of earth to preserve.)”, “酒者、五穀之精氣也 (Alcohol is the *jing* and *qi* of the five grains.)”, “夫鷄者、陽獸也...故道者食之 (the chicken is a *yang* creature...Therefore, [the man] of the way eats it.)”. Ibid., p. 150; “必朝日月而翕其精光、食松柏、飲走獸泉英、可以却老復壯 (You must face the sun and moon to suck the rays of their *jing*, eat pine and oak and

Similarly, the regular use of breathing methods is considered efficacious for storing *qi*. Daily breathing exercises should follow certain rules. For instance, each of the four seasons has its undesirable conditions for practice, such as frosty or misty days in the autumn⁴¹¹. Also, the manner of breathing should be altered according to whether the exercises are done in the morning, afternoon, evening or night⁴¹². Besides the accumulation of *qi*, these breathing methods permit “the physical form has a cloudy radiance. Since the *jing* is full thus it is able long to endure”, “the body without ailments and injury” and “the *hun* and *po* give peace to the physical form⁴¹³”. These additional benefits, accrued through regular practice, can also be understood as mental and physical preparation for sexual practices.

The tenth dialogue in this source provides a perfect example of the combinatory use of dietetic and breathing methods.

You must face the sun and the moon to inhale the essence of their rays, eat pine and oak and drink the *quanying* 泉英 (the spring brilliance –i.e. the milk of goats and cows)⁴¹⁴. These facilitate the recovery of

drink running animals’ spring brilliance, that enables you to hold off aging and to become vigor again.” Ibid., p. 151.

⁴¹¹ “春避濁陽、夏避湯風、秋避霜霧、冬避凌陰(In spring avoid muddy *yang*; in summer avoid boiling hot wind, in autumn avoid frosty mist and in winter avoid icy *yin*.)”. Ibid., 147.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ “則形有云光、以精為充、故能久長”; “故身無疴殃”; “魂魄安形”. Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ The term *quanying* 泉英 (spring brilliance) appears in the combination of

youth and vigour and make the skin smooth. During the three summer months⁴¹⁵, eliminating fire and baking with the use of solar heat⁴¹⁶ confers *shenhui* 神慧 (divine knowledge) and wisdom. The way of contacting *yin* 陰 (the vagina/woman) is to value silence, to ease the mind like water, to store *linglu* 靈露 (numinous dew)⁴¹⁷, internally, and to cover⁴¹⁸ [the vaginal] with *yuce* 玉策 (the jade whip—i.e. the penis). One's mind should not be excited or unsettled. Then, [the female partner] responds with five sorts of sounds: sometimes short and sometimes long. Then, one should inhale her *shenwu* 神霧

zoushou 走獸 (running animals) to become *zoushou quanying* 走獸泉英 (spring brilliance of running animals). Ma Jixing, Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua agree that this term *quanying* combined with *zoushou* indicate milk of domestic animals, such as goats and cows. Ma Jixing. 1992. p.882; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.99.

⁴¹⁵ These correspond roughly to April, May and June in the Gregorian calendar. Ma Jixing. 1992. p.971.

⁴¹⁶ According to Donald Harper, there is no evidence of solar cookery in Chinese records. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.410.

⁴¹⁷ Harper, Wei and Hu suggest that the term *linglu* 靈露 (numinous dew) is equivalent to *ganlu* 甘露 (sweet dew). Harper further proposes that sweet dew refers to a particular form of inhaled vapour which forms saliva. On the other hand, Ma assumes the term indicates male semen from the context. I prefer Harper's assumption, and assume that the term indicates certain forms of *qi* which probably belongs to male potentially, whereas the following term divine mist is that of external. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.394, p.411; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.973; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.106, p.128.

⁴¹⁸ Harper translate the character *kuan* 款 as "to be relaxed" and the sentence as "be relaxed in using the jade whip". On the other hand, Wei and Hu assume *kuan* is equivalent with *sai* 塞 (to cover) and indicates that the sentence implies the insertion of the penis into the vagina. Similarly, Ma, who supposes *kuan* means *kou* 叩 (to bang), interprets the sentence suggesting the actions during the coitus. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.411; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.973; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.100, p.128.

(divine mist)⁴¹⁹, drink *tianjiang* 天漿 (heavenly fluid – i.e. saliva)⁴²⁰, and send these to the five internal organs where they should be stored deep inside. One should control the dragon breath⁴²¹ in the early morning, and *qi* and the body become stronger⁴²².

Here, the breathing and dietetic methods which precede the explanation of “the way of contacting the *yin*” are obviously daily or regular preparatory techniques intended to regulate the physical condition for coitus. Apparently, the recovery of youth, vigour and smooth skin, and the acquisition of divine wisdom are criteria indicating the successful completion of this groundwork. On the other hand, breathing “in the early morning” suggests a post-coital activity.

⁴¹⁹ Ma mentions the term *shenwu* 神霧 (divine mist) is equal with sweet dew and indicates a pure dew. On the other hand, Wei and Hu suggest that it is a numinous *qi* produced during the sexual intercourse. Ma Jixing. 1992. p.974; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.128.

⁴²⁰ Original text puts *tianjiang* 天漿 (heavenly fluid). Wei and Hu indicate that the term means saliva. Harper mentions that the vitalizing fluid which is generated is a product of sexual cultivation in combination with breath cultivation. Ma suggests that the term implies beautiful wine. I follow Wei and Hu in understanding the term as saliva, which is produced during the sexual intercourse in association with breathing method. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.411; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.974; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.128.

⁴²¹ Original text puts *longxi* 龍息. Mawangdui zhengli xiaozu assumes that the character 龍 can be *long* 龍 (dragon). Ma assumes that dragon breath is slow, calm breathing, whereas Wei and Hu suggest that it is a control of *qi* especially aiming to absorb new air in the morning. *Shiwen*. p.152; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.974; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.128.

⁴²² *Shiwen*. pp.151-152.

Since the *qi* obtained through sexual intercourse (divine mist and saliva) is supposed to be accumulated inside the body, the final breathing method must be a technique for adjusting or regulating *qi* after sexual activity.

In addition to these pre and post-coital practices, breathing methods are also employed during coitus. This sometimes appears in parallel with kissing or sucking activities.

One should empty the five internal organs and open wide *sanjiu* 三咎 (the three malignancies)⁴²³. In case that is impossible, one should value eating a simple diet⁴²⁴. If one keeps quiet, *shenfeng* 神風

⁴²³The denotation of the term, *sanjiu* 三咎 (three malignancies) is not clear. Wei and Hu interpret the term as three apertures of the human body, i.e., mouth and two nostrils, whereas Ma suggests *jiu* 咎 (blame) can be a phonetic loan for *dao* 道 (root) and the term indicates upper, middle and lower roots within the body. Ma, Wei and Hu also suggest the possibility that *sanjiu* 三咎 (three blames) can be *sanjiao* 三焦 which are three parts of the body, with the upper *jiao* extending down to the entrance of the stomach, middle *jiao* down to the exit of stomach and the lower *jiao* to the navel. These three *jiao* take charge of digestion, assimilation, transformation and excretion in the human beings. Yet, Wei and Hu assume that the idea of three *jiao* cannot be observed in any other parts of Mawangdui medical manuscripts. Harper points out that the fourth dialogue of the *Shiwen* involves *siju* 四咎 (four malignancies) which specifies four harmful situations. He assumes that anything harmful to physical and spiritual well-being constitutes *jiu* 咎 (malignancy). Harper, Donald. 1997. p.385; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.871; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.95.

⁴²⁴Wei and Hu punctuate differently, interpreting the sentence as “若弗能出榘，食之貴靜而神風(to stick to the partner as bark cannot leave the trunk of the tree. When eating the partner, you should value silence)”. In the matter of punctuation, I follow Ma and Harper in reading “若弗能出，穀榘食之貴(In case that it is impossible, one

(divine wind) [will emerge]. Supporting oneself with both arms, one should stab three times without finishing⁴²⁵. Then, divine wind will be born and the five tones will correspond. Breathe [divine wind] no more than five times, take it into the mouth, and store it in the heart. This is what the four ministers prized⁴²⁶. Then, *xuanzun* 玄尊 (dark honoured one) will arrive. Drink [dark honoured one] no more than five times, and the mouth will assuredly sense a sweet taste. Then, store it within the five internal organs⁴²⁷.

The first two sentences concerning the five organs, the three

should value eating a simple diet)". Ma understands the word *pu* 樸 as a variant of *gu* 谷 (the valley) and reads the phrase as " *guqi* 谷氣 (the *qi* of valley) is very precious and should circulate within the body, avoiding discharge". It seems possible to consider that this phrase refers to a sort of breathing method rather than the organs of excretion, as there are some dialogues mentioning the importance of corresponding breathing methods, such as the fourth dialogue. However, Mawangdui contains a text named "*quegu shiqi* 却谷(穀)食氣 (avoiding crops and eating *qi*)" with the same *gu* 谷 (the valley), which in this title is a variant of another *gu* 穀 (crops). Thus, since the preceding sentence mentions the emptiness of the internal organs, I prefer to follow Harper who reads the character as *pu*, simple and understands the sentence as a recommendation of a simple diet. Harper, Donald. 1997. pp. 384-385; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp. 871-872; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.93.

⁴²⁵ *Wusui* 毋遂 (without finishing) may indicate not to ejaculate.

⁴²⁶ *Sibu* 四補, which I translate here as "four ministers" is considered to be an official name for the Yellow Emperor. Wei and Hu suggest another possibility of interpretation as "*Sishi Weibu* 四時為補 (putting four seasons to use)". Here I interpret it as an official name, because Ma, Donald, Wei and Hu all agree on this point. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.386; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.874; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.96.

⁴²⁷ *Shiwen*. p.145.

malignancies and a simple diet describe regular preparatory practices for coitus, like the dietetic and breathing methods in the previous quotation. In this case, the important preparation is apparently fasting or avoidance of the feeling of satiety. Having satisfied the criterion of the arrival of divine wind as a result of silence, penetration can proceed. Since divine wind reappears to be born after stabbing the penis three times, the first appearance could possibly be a sign of merely an emergence or a sort of “insemination” of divine wind.

This method, which is named “*shi shenqi zhi dao* 食神氣之道 (the way of eating divine *qi*)”, is beneficial for *fuqi* 復奇 (the restoration of the penis)⁴²⁸. In addition, it is efficacious for achieving *shenming* 神明 (divine wisdom) – a term whose exact meaning remains unclear. At all events, the important feature of this particular method is apparently the generation of divine wind, which is brought about by the insertion of the penis with a corresponding female response. Also, storing this divine wind is a cause of dark honoured one, which is

⁴²⁸ There seems to be no agreement on the interpretation of the term *fuqi* 復奇 which I translate as “repairing the penis”. Ma, Wei and Hu interpret *fu* 復 as to repair, whereas Harper interprets it as double. Wei and Hu interpret *qi* 奇 as “yang” which implies the penis and considers it to be a method for impotence, while Ma reads the term as disease and considers it to be a healing methods. On the other hand, Harper understands it as marvellous, on the pattern of the usage *qifang* 奇方 (marvellous recipe). I prefer to read *fu* as to repair, because the statement finishes with the situation of the penis in “*jianzi busi* 堅蹇不死 (strong enough not to die)”. I also prefer Wei and Hu’s interpretation as the text does not mention any kind of health benefit, unlike some other dialogues in the same text. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.388; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.877-878; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.94, p.97.

accompanied by a sweet taste.

Evidently, both divine wind and dark honoured one are types of *qi* which are supposed to be generated during sexual activity. Although it is uncertain what form these two kinds of *qi* take, we know that the former is to be inhaled while the latter is to be drunk. Apparently, divine wind, which is supposed to be breathed in, is a kind of vapour⁴²⁹. A kind of breathing exercise is performed during coitus in order to take in this vaporous divine wind. As for dark honoured one, scholars assume it to be a name for saliva,⁴³⁰ which is to be obtained mouth to mouth.

Although dietetic and breathing methods play a supporting role in many cases, they are sometimes considered on an equal footing with the sexual art especially as regards the absorption of *qi*. For instance, the fourth dialogue in the *Shiwen* apparently discusses breathing methods and the sexual art on the same basis as techniques to obtain *qi*.

The standard reconstruction, carried out by a group of Chinese

⁴²⁹ Harper also considers the term to indicate an airy form and mentions that the term seems to refer to a quality of breath that exists internally and is at the same time linked to the external atmosphere. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.386.

⁴³⁰ *Xuanzun* 玄尊, which I translate as "dark honoured one" would mean saliva. Scholars point out that the term has several corresponding meanings. However, everybody agrees that here it also implies saliva, in relationship with the following sentence "drink no more than five times and the mouth will definitely sense a sweet taste". Harper, Donald. 1997. 386-387; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.874-875; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.96.

scholars, does not include any statements concerning sexual techniques in this particular dialogue⁴³¹. However, Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 suggests that some sections of the fourth, sixth and eighth dialogues should be transposed, which would improve the intelligibility and logical flow of all the dialogues.⁴³²

I personally agree with Qiu's reconstruction for the following three reasons: First, the standard version of the fourth question goes: "When one restores what one has ejaculated, one needs to lie down for the process and drink wine and eat the five tastes, controlling *qi* with the will (補泄之時、於臥為之酒食五味、以志治氣)⁴³³". However, the injunction to lie down seems more reasonable if we adopt Qiu's suggested reading as follows: "When one restores what one has ejaculated, one needs to lie down. By inserting and withdrawing, one will make the skin more beautiful and consolidate whiteness within the body. (補泄之時 於臥為之⁴³⁴ 出入以脩美湏 粘白內成)⁴³⁵". Secondly, the fourth dialogue principally describes two methods of obtaining "*tiandi zhi zhijing* 天地之至精 (ultimate energy between heaven and the earth)⁴³⁶", which controls the length of life. One is a technique "to

⁴³¹ *Shiwen*, pp.146-147.

⁴³² Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭. 1991. *Guwenzi lunji* 古文字論集 (Essays on Ancient Characters). Beijing: Zhonghua shudian. pp.525-527; Harper, Donald. 1997. pp.396-397.

⁴³³ *Shiwen*, p.147.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.148.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.146.

drink sweet drops and accumulate them (翁甘露以為積)⁴³⁷, which is in fact a breathing method, while the other is a technique “to drink saliva⁴³⁸ and control it (飲瑤泉靈尊以為經)⁴³⁹”. Apparently, the saliva to be drunk refers to that produced during sexual intercourse, as shown in the quotation from the first dialogue above. Since the standard version does not provide any explanation for the second technique, it seems appropriate to include these descriptions of sexual activity, as Qiu suggests. Finally, as Donald Harper has already pointed out⁴⁴⁰, the content of the fourth dialogue in Qiu’s reconstruction parallels that of another Mawangdui sexual text, the *Tianxia Zhidaotan*.

In view of these circumstances, the fourth dialogue is apparently a discussion of two techniques to obtain “ultimate energy between heaven and earth”, i.e. breathing and sexual methods. And in this case, the breathing method is not merely an ancillary skill for the sexual art, but an equivalent technique for achieving longevity.

Whether they are presented as ancillary skills or as methods of

⁴³⁷ Ibid., pp.146-147.

⁴³⁸ *Yaoquan lingzun* 瑤泉靈尊 which Harper translates as “blue-gem wellspring” apparently specifies the saliva. Although Ma assumes this term refers to a tasty wine, Wei, Hu and Harper agree to interpret the term as saliva. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.394; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.904; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.106.

⁴³⁹ *Shiwen*. p.147.

⁴⁴⁰ Exactly the same sentence in the fourth dialogue “務在積精 (the duty is to accumulate energy)” also appears in *Tianxia Zhidaotan* 天下至道談 (*Discourse on the Ultimate Way Under Heaven*). It is followed by similar arguments about control of semen during sexual intercourse. *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.163. Also see Harper, Donald. 1997. pp.396-397.

equal value in their own right, other means of controlling *qi* such as dietetic and breathing techniques never appear in the earliest literature of the genre independently of the sexual arts. They function in synergy with sexual techniques as preparatory, aftercare and equivalent skills, enhancing their efficacy.

In addition, it is important to note that the *qi* obtained during sexual intercourse is kept within the internal organs. It is characteristic of the Mawangdui literature of the genre that the five internal organs are identified as the storehouse of *qi*. The later literature of the sexual art describes a process of circulating *qi* to store it in the brain, a subject which will be discussed in the following section. However, the Mawangdui materials do not share the idea of returning *qi* to the brain. The storage of *qi* within the five internal organs is supposed to bring about a situation named “*gubai* 粘白 (consolidating white)⁴⁴¹”, which Ishida Hidemi informs us is a good state for the internal organs⁴⁴². Apparently, whether *qi* is stored in the five internal organs or in the brain, the underlying concept is that *qi* circulates around the body. However, the idea that the five internal organs were the storehouse for *qi* is more ancient than the idea of the brain as the final destination for *qi*, at least on the evidence of the

⁴⁴¹ The term *gubai* “粘白 (consolidating white)” appears in the fourth and tenth dialogues of *Shiwen*. Especially, the tenth dialogue explains the condition indicated by this term in relationship with the accumulation of *qi* in the five internal organs. “翁其神霧、飲夫天獎、致之五臟 . . . 五臟粘白”. *Shiwen*. p.147, p.152.

⁴⁴² Ishida Hidemi. 1995. pp.212-214.

earliest literature of the sexual art.

2) Concern with the Penis and Impotence

Possibly due to gender differences in literacy, the literature of the art of the bedchamber was apparently addressed to a male audience⁴⁴³. Therefore, much attention was paid to the condition of the penis. This involved the size, length and vigour of the male organ, but the maintenance of its functions was the matter of greatest concern. In particular, the earliest literature of the genre represents the penis as the most important organ and includes many theories and therapies for that organ. For instance, four out of the ten dialogues in the *Shiwen* are specifically concerned with the condition of the penis⁴⁴⁴.

⁴⁴³ It can be evident in the *Yufang Mijue* 玉房秘訣 (Secrets of the Jade Chamber) preserved in the *Ishinpō* especially in the section of “*yangyang* 養陽 (nourishing *yang*)” and “*yangyin* 養陰 (nourishing *yin*)”. While the former section recommends the audience “不可令女人窺竊此術 (do not let woman peep secretly this art)”, the latter section mentions that “非徒陽可養也、陰亦宜然 (it is not always *yang* which can be nourished, but also *yin* can be done)”. It suggests that the literature is fundamentally addressed to male audience, but not to female audience. Also, statements attributed to Yellow Emperor saying that “何以知女之快也 (how can I know if a woman is pleased?)” which is followed by the explanation for ten stages of female excitement indicates the literature is primarily for male to read. *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p. 635, p.636, p.638.

⁴⁴⁴ For instance, the first dialogue discusses the method of repairing the penis(復奇之道), the second discusses the way to recover the decayed penis by eating birds(起死食鳥精之道) and the sixth dialogue discusses the care for the penis, seeing that the

According to the Mawangdui materials, the *qi* of the penis was the most important form of male *qi*. Blockage of the *qi* of the penis was believed to cause various diseases, while insufficiency of its *qi* resulted in failure to procreate properly, and therefore, the penis was the organ that controlled the length of life⁴⁴⁵. Additionally, the penis might be regarded as the chief organ in which all the *mai* 脈 (vessels) come together⁴⁴⁶. Thus, the maintenance of a suitable condition of *qi* and *xue* 血 (blood) in the vessels gathered in the penis was vital to the state of the whole body.

In the earliest texts, the most serious condition of the penis is impotence. Evidently, the Mawangdui texts consider this undesirable condition to stem from two causes; infirmity and exhaustion. The fifth

most precious essence of human *qi* is semen from the penis(精氣). *Shiwen*. p.145, p.148.

⁴⁴⁵ “人氣莫如精、精氣苑閉、百脈生疾(Among human *qi*, there is nothing like *jing* of the penis. If the *qi* of the penis is choked and blocked, the hundred vessels produce illness.)”. *Ibid.*, p.148.

⁴⁴⁶ For instance, the eighth dialogue apparently mentions the vessels in connection with the penis. “this is called the calamity of blockage; and is something that controlsthe sex extremities.此謂款殃、六極之宗也”. This dialogue mentions the rather gymnastic techniques for the penis later, this sentence may link with the penis. Although Ma Jixing indicates that *liuji zhi zong* 六極之宗 can be six diseases, Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua suggest the term implies *liumo* 六末 (six edges). In Wei and Hu’s assumption, this sentence may omit a subject which can be the penis and indicate that the penis is the main part for every vessel. As this dialogue values the penis, I rather agree with Wei and Hu’s suggestion. *Shiwen*, p.150; English translation is adopted from Donald Harper. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.404; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.924-944; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.120.

dialogue in the *Shiwen* illustrates the fear of impotence and gives one account of its causation.

The emperor Yao asked the emperor Shun, "Under heaven, what is the most precious thing?" Shun said, "Life is the most precious." Yao said, "How can we control life?" Shun said, "By knowing the *yin* and *yang*." Yao said, "Human beings have nine orifices and twelve junctions⁴⁴⁷ all of which are facilitated and located [properly]. But why does *yin* 陰 (here it refers to the penis) which is born at the same time as a human being, decay before the body?" Shun said, "We do not eat and drink for it, we have no consideration for the use of it, and although we usually avoid calling its name and we hide its appearance. But we use it frequently without lenient courtesy⁴⁴⁸. Therefore, it is born at the birth of the human being, but decays ahead of the body."

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⁴⁴⁷ The original text puts "*jiuqiao shierjie* 九竅十二節 (nine holes and twelve junctions)". Ma Jixing understands that the nine holes are the ears, eyes, mouth, nostrils, urethra and anus and the twelve junctions are twelve roots on the human body. Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua, however, expresses the same opinion as Ma about twelve junctions, and considers the concept of roots on the human to be inappropriate to the Mawangdui manuscripts. Instead, he introduces an interpretation of the twelve junctions as the joints of the shoulders, elbows, arms, thighs, knees and ankles. Donald Harper also disagrees with Ma's interpretations of the twelve junctions and agrees with Wei and Hu's suggestion. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.399; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.918; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.111.

⁴⁴⁸ Harper understands *kuanli* 寬禮 as "leniency and ritual" which I interpret as one terminology to mean "lenient courtesy". Harper, Donald. 1997. p.400.

⁴⁴⁹ *Shiwen*. p.148.

It is interesting to note that the account of the causes of impotence quoted above starts as a discussion of the control of life. The way to control life is to “know *yin* and *yang*⁴⁵⁰”, which apparently leads on to the second discussion regarding the decay of the penis. As discussed in the previous section, *qi* is the source of life, and the *qi* of the penis, for this source at least, is the most precious kind of human *qi*. Therefore, to “know *yin* and *yang*” indicates sexual intercourse and this is why the attention shifts to the condition of the male genital organ. In this dialogue, sexual activity is obviously the method of controlling life and the penis is regarded as indispensable for the control of life.

Since the decline of the function of the penis ahead of other parts of the body is in question, the discussion relates to infirmity of the penis. As lack of care for the penis and its immoderate use are regarded as the causes of impotence of this type, the practical measures to address this matter are customary care for the organ. The text gives instructions “to eat and drink⁴⁵¹” for the care of the penis and “to have pleasure without ejaculation⁴⁵²” when it is put to use, which will enable one to accumulate *qi*⁴⁵³.

It is important to note that dietetics is employed here not for preparatory purposes but also as a preventive measure to guard

⁴⁵⁰ “審夫陰陽”. Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ “飲而食之”. Ibid.

⁴⁵² “必樂矣而勿瀉”. Ibid.

⁴⁵³ “材將積、氣將積”. Ibid.

against infirmity of the penis. Besides its role in preparation and aftercare, the care of the penis is in fact another aspect of many of the regular or daily practices involving dietetic and breathing methods discussed in the previous section. Dietetic methods for the care of the penis are also emphasised in the sixth dialogue of the *Shiwen*⁴⁵⁴.

The other cause of impotence is exhaustion. The eighth dialogue tells of the sage king Yu 禹, who is believed to have rendered remarkable services in controlling floods.

Yu 禹 questioned master Gui 癸, saying: "With the wisdom of bright eyes and sharp ears, I have ruled under heaven. Above, I have smoothed the ground which was ravaged by the flood, while below I followed the river Jiang to reach Mount Huiji. I have managed water for ten years. Now, my four limbs have become useless, [which causes] disorder in my household. How can I cure this condition?" Master Gui answered and said: "...Thus, when you awake, you should pull out [the penis]. This is called training the muscles. When you extend [the penis], you should curl it. This is called training the bones. Both movement and use must be fitting. Thus, *jing* 精(semen) issues forth like a spring..." Thus, Yu drank milk, gave ease to [his wife] Houtiao⁴⁵⁵ and his household recovered the peace.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.148-149.

⁴⁵⁵ *Houtiao* 后姚 seems to be a name of Yu's wife, yet she is not attested as his wife by this name. There are approximately four different names for Yu's wife: *Nüqiao* 女媯, *Nüqiao* 女媯, *Nüqiao* 女媯/*Houqiao* 后媯 or *Nügua* 女媧. Probably, the character 姚 is a phonetic loan for 媯, 媯 or 媯 and *Houtiao* may be equivalent to 后媯. See

Master Gui's way of controlling divine *qi*.⁴⁵⁶

In this dialogue, Yu consults Master Gui 癸 about difficulty in moving his limbs, not impotence. However, two points indicate that impotence is his main concern. First, master Gui instructs him in a method of training the penis, which enables a man to produce abundant semen. Second, Yu's indisposition has caused "disorder in the household⁴⁵⁷" and he restores peace to the household by "easing" his wife⁴⁵⁸ thanks to training and drinking milk. These points imply that Yu suffers from impotence because of exhaustion due to overwork on flood control, and his impotence causes disarray in his household because he cannot manage to satisfy his wife sexually. Moreover Yu's main concern with regard to his impotence is apparently that he cannot satisfy his wife, since "easing" his wife⁴⁵⁹ and the recovery of household peace⁴⁶⁰ conclude this dialogue.

Unlike the previous quotation concerning impotence due to infirmity, this extract offers a practical cure for the problem. We see here different attitudes in the same source toward impotence arising from different causes. Impotence due to infirmity can only be

Harper, Donald. 1997. p. 406; Ma Jixing.1992. pp.949-950.; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.120.

⁴⁵⁶ *Shiwen*. pp.149-150.

⁴⁵⁷ "家人亂". Ibid., p.149.

⁴⁵⁸ "以安后姚". Ibid., p.150.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ "家乃復寧". Ibid.

prevented by regular care, while impotence due to exhaustion can be cured by certain techniques. In addition, the methods described in the quotation above can be understood as *daoyin* 導引 (gymnastics) in the broad meaning of the term. Sakade Yoshinobu discusses gymnastic methods and suggests that they are primarily techniques of accumulating *qi* of the penis⁴⁶¹. Though neither of the exercises for training the male organ cited above involves sexual congress, both are intended for the improvement of the penis. Therefore, they are basically techniques for the development of the penis, and in this sense they are akin to gymnastic methods.

The improvement or development of the penis was apparently the matter of greatest concern, next to maintaining the healthy condition of the organ by avoiding impotence. One desired outcome, well evidenced in the literature of the sexual art, was enhanced size and length. There was said to be a position in which size and length do not affect sexual performance.

There is evidence for this conception in the *Xuannü jing* 玄女經 (The Classic of the Dark Girl) and the *Sunü jing* 素女經 (The Classic of the Plain Girl) both of which preserved in the *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine) composed in 984. The dates of original compositions of these two texts remain uncertain, with some claim that they might have been written sometimes during 78 to

⁴⁶¹ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1998. p. 144.

280 AD, whereas others claim that they might have existed much earlier⁴⁶². It is also said that these two materials were the crystallisations of different sexual traditions which, however, might have viewed equivalent or at least quite similar sometimes during the Sui dynasty⁴⁶³.

According to these texts, the condition of the penis is immaterial only if the male practitioner possesses plentiful sexual knowledge and expertise.⁴⁶⁴ However, for men who are insufficiently knowledgeable and accomplished, size and length are probably sources of grave anxiety.

For instance, a later text, belonging to the Ming period, describes a method for the improvement of the penis as follows.

⁴⁶² The bibliographic section in *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han) does not mention either text, but Ge Hong's *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master Baopu) mentions both texts. *Baopuzi Neipian*. 19th juan. "xialan 遐覽". p.333. Also see Tsuchiya Hideaki. 1998. p. 16

⁴⁶³ The bibliographic chapter in *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui) mentions these texts together as "*Sunü Midaojing bing Xuannüjing* 素女秘道經併女女經 (The Classic of the Secret Way of the Plain Girl together with the Classic of the Dark Girl). *Suishu*. 34th juan. "jingzhi 經籍志". p.1051.

⁴⁶⁴ "交接時女或不悅、其質不動、其液不出、玉莖不強、小而不勢、何以爾也...今陳九事...慎莫違失(On the occasion to have sexual intercourse, if a woman is not pleased, her nature does not move and her secretion does not flow, or if the penis is not strong and small without energy, how could it be proper [to have sex]?... Now, [I] explain nine things...[you should] be careful not to slip or lose them).", "肥大者內寸半、弱小者、入一寸 (The fattened and large [penis] should be installed at [the depth of] half a *cun*. The weak and small [penis] should be inserted one *cun* [deep].)". *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "fangnei". pp.637-638.

Every day after the double-hour of the rat and before the double-hour of the ox, when the *yin* decreases and *yang* extends, you, in the quiet room, should put the clothes on, face east and sit apart. You should gather divinity within yourself and shutter the anxiety. Your belly should not be full. The fullness makes *qi* to be shut a little. The hunger makes blood and *qi* flow smoothly... Both the hands should scrub to become hot as fire. With your right hand, you should hold your testicles and *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk – i.e. the penis) together. Place your left hand below your navel and describe an anticlockwise circle for eighty-one times⁴⁶⁵. Then replace with the right hand to put it under the navel, and make eighty-one clockwise circles. Extend your right hand again Tōhōld the base of the jade stalk (the penis) and make it straighten up by pinching it. With the jade stalk (the penis), you should knock the left and the right thighs. After doing so, you should hold a woman to, slowly, insert the jade stalk (the penis) in to *yinhu* 陰戶 (*yin* gate—i.e. the vagina).⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ Eighty-one is 9 times 9, which is the culmination of *yang* numbers.

⁴⁶⁶ *Xiuzhen Yanyi* 修真演義 (Stories of Practising Truth) is collected in *Mishu shizhong* 秘書十種 (Ten Kinds of Secret Texts) gathered by van Gulik. Li Ling also includes this text in his collection of literature of the sexual art. Due to the accessibility, I refer to Li's collection. *Xiuzhen Yanyi* 修真演義 (Commentary for Practising Truth). Attributed to Tao Xialing 陶遐齡 of the Han, probably copied in 1594. In Li Ling 李零 ed. 1993. *Zhongguo fangshu Gaiguan-Fangzhong* 中国方術概觀—房中 (Outline of Chinese Magical Techniques-The Art of the Bedchamber). Beijing: Renmin zhongguo chuban. pp. 212-213. See also van Gulik, R.H. 1951. vol.II.

This method is efficacious for lengthening the penis by accumulating *qi*. Also, because of the improvement of the organ, it makes it easier for the female partner to achieve orgasm⁴⁶⁷.

This concern with female orgasm can be understood in relation to the idea that the penis is the most important organ because its *qi* is the most precious to a man. Since semen, which is a form of *qi*, is ejaculated at the male orgasm, it must apparently follow that the most precious *qi* of the woman is emitted at her orgasm. None of the texts of the sexual art states explicitly that the female orgasm produces this most precious female *qi* or that the practical purpose of the art is to bring the female to orgasm. Thus, the possible notions to value female orgasm and to view female *qi* at the orgasm important remain no more than speculative impressions from the context of literature of the art. However, the idea that the improvement of the penis has the beneficial effect of facilitating the woman's orgasm clearly indicates that the sexual art is deeply concerned with female orgasm.

This view of the value of the female orgasm is not only found in the later literature, but can be traced back to the earliest periods. For instance, the seventh dialogue in the *Shiwen* describes a method for enhancing the condition of the male organ as follows:

⁴⁶⁷ “交合之時、男若玉莖長大、填滿陰戶者、女情必易暢美 (On an occasion to have sexual intercourse, if a male penis is indeed long and large enough to seal and fill the gate of *yin*, the female feeling must become easy to be pleased and gratified.)”. *Xiuzhen Yanyi* p. 212.

First, you should hang down the limbs, extend the back and curve the buttocks⁴⁶⁸. Secondly, you should open your thighs to move *yin* 陰 (the penis) and shrink the anus⁴⁶⁹. Thirdly, you should put your eyelashes together, not to listen [meaning unclear] and inhale *qi* to fill the testicles⁴⁷⁰ with *qi*. Fourthly, you should sense the five tastes and drink *quanying* 泉英 (spring brilliance—i.e. saliva)⁴⁷¹. Fifthly, you should breathe *daming* 大明 (great wisdom)⁴⁷² of *jing* 精 (essence), when every *jing*

⁴⁶⁸ 橈尻; Ma Jixing Wei Qieng and Hu Xianghua understand the term to indicate bending the thighs, while Donald Harper suggest that it means to flex the buttocks. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.402; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.937; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.117.

⁴⁶⁹ 縮州; Ma, Wei, Hu and Harper agree to understand the character 州 as anus. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.402; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.527, p.937; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.117.

⁴⁷⁰ Many scholars understand the character 髓 as 腦 (the brain) and interpret the third technique as equivalent to *huanjing bunao* 還精補腦 (returning *jing* to supply the brain). However, as Ishida Hidemi points out, the Mawangdui materials do not involve the idea of circulating *qi* in the brain. Thus, I follow Ishida's interpretation in understanding the character as testicles. Ishida Hidemi. 1995. pp.212-215. As for interpretation of the term, see also Harper Donald. 1997. p.403; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.937-938; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. pp.117-118.

⁴⁷¹ Harper mentions this term obviously indicates internally produced liquid. Although the term in combination with *zoushou* 走獸 (running animals) implies milk of domestic animals, this term alone seemingly suggests saliva. Wei and Hu, for instance, clearly interpret this term in the quotation as saliva. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.404; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.118.

⁴⁷² Ma understands the term *daming* 大明 (great wisdom) to suggest a breathing method taking place at the noon, while Wei and Hu understand it is a special energy from the sun and the moon. I suspect this term is probably connected with *shenming* 神明 (divine wisdom) of which exact meaning remains unclear. As for the term

(essence) rises⁴⁷³.

Since this technique is named “*jiē yīn shí shén qì zhī dào* 接陰食神氣之道 (the way of having sexual intercourse to eat divine *qi*)”, it is a technique for use during sexual intercourse, which promises to turn “a weak [penis] into a stronger one, a short penis into a longer one and a feeble penis into one fit for much use⁴⁷⁴”. It is the final stage which is important in connection with female orgasm. Since *dà míng* 大明 (great wisdom), is supposed to be inhaled, it must be external to the male practitioner. In that case, the rising energy in the quotation indicates that of the woman rather than the man, which would imply female orgasm. Although it is unclear what is denoted by “great wisdom of essence”, it is more likely to be the most precious female *qi* produced at orgasm than the *qi* of the sun and the moon⁴⁷⁵.

Concern with the penis reflects the importance attached to the *qi* of that organ. But it is also due in part to the value placed on the female orgasm, for which the condition of the male genital organ is

shenming, divine wisdom, Ma suggests that the term indicates a certain mental stimulation, activeness and strength. Both Harper and Douglas Wile translate the term “spiritual illumination”. Harper, Donald. 1997. 388; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.878, p.938; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.80.

⁴⁷³ *Shiwen*. p.149.

⁴⁷⁴ “君必貴夫與身俱生而先身老者、弱者使之強、短者使之長、貧者使多糧 (You must value what is born together with the body, which, however, becomes old ahead of the body. [You must] make the weak stronger, the short longer and the poor [be given] many food.)”. Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ See footnote 472.

significant.

3) Basic Methods for Female Orgasm

As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the ideological principles of the sexual art is the harmony between *yin* and *yang*. In keeping with this concept, the sexual art is concerned with the physical and emotional state of both sexes. However, once coitus begins, this concern focuses on the woman's physical and emotional state, while the movement of the penis becomes more crucial in relation to the man. This is rational and appropriate in light of the findings of modern sexology that the female takes longer to achieve orgasm than the male⁴⁷⁶.

Appropriate foreplay is encouraged, exemplifying the benign influence of the principle of harmony between *yin* and *yang*, as well as a concern for the physical and emotional state of both sexes. For instance, the *Dongxuanzi* 洞玄子 (Master Dongxuan) mentions that when either the woman or the man does not wish to have sexual intercourse, they should not be obliged to do so.

This text is also preserved in *Ishinpō* but never appears in bibliographies of standard histories. The date of composition remains

⁴⁷⁶ The female reaches orgasm more slowly than the male.

uncertain, with some argue that the style and content of the text belong to the Six Dynasty Period (3rd-6th centuries)⁴⁷⁷, while others claim that it might have been later product⁴⁷⁸. Yet, the text is mentioned in the notes to Bai Xingjian's (776?-826) work, the Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦 (The Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang Rhyme Prose of Great Satisfaction in Sexual Pleasure)⁴⁷⁹. Hence, the text has circulated at least by the date of the composition of this song.

Forced sexual intercourse results in harm to the female and problems for the male, because it is an act against the harmony of *yin* and *yang*⁴⁸⁰, according to the Dongxuanzi. The Xuannüjing makes the similar claim that emotional irresponsibility is harmful. This text describes a situation where “two hearts are not in harmony, which does not move the emotions” and therefore “pleasurable love-making cannot be accomplished⁴⁸¹”. In order to avoid emotional irresponsibility, the sexual art encourages ample foreplay.

The Dongxuanzi contains the most detailed instructions for preparatory sexual activities. The text basically differentiates two stages of foreplay: the stage when the man and the woman meet together for the first time in order to have sexual intercourse and the

⁴⁷⁷ Ye Dehui. 1903. *Dongxuanzi Xu* 洞玄子序. p.1; van Gulik, R.H. 1961. p.123. Also see Wile, Douglas. 1992. pp.83-84

⁴⁷⁸ For instance, Liu Dalin. 1993. p.587. Also see Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.83.

⁴⁷⁹ Dalefu p.4.

⁴⁸⁰ Ishinpō. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. p.636.

⁴⁸¹ “二心不和、精氣不感”，“愛樂未施”. Ibid., p.637.

stage when they actually have sexual intercourse for the first time. The former evidently consists of preliminary foreplay, and involves two steps that have to be completed. The latter involves instructions on preparation for insertion and on male movements during coitus.

When first *jiaohui* 交会 (coming together to have sexual intercourse)⁴⁸²... a man should sit in *jizuo* 箕坐 (the winnowing basket pose)⁴⁸³, and embrace the woman on his lap. He strokes her slender waist and caresses her *Ryūti* 玉體 (jade body). They should express their joy and speak about their passions in order to become at one in heart and mind. They should occasionally embrace each other and caress each other.... The man holds the woman's lower lip [in his mouth], while she holds his upper lip [in her mouth].... They may slowly bite each other's tongues, gently bite the lips, hotly embrace the head, or urgently pinch the ears.... By doing so, each will have recited the myriad charms of the other, which will have resolved hundreds of worries. Then, let her hold his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) with her left hand, while he strokes her *Ryūmen* 玉門 (jade gate), with his right hand. At this moment, he senses her *yin qi* which makes the jade stalk (the penis) rise... while she senses his *yang qi*, which

⁴⁸² Douglas Wile and R.H. van Gulik interpret “初交会” as an occasion to be together for the purpose of sexual intercourse. van Gulik, R.H. 1961. p.126; Wile, Douglas.1992. p.108.

⁴⁸³ Wile translates *Jizuo* 箕坐 (winnowing basket pose) which van Gulik interprets as “to cross his legs”. I also think this particular sitting style would suggest crossed legs, however I adopt the literary translation as it is unclear exactly what sitting style the word refers to. van Gulik, R.G. 1961. p.126; Wile, Douglas.1992. p.108.

makes the secretion flow from her cinnabar hole.....
Now, both *yin* and *yang* are stimulated beyond human control. It is when the situation reaches this point that sexual intercourse can be started⁴⁸⁴.

This is a quotation about preliminary foreplay. The first step to be completed is to resolve the “hundreds of worries” of either sex. It is obviously an emotional preparation for male and female. In order to accomplish this, the source prescribes petting, which strictly excludes contact between the genital organs, accompanied by conversation. It is permissible to advance to the next step only when both partners are emotionally ready. The second step to be completed is to achieve the stimulation of *yin* and *yang*. Since the criteria for having accomplished this second step are erection of the penis and the flow of female secretions, it clearly indicates a physical preparation. At this stage, mutual contact between genitalia and hands is required. It is important to note that it does not involve direct contact between the penis and vulva. Again, it is only after the physical signs of stimulation are present that the partners are allowed to proceed to sexual intercourse.

When *jiaojie* 交接 (having sexual intercourse) for the first time, you should first sit and later lie down. The woman should lie on the left-hand side, and the man on the right-hand side. Then, she should lie on

⁴⁸⁴ *Ishinpō*, 28th *juan*. “*fanguel*”, pp.636-637.

her back and extend her arms and legs. He should cover her and kneel between her thighs. Then, he should take hold of his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) and put it in the mouth of *heRyūmen* 玉門 (jade gate)... Sometimes looking up at *heRyūmian* 玉面 (jade face) and sometimes looking down at her *jingou* 金溝 (golden cave), he should stroke her body between the belly and breast and rub the sides of her *yaotai* 嬌臺 (jade terrace). This makes his emotions confused and her mind bewildered. Then, he should attack lengthwise and clockwise with his *yangfeng* 陽鋒 (*yang* sword tip). Sometimes his thing stabs downwards at *heRyūli* 玉理 (jade vein), and sometimes it strikes upwards at her golden cave, while sometimes it attacks the sides of her *biyong* 辟雍 (imperial college)⁴⁸⁵, and at other times it rests to the right of her jade terrace. (The above are classed as *waiyou* 外遊 (outer play) which does not involve penetration.⁴⁸⁶) It makes her secretions overflow from her *danxue* 丹穴 (cinnabar hole). Then, he should insert his *yang* tip into her *zigong* 子宮 (child palace) and release the energy in pleasure⁴⁸⁷.

This is a quotation about “outer play” until the moment of penetration, which belongs to the instructions on first sexual

⁴⁸⁵ *Biyong* 辟雍, originally referred to an imperial college established during the Western Zhou in the form of a circular island surrounded on all sides by water. van Gulik assumes that the term indicates the right and left sides of the vulva, while *jingou* 金溝 (golden cave) refers to the upper part of the vulva. Wile also considers the assumption that the term refers to the sides of vulva to be reasonable. van Gulik, R.H.1961. p.127; Wile, Douglas.1992. p.258.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ishinpō*. 28thjuan. “fangnel”. pp.637-638.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.637-638.

hundreds of worries⁴⁹² and the second of “stimulating *yin* and *yang*”⁴⁹³ are processes during which the partners remain seated. On the other hand, outer play and coitus should be carried out while “lying down”⁴⁹⁴ which suggests that this source regards activities performed lying down as *jiaojie*, sexual intercourse.

Secondly, the text instructs the couple to lie down side by side with the woman on the left and the man on the right⁴⁹⁵. Yet, in the following sentence they are instructed to lie one on top of the other⁴⁹⁶. Although the scope of “outer play” is not inconsistent with lying upon one another, the differentiation between lying side by side and upon one another implies that the two statements refer to different stages. Since the instructions for coitus follow the extract quoted above, “outer play” apparently refers to activities carried out while “lying on the left and the right”⁴⁹⁷.

This “outer play”, which is distinct from coitus, can be understood as the final stage of foreplay as shown in Table 3 below. This stage is completed with “the overflow of female secretion” which is the criterion for allowing the insertion of the penis. At this stage, active contact between male and female genitalia is already involved,

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

with the exception of penetration.

Sitting		1st stage	Purpose	Emotional preparation
			Techniques	Petting avoiding the genital organs, and conversation
			Criterion	Hundreds of worries resolved
		2nd stage	Purpose	Physical preparation (<i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i> stimulation)
			Techniques	Mutual petting of genital organs excluding direct contact between the organs
			Criteria	Male erection of the penis and female flow of secretion
Lying down	Side by side	3rd stage	Purpose	Physical preparation specifically for coitus
			Techniques	"Outer play" with direct contact between organs but no penetration
			Criterion	Female overflow of secretion
	Upon on the other	Final stage	Coitus	

Table 3: Steps for Coitus in the *Dongxuanzi*

Additionally, it is worth noting that detailed regulations are very often involved in determining physical preparation according to the erection of the male organ. For instance, the *Tianxia Zhidaotan* states that the complete erection of the penis involves three factors, the skin, muscles and *qi* of the penis. If the penis is “angry” but not “large”, it shows that the skin is not sufficiently ready, if it is “large” but not “hard”, it means that the muscles are not prepared, and if it is “hard” but not “hot”, this indicates that the requirements of *qi* are not fulfilled⁴⁹⁸. According to this source, the male genital organ requires anger, largeness, hardness and heat in order to be considered ready for sexual intercourse.

Once coitus is initiated, the attention of the literature diverges along two paths. One theme is the movement of the penis during intercourse, and the other is female responses during coitus.

Fundamentally, the sexual techniques involve methods for the insertion and movement of the male organ, which entail three different considerations. For instance, the instructions on coitus that follow the final three stages of foreplay in the *Dongxuanzi* describe the action of the penis during intercourse as follows: “It should stab lengthwise, pull clockwise, rub the side and withdraw at the edge.

⁴⁹⁸ “怒而不大者、肌不至也、大而不堅者、筋不至也、堅而不熱者、氣不至也...三者皆至、此謂三詣 ([The penis which is] angry but not large [indicates] that the skin is not ready, that of large but not hard [indicates] that the muscles are not ready, and that of hard but not hot [indicates] *qi* is not ready...That all these three are ready is called three arrivals.)”. *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.163.

Sometimes, it should be inserted rapidly or slowly, at other times deeply or shallowly⁴⁹⁹. As these statements clearly show, attention is paid to the direction, depth and speed of insertion.

The depth of insertion is sometimes dealt with specifically in relation to the properties of the penis. For instance, the *Sunüjing* states that an “enlarged” penis should be inserted to a depth of half a *cun*, and a “weak” one to a depth of one *cun*⁵⁰⁰. Although this is an instruction for penetration rather than a technique, it clearly shows that the methods of moving the penis take account of individual situations.

In addition to these three basic factors affecting the movement of the penis, the sexual art is also concerned with the number of insertions. A keen interest in all these matters is evident in the very earliest extant literary texts. For example, the *Hevinyang* presents a technique named *shixiu* 十脩 (ten extensions).

The first is said [to lead] it⁵⁰¹ upward, the second is said [to lead] it downwards, the third is said [to lead] it to the left, the fourth is said [to lead] it to the right, the fifth is said [to lead] it rapidly, the sixth is said [to do so] slowly, the seventh is said [to lead] it rarely, the eighth is said [to do so] abundantly, the ninth is said [to lead] it shallowly, and the tenth is said [to do

⁴⁹⁹ *Ishinpō*. 28thjuan. “fangnei”. p.638.

⁵⁰⁰ “玉莖肥大者、内寸半、弱小者入一寸”. Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Here, *zhi* 之, it apparently specifies the penis.

so] deeply⁵⁰².

Of the four aspects of the action of the penis, the depth and number of insertions are very often integrated in a special insertion technique. This technique, which is best known by the name of “*jiuqian yishen zhi fa* 九淺一深之法 (the method of nine times shallowly and once deeply)” is apparently first found in the *Dongxuanzi*⁵⁰³. Obviously, this method involves a pattern of nine shallow insertions followed by a deeper one.

The number and sequence of the insertions is not invariable in the literature, rather there are many different permutations. For instance, we can find methods of “five times shallowly and six times deeply”, “nine times shallowly and five times deeply”, “eight times deeply and six times shallowly”, “seven times deeply and eight times shallowly” and so forth. Besides the difference in number of insertions, it is important to note the difference of initial depth. In addition to the most well known method, the first two examples clearly start off with shallow insertion and move on to deeper penetration, whereas the latter two start with deep penetration followed by more shallow insertion. It is worth noting here that the differences in initial depth and number of insertions are apparently connected with sexual

⁵⁰² Almost the same technique also appears in another Mawangdui text, *Tianxia Zhidaotan*, in which is named *badao* 八道 (eight ways) consisted of eight methods. *Hevinyang*. p.156; *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.165.

⁵⁰³ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. p.638.

positions, a matter which will be investigated in a later section devoted to that topic. In addition, the number of insertions is related to restrictions on ejaculation, which will likewise be discussed in a later section on the maintenance of life.

Besides the movements of the penis, the sexual art is concerned with female responses during coitus. The primary aim in interpreting various female responses is to understand the progress of female satisfaction and/or to identify the woman's requirements. Apparently, a standard guide to the understanding of female physical and emotional needs was developed at the earliest stage of the sexual art, and knowledge of interpretation was a fundamental prerequisite for all other sexual techniques. This is evident in the Mawangdui sources. They present a paradigm named "*wusheng* 五声 (the five tones)" or "*wuyin* 五音 (the five sounds)" which is explained precisely in the *Heyinyang*⁵⁰⁴ and the *Tianxia Zhidaotan*⁵⁰⁵. In addition, the first dialogue in the *Shiwen* quoted in the first section of this chapter mentions "five tones" which corresponds to the birth of divine wind⁵⁰⁶. Since this dialogue does not describe the "five tones", this paradigm was presumably common knowledge, with which the man ought already to be equipped.

There are three different indicators of the woman's condition

⁵⁰⁴ *Heyinyang*. p.156.

⁵⁰⁵ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.166.

⁵⁰⁶ *Shiwen*. p.145.

during sexual intercourse: first, her vocal responses; second, her physical reactions; and third, changes in her physical state.

The “five tones” or “five sounds” is obviously a paradigm having female vocal responses as its criteria. The *Tianxia Zhidaotan* describes this as follows.

The first sound is convulsive breathing, the second sound is panting, the third sound is moaning, the fourth sound is blowing, and the fifth sound is biting. You can understand her state of mind by listening to these five sounds⁵⁰⁷.

The source clearly declares that the paradigm of female vocal responses provides a key to interpreting a woman’s emotional or mental state. The *Heyinyang* explains the state of mind relating to each sound as follows.

The sound of convulsive breathing indicates the internal tension of the female partner. That of panting indicates that she has achieved delight. That of continuous laughter⁵⁰⁸ indicates that the

⁵⁰⁷ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.166.

⁵⁰⁸ *Tianxia Zhidaotan* has *Leiai* 累哀, continuous moaning, whereas *Heyinyang* has 累噤. Ma Jixing and Li Ling suggest that the character 噤 is equivalent to 哀 due to phonetic similarity, whereas Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua understand it to be equivalent to *xiao* 笑 (laugh). In either case, I suppose the sound of laughter sometimes resembles moaning. Thus, the character indicates here a sound like moaning or laughter. *Heyinyang*. p.156; *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.166; Li Ling. 1993. p.38; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.998-999; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xiang. 1992. p.134.

penis has been inserted to commence nourishing. That of blowing indicates that she feels extreme sweetness. That of biting [comes out when] her body is shaking which indicates that she wants intercourse to continue for longer.⁵⁰⁹

In this source, the third sound is “continuous laughter” which is different from “moaning” in the previous quotation. This difference is apparently due to the fact that laughter and sobbing sometimes sound similar. Although it is difficult to understand precisely what some descriptions indicate, the situations in the quotation can possibly be interpreted as follows: the first sound signals that the woman is becoming excited, the second that her feelings of arousal are intensified, the third that she is reaching orgasm since “the start of nourishing⁵¹⁰” indicates she is beginning to emit her *qi*, the fourth that she has achieved orgasm, and the fifth that she does not want to finish intercourse.

Apart from the fifth criterion, the interpretations of these vocal responses do not involve the woman’s requirements. They simply provide information on the stages of progression towards orgasm. Yet, the statements concerning the “five tones” in the first dialogue in the *Shiwen*⁵¹¹ imply that this paradigm could provide certain instructions for male sexual conduct. Following the statement about the “five

⁵⁰⁹ Ma Jixing. 1992. p.998; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xiangahu. 1992. p.134.

⁵¹⁰ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.166.

⁵¹¹ *Shiwen*. p.145.

tones”, the dialogue instructs the man to inhale divine wind⁵¹². With the knowledge of the “five tones” which enables the man to track the woman’s progress towards orgasm, he is able to gauge the timing for the inhalation of divine wind. Moreover, he can also control his actions by interpreting her state.

Besides vocal responses, the Mawangdui materials present another paradigm of female reactions. It is named “*badong* 八動 (the eight movements)” and it involves eight different physical actions performed by the woman: touching the hand, extending the arm, stretching the heels, bending the hips, arching upward, crossing the thighs, leaping flatly and quivering⁵¹³. The *Heyinyang* explains what each movement indicates as follows.

When [the woman] touches hands, she wants the bellies to be closer together. When she extends her arms, she wants her upper parts to be massaged and scratched⁵¹⁴. When she straightens her heels, she

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

⁵¹³ *Heyinyang*. p.156; *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. pp.165-166.

⁵¹⁴ The character *qu* 距 (to scratch) is not agreed upon by scholars. Wei and Hu consider it to mean “to stab, to insert”, Ma interprets it as “to get up, to move up”, whereas Harper understands it as “to scratch”. As the sentence is concerned with the upper part of the body, I do not agree with understanding it as “to stab, to insert” which would indicate the insertion of the penis. It seems to me to mean “to go upward” or “to move up”, however the context has already suggest that the massage should be carried out on the upper parts of the body. Therefore, I follow Harper and put “to scratch” here. Harper, Donald. 1997. 419; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.996; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xiangahua.1992. pp.133-134.

feels that the penis is not inserted deeply enough. When she bends her hips, she wants her side to be stroked. When she arches upwards, she wants her lower parts to be touched. When she crosses her thighs, she feels that the penis is inserted too deeply. When she leaps flatly, she wants it to be inserted more shallowly. When she shakes, she wants her partner to continue for a longer time.⁵¹⁵

In comparison with the “five tones” or “five sounds”, this paradigm provides more direction for the male’s actions, since it involves female requirements. Whereas vocal responses offer the man insight into the woman’s progress towards orgasm, her bodily reactions provide precise information on the movements required of him. This makes it easier for the man to bring the woman to orgasm, as he understands what he should do in accordance with her needs.

The later text of the sexual art, the *Sunüjing*, also presents a similar paradigm of female physical reactions. Adding two more actions, this source describes “*shidong* 十動 (the ten movements)⁵¹⁶”. As with the “eight movements” in the Mawangdui text, many movements in this paradigm furnish information on female requirements. However, it also includes information on female progress towards orgasm. For instance, the source states: “the fourth is that she shakes her buttocks, which indicates that she feels pleasure”,

⁵¹⁵ *Heyinyang*, p.156.

⁵¹⁶ *Ishinpō*, 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.639.

“the eighth is that she approaches the man, which indicates that her sexual pleasure is quite strong” and “the tenth is that her secretion flows, which indicates that she has released her energy⁵¹⁷”. Thus, these “ten movements” apparently combine the information provided by the “five tones/five sounds” and “eight movements” of the Mawangdui texts.

There is another account of female physical responses which relates to the situation of *qi* rather than female requirements or the woman’s progression towards orgasm. The source is the *Xuannüjing*, which describes the “*jiuqi* 九氣 (nine *qi*)” as follows.

A woman sighs deeply and drinks her saliva, which implies that her lung *qi* is complete. She sucks a man loudly, which implies that her heart *qi* is complete. She embraces a man, which implies that her spleen *qi* is complete. Her vagina becomes lubricated which implies that her kidney *qi* is complete. She bites a man heartily, which implies that her bone *qi* is complete. She clings to a man with her feet, which implies that her muscle *qi* is complete. She strokes and plays with the penis, which implies that her blood *qi* is complete. She plays with the man’s nipples, which implies that her flesh *qi* is complete⁵¹⁸.

Although the name of this paradigm is the “nine *qi*”, only eight

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

female reactions are described⁵¹⁹. The completion of the nine *qi* is required in order to progress to coitus. This is analogous to the achievement of the three *qi*, required before the penis is ready for insertion, which was discussed previously. Thus, these movements also instruct the man in the woman's degree of preparation for sexual congress, just like other paradigms of physical responses. However, it is different from the "eight movements" and "ten movements" in that the actions described here are fundamentally those of foreplay.

It is noteworthy that one example in the quotation above is not precisely a movement on the part of the woman, but a condition of the body. This is the lubrication of the vagina, which indicates the achievement of kidney *qi*. In addition to vocal and physical responses, the literature of the sexual art provides a paradigm based on the female physical state. Again, the earliest extant literature contains material of this kind. The *Heyinyang* describes "*wuyu zhi zheng* 五欲之徵 (the signs of five desires)", which is also called "*wuyu* 五欲 (the five desires)", as follows.

⁵¹⁹ Ishihara Akira 石原明 explains that it basically consisted of five organs which are the liver, heart, spleen, lung and kidney and five symbols corresponding to five organs which are muscles, blood, flesh, skin and bone. Liver from the five organs and skin from the symbols are not included here. Umayabara Shigeo 馬屋原成男 ed.1967. *Ishinpō Kan Nijyūhachi Bōnai Kunaichō Shoryōbu zōhon* 醫心方卷廿八房內宮內序書陵部藏本 (Prescriptions from the Heart of Medicine Volume Twenty Eight Inside Chamber, Edition Stored at Book Centre in Imperial Household Agency) . Commented by Ishihara Akira 石原明. Tokyo: Shibundō. p.74.

First, when *qi* rises and [the woman's] face becomes red, you should slowly exhale breath⁵²⁰. Secondly, when her breasts⁵²¹ become hard and her nose starts to sweat, you should slowly embrace her. Thirdly, when her tongue is loosened and smooth, you should slowly adhere closely to her⁵²². Fourthly, when secretions begin flowing from her nether parts and her thighs become wet, you should slowly insert [the penis]⁵²³. Fifthly, when she drinks saliva out of thirst, you should slowly start to shake⁵²⁴ [the penis]⁵²⁵.

Clearly, all these signals are not deliberate acts of the female,

⁵²⁰ Harper mentions that it indicates a kiss. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.415.

⁵²¹ Harper translates the character *ruo* 乳 (breasts) as nipple. Ibid.

⁵²² Harper understand the character *dun* 屯 to mean to press, while Ma says that it means to keep or to accumulate. On the other hand, Wei and Hu interpret the sentence as whole to indicate sticking closely to each other. As the quotation itself directs the reader to perform a certain practical sexual action at a certain stage, I prefer to follow Wei and Hu's interpretation. Ibid., p.416; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.984; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.132.

⁵²³ Harper Wei and Hu indicate that the character *cao* 操 means to rub, whereas Ma understands the character to mean to engage in business and suggests that it implies the insertion of the penis. In *Yufang Mijue* in which similar paradigm is given, the similar situation of female indicates *shen* 深 (to deepen). Thus, I follow Ma rather than the other two. *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p. 639; Harper, Donald. 1997. p.416; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.982-984; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.132.

⁵²⁴ Harper understands the character *gan* 撼, to mean to rock, while Ma considers the character is equivalent to *yao* 摇 (to shake). As *Yufang Mijue* also gives the character *yao* 摇 in a similar situation, I follow Ma's interpretation once again. *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p.639; Harper, Donald. 1997. p.416; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.982-984.

⁵²⁵ *Hevinyang*. p.155.

but physical states. Although none of them informs the male of the woman's needs or closeness to orgasm, each circumstance precisely instructs the male on his next movement. Interestingly, the male actions described here can be understood as the process of the sexual act from the perspective of the male, from foreplay up to the insertion and withdrawal of the penis following penetration. It is a sequence of sexual actions corresponding to changes of state in the woman, rather than a paradigm.

The *Yufang Mijue* 玉房秘訣 (Secrets of the Jade Chamber) gives a similarly ordered paradigm, also based on female physical states. This text is attributed to Zhang Ding who is better known as Chonghezi 冲和子 of Tang dynasty⁵²⁶. The informant names female physical paradigm as “*wuzheng* 五徵 (the five signs)”.

First, when the woman's face becomes red, you should slowly stick to her. Secondly, when her breasts become hard and her nose becomes sweaty, you should slowly insert [the penis] into her. Thirdly, when she drinks saliva out of thirst, you should slowly move her. Fourthly, when her vagina becomes smooth, you should slowly deepen [the insertion] into her. Fifthly, when her secretions flow over her buttocks, you should slowly withdraw from her⁵²⁷.

⁵²⁶ Tsuchiya Hideaki 土屋英明. 1999. “*Chūgoku no Seiai Bunken Nijyūnana* 中国の性愛文献二十七 (Chinese Literature of Eros No.27)”. *Tōhō* 東方 (Eastern Book Review). vol.221. Tokyo: Tōhō shoten. p.18.

⁵²⁷ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.638.

Four out of five conditions are identical to the Mawangdui paradigm, except for the flow of secretion over the buttocks. Also, three male actions – sticking to the woman, inserting the penis and moving the penis – are the same as in the previous example. However, these movements answer to different female states. In addition, this later example directs the process of the sexual act up to the end of penetrative intercourse. Nonetheless, just as with the “five desires”, each female state serves as a signal for the male’s next action.

As has been observed, many criteria are based on the state of the woman as it relates to her orgasm. Moreover, most criteria enable the man to take appropriate action in accordance with the woman’s situation or requirements. The male is definitely the person charged with expediting the proceedings, but he does not have the initiative in sexual intercourse. The woman always takes precedence. She has the real power over sexual intercourse and he is required to advance the process on her initiative, by answering her needs and providing for her satisfaction.

Above all, the encouragement of sufficient foreplay before coitus, concern with the movements of the penis during coitus and interest in interpreting the woman’s various responses all suggest one important notion underlying the sexual art: bringing the woman to orgasm. All three factors are fundamental techniques or knowledge, to be employed during sexual intercourse. In particular, the requirement for

appropriate foreplay takes account of emotional states. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter, the sexual art may possibly provide an account of psychological aspects of sexual intercourse.

Thus, these three factors as well as all the methods described above are manifestly basic techniques for achieving female orgasm. Moreover, they are not male-centred techniques at all, in that it is always the woman who has priority, at least in such practical and technical procedures. In addition, it should be noted that there appear to be no instructions for men how to increase their own pleasure during sexual intercourse. Thus, it is almost as if pleasure in sexual intercourse was not something that men were expected to aim for.

In sum, this section has discussed the combination of dietetic and breathing methods, the concern with the penis and impotence, and basic techniques for achieving female orgasm in order to offer an account of the importance of *qi* and female orgasm. Dietetic and breathing methods are employed in the sexual art to support the accumulation of *qi*. They have a complementary function in preparation for sexual practices, in postcoital care, and even during sexual intercourse. The increase of *qi* by these synergistic methods is closely related to concern with the penis. Good penile health is imperatively required for the practice of the sexual art, all the more so because it is the organ which produces the most important *qi* of the male. The fundamental importance accorded to the *qi* of the male

genital organ parallels the high value placed on the female orgasm. It is at orgasm that the female is believed to produce her most valuable *qi*. Thus, the techniques and knowledge that serve to bring about female orgasm, by prioritizing the female state and requirements, are indispensable for the sexual art.

These are the fundamental notions underlying all the skills and methods belonging to the art of the bedchamber. Thus, all the practices and knowledge introduced in this section are essentially preliminary matters, which are expected to lead on to other techniques for different purposes or which must be understood prior to any other practical methods.

3-3. Practical Techniques for Three Different Purposes

The sexual art attempts to achieve different purposes according to individual requirements. Although these purposes or goals embrace variations in specific details, they can be conceptually divided into three. The first is the individual maintenance of life, which involves personal longevity and immortality as well as the concept of becoming *xian*. The preservation of individual life is the most attractive reward offered by the literature of the sexual art, and it is also the most

powerful and overwhelming of all the motivations involved. Secondly, the sexual art offers therapeutic and prophylactic benefits. Since illness and infirmity may jeopardise the maintenance of life, this second purpose obviously arises out of the first major consideration, of preserving life. Yet, it is clearly different from the first aim in the attitude toward life; the former basically aims to maintain the current physical condition, while the latter attempts actively to improve, remedy or prevent undesirable physical states. The third aim is procreation, which involves insemination, pregnancy and conception. This third motivation apparently differs from the first two, in that it is concerned with the situation of another person, i.e. forthcoming offspring, whereas in the other two cases, the main concern is always the individual who practises the sexual art. Also, differently from the other aims connected with sexual practices, this particular purpose is quite naturally linked with the sexual art, seeing that sexual activity is indispensable for procreation.

All three purposes are always subject to the influence of the fundamental concepts and methods discussed in the previous section. All techniques, no matter what their purpose, are primarily concerned with *qi*, i.e. semen and the female secretion produced at orgasm. This section will examine the technical aspects of this concern with *qi*, in methods for the three different purposes.

1) Skills for the Maintenance of Life

Since *qi* is the source for life, techniques for longevity, immortality and the attainment of *xian* status are all linked with methods of controlling *qi* through sexual intercourse. In the sexual art, the control of *qi* possesses three aspects: the accumulation, acquisition and circulation of *qi*.

With regard to the accumulation of *qi*, restricting ejaculation is overwhelmingly the predominant technique. Obviously, this is because semen is regarded as the *qi* of the penis, which is the most important form of *qi* for the male. Thus, the man should suppress ejaculation even at orgasm. Sun Simiao describes the method of controlling ejaculation as follows.

If you feel the urge to ejaculate, you should close your mouth and open your eyes. With blocking *qi*, you should grip both your hands and then, to right, left, up and down, contract the nostrils in order to absorb *qi*. Then, you should contract the lower part of the body⁵²⁸ and inhale⁵²⁹ such in the abdomen. Also, you should bend your back and with the two middle fingers of your left hand, swiftly close the anus. Then, you should exhale for a long time and bite your

⁵²⁸ The original text has *xiabu* 下部 (lower parts). *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th *juan*. "fangzhong buyi". p.489.

⁵²⁹ *Xifu* 吸腹 (to inhale the abdomen) which probably means to make the abdomen hollow.

teeth together several thousand times.⁵³⁰

The *Yufang Mijue* presents different techniques for preventing ejaculation.

If you aim to ride on a woman and derive benefit from her, but your *jing* 精 (semen/ essence) moves dynamically, you should raise your head rapidly and open your eyes wide to look Tōyōur left, right, up and down. [At the same time,] you should contract your lower part and block *qi*. Thus, *jing* (semen/essence) ceases to flow out⁵³¹.

The previous quotation appears to contain an instruction to exert pressure on the perineum. Although it is unclear exactly which part of the body is indicated by “the lower part” in either quotation, it is important in both cases to put pressure on the lower half of the body. Suppressing the release of semen by means of these skills is considered to be beneficial to the man. The more frequently this restraint is exercised, the higher the quality of the benefits to be derived from it. For instance, the third dialogue in the *Shiwen* describes ten degrees of benefits according to the number of times ejaculation is suppressed.

⁵³⁰ It should be noted that *Yufang Zhiyao* 玉房指要 (Essentials of the Jade Chamber) also mentions almost the same methods. In case of *Yufang Zhiyao*, it is the place between the testicles and the anus which should be pressed with the left hand, and it is noted that it is important not to block *qi*. *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. p.643; *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th *juan*. “fangzhong buyi”. p.489.

⁵³¹ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. p.643.

If you reach orgasm once without ejaculation⁵³², your eyes and ears improve. If you reach it twice without ejaculation, the quality of your voice is enhanced. If you reach it three times without ejaculation, your skin improves in condition and becomes luminous. If you reach it four times without ejaculation, the back and sides of your body will never be injured. If you reach it five times without ejaculation, your buttocks and thighs will become stronger⁵³³. If you reach it six times without ejaculation, your hundreds of vessels will be smoothed. If you reach it seven times without ejaculation, you will never suffer from calamities during your lifetime. If you reach it eight times without ejaculation, you will attain longevity. If you reach it nine times without ejaculation, you will obtain divine wisdom⁵³⁴.

The source clearly shows a rise in the quality of benefits, as the number of suppressions increases. Also, it is worth pointing out that this model values seminal continence at the male orgasm. Many similar instructions are to be found elsewhere in the literature of the

⁵³² The original text has *yizhi wuxing* 壹至勿星. Ma Jixing says that *xing* 星 (star) is a phonetic loan for *xie* 洩 (to ejaculate). This is evident in similar paradigms in other Mawangdui materials. For instance *Heyinyang* mentions “*yidong wujue* 一動勿洩 (no leak after one movement)”. *Heyinyang*. p.146.

⁵³³ Original text puts *fang* 方 (square) which Ma understands a loan for a character *zhuang* 壯 (strong). Harper remains with original character and translates it as “buttocks and thighs to be squared”. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.391; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.894.

⁵³⁴ *Heyinyang*. p.146.

sexual art and most of them likewise advocate restraint at the point of male orgasm. Since semen is ejaculated at orgasm, these injunctions are apparently redundant. However, there is another type of regulation regarding suppressed ejaculation which does not concern orgasm, but the number of insertions.

The first movement is ten [times of insertions], the second is twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, and a hundred [times of insertions]. [With these numbers of] insertion and withdrawal, do not ejaculate. The first movement without ejaculation improves your eyes and ears. The second movement without ejaculation enhances the quality of your voice. The third movement without ejaculation makes your skin shine. The fourth movement without ejaculation makes the back and sides of your body stronger. The fifth movement without ejaculation makes your buttocks and thighs more robust. The sixth movement without ejaculation makes the vessels smooth. The seventh movement without ejaculation makes you healthier and stronger. The eighth movement without ejaculation makes your skin more beautiful and luminous. The ninth movement without ejaculation enables you to attain divine wisdom. The tenth movement without ejaculation brings your body eternity⁵³⁵. These are named the ten movements⁵³⁶.

In this case, whether or not a man achieves orgasm is of no

⁵³⁵ *Weishenchang* 為身常, which may indicate physical immortality.

⁵³⁶ *Heyinyang*. p.155.

concern at all. Although *dong* 動 (movement) sometimes refers to physical reaction or performance as seen in the case for *badong* 八動 (the eight movements), here the term clearly indicates the movements of penis. What is crucial is precisely the relation between the number of insertions (and withdrawal) and the presence or absence of ejaculation. Thus, the idea is that if a man never reaches orgasm even after hundreds of insertions, he can achieve physical immortality.

Although restricting the release of semen is regarded as essential, complete lack of ejaculation is considered harmful. For instance, Sun explains the necessity for ejaculation as follows: "The force of *qi* differs from individual to individual. A man with strong *qi* energy should not hold back emission too much. For men with strong *qi*, resisting the release of semen at too great length results in an outbreak of carbuncles⁵³⁷". Again, Tao Hongjing writes of the risk of demonic intercourse in dreams, in the case of excessive restraint of ejaculation or sexual desire⁵³⁸. Besides such damaging effects, the emission of semen is required for procreation. For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* sets out regulations for ejaculation for the purpose of procreation⁵³⁹.

⁵³⁷ Sexual intercourse with demons as a result of restraining strong sexual desire as well as long term celibacy is also mentioned in *Yufang Mijue*. *Ishinpō*. 21th *juan*. p.484; *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th *juan*. "fangzhong buyi". p.489.

⁵³⁸ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p.644. As for demonic intercourse in dreams, see the fourth chapter of Chen Hsiu-fen. 2002. pp.146-197.

⁵³⁹ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p.644.

Many texts on the sexual art portray occasional seminal emission as necessary and stipulate the required number of ejaculations according to the generation to which a man belongs. In particular, the *Yufang Mijue* provides regulations for ejaculation control which relate not only to generational differences but also to individual differences in vitality.

The Plain Girl said that men are divided into stronger and weaker, while generations are divided into junior and senior. You should take account of your individual degree of power of *qi* and not seek pleasure too eagerly. Greed in seeking pleasure causes harm. At the age of fifteen, a robust man should ejaculate twice a day. One who is thin should ejaculate once a day. A man aged twenty should ejaculate twice a day, but if he is weak he should ejaculate once a day. A robust man aged thirty should ejaculate every day, but one who is inferior should ejaculate every other day. A robust man aged forty should ejaculate once every three days, while one who is weak should ejaculate once every four days.....⁵⁴⁰.

This regulation prescribes intervals for ejaculation for men up to the age of seventy. Very often, fifty is the maximum generational age limit at which occasional seminal emission is allowed and a man of the age of sixty is strictly prohibited from discharging semen⁵⁴¹. This

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ For instance, Sun Simiao recommends abandoning ejaculation at the age of sixty.

decreasing frequency of ejaculation in accordance with the aging process is based on the idea of a finite quantity of human *qi*. The amount of *qi* of human beings is considered to increase up to a certain age, and thereafter to be susceptible only to decrease. This is best shown in Sun's statement that "a man over the age of forty gradually realises that his *qi* is declining⁵⁴²".

The acquisition of *qi* is a rather active technique, whereas the accumulation of *qi* by restricting ejaculation can be a passive method for the maintenance of life. Although dietetic and breathing methods are techniques for obtaining *qi*, as discussed in the previous section, sexual intercourse is undoubtedly the main occasion for acquiring *qi* from the female, according to the art of the bedchamber.

The sexual art regards three organs as the places for absorbing *qi* during coitus. They are the mouth, the nose and the penis. In particular, the mouth and the nose have been considered points of absorption from quite an early stage in Chinese history⁵⁴³. For

Qianjin Yaofang. 27th *juan*. "fangzhong buyi". p.489.

⁵⁴² Ibid., p.490.

⁵⁴³ For instance, Heshanggong's commentary for *Laozi Daodejing* mentions the mouth and nose as a point of absorption of *qi*. "言不死之有在於玄牝。玄天也。於人爲鼻。牝地也。於人爲口。天食人以五氣。從鼻入 (It is said that the entity of immortality resides in "dark female". Dark is heaven, which forms the nose on human. Female is earth, which forms the mouth on human. Heaven feeds man with five *qi* that enter from the nose.)" and "根元也。言鼻口之門是乃通天地之元氣。(The root is origin. It is said that the gate of the nose and the mouse indeed sends in the *qi* of origin between

instance, female saliva is one form of *qi* which should be sucked and drunk during sexual intercourse. This is evident in the first dialogue in the *Shiwen*, in which it is stated that female saliva, named “dark honoured one”, should be drunk by the male⁵⁴⁴. *Qi* in the form of saliva is obviously taken in through the mouth. On the other hand, the “divine wind” mentioned in the same source⁵⁴⁵ is apparently vaporous in form and can be inhaled through the nose.

For example again, Sun introduces two different methods for absorbing *qi*. On one hand, he mentions “*caiqi zhi dao* 採氣之道 (the way to obtain *qi*)”, in which one should “take female *qi* into the mouth and drink it⁵⁴⁶”. On the other hand, he refers to a technique described as “*xi jiaohe zhi shi* 習交合之時 (occasions for training in sexual intercourse)⁵⁴⁷”, in which one should “always⁵⁴⁸ inhale *qi* through the nose. This inhalation through the nose brings benefits of its own accord⁵⁴⁹. Thus, in Sun’s view at least, the former skill consisting of taking in *qi* via the mouth is an active method of acquiring *qi*, while the latter, which uses the nose, comes about naturally.

The penis is the other organ in charge for acquiring *qi*, although

heaven and earth.)”. *Laozi Daodejing*. Commented by Heshanggong. p.52.

⁵⁴⁴ *Shiwen*. p.145.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴⁶ *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. “*fangzhong buyi*”. p.489.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴⁸ “常以鼻多內氣”. *Ibid*.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

this is in general not expressly stipulated in the literature. Nevertheless, this view of the penis as a site of absorption becomes clearer with the passage of time. In particular, the Ming literature of the sexual art clearly exemplifies this idea along with the view of female secretion as the important *qi*. According to the Ming text, the *Xiuzhen Yanyi* 修真演義 (Stories of Practising the Truth), women produce three drugs from their mouth, breasts and vagina. The three drugs correspond to saliva, breast milk and female genital secretions⁵⁵⁰. And it is the penis which is responsible for absorbing female secretions.

If you want to obtain [the drug] from the lower peak, as well as study in advance the methods of controlling *qi*, you should obtain the *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) with largeness and strength so that you can fill *yinhu* 陰戶 (*yin* gate—i.e. the vagina). Then, you should inhale the *qi* of *yin* (the female organ), which should be induced through a conduit in the jade stalk (the penis) to flow upstream to *dantian* 丹田 (the cinnabar field)⁵⁵¹.

It is clear from this quotation that the male genital organ is an instrument for obtaining *qi*, as well as a one for accomplishing sexual

⁵⁵⁰ *Xiuzhen Yanyi* p.215.

⁵⁵¹ *Shesheng zongyao* 攝生總要 (Entire Points for Absorbing Life). Compiled by Hong Ji 洪基 of Ming dynasty. I have referred to the edition collected in Li Ling 李零 ed. 1993. *Zhongguo fangshu Gaiguan Fangzhong* 中国方術概觀—房中 (Outline of Chinese Magical Techniques-The Art of the Bedchamber). Beijing: Renmin zhongguo chuban. pp.222-223.

intercourse. Apparently, the method of inducing *qi* to “flow upstream⁵⁵²” through the penis is based on visualisation techniques, as is evidenced in the quotation below.

At the bottom, you should, through *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk— i.e. the penis), inhale female *yingjing* 陰精 (*yin* essence), by imagining that *jing* (the essence) coming in Tōyōu Ryūguan 玉管 (jade tube—i.e. the tube of the organ)⁵⁵³.

Yet, it is not always the penis which takes in female secretions. For example, the *Yufang Mijue* states that “you should gather her flowing energy and take in her secretion by mouth, which will make your *qi* and energy return to fill your brain⁵⁵⁴”. This clearly indicates that the sexual art employs cunnilingus as a method of absorbing *qi* and that the mouth is the expected absorption site for female secretions.

With regard to the absorption of *qi*, the sexual art involves two specific notions. First, it advocates having numerous different female sexual partners. Secondly, it promotes the choice of female partners

⁵⁵² “逆人”. Ibid., p.222.

⁵⁵³ *Fangshu xuanji zhong Cuijuan yao* 房術玄機中萃纂要 (Collected Points among Techniques of Bedchamber and Dark Pivots). Attributed to Chen Zhuan 陳搏(?-989). I have referred to the edition collected in Li Ling 李零 ed. 1993. *Zhongguo fangshu Gaiguan-Fangzhong* 中国方術概觀—房中 (Outline of Chinese Magical Techniques-The Art of the Bedchamber). Beijing: Renmin zhongguo chuban. p.154.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. “fangnei”. p.637.

with a high quality of *qi*.

The former idea is best illustrated by the myth of the Yellow Emperor who is said to have become *xian* by having sexual intercourse with one thousand two hundred women⁵⁵⁵. The *Yufang Mijue* gives a somewhat extreme example. It says that "when you have sexual intercourse with a woman, it is desirable to change woman each time you move⁵⁵⁶". Here, the meaning of verbal term *dong* 動 (move) remains uncertain, which may not merely refer to the insertion and withdrawal of the penis. Instead, the term may possibly indicate whole process of sexual intercourse or probably a series of female physical reactions ending up with her orgasm. The term referring to any possible meaning, however, the important points emphasised here are a frequent change of sexual partners and to have the many partners as much as possible.

The literature of the sexual art explains that sexual intercourse with various women offers advantages to both the man and the woman. Since the art aims to obtain *qi* from women, a man will destroy a woman if he persistently practises only with her⁵⁵⁷. On the other hand, since female *yin qi* is naturally stronger than male *yang qi*, he will possibly be overcome by the female as water extinguishes fire, if he

⁵⁵⁵ See footnote 54.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ishinpō*, 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p.635.

⁵⁵⁷ For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* introduces this concept. Ibid.

repeatedly has sexual intercourse only with one particular woman⁵⁵⁸. Thus, the literature of the art claims that sexual activity with many different female partners is beneficial in order to avoid exhausting the female and extinguishing the male.

The second idea, that of obtaining a partner with high quality *qi*, is best illustrated by the criteria for *haonü* 好女 (a favourable woman) and *enü* 惡女 (an unfavourable woman). As pointed out in the previous chapter, these regulations are founded on the idea of *qi*, and the features which distinguish favourable or unfavourable partners are basically unconnected with female beauty or ugliness. For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* gives the following examples of unfavourable partners.

Factors indicating an unfavourable woman are dishevelled hair, a pockmarked face, a thick neck, a large Adam's apple, dark teeth, a gruff voice, a big mouth, a high-bridged nose, dull eyes, long hairs on the lips and chin like a beard and moustache, large bones, big joints, red hair, scant flesh, pubic hair which is thick, coarse, abundant and bristly. Sexual intercourse with a woman having these features harms a man. Do not ride on a woman with rough skin. Do not ride on a thin woman. Do not ride on a woman who always prefers the superior

⁵⁵⁸ For instance, Sun Simiao and Tao Hongjing mention this particular conception. *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. "fangzhong buyi". p.489; *Yangxing Yanminlu*. xia juan. "yunü sunyi". p.16.

position...⁵⁵⁹ It is also said: On a woman who is jealous, do not ride. On a woman with a cold vagina, do not ride. On a woman who is a masochist, do not ride⁵⁶⁰. On a woman who eats too much, do not ride. On a woman over forty, do not ride. On a woman suffering from diarrhoea, do not ride...⁵⁶¹.

In addition to these conditions, the *Ishinpō* quotes from the *Daqingjing* 大清經 (Canon of Great Purity), which gives criteria for female vaginal conformation and menstrual pattern ⁵⁶²: For instance, clitoral hyperplasia, or possibly hermaphroditism or false hermaphroditism, is described as acutely harmful to a man, as are women with menstrual disorders⁵⁶³.

On the other hand, the *Yufang Mijue* sets out the conditions for

⁵⁵⁹ The original text says “*chang cong gao juxia* 常從高就下”. Ishihara Akira interprets it as a woman who prefers the superior position. Douglas Wile also agrees with this interpretation. Although admitting that the translation is uncertain, van Gulik gives another interpretation, understanding it as a woman who has inclinations for low-class men. van Gulik, R.H. 1961. p.150; Umayabara Shigeo. 1967. p.190; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.256.

⁵⁶⁰ The original text has “*bukuaishan* 不快善”. Ishihara Akira mentions that it means masochism. Wile, on the other hand, believes that “*kuaishan* 快善” is the sum of the basic meaning of the independent characters happy and good and translates it as a woman who do not have a good disposition. Umayabara Shigeo. 1967. p.190; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.106, p.256.

⁵⁶¹ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangner*”. p.649.

⁵⁶² The original texts says “*suiyuexisheng* 隨月死生”. Ishihara Akira interprets that it is a woman who is strongly influenced by the waxing and waning of the moon, which can be understood as a menstrual disorder in a broad sense. Ibid., p.650; Umayabara Shigeo. 1967. p.191.

⁵⁶³ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangner*”. p.650.

a favourable woman as follows.

Pengzu said if a man wants to obtain great benefits, he should take a woman who has no knowledge of the sexual art. Also, he should ride on a young girl, or at least one who is young in appearance...The most preferable age for a woman is from fourteen or fifteen to eighteen or nineteen. She should not be over thirty. Even if she is not over thirty, if she has experienced childbirth, she will not be beneficial...⁵⁶⁴

Master Chonghe says that charm and grace are the beauties of feminine nature... If you want to ride on a woman, you should always choose a young girl whose breasts are not mature and who is covered with plentiful flesh. She should have silken hair and small eyes with the whites and pupils clearly defined. Her face and body should be moist and smooth, and her words and voice harmonious. The bones of her four limbs and hundreds of joints should be covered with plenty of flesh, and the bones should not be prominent. It is undesirable for her to have underarm and pubic hair. If she has, it should be fine and smooth⁵⁶⁵.

The *Daqingjing* quoted in the *Ishinpō* gives other examples.

The Plain Girl said that women who gratify [favourable] aspects have: a gentle nature, a calm voice, fine, black hair, soft skin, slender bones. She

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., p.635.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., p.649.

should be neither too tall nor too short, neither too fat nor too thin, with her genital organ placed high, having no pubic hair and producing plentiful female secretions. Her age should be between twenty-five and thirty, but she should not have experienced childbirth... She also said that her characteristics should include fine, white skin, finger joints with thin hollows, good ears and eyes, fair... with plump thighs... If a man proceeds with such a woman, he will not grow tired all night long and will gain benefits. If she gives birth to a child, it will be noble and rich⁵⁶⁶.

Comparing the two examples of unfavourable women with the other two of favourable women, two salient points emerge. First, a female with *yang* features is undesirable (as are conditions resulting from disorders of *qi* such as diarrhoea). Clitoral hyperplasia or possible hermaphroditism clearly implies strong *yang*-ness. For instance, hairiness or hairlessness, anywhere except for the head, is a major concern. Hairiness apparently suggests maleness or masculinity rather than femininity. Similarly, a thick neck, a prominent Adam's apple and a gruff voice, which are cited as unfavourable signs, are *yang* rather than *yin* features. On the other hand, hairlessness which evidently counts as a feminine or *yin* feature is constantly emphasised as a favourable sign. Likewise, characteristics such as gentleness and grace, a calm voice, and soft skin

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

strongly connote femaleness. Thus, one aspect of the regulations regarding female partners is the avoidance of those with *yang* characteristics and the selection of those with *yin* features.

Secondly, the literature of the art is concerned with the youth of the female partner. Again, hairlessness is important. Attention to the presence or absence of hair is specifically focused on the underarms and genitalia. The growth of underarm and pubic hair is a secondary sexual characteristic. The most preferred partner is a girl just beginning to display secondary sexual characteristics, with little or no underarm or pubic hair. This is clearly evident in the quotation above, which includes the statement "It is undesirable that she should have underarm and pubic hair. If she has, it should be fine and smooth⁵⁶⁷". In addition to the preference for hairlessness, the same attitude towards the secondary sexual characteristics is displayed with regard to the development of the breasts. The growth of the female breasts also begins in early puberty. Again, immature breasts are preferred. Thus, it is apparently not the chronological age of the woman that is significant for the sexual art, but that she should possess attributes associated with the first emergence of the secondary sexual characteristics.

Yet, an age range is set for the favourable female, from fourteen to thirty. Obviously, the secondary sexual characteristics develop

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

during the teenage years in most cases. Thus, a woman over twenty rarely corresponds to the ideal model described in the literature. This suggests that the art does not necessarily value only girls at the outset of puberty, although they are considered the most favourable. Instead, it accepts physically mature women, provided they possess certain attributes which are identified with the most preferred age group. Features such as being neither too tall nor too short, neither too fat nor too thin, and having thin, fine underarm hair and pubic hair apparently indicate an affinity with the stage of early puberty. Moreover, this is apparently one of the reasons for which the sexual art rejects women who have given birth regardless of their age.

The circulation of accumulated and/or absorbed *qi* is the final and most important process in the techniques of the sexual art for the purpose of maintaining life. As discussed in the previous section on the complementary role of dietetic and breathing methods, the *qi* circulating around the body is finally gathered and stored in one place. In the earliest extant texts, it is located in the five organs, but the brain becomes predominant in the later literature of the genre.

The technique of storing *qi* in the brain is called "*huangjing bunao* 還精補腦 (returning semen to supply the brain)⁵⁶⁸". As the translation indicates, this technique is closely related to ejaculation

⁵⁶⁸ For instance, *Yufang Zhiyao* cites the exact term "*huanjing bunao zhi dao* 還精補腦之道 (ways of returning semen to repair the brain)". Ibid., p.643.

control. For instance, Sun's method of controlling seminal emission of semen quoted earlier in this section is also a technique for achieving the upward flow of semen to the brain. By exerting pressure on the perineum, exhaling at length and clenching the teeth, not only is semen prevented from escaping, but also it is actively returned to the brain⁵⁶⁹. One of the concepts of this method is that the *qi* of the penis circulates around the body on its way up to the brain. Since semen is the most important form of *qi* for a man, the flow of semen throughout the body must be seen as beneficial. Yet, the most important idea of this technique is apparently the faculty of nourishing the brain. By providing a supply of the most precious male *qi* to the brain, the method promises longevity⁵⁷⁰.

The high value placed on the brain, which can be observed in the technique of returning semen to supply for the brain is also evident in another method that shares the concepts of bringing a precious substance to the brain and is likewise beneficial for the maintenance of life. It is a skill described in the *Xianjing* 仙經 (Canon of the Immortals), which is quoted by Sun Simiao and Tao Hongjing.

In order to let a man live long without aging, you should first play with a woman, and drink heRyūjiang 玉漿 (jade fluid). Jade water is saliva within the mouth. You should arouse the emotions

⁵⁶⁹ *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. "fangzhong buyi". p.485.

⁵⁷⁰ "則精上補腦、使人長生". Ibid.

of male and female, with the left hand, by holding each other. Then, you should, in your cinnabar field, visualise a red *qi*, containing yellow within the red and white outside the red. Imagine that the *qi* is transformed into the sun and the moon, which circulate within the cinnabar hole. They go up into *niyuan* 泥垣 (the muddy wall), together, where the two unite to become one... The cinnabar field is located three *cun* below the navel, while the muddy wall is located in the brain on an axis running straight from the centre of the two eyes. Imagine making the sun and the moon each with a radius of three *cun*, both of which are transfigured and become one..... This is also a way for the man and the woman to become *xian* together⁵⁷¹.

As is clearly stated in the quotation, the muddy wall is a location in the brain. Although this text calls it *niyuan* 泥垣 (the muddy wall), this place is generally known as *niwan* 泥丸 (the muddy pill), especially in Daoist literature⁵⁷². On one hand, this term indicates a specific location in the brain while on the other hand, it is considered to be a

⁵⁷¹ Also, almost the same quotation from the same informant can be seen in Tao Hongjing. Ibid.; *Yangxing Yanminlu. xia juan. "yunti sunyi". p.20.*

⁵⁷² More than 200 examples of the term *niwan* 泥丸 (muddy pill) can be found in Daoist canon *Yunji Qijian*. For instance, “腦神精根字泥丸。(丹田之宮。黃庭之舍。洞房之主。陰陽之根。泥丸腦之象也)” and “一面之神宗泥丸。(腦中丹田百神之主)”, *Shangqing Huangting Neijingjing* 上清黃庭內景經 (Canon of Inner Scenery of the Yellow Yard in Supreme Purity Sect). Collected in *Yunji Qijian*. 11th juan. p. 59. For another instance, “青精上真內景君道經。當思九元之真拘制真氣。五色雲氣。從兆泥丸中入”。*Cun <Dadong Zhenjing> Sanshijiu Zhenfa* 存 <大洞真經> 三十九真法 (Remaining <Large Cave True Canon> Thirty Nine True Methods). Collected in *Yunji Qijian*. 42th juan. p.240.

phonetic transliteration of the Buddhist term *nirvana*, which is possibly to be understood as enlightenment. Since Buddhist literature employs another phonetic transliteration of the term, *niepan* 涅槃⁵⁷³, the muddy pill could have been a special Daoist usage⁵⁷⁴. Moreover, so far as I am aware no Buddhist literature uses *niepan* with reference to the brain, and thus “the muddy pill” which possibly comes from a term *nirvana* to denote a special place in the brain is apparently an original Daoist conception.

It is unclear why the Daoists employed a term possibly originating in the Buddhist idea of *nirvana* to refer to this important location in the brain, which is the final destination for *qi* and the imagined sun and the moon. Also, it is uncertain when such a concept of bringing something precious into the brain emerged. In the Mawangdui literature, at least, the five internal organs are valued, but not the brain. However, it is obvious that the brain comes to be seen as an especially important location in relation to sexual techniques for the maintenance of life, to which the most precious *qi* of the male must be channelled and in which the imaginary sun and the moon

⁵⁷³ Although *nipan* 涅槃 is apparently the overwhelming term for *nirvana* in Buddhist literature, phonetically similar characters sometimes appear in Buddhist literature to indicate *nirvana*. For instance, *nihuan* 泥洹 (muddy river) of which *huan* seemingly more close to *niyuan* 泥垣 in the quotation appears in Dao An's *Erjiaolun* 二教論 (Discussion about two teachings). *Erjiaolun*. p.327.

⁵⁷⁴ For instance, Henri Maspero assumes Daoist usage of *niwang* 泥丸 (muddy pill) comes from Sanskrit terminology, *nirvana*. Maspero, Henri. 1992. *Dōkyō* 道教 (*Le Taoïsme*). Translated by Kawakatsu Yoshio 川勝義雄. Tokyo: Heibonsha. p.19.

representing *yin* and *yang* must be harmonised.

It may be worth considering the possibility that the Daoists deliberately employed a transliteration of *nirvana* to indicate this part of the brain. *Shenming* 神明, divine wisdom, is one of the highest benefits that the sexual art can provide. Although the precise meaning of the term remains uncertain, it demonstrably involves connotations of numinousness and sagacity. As *nirvana* can be understood as enlightenment, divine wisdom may share certain implications with the Buddhist idea of *nirvana*. Also, divine wisdom, being one of the most desirable effects of the art, is apparently related to concepts of longevity, immortality and becoming *xian*. Since it is also semantically related to divine wind, the muddy pill as a transliteration of *nirvana* may possibly be connected with the maintenance of life as well.

2) Therapeutic and prophylactic skills

Sharing as they do a common concept of *qi*, the sexual art and Chinese medicine are mutually complementary. The art of the bedchamber involves recipes for herbal drugs, therapeutic sexual intercourse, and prophylactic measures. Similarly, Chinese medicine involves some sexual methods as fundamental skills for controlling *qi* for the benefit of physical health.

In the literature of the sexual art, herbal and mineral drugs are primarily employed to assist sexual activity. The supportive benefits of medicines are divided into three types: increasing male vitality; the recovery or improvement of male conditions with special reference to the penis; the recovery or improvement of female conditions with special reference to the vagina.

For instance, Sun describes a drug compounded from deer horn, aconite and *bajiao* 八角 (*Fructus Illicii Veri*), which is efficacious "to make a man more vigorous and enable him not to age, not to be tired by sexual intercourse, nor to suffer the decay of his vitality and appearance⁵⁷⁵". As another instance, the *Yufang Mijue* describes a drug made from a he-moss (male moss) outside the mating season. This pill should be taken in advance of sexual intercourse to make the man strong, vital and aroused. Apparently, this medicine has powerful effects, since the source advises that "if you are excessively stimulated to complete the sexual act, you should wash the penis in water⁵⁷⁶".

These kinds of medicine for strengthening male vitality may be regarded as aphrodisiacs. They essentially enhance the man's condition and vitality sufficiently to permit sexual intercourse, but equally, they evidently augment sexual stimulation as well. This is still more evident in a drug described in the *Yufang Zhiyao* 玉房指要

⁵⁷⁵ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "fangnei". p.652.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

(The Indicated Essentials of the Jade Chamber), which has the effect of making a man “so vital that he is able to have sexual intercourse ten times a night⁵⁷⁷”. The source corroborates the efficacy of the drug by the example of Cao Cao 曹操(155-220); “ Mr. Cao took this pill and he had intercourse with seventy women in the space of one night⁵⁷⁸”.

Increasing vitality is an essential aspect of the medications described in the literature of the sexual art. For instance, drugs for impotence, which is the male disorder of greatest concern, apparently improve the condition by increasing arousal. A drug named *tujisan* 禿鷄散 (bald rooster powder) is described in the *Dongxuanzi* as a remedy for “the five tiredness, the seven disadvantages and impotence in the male⁵⁷⁹”. However, it not only cures conditions of the male genitalia, but also confers such vitality and virility that a man over seventy “was able to have three sons⁵⁸⁰”. The text cautions us that the long-term use of this drug will cause harm to the woman, whose vagina will become sore due to the excess of male sexual vitality⁵⁸¹.

It is evident that many medicines for male use are in pill or powder form, but those for female uses often involve plasters. Although there are considerably fewer recipes for the benefit of the female than for the male, plasters do seem to be a characteristically

⁵⁷⁷ “作房室一夜十餘不息方”.Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ “曹公服之一夜行七十女”. Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.,p652-653

⁵⁸⁰ “年七十、服藥得生三子”. Ibid. p.652

⁵⁸¹ “長服之、婦人患多、玉門中疼”. Ibid.

female form of medication. For instance, the *Yufang Zhiyao* describes two powdered drugs to be applied as poultices to the genitalia, which are efficacious for shrinking the size of the vagina⁵⁸². Besides tightening the vagina, the literature of the art provides medicines to ease the pain of first intercourse and heal any injuries to the internal genitalia caused by sexual intercourse⁵⁸³.

Though medication plays a supporting role, sexual intercourse is still the method utilised in the literature of the art for therapeutic purposes. The following statement from the *Yufang Mijue* describes the concept best: “Even if sexual intercourse causes illness, you can cure it again with sexual activity⁵⁸⁴”.

For instance, the same source explains a method of curing lumbago as a result of sexual intercourse with the woman in the superior position. In this position, a man thrusts up his waist that harms his back. Therefore, he should “lie correctly” which apparently implies the male superior position and play with the woman slowly in order to cure the disorder⁵⁸⁵. In a similar manner, some therapeutic methods instruct the sufferer to have sexual intercourse in an opposite

⁵⁸² Ibid., p.656.

⁵⁸³ For instance, *Yufang Mijue* describes such benefits. Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., p.645. Also, Sun Simiao states similar conception saying “*yiren liaoren* 以人療人 (to heal a man by a man)”. Ibid.; *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. “*fangzhong buyi*”. p.488.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. “*fangnei*”. p.645.

situation to the one which produced the disorder. For example, the same source deals with an illness caused by sexual activity soon after overeating.

If you have sexual intercourse, after overeating, when, in the middle of the night, the *qi* of food has not been digested, it causes carbuncles and fullness of *qi* in the chest. The chest hurts as if the underarms were falling down and the chest were about to burst. It reduces your appetite, makes blockage under your heart and causes you to vomit yellowish blue matter. [On the other hand], your stomach *qi* bursts which causes intermissions in the pulse. Or it may make your nose bleed, cause you to vomit blood, and cause hardness and pain in the underarms and ugly sores on the face. The method of curing this disease is, after midnight, towards dawn, to have sexual intercourse. Then, it will be cured⁵⁸⁶.

Although the symptoms sound extremely serious, the cure is quite simple. As this illness is caused by a situation in which “the *qi* of food has not yet digested⁵⁸⁷”, a patient should have sex in the opposite situation. Thus, “after midnight⁵⁸⁸” indicates a time when the “the *qi* of food⁵⁸⁹” is properly digested.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

The cure is not always brought about by reversing a situation. Again, the *Yufang Mijue* describes a disorder caused by having sexual intercourse while experiencing the urge to defecate. This results in haemorrhoids which cause difficulties of excretion. The text explains that chronic haemorrhoids produce bloody pus and boils on the anus as well as fecal incontinence⁵⁹⁰. The following is the manner of sexual intercourse which can cure this condition.

You should wake up before cockcrow and get dressed. Then, you should lie down, to calm yourself and increase your concentration, and begin sexual intercourse slowly. You need to control your body and preserve moderation. You should conclude the activity when you have made your partner's secretions flow. In this manner, you can heal the disease and develop your *shen* 神 (divine)⁵⁹¹.

Though it does not involve a reversed situation, the method cited above is regarded as efficacious for curing a specific illness. In comparison with the method for curing disorders due to overeating, the statement about the timing of the end of sexual intercourse is characteristic. The source provides a clear instruction to conclude sexual activity with the appearance of female secretions. As discussed in previous section, the female secretion produced at the orgasm is the

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

most important *qi* of the woman. Thus, the female secretion referred to in this method implies the best *qi* generated at orgasm, rather than the lubricative secretions which starts to be emitted at a very early stage in sexual activity. In that case, the therapeutic element in this particular method is the female *qi* produced at orgasm.

The concept that the best female *qi* has therapeutic virtues is more evident in the series of techniques named “*qisun* 七損 (the seven disadvantages)”. The term usually appears in tandem with “*bayi* 八益 (eight advantages)”, and these concepts play an important role in the Chinese medical classics. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the *Huangdi Neijing Suwen* 黄帝内经素问 (The Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor: The Primary Questions) refers to the seven disadvantages and eight advantages as required techniques for achieving a long, healthy life⁵⁹².

One of the earliest texts, the *Tianxia Zhidaotan* explains the seven disadvantages as situations of *qi* which should be avoided⁵⁹³.

No.	Name	Condition
1	<i>Bi (neibi)</i> 閉(内閉) ,	Pain at coitus ⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² *Huangdi Neijing Suwen* . 2nd *juan*. “*Yinyang Yingxiang Dalun* 陰陽應象大論”. p.43.

⁵⁹³ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.164.

⁵⁹⁴ “為之疾痛”. “為之” indicates to have sexual intercourse. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.430.

	blockage (internal blockage)	
2	<i>Shi</i> (<i>waishu</i>) 泄 (外泄), emission (external emission)	Sweating at coitus
3	<i>Jie</i> 竭, dried up ⁵⁹⁵	Coitus is unstoppable ⁵⁹⁶
4	<i>Wu</i> (<i>fi</i>) 勿 (弗), impossibility ⁵⁹⁷	Desiring, but being incapable ⁵⁹⁸
5	<i>Fan</i> 煩, disorder	Panting at coitus due to internal disorder ⁵⁹⁹
6	<i>Jie</i> 絕, cease	Forced coitus without desire ⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁵ 竭 is originally 楛. Ma, Wei and Hu understand the character to mean to cease or dRyūp. On the other hand, Harper reads the character as *jie* 渴, to thirst and translates it as parching, which refers to the desiccation of vapour due to immoderate sexual activities. Wile simply translates the character as exhaustion. With any translation, this situation evidently indicates a drying up of vitality. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.431; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1037, p.1044; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xiangahu. 1992. pp.146-147; Wile, Dougnals. 1992. p.81.

⁵⁹⁶ 不已. The term means not to stop. Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1044.

⁵⁹⁷ The names for seven disadvantages have 勿 while the descriptions of them have 弗. Both characters are phonetically interchangeable and either of them may indicate impossibility. Ibid., p.1037, p.1045; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.148.

⁵⁹⁸ I agree with Harper who identifies the symptom as impotence. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.431.

⁵⁹⁹ Harper assumes that it is the same situation as the second condition *yijing* 溢精 (overflow of essence), in the seven disadvantages as exemplified in the *Yufang Mijue* in Table 3. Ma indicates that it suggest panting and mental disorder during coitus. Ibid.; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1045.

⁶⁰⁰ I think this is not a symptom, but rather a cause of disadvantages as Ma points out. Thus, the symptoms associated with this forced sexual intercourse are apparently the same as the first disadvantage in the *Yufang Mijue* in Table 3. Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.1045-1046.

7	<i>Fei</i> 費, wastage	Extreme haste in coitus ⁶⁰¹
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Table 4: Seven Disadvantages from the *Tianxia Zhidaotan* ⁶⁰²

As seen in Table 4, in the Mawangdui text, the seven disadvantages evidently involve symptoms and/or causes of infirmities⁶⁰³. For instance, acute pain and sweating during sexual intercourse, as in the first and the second conditions, should be regarded as unforeseeable situations which are beyond human control. On the other hand, unstoppable or forced sexual intercourse, as in the third and sixth conditions, are definitely causes which can be avoided.

Similarly to the Mawangdui text, which describes causes and/or symptoms to be avoided, the *Yufang Mijue* also provides precise details of the seven disadvantages. In this later source, the seven disadvantages are again undesirable conditions of male *qi*, which are, however, clearly shown to be caused by inappropriate sexual intercourse, as seen in Table 5 below. More characteristically, this

⁶⁰¹ *jin* 尽 means "dried up" or "extreme" whereas *shi* 疾 does "ailment" or "haste". Harper interprets 疾 as illness and translates the sentence as "to become ill from intercourse". But Ma and Wile understand the character as speedy. Ma understands the line as referring to tiredness because of extremely rapid sexual intercourse, while Wile translates it as performing the act in haste. I prefer to understand 疾 as haste, which possibly indicates premature ejaculation. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.431; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1046; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.81.

⁶⁰² Based on *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.165.

⁶⁰³ Ma considers that the fourth is the symptoms but the seventh is the causation of the situation. Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.1045-1046.

source introduces seven different sexual methods for the therapy of each condition, since the motto is to “cure it again with sexual activities⁶⁰⁴”.

The seven types of therapeutic sexual intercourse for each disadvantage differ with regard to position and instructions for penetration, as shown in Table 6 below. But despite these differences of sexual position and penetration method, all seven methods have four important points in common. First, it is the woman who should control the progress of movement in and out. In other words, the male should not insert or withdraw the penis by himself. Secondly, these curative sexual activities should finish when the “female produces *jing* 精 (here it refers to female “semen”)⁶⁰⁵”. Thirdly, the male should not reach orgasm. Fourthly, each method requires to be repeated nine times a day for ten days running.

Names of condition	Causation	Symptom
<i>Jueqi</i> 絕氣, cessation of <i>qi</i>	Unwilling sex	Sweat, decrease of <i>qi</i> , heat in the heart and dizziness
<i>Yijing</i> 益精, gain of energy	Sex before the harmonious preparation of male and female, emission of semen in the middle of intercourse and sex when drunk	Harm to the lungs which causes disorders of breathing and <i>qi</i> , coughing, extreme emotional lability, thirst, and fever

⁶⁰⁴ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.645.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 642-643.

<i>Duomai</i> 奪脈, plunder of vessels	Forced sex without the penis being sufficiently hard, coercive ejaculation in the middle of intercourse and sex after overeating	Exhaustion of <i>qi</i> , harm to the spleen, dyspepsia and impotence
<i>Qixie</i> 氣泄, discharge of <i>qi</i>	Sex before the sweat is dry because of tiredness	Heat in the abdomen and thirst on the lips
<i>Jiguan</i> 機關 (<i>jueshang</i> 厥傷), faint and injury	Sex of those who have chronic internal ailment soon after defecation and urination	Harm to the liver, dim sight, swellings and impotence
<i>Baibi</i> 百閉, hundreds of blocks	Involuntary ejaculation due to excess of female sexual desire	No semen at ejaculation because <i>qi</i> is exhausted
<i>Xuejie</i> 血竭, drying out of blood	Sex when extremely fatigued with repeated ejaculation	Drying out of blood, exhaustion of <i>qi</i> , deterioration of the skin, pain in the penis, wetness of the testicles, emission of blood instead of semen from the penis

Table 5: Causations and symptoms of seven disadvantages from the *Yufang Mijue*⁶⁰⁶

Condition in target	Positioning	Insertion instruction
Cessation of <i>qi</i>	The female lies on her back while the male supports her feet on his shoulders	Deeply
Gain of	The female lies on her back and bends her	Shallowly, a

⁶⁰⁶ Based on *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". pp. 642-643.

energy	knees making room for the man between them	half <i>cun</i>
Plunder of vessels	The female lies on her back and hangs her feet on the male's buttocks. The male supports himself with a seat during penetration.	
Discharge of <i>qi</i>	The male lies on her back while the female rides on him facing his feet. She supports herself with a seat during penetration.	Shallowly
Faintness and injury	The male lies on his back while the female rides on him, face to face.	Slowly
Hundreds of blocks	The male lies on his back while the female lies upon him supporting herself with a seat.	Let female insert the penis
Drying out of blood	The female lies on her back, raises her buttocks high and extends her feet straight. The male kneels between her knees	Deeply

Table 6: Therapeutic sexual intercourse for seven disadvantages⁶⁰⁷

The term *jing* 精 can be understood as essence, a form of *qi*, semen and so forth. Since the term has so many different connotations, we sometimes need to interpret it according to context. Given that these methods are intended for men in a poor state of health, the man may not be expected to bring the woman to orgasm, in which case the term can be understood as referring to energy in general, which apparently implies female secretions at any stage during sexual intercourse. If this is so, the instructions regarding repetition may suggest that *qi* is to be gradually supplemented through the constant absorption of generic

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

qi. However, because female *jing* is mentioned in parallel with the male orgasm, and because a man whose health is seriously damaged requires a sufficient quality and quantity of *qi*, it seems more appropriate to interpret the term as female “semen” produced at orgasm. Obviously, female semen represents the *qi* generated at orgasm, which is the most excellent form of *qi* she has to offer.

Unlike the seven disadvantages, the eight advantages are conditions of *qi* with utilitarian value. According to the earliest source, the *Tianxia Zhidaotan*, the good use of these enables *qi* to be doubled⁶⁰⁸. These advantageous conditions are completely different from those described in the *Yufang Mijue*, although the later text also regards the eight advantages as beneficial situations of *qi*.

For instance, the Mawangdui text presents eight skills for controlling beneficial conditions of *qi*.

In the morning, you should wake up, stand up, sit down, straighten the back, loosen the buttocks, inhale *qi* at the anus⁶⁰⁹ and bring it down. This is

⁶⁰⁸ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*, p.164.

⁶⁰⁹ “開尻翁州”. Harper translates the sentence as “open the buttocks, suck in the anus”. Ma agrees with Harper in interpreting *zhou* 州 as anus. Whereas Harper understands the character *xi* 翁 as meaning to suck, Wile understands it in the sense of *suo* 縮 (to shrink) or *jia* 挟 (to put something between), and translates the sentence as to “open and contract the buttocks”. Since the term *xi* 翁 often appears in connection with *qi* especially indicating the inhalation of *qi*, I suggest that the sentence implies the absorption of *qi*. Ibid.; Harper, Donald. 1997. p.430; Ma Jixing.

called *zhìqì* 治氣 (control of *qì*). You should eat and drink, then hang down the buttocks, extend the back, inhale *qì* and make it circulate. This is called *zhìmo* 致沫 (gathering saliva)⁶¹⁰. You should play with the woman first so that both of you experience enjoyment, which will lead you to desire sexual intercourse. This is called *zhìshí* 知時 (knowing the time). During sexual intercourse, you should relax the back, inhale *qì* and bring it down. This is called *xuqì* 蓄氣 (storing *qì*). During sexual intercourse, you should, for innumerable times without hurrying⁶¹¹, take [your penis] in and out and harmoniously control [the penis]. This is called *hemo* 和沫 (harmony of saliva)⁶¹². When you get out of bed, you should let a person help you to stand up and your penis should erect itself angrily⁶¹³. This is called *jìqì* 積氣 (accumulation of *qì*). At the ending of the activity, you should turn your back and stay still, then inhale *qì*, bring it down and rest the body. This is called *dāiyíng* 待贏 (waiting to be filled). When the activity finishes, you should wash the penis and you should ejaculate when it becomes angry. This is called *dìngqīng* 定傾 (fixing an inclination)⁶¹⁴.

1992. p.1039; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.226.

⁶¹⁰ *Zhì* 致 indicates accumulation while *mo* 沫 indicates saliva. Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1034.

⁶¹¹ *Jì* 亟 is equivalent to *jí* 急 (hasty). Ibid., p.1940.

⁶¹² Ma suggests the saliva is mixed at this stage. Ibid., p.1040.

⁶¹³ Ma understands the sentence as being helped to stand up on getting out of the bed. However, Harper and Wile interpret it to indicate the penis being made to erect by the partner/the third person. Both assumptions seem valid at this stage, although I somewhat prefer Harper and Wile's interpretation. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.430; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1041; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.81.

⁶¹⁴ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. pp.164-165.

It is obvious from its content that the passage quoted above corresponds to the eight processes of sexual activity, beginning with groundwork on the morning of the day when one proposes to have sexual intercourse and concluding with ejaculation and postcoital care. Every action at each step is a technique for bringing about a beneficial condition of *qi*, as well as being part of the procedure of sexual intercourse. Interestingly, the quotation emphasises controlling *qi* in order to "bring it down". This is the exact opposite of the idea of returning *qi* to supply the brain. Also, it is noteworthy that the technique belonging to the stage of foreplay is named "knowing the time⁶¹⁵". The concept of this particular stage precisely matches the idea of foreplay expounded in the *Dongxuanzi*⁶¹⁶, which was discussed in the previous section. With the achievement of a situation that is signalled by specific criteria, one should advance to coitus. Additionally, three key features of techniques for controlling *qi* -- accumulation, absorption and circulation -- are evidenced in the scheme.

Whereas in the Mawangdui text, the eight advantages are eight steps of sexual activity, each of which is a technique for improving the condition of *qi*, in the later text, the *Yufang Mijue*, they are depicted as eight different positions for intercourse. Like the Mawangdui

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., p.164.

⁶¹⁶ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". pp.637-638.

techniques, the eight positions described in this source produce advantageous conditions of *qi* for the male. But at the same time, they have curative virtues for female disorders.

Like the seven disadvantages, the eight sexual techniques in this later text share certain common features. Besides the therapeutic aspect for the female, which, however, involves one exception, in every case the criterion for the end of activities is the number of insertions. This number varies from method to method, but the female orgasm is not a criterion. Moreover, these techniques are not concerned at all with male or female orgasm. The repetition of activities in the course of the day and the continuation of daily practice for certain periods are the second feature which is shared by the eight methods. The number of repetitions and the periods of continued practice differ in each method, but in all cases they are required only for curative purposes for the woman.

Name	Effect	Position	No.
<i>Gujing</i> 固精 (coagulation of energy)	To congeal male energy	The female lies on her side and extends her thighs. The male places himself between her thighs, lying on his side.	18
<i>Anqi</i> 安氣 (easing <i>qi</i>)	To harmonise male <i>qi</i>	The female lies on her back, places her head on a high pillow and extends her legs. The male kneels between her legs	27
<i>Lizeng</i> 利藏 (benefiting)	To harmonise male <i>qi</i>	The female lies on her side and bends her knees. The male lies	36

storage)		on his side behind her.	
<i>Qiaogu</i> 強固 (strengthening bones)	To harmonise male joints	The female lies on her side with her left knee bent and her right leg extended. The male lies upon her.	45
<i>Diaomai</i> 調脈 (regulating the vessels)	To smooth male vessels	The female lies on her side with her right knee bent and her left leg extended. The male supports himself on the ground.	54
<i>Xuxue</i> 蓄血 (depositing blood)	To make the male more robust	The male lies on his back. The female kneels on him, placing her buttocks on him to insert the penis deeply.	63
<i>Yiye</i> 益液 (benefiting secretion)	To strengthen the male bones	The female lies on her face and raises her back. The male rides on her.	72
<i>Daoti</i> 道体 (body of the way)	To fill the male bones	The female lies on her back and bends her legs so that her toes are placed under her buttocks. The male holds her under the arms.	81

Table 7: Positions, effects and number of insertions of the eight advantages⁶¹⁷

Name	Female symptom	Number of repetition	Periods for continuation
Coagulation of energy	Excess of menstruation	2 times a day	15 days
Easing <i>qi</i>	Coldness in the vagina	3 times a day	20 days

⁶¹⁷ Based on *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "fanguei". p. 642.

Benefiting storage	Coldness in the vagina	4 times a day	20 days
Strengthening bones	Cessation of menstruation	5 times a day	10 days
Regulating the vessels	Vaginitis	6 times a day	20 days
Depositing blood	Unseasonable menstruation	7 times a day	10 days
Benefits to secretion			
Body of the way	Underarm odour	9 times a day	9 days

Table 8: Female symptoms, repetition and term in eight advantages⁶¹⁸

Interestingly, the number of insertion increases by a multiple of 9 from position to position, as can be seen in Table 7. Since these techniques are fundamentally designed to create favourable conditions for the male, a stepwise progression seems to be intended, through the achievement of successive advantageous situations of *qi*.

An increasing numerical sequence can all be seen in the daily repetition of activities for curing female disorders, shown in Table 8. The number of daily repetitions basically increases by one each time, except for the jump from seven to nine repetitions. This anomaly in the sequence suggests that there was originally an eighth skill involving therapeutic benefits for the female. Thus, it is more

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

reasonable to assume that the eighth advantage for the female, which evidently requires 8 repetitions a day, has slipped away at some stage, than that, exceptionally, no benefit for the woman is involved here.

It should be noted that although they are different in practice, the second and the third techniques both promise the same results for male and female alike; to harmonise male *qi* and cure coldness in the vagina. Since the therapeutic aspects for the female are apparently a supplementary feature in the eight advantages, the presence of identical female disorder results from an identical intention regarding benefits for the male. However, the harmony of male *qi* to be achieved through the second and the third activities must differ in quality or degree, since they employ dissimilar techniques and bear different names. Although their purpose is the same, the second method of "easing *qi*" apparently harmonises *qi* at a basic level, while the third method of "benefit storing" provides for a more advanced harmony of *qi*.

In comparison with the seven disadvantages, which were discussed previously, the major idiosyncrasy in these eight sexual techniques is the indifference to orgasm. As semen is the most important *qi*, it can be assumed that these eight methods involve the suppression of ejaculation. However, since the female *qi* generated at orgasm is precisely the form of *qi* that the sexual art is geared to obtain, it is peculiar that these valuable methods are not concerned with it. This suggests that these eight skills are not intended for the active absorption of female best *qi*, but that they are rather preparatory

techniques which aim to accumulate generic *qi* in order to regulate and maintain the condition of the male. In this sense, the eight advantages are methods of daily preparation identical to dietetic and breathing techniques, which, however, utilise the means of sexual intercourse.

This is evident in the therapeutic benefits for the female which are associated with these methods. In the case of the seven disadvantages, the male requires the most excellent *qi* of the female in order to ameliorate his condition. Therefore, the female has recourse to this *qi* for her own benefit. However, in the case of the eight advantages, the female does not share her most precious *qi* with the male; she is able to accumulate *qi* for her own sake.

Also, the seven disadvantages and eight advantages involve prophylactic aspects. As can be seen in Table 5, the source explains the causation of unfavourable situations of *qi*. At one level, this is of interest for the aetiology of disease, but at another level, it offers the possibility of preventing disorders by avoiding inappropriate sexual intercourse. While the seven disadvantages provide somewhat passive preventive knowledge, the eight advantages offer active prophylaxis by regulating beneficial conditions. Their prophylactic character is especially clear in the Mawangdui text which states as follows.

Qi has eight advantages and seven disadvantages.

If you cannot make good use of the eight advantages and cannot avoid the seven disadvantages, by the age of forty, your *qi* of *yin* is reduced twofold. At fifty, your standing up and sitting down will decline, at sixty, your eyes and ears will become dim and, at seventy, the lower half of your body will become lifeless while the upper part of your body feels enervated. If you don't make use of *qi* of *yin*, your tears will overflow. But there are the ways of recovering the strength of the *qi* of *yin*. By avoiding the seven disadvantages, you can prevent this ailment and, by making good use of the eight advantages, double your *qi*. In this manner, with advancing age one regains one's vitality, and being strong, one does not decay⁶¹⁹.

3) Skills for Procreation

The basic purpose of having offspring, in the Chinese conception, is to provide successors to carry out family duties, continue ancestor worship and perpetuate the lineage, as discussed in the previous chapter. Besides offering benefits for pregnancy and conception in general, the sexual art proposes the procreation of offspring with exceptional qualities. These include health, longevity and sometimes intelligence.

In contrast to techniques for all other purposes, methods for

⁶¹⁹ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*, p.164.

pregnancy and conception fundamentally require the emission of semen. However, inasmuch as they are methods of controlling *qi*, techniques to obtain offspring are still concerned with the condition of *qi* and female orgasm, in order to fulfil their aims. Thus, ejaculation is not indiscriminately permitted. On the contrary, the male should save his semen by limiting seminal emission and accumulate *qi* in order to produce semen of the best quality at an appropriate timing. Due also to concern for the conditions of *qi*, regulations are provided for the circumstances under which sexual intercourse for pregnancy may or may not take place. These often include guidelines for selecting the sex of the baby. Of course, in addition to these regulations, there are practical techniques for obtaining the promised child.

The paradigms of situations for sexual intercourse for the purpose of procreation tend to involve taboos and circumstances to be avoided rather than positive recommendations. As with the seven disadvantages discussed in the previous section, the regulations regarding coitus for pregnancy explain the undesirable conditions of children according to their causes. For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* enumerates “*qiji* 七忌 (seven taboos)” as follows.

First taboo is, on the first or last day of the month or on a day of half or full moon, to put the yin and *yang* together (i.e. to have sexual intercourse). This harms *qi*. A child conceived under these circumstances will definitely be punished and crippled. Therefore, you should carefully observe

this taboo.

Second taboo is, when the heaven and earth are moved by thunder and wind, to put the *yin* and *yang* together (to have sexual intercourse). This makes your blood and vessels spring up. A child conceived under these circumstances will definitely suffer from carbuncles.

Third taboo is, soon after drinking or overeating when the *qi* of crops has not been digested, to put *yin* and *yang* together (to have sexual intercourse). This makes your internal belly expand and your urine becomes clouded. A child conceived under these circumstances will definitely become insane.

Fourth taboo is, soon after urination when your energy and *qi* is dissipated, to put *yin* and *yang* together (to have sexual intercourse). This causes your vessels to become blocked. A child conceived under these circumstances will definitely be the evil monster⁶²⁰.

Fifth taboo is, when you are tired and have stiff shoulders, and when your *qi* of mind is not eased to put *yin* and *yang* together (to have sexual intercourse). This makes your muscles ache and causes lumbago. A child conceived under these circumstances will definitely die at an early age.

Sixth taboo is, soon after taking a bath when your hair and skin are not yet dry, to put *yin* and *yang* together (to have sexual intercourse). This makes

⁶²⁰ Wile notes that the combination of *yaonie* 妖孽(monster and deformity) means unaccountable disaster or evil monster. He who understands the term in the context of the quotation is rather a fate to fall on him or her, translates it as "evil influence". I who read this term as a noun assume that the sentence indicate offspring him/herself turns out to be a disaster or deformitive thing. Thus, I rather employ "evil monster" to indicate a child is inborn devilish or deformitive. Wile, Douglas. 1992. p. 255.

you short tempered. A child conceived under these circumstances will definitely not be whole.

Seventh taboo is, if your penis is hard, angry and vital, but so painful that you cannot bear, to put *yin* and *yang* together (to have sexual intercourse), it is an indication of internal injury⁶²¹.

Clearly, these taboos have regard not only to the condition of offspring, but also to male health. As indicated in the first, third and fourth examples, these situations are basically circumstances involving disorder of *qi*. Since a child is fundamentally a combination of male and female *qi*, the condition of parental *qi* at conception naturally affects that of the offspring. Thus, situations which are undesirable for the condition of an individual's *qi* are naturally unfavourable for procreation.

This relationship between individual health and the qualities of the forthcoming child suggests that methods for pregnancy and conception are closely connected with therapeutic techniques. On the one hand, these taboos have a prophylactic function, enabling one to avoid certain situations, both for the forthcoming baby and one's individual condition of health. On the other hand, they provide explanations of unfortunate conditions or calamities suffered by people now living, on the basis of their parents' errors. This second feature is illustrated still more clearly in the following statements from the same

⁶²¹ Based on *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p. 647.

source.

A person who is born to die from injury is named a child of fire. [The parents] had sexual intercourse when the light was still burning and had not been set aside. [If you] have a child [conceived under these circumstances], he or she will definitely die in the street due to injury.

A person who is born to be insane is a child of thunder. Heavy rain and thunderstorms during April and May induce a man of virtue⁶²² to purify himself. But a man of low calibre⁶²³ has sexual congress on such a day. If you have a child conceived under these circumstances, he or she will definitely go insane.

A person who is born to be eaten by a tiger or wolf is a child of mourning. A dutiful son⁶²⁴ dresses in hemp and avoids eating meat, while a man of virtue grieves. But a man of low calibre has sexual intercourse during the periods of mourning. If you have a child conceived under these circumstances, he or she will definitely be eaten by a tiger or wolf⁶²⁵.

In the passage quoted above, parents are obviously blamed for the calamities of their offspring, because they had sexual intercourse under inappropriate circumstances. Whereas the previous quotation involves the date, natural conditions and the individual situation

⁶²² *Junzi* 君子

⁶²³ *Xiaoren* 小人

⁶²⁴ *Xiaozhi* 孝子

⁶²⁵ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p. 648.

preceding sexual intercourse, this quotation is more concerned with customs and mores. For instance, the second and third examples compare the behaviour of a "man of virtue" and a "man of low calibre". This demonstrates that the passage quoted above is concerned with infringing the precepts of common morality or virtue.

In addition, while the previous example presents rather vague calamitous conditions, the statements involve much more specific situations. Although the death of the child is mentioned in the previous instance, the cause tends not to be identified. However, the examples above distinguish the reason of death, by accidental injury or in an attack by a wild animal. Such specific causes of death represent accidents which are not related to health. Apparently, "be punished and crippled⁶²⁶" in the previous quotation also implies accidental death. Moreover, the inclusion of accidental death suggests an implicit notion that undesirable conditions due to parental error are beyond the individual's control or power to remedy. An encounter with a hungry tiger cannot be prevented however assiduously one practises methods for nourishing life.

Besides the date, the natural environment, the situation preceding sexual intercourse and behavioural customs, the time of day at which insemination occurs is considered to affect the situation of the child. This again relates to the condition of *qi*, as *qi* increases and

⁶²⁶ Ibid., p. 647.

decreases in the course of the day. All the timings mentioned in the following example are those in which *qi* decreases to a deadly extent⁶²⁷.

A child conceived in a storm is infirm. One conceived to the accompaniment of thunder is insane. One conceived in drunkenness is mentally retarded. One conceived in tiredness dies at an early age from injuries. One conceived during menstruation dies in battle. One conceived at *huanghun* 黄昏 (dusk) suffers from many accidents. One conceived at *rending* 人定 (the time when people are buried in sleep) is mute or deaf. One conceived at *riru* 日入 (sundown) is slow to begin speaking. One conceived at *bushi* 晡時 (twilight), causes harm to him or herself⁶²⁸.

The conditions enumerated in the quotation above seem to be connected with individual nature or destiny rather than unpredictable accidents. Yet, they are inborn qualities, which are, once more, beyond individual control.

Thus, taboos regarding pregnancy and conception provide guidelines for parents, enabling them to preserve their forthcoming offspring from possible calamities beyond human control. At the same time, they offer comfort to those who are currently afflicted by uncontrollable disasters by reassuring them that they are not to blame.

⁶²⁷ Umayabara Shigeo. 1967. p. 179.

⁶²⁸ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". p. 648.

The positive regulations for sexual intercourse for the purpose of procreation very often relate to the determination of the baby's sex. The main rules for controlling gender concern the date of coitus. For instance, the *Dongxuanzi* writes as follows.

If you want to have offspring, you should wait till the end of the woman's menstrual period to have sexual intercourse. The coitus one or three days later brings a boy, whereas that on four or five days later brings a girl. Coitus later than the fifth day after [menstruation] causes you to dissipate your *jingli* 精力 (power of essence) in vain and will bring you no benefit⁶²⁹.

There are two important points to notice in this quotation. First, this source considers that insemination usually takes place during sexual intercourse within a certain interval from the end of menstruation. Secondly, it considers that conception during a certain period has a strong tendency to produce a baby of one sex, while conception after that period tends to produce the other sex. This clearly indicates that the sex of the unborn child is associated with the timing of sexual intercourse.

Generally, the literature of the sexual art relates conception very closely to the menstrual period and encourages coitus within a certain interval from the end of menstruation. This is quite appropriate in

⁶²⁹ Ibid., p. 649.

light of modern sexology.

The female menstrual cycle is generally repeated at an interval of twenty-five to thirty-five days, with twenty-eight days being the most common pattern. Usually, menstruation lasts for six days and the start of menstruation is the beginning of the menstrual cycle. This cycle can be divided into three phases: the follicular phase in which a dominant follicle starts to grow, the ovulatory phase and luteal phase. Generally, ovulation starts to take place on the fourteenth to fifteenth day from the beginning of the menstrual cycle, i.e. on fifth to sixth day after the end of menstruation for a woman with a twenty-eight day cycle⁶³⁰. Basically, impregnation is possible after ovulation, but coitus before ovulation can still cause pregnancy, as spermatozoa can survive in the vagina for several days.

For instance, according to the theory of Ogino, the ovulatory phase is a period of five days during the twelve to sixteen days preceding the next menstrual period, while the fertile period lasts for nine days during the twelve to nineteen days preceding the next menstrual period⁶³¹. This means that the fertile period begins two days after the end of the menstrual period, in the case of a woman with a twenty-six day cycle, while it would start four days after the end of the period in the case of a woman with a twenty-eight day cycle. Therefore, the injunction to have coitus during a certain period soon

⁶³⁰ Sugawa Yu et al. 1991. pp. 30-32, pp. 357-358.

⁶³¹ Ibid., pp. 357-358.

after the end of menstruation, which we find in the literature of the sexual art, is evidently quite proper advice.

On the other hand, the theory of the determination of sex in the quotation above is not supported by the evidence of modern sexology. Moreover, the determination of sex is more often associated with magical numbers than with the menstrual cycle. For instance, Sun mentions that sexual intercourse on the first and fifth day after menstruation brings forth male offspring, while intercourse on the second and sixth day produces female offspring⁶³². A similar notion can also be seen in Tao Hongjing's "*Yunü sunyi pian* 御女損益篇 (Chapter on the Dangers and Benefits of Intercourse with Woman)"⁶³³ and the *Yufang Mijue*⁶³⁴. Each text indicates that coitus on odd numbered days following menstruation produces a boy, while coitus on even numbered days produces a girl.

Like this belief regarding odd and even numbers, some other supplementary rules for pregnancy and conception involve aspects which are "magico-religious"⁶³⁵, in Donald Harper's words⁶³⁶. For instance, the *Taichanshu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of the Fetus),

⁶³² *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. "fangzhong buyi". p. 490.

⁶³³ *Yangxing Yanminlu*. xia juan. "yunü sunyi". p. 19.

⁶³⁴ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "fangnei". p. 648.

⁶³⁵ In Harper's terms, "magico-religious" is related to "occult thought". Harper, Donald. 1997. p. 11.

⁶³⁶ Harper indicates that there was no clear break between magico-religious conceptions and Chinese scepticism which is accompanied by the theories of *yin* and *yang*, and *wuxing* 五行 (the five phases) theories. Ibid.

the earliest manual of pregnancy and childbirth, unearthed from Mawangdui, describes two magical skills for controlling the sex of the unborn child. First, one can obtain a girl if one buries the placenta of a newborn baby in a shadowy place beside a wall, and a boy if one buries it in a sunny place beside a wall⁶³⁷. Also, the same states that “drinking two green caterpillars” in the third month of pregnancy will make the foetus a boy⁶³⁸.

Such magico-religious features are present not only in techniques for controlling the child’s sex, but also in those for controlling the future of the child or enabling women to become pregnant. For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* describes a magical technique for giving birth to a child who will be rich and famous.

A woman who is in pregnancy no more than three months advanced should obtain the lace from a man’s coronet on the day of *wuzi* 戊子 (dog and mouse). She should burn the lace, put its ash in wine and drink it. She gives birth to offspring who will become rich and famous. This technique should be kept secret and secret⁶³⁹.

The same source describes a fertility technique as follows.

If a woman has no children, let her hold two grains of

⁶³⁷ *Taichanshu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of the Fetus). p.137.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.138.

⁶³⁹ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “fangnei”. p.648.

azuki beans in her left hand while with her right hand assisting the male glans to insert into her vagina. The beans in her left hand should touch her mouth, and she inserts the man's penis [into her] by herself. When she hears the sound which indicates that the male's *yinjing* 陰精 (the essence of *yin*) is being released, she should swallow these beans. This method is so effective that it never fails, not once in a million times.⁶⁴⁰

The example above clearly contains magical aspects, as the method hinges upon the use of adzuki beans. Generally, the literature of the sexual art introduces techniques for pregnancy and conception with formulae such as "if you want offspring⁶⁴¹", as can be seen in the quotation from the *Dongxuanzi* above. Thus, it is noteworthy that the quotation starts with a reference to a woman who "has no children⁶⁴²". It suggests that this magical method is addressed particularly to women who have difficulty conceiving and to their partners. Also distinctive is the description of the practical process of sexual intercourse. Although there are some accounts of special sexual procedures for pregnancy and conception, instructions for this purpose tend basically to consist of taboos and exhortations regarding the

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ For instance, the *Dongxuanzi* says "*fan yu qiuzi* 凡欲求子 (whenever one wants to seek for offspring)", and Sun Simiao uses the phrase "*fu yu qiuzi* 夫欲求子 (If one wants to seek for offspring)". Ibid.; *Qianjin Yaofang*. 27th juan. "*fangzhong buyi*". p. 490.

⁶⁴² *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "*fangnei*". p. 648.

circumstances of coitus.

Interestingly, those few accounts which exist of the practical processes of sexual intercourse to obtain offspring again exhibit a concern with the female orgasm. For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* states:

The Plain Girl said that the methods of seeking offspring have set rules... Three days after menstruation, after midnight, but before cockcrow, you should start to play happily. You should make her feel greatly moved, then insert [the penis] in accordance with her feelings. You should proceed with intercourse according to its rules and share the joy with her. When your body wants to ejaculate, leave from her *yumen* 玉門 (jade gate) by inserting [the penis] half a *cun* deep, but do not allow it to pass through her “*zigong* 子宮 (child palace)”. Do not place the penis so deeply that it reaches her “*maichi* 麥齒 (wheat teeth)”. If you place it deeply, you can pass her “*zimen* 子門 (child gate)” but do not enter her “*zihu* 子戶 (child door)”. Thus, if you have sexual intercourse as regulated, you will have offspring endowed with intelligence and longevity⁶⁴³.

This example illustrates two important features. First, this particular technique follows the fundamental theories of the art of the bedchamber. It stipulates adequate foreplay, insertion after proper mental and physical preparation for coitus, and progression in response

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

to the woman's requirements. As discussed in the previous section, these procedures are intended primarily for obtaining the female *qi* produced at orgasm. The inclusion of these features here indicates that this method for pregnancy and conception also necessitates female orgasmic *qi*. This notion is illustrated in the quotation, by the phrase "share the joy with her⁶⁴⁴", which apparently implies male and female orgasm. This specific skill involves combining the best form of *qi* produced by the female and male at orgasm, in order to produce a child who will enjoy "wealth and fame⁶⁴⁵".

Secondly, this technique is much concerned with the positioning of the penis inside the vagina. Terms such as "child palace", "wheat teeth", "child gate" and "child door" apparently specify certain spots within the vagina, while "jade gate" probably indicates the junction between the internal and external genitalia. Although the relation between depth of insertion and terminology for the female internal genitalia will be examined in the following section, it should be noted here that the close attention paid to depth of penetration during intercourse is apparently connected with the female orgasm. In this case however, it is more appropriate to consider the concern with depth of penetration in relation to insemination, rather than orgasm. Nonetheless, the apparent inclusion of female orgasm as a prerequisite suggests that the instructions on the placement of the penis may have a

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

bearing on the final stage of female orgasm.

The idea that both male and female orgasm is necessary during sexual intercourse for pregnancy and conception is more evident in the Ming literature of the art. For instance, a section of “*Zhongzi antai* 種子安胎 (Seeding Offspring and Easing the Foetus) in the *Xiuzhen Yanyi* contains the following instructions on coitus for pregnancy.

The sexual intercourse should involve the feelings of both sexes moved at the same time, which makes for efficacy. If man's emotions are stirred in advance so that he emits *jing* 精 (his semen), the woman's feelings will not be moved and *jing* (the semen) will not be absorbed. Or if the woman's emotions proceed in advance and she becomes overexcited, the man will not yet be completely excited. [In this case], his *jing* (the semen) will reach [to her womb] afterwards, and *jing* (the sperm) will not be absorbed by the woman. With the simultaneous emotional climax of both sexes, the man should place his penis deeply and ejaculate while the woman, by raising and quivering her waist, absorbs [his sperm] and lets it enter into the womb⁶⁴⁶.

In this extract, the importance of the orgasm for the man and the woman is obvious. It is also noteworthy that a simultaneous orgasm is called for. In contrast to the implication in the previous quotation that female orgasm is required in order to produce a child endowed with

⁶⁴⁶ *Xiuzhen Yanyi*. pp.218-219.

“intelligence and longevity⁶⁴⁷”, here we are told that the simultaneous orgasm of both partners is required for conception to take place.

In sum, it is obvious that the sexual art employs different schemata for techniques having different purposes. For the maintenance of life and recovery from disorders, the accumulation, absorption and circulation of *qi* are fundamental. Therefore, seminal emission needs to be strictly controlled to avoid depleting one’s individual store of *qi*. On the other hand, a combination of male and female *qi* is required for procreative purposes, so controlled ejaculation is essential. Also, the female orgasm is the most favourable occasion for the absorption of *qi*. In the case of methods for the former two purposes, this is required for the condition of the individual’s own health, but for the third, it is also required for another person, the forthcoming offspring.

Although each method is clearly founded on a different methodological basis, according to the aims that it seeks to achieve, they all share fundamental techniques, bodies of knowledge, and very often practical schemata. In particular, the condition of *qi* at the time of sexual intercourse and the achievement of female orgasm are major concerns of every method, and many features of actual practice reflect these governing principles. Models of suitable and unsuitable partners for the absorption of *qi*, advantageous and disadvantageous

⁶⁴⁷ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.648.

sexual intercourse, and favourable and unfavourable conditions for insemination all provide evidence of the practical application of the former principle. The use of various positions and the concern with the number of insertions in therapeutic techniques and the role of depth of penetration in procreative methods all testify to the importance of the latter.

Yet, the female orgasm, the occasion for absorbing the best form of female *qi*, is the concern which runs through the whole range of techniques, knowledge and practices. For instance, the role of sexual positions in therapeutic techniques illustrates the strength of the concept of bringing the woman to orgasm. Since "cure it again with sexual activity⁶⁴⁸" is a motto of the literature of the sexual art, the use of sexual intercourse is reasonable. However, as the basic attitude towards curing disorders in the sexual art is that one should have intercourse in a contrary situation, the inclusion of varied sexual positions suggests that skills of a high order are involved. In order to increase the opportunity of obtaining the best female *qi*, the art of the bedchamber must of necessity engage with advanced skills and knowledge, to induce female orgasm. This is what I will be investigating in the following section.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p.645.

3-4. The Transmission and Practical Aspects of Sexual Positions

The use of varied sexual positions may be an example of the advanced skills and knowledge regarding female orgasms which are offered by the literature of the sexual art. The tradition of different sexual postures apparently developed at a very early stage. For instance, the earliest Mawangdui texts contain instructions for ten different sexual positions.

These are named “*shijie* 十節 (the ten controls)” in the *Heyinyang*⁶⁴⁹ and “*shishi* 十勢 (the ten postures)” in the *Tianxia Zhidaotan*⁶⁵⁰. There are some textual differences between the two sources, but they concur in describing what appear to be the same positions in the same order. In both cases, the ten positions are named after mammals, insects or fish, which suggests that each posture imitates or at least resembles the action of these creatures.

Neither source gives precise details of these postures. However, the latter contains brief instructions for some of them. For example, it states that “the second is called a cicada clinging, with mind outside⁶⁵¹”,

⁶⁴⁹ *Heyinyang*. p.155.

⁶⁵⁰ *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.165.

⁶⁵¹ Ma reads the word *si* 思 (mind) as *xi* 息 (breath), as the fifth posture uses the graph *xi*, breath instead of *si*, mind. However, all the others have *si*, mind. In addition, Wile interprets the punctuation differently and connects the two

“the fifth is called a locust crucified, with breath inside” and “the ninth is called a dragonfly, with mind outside⁶⁵²”. It remains unclear what is intended by these statements. Some scholars consider that they are additional explanations of the positions⁶⁵³, while others suggest that they may be instructions relating to meditation and breathing techniques⁶⁵⁴. At this stage, both opinions may be valid, as Harper points out⁶⁵⁵. In either case, the names listed in Table 9 provide some indication of the ten different postures.

	<i>Heyinyang</i>	<i>Tianxia Zhidaotan</i>
1	<i>Huyou</i> 虎游 (Tiger Playing)	<i>Hulu</i> 虎流 (Tiger Floating)
2	<i>Chanfu</i> 蟬附 (Cicada Clinging)	<i>Chanfu</i> 蟬附 (Cicada Clinging)
3	<i>Shihuo</i> 尺蠖 (Spanworm)	<i>Shihuo</i> 尺蠖 (Spanworm)
4	<i>Junjue</i> 麋桷 (River Deer Butting)	<i>Junjue</i> 麋基 (River Deer Butting)
5	<i>Huangzhe</i> 蝗磔 (Locust Crucified)	<i>Huangzhe</i> 蝗磔 (Locust Crucified)
6	<i>Yuangju</i> 猿据 (Monkey Sitting)	<i>Yuangju</i> 猿居 (Monkey Sitting)

characters “*siwai* 思外 (mind outside)” with the following postures, translating as “beyond this, the third is...” and “beyond this, the tenth is...”. All the others punctuate them in relation to the second and the ninth. I follow the majority in retaining the character *si*, mind and punctuating the sentences in relation to the second and the ninth. Harper, Donald. 1997. p.432; Ma Jixing. 1992. pp.1047-1049; Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. pp.150-151; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.81.

⁶⁵² *Tianxia Zhidaotan*. p.165.

⁶⁵³ Wei Qipeng and Hu Xianghua. 1992. p.151.

⁶⁵⁴ Harper, Donald. 1997. p.432; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.1048.

⁶⁵⁵ Harper, Donald. 1997. p.432.

7	<i>Zhanzhu</i> 瞻諸 (Frog)	<i>Zhanzhu</i> 瞻諸 (Frog)
8	<i>Tuwu</i> 兔驚 (Rabbit Bolting)	<i>Tuwu</i> 兔驚 (Rabbit Bolting)
9	<i>Qingling</i> 蜻蛉 (Dragonfly)	<i>Qingling</i> 蜻蛉 (Dragonfly)
10	<i>Yuzuo</i> 魚嘍 (Fish Gobbling)	<i>Yuzuo</i> 魚嘍 (Fish Gobbling)

Table 9: *Shijie* 十節 (ten controls) and *shishi* 十勢 (ten postures)⁶⁵⁶

It is noteworthy that the names for the postures in the Mawangdui materials tend to be associated with insects as much as mammals. Four out of the ten names refer to insects, besides four mammals, one fish and one amphibian. As we will see later, the high percentage of insect names is one of the most characteristic features of the Mawangdui examples.

Later texts such as the *Yufang Mijue*, the *Dongxuanzi* and the *Xuannü jing* also describe sexual positions. Unlike the earliest sources, these three texts include precise explanations of each sexual position.

As argued previously, the dates of composition of these three texts remain unclear, although they were evidently in circulation during the same period. The first reference to the first text appears in Ge Hong's (283-363) *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master Baopu)⁶⁵⁷ and it is also mentioned in the bibliography of the Sui dynasty, which was completed in 656. The second text is first mentioned in the notes to Bai Xingjian's (776?-826) work, the *Tiandi Yinyang Jiaohuan Dalefu*⁶⁵⁸.

⁶⁵⁶ Based on *Heyinyang*: p.155; *Tainxia Zhidao Tan*: p.165.

⁶⁵⁷ *Baopuzi Neipian*. 19th *juan*. "xialan". p.333.

⁶⁵⁸ *Dalefu*. p.4.

Some scholars consider that this work was composed during the Six Dynasties period⁶⁵⁹, whereas others believe it to be somewhat later⁶⁶⁰. The third text also appears for the first time in the bibliography of the Sui dynasty, in which it is mentioned together with the *Sunüjing*. Apparently, the third text was originally independent of the *Sunüjing*, but came to be regarded as part of the same tradition by the Sui period at the latest⁶⁶¹.

The first text introduces curative methods involving variations of sexual postures as noted in the previous section. The names given to these therapeutic sexual positions are not descriptive, but relate to the condition of *qi*. On the other hand, the latter two texts include descriptive labels for each sexual posture, as in the Mawangdui examples. While the second source provides purely positional explanations for about thirty different sexual postures, the third describes nine postures which are beneficial for prophylaxis. Although the nine postures in the last source involve the therapeutic benefits of sexual intercourse, the main concern is clearly the appropriate manner of executing each sexual position rather than the curative aspects attached to sexual activities.

Paying attention on the names given to sexual postures, five out

⁶⁵⁹ For instance van Gulik, R.H. 1961. p.123; Ye Dehui. 1903. *"Dongxuanzi Xu"*. p.1.

⁶⁶⁰ Maspero attributes authorship to the seventh century physician and Wile includes the text in the period between the Sui and the Tang dynasty. Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.83.

⁶⁶¹ Tsuchiya Hideaki. 1998. p.17.

of nine names in the Xuangnüjing closely parallel the Mawangdui terms, as seen in Table 10. In other words, approximately 55 % of postural names in this text follow in Mawangdui trends. In particular, the term containing the word "cicada" is exactly the same as the earliest instance. Although the exact nature of the positions in the Mawangdui texts remains unclear, similar positional names in this later text suggest the possible existence of a tradition of sexual positioning and its transmission.

In comparison with the earliest examples, the Xuannüjing is characterised by a decrease in the number of terms associated with insects and an increase in those related to animals.

1) Mawangdui = 40% (Insects) + 60 % (Non-Insects)
60% (Non-Insects) =
4 Mammals (40%)
1 Fish (10%)
1 Amphibian (10%)

2) Xuannüjing = 10% (Insects) + 90 % (Non-Insects)
90% (Non-Insects) =
3 Mammals (33.33...%)
2 Amphibians (22.22...%)
2 Birds (22.22...%)
1 Fish (11.11...%)

*Percentages for the Xuannüjing are approximate.

It should be noted that I temporally count a dragon in the Xuannüjing as an amphibian while I put a phoenix in a group of bird.

In connection with these two animals, this source contains two new features in comparison with Mawangdui patterns. First, it is obviously the entry of these two fabulous creatures, a dragon and a phoenix. Secondly, the introduction of names of birds including imaginary one should be noted as another new trend found in this text.

	<i>Xuannüjing</i>	Mawangdui terms
1	<i>Longfan</i> 龍翻 (Dragon Flying)	
2	<i>Hubu</i> 虎步 (Tiger Walking)	Tiger Playing, or Tiger Floating
3	<i>Yuantuan</i> 猿搏 (Monkey Patting)	Monkey Sitting
4	<i>Changfu</i> 蟬附 (Cicada Clinging)	Cicada Clinging
5	<i>Guiteng</i> 龜騰 (Turtle Rising)	
6	<i>Fengxiang</i> 鳳翔 (Phoenix Flying)	
7	<i>Tushunhao</i> 兔吮毫 (Rabbit Sucking Fur)	Rabbit Bolting
8	<i>Yüjelin</i> 魚接鱗 (Fishes Touching Scales)	Fish Gobbling
9	<i>Hejiaojing</i> 鶴交頸 (Cranes Crossing Necks)	

Table 10: Postural names in the *Xuannüjing* in comparison with Mawangdui terms⁶⁶²

On the other hand, the *Dongxuanzi* has less percentage of commonness with Mawangdui texts in terms of creatures in postural names. As the source contains the largest number of sexual positions in the literature of the sexual art, the *Dongxuanzi* employs quite

⁶⁶² Based on *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. "fangnei". pp.639-640.

distinctive names for postures as well as a characteristically wider variation of creatures, as seen in Table 11. In spite of its numerous positions and wide variation of creatures, it has only four creatures out of thirty examples in common with the Mawangdui texts. Although the third position in the source involves “*yu* 魚 (fish)” which also appears in Mawangdui instances, I put it in bracket. It is because first four positions are intended for “*waiyou* 外遊 (outer play) ⁶⁶³” which does not involve penetration. Regardless of taking this match in the third posture in account or not, only 15% of names, though approximately, follow possible footsteps of Mawangdui.

Since half the sexual positions in the *Xuannüjing* pursue Mawangdui naming, it is likely to point out the following two things. Firstly, at least in terms of the labels on sexual positions, sexual postures in the *Xuannüjing* would have followed the Mawangdui tradition rather closely. Secondly, the trend of postural names found in Mawangdui examples reduces its potential influence very much in the case of the *Dongxuanzi*.

	<i>Dongxuanzi</i>	Mawangdui terms	<i>Xuannüjing</i>
1	Expression of attachment		
2	Declaration of inseparability		

⁶⁶³ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.640.

3	Fishes with exposed gills	(Fish Gobbling)	(Fishes Touching Scales)
4	Unicorn's horn		
5	Tenderly entwined silkworms		
6	Dragon twisting		Dragon Flying
7	Fish eye to eye	Fish Gobbling	Fishes Touching Scales
8	Sparrows in the same heart		
9	Entwined kingfishers		
10	United mandarin ducks		
11	Butterflies fluttering in the air		
12	Wild duck turning backwards		
13	Reclining pine tree		
14	Bamboo by the wall		
15	Dance of the paired female phoenixes		
16	Female phoenix caring for the baby bird		
17	Flying seagulls		
18	Wild horse leaping		
19	Galloping horse hooves		
20	Horse shaking its hooves		
21	Jumping white tiger	Tiger Playing, or Tiger Floating	Tiger Walking
22	Dark cicada clinging	Cicada Clinging	Cicada Clinging
23	Goat facing the tree		

24	Gamecock approaching the field		
25	Phoenix playing around the cinnabar hole		Phoenix Flying
26	Roc soaring over the dark sea		
27	Howling monkey clinging to the tree	Monkey Sitting	Monkey Patting
28	Cat and mouse sharing the same hole		
29	Donkey in the three months of spring		
30	Dog in the three months of autumn		

Table 11: Postural names in *Dongxuanzi* in comparison with other texts⁶⁶⁴

Comparing the *Dongxuanzi* with the *Xuannüjing*, the entry of insects in this source being only three out of thirty is not reduced at all in terms of percentage. Although it seems to become much less, it still keeps 10 % on the whole. Similarly, the names related with mammals of which number increased to ten from three also remain in the same percentage with the *Xuannüjing* on the whole. It is the names involving fish and amphibian that undergo the striking decrease in this particular source; those with fishes that keep approximately 10% both in Mawangdui instances and in the *Xuannüjing* are reduced to 6 to 7 %,

⁶⁶⁴ Based on *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "fangnei". pp. 640-641.

whereas those with amphibian that keep 10 to 20% in other examples become 3%.

More importantly, there are three obviously new tendencies seen in the Dongxuanzi. First, it is the entry of plants seen in the thirteenth and the fourteenth labels. It should be said as the quite innovative movement or change, as neither in Mawangdui or in the Xuannüjing, any single label has been found not to be related with creatures. Secondly, the distinction between “outer plays” and potentially inner plays should be noted. The former includes labels only to instruct the conversation such as “expression of attachment” and “declaration of inseparability”. Finally, it should also be pointed out that this particular text dramatically increases the terms involving birds.

1) Xuannüjing= 10% (Insects) + 90 % (Non-Insects)

90% (Non-Insects)=

3 Mammals (33.33...%)

2 Amphibians (22.22...%)

2 Birds (22.22...%)

1 Fish (11.11...%)

2) Dongxuanzi =

10% (Insects) + 78%(Non-Insects) + 12 %(Non- creatures)

a) 78%(Non-Insects) =

10 Mammals (33.33...%)

10 Birds (33.33...%)

2 Fishes (6.66...%)

1 Amphibian (3.33...%)

b) 12%(Non- Creatures) =

2 Plants (6.66...%)

2 Statements (6.66...%)

* Percentages are approximate.

Dongxuanzi is obviously less closely related to the earliest instances in the Mawangdui materials than is the Xuannüjing. In other words, in terms of the commonness appearing in postural names, the Dongxuanzi is rather closer to the Xuannüjing than Mawangdui instances. 30 % of creatures in this text match with those in the Xuannüjing in approximate. Although 30% would not be large number, in comparison with the correspondence with Mawangdui examples, the percentage of commonness rises double.

This increase of frequency in the terms paralleling to the Xuannüjing is simply due to the entry of fabulous creatures. The legendary creatures appear in the Dongxuanzi five times in total: one dragon, one unicorn and three phoenixes. Especially, the phoenixes are mentioned differently in accordance with sexes. The fifteenth label, for instance, precisely specifies the sex of phoenix as female. Although this source shares the two fabulous beasts, the dragon and the phoenix, with the Xuannüjing, it should be noted that the descriptions of the sexual postures are quite different from those in the Xuannüjing.

Under these circumstances, however, it does not necessarily

mean that the *Dongxuanzi* neglects a tradition of sexual postures established in the earliest instances. For example, the name involving the cicada is almost the same with that in Mawangdui as well as the *Xuannüjing*. For another instance, the label involving the monkey is quite similar both to the Mawangdui and the *Xuannüjing* terms. Since these two examples parallel both with Mawangdui and *Xuannüjing*, they could be evidences that the *Dongxuanzi* also inherits the trends appeared in Mawangdui to some extent. At least, the parallels between these later sources and the earliest literature indicate that the Mawangdui instances of sexual postures are definitely some of the early prototypes.

The earliest references to the art of the bedchamber suggest that there were already eight different schools for the sexual art⁶⁶⁵. By the time of Ge Hong, they had evidently expanded to hundreds of different schools or sects⁶⁶⁶. More recently, Li Ling investigated the technical and theoretical aspects of the different traditions of sexual art⁶⁶⁷. Under these circumstances, it is quite proper to assume that there are several different archetypes for sexual positions, and that the Mawangdui materials represent some of these traditions.

Apparently, the lists of sexual positions in the *Xuannüjing* and the *Dongxuanzi* are drawn from several different schools. The

⁶⁶⁵ *Hanshu*, 30th *juan*. "yiwenzhi 藝文志". pp.1776-1779.

⁶⁶⁶ *Baopuzi Neipian*, 8th *juan*. "shidai 釋滯". p.150.

⁶⁶⁷ Li Ling. 2000. pp. 350-394.

possible unification of different schools or traditions was first pointed out by Yamada Keiji 山田慶児, who discusses the historical transformation of several different schools of the Yellow Emperor tradition in medicine⁶⁶⁸. According to his theory, references to different authorities indicate variations in ideology⁶⁶⁹. In a similar manner, creatures in postural names apparently point to different traditions of sexual positions.

Although judging only from terminology, there might have been trends to name sexual postures in relation with different groups of creatures. In accordance with the change in percentages amongst three examples from Mawangdui, the *Xuannüjing* and the *Dongxuangzi*, three streams are possible to be spotted at least; one inclining to name insects, another to mammals and the other to birds. Probably, one inclining to name plants could be counted as the fourth.

If these trends or schools would have existed, they obviously went through certain rises and falls in popularity. Judging from the terminological shifts, streams with insects and mammals might have had the longest traditions. As pointed out earlier, the Mawangdui sexual postures are characterised by a preponderance of insect names, in comparison with later sources. Apparently, the prototype represented in the earliest extant literature of the art has its preference for the imitation of insects as much as that of mammals over

⁶⁶⁸ Yamada Keiji. 1990. pp.70-75.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

the other creatures. This means that the power balance of these two streams could have been equal at the time of Mawangdui periods. However, it has changed by the time of the Xuannüjing with the mammals' sect becoming more powerful. By then, a bird stream might have become so powerful to take one seat among nine postures in the Xuannüjing. Or it may be assumed that the Xuannüjing fundamentally belongs to the tradition exemplified in the Mawangdui texts, with some accretions from other traditions.

On the other hand, the Dongxuanzi basically orients to the other powerfully influential prototype involving the imitation of birds, which the Xuannüjing also does. Moreover, this text obviously preferred or was closer to the stream of birds than those of insects or mammals. Also, the source must have been closer to mammals' sect than insects' one, since the number of terms relating with mammals clearly increased, though the percentage stayed the same. Furthermore, the person who composed this text should have been familiar with other streams of sexual positions, only if there were any, because he entered new trends of "outer play" and postures related with plants.

Variation and continuity in the traditions of sexual postures are also evidenced by some descriptions of positions in the Xuannüjing and the Dongxuanzi. As pointed out earlier, the names for the positions associated with the cicada in these two texts are almost the same. At the same time, the positions that share this particular creature are

described as almost identical.

Cicada Clinging: Let the woman lie on her face and extend her body. The man should lie over her and insert *yujing* 玉莖 (the jade stalk— i.e. the penis) deeply. He should get her to raise her buttocks slightly so that he can attack her *zhizhu* 赤珠 (red pearl). He should proceed to the number of six and nine. Then, she will start to be anxious to emit her *jing* 精 (secretion), which will make her internal genitalia quiver rapidly and her external genitalia open wide. He should stop the activity when she reaches orgasm. With this method, *qishang* 七傷 (the seven injuries), will be naturally cured⁶⁷⁰.

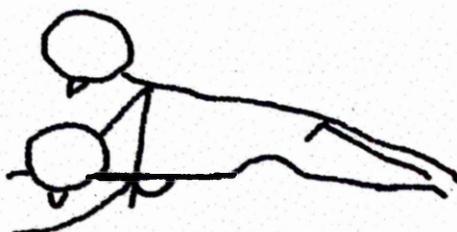


Figure 1: Cicada Clinging

This is the description of “cicada clinging” from the *Xuannüjing*. Ishihara Akira 石原明 explains that the seven injuries mentioned in the quotation are general terms for ailments caused by strong emotional changes, such as pleasure, anger, grief, absorption in thought, sorrow, fear and surprise⁶⁷¹. Figure 1 illustrates the basic

⁶⁷⁰ *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. “fangnei”. p. 640.

⁶⁷¹ Umayabara Shigeo. 1967. p.80.

positioning described above.

Dark cicada clinging: Let the woman lie on her face and extend her feet. The man should place himself between her thighs, and bend his legs so that he can embrace her neck. He should insert *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) into heRyūmen 玉門 (jade gate)⁶⁷².

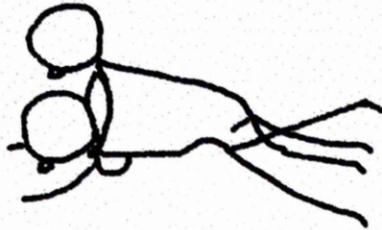


Figure 2: Dark Cicada Clinging

This is the corresponding position in the *Dongxuanzi*, which is illustrated in Figure 2. Although there is a slight difference in whether or not the man embraces the woman's neck, the diagrams show almost the same position. In either case, the posture involves the woman lying face downward and the male penetrating her from behind. The similarity not only in name but also in actual position indicates that both texts draw on the same tradition of sexual positions at least for this particular style of insect imitation.

Although the postures are apparently drawn from the same or at

⁶⁷² *Ishinnō*, 28th juan. "fangnei", p. 641.

least quite similar traditions, minor variations in nomenclature often signal slight differences in position. For instance, both the *Xuannüjing* and the *Dongxuanzi* include a posture associated with tiger.

Tiger Walking: Let the woman lie on her face, raise her buttocks and lower her neck. The man should embrace her belly, and kneel behind her. Then, he should insert his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) and stab her *zhongji* 中極 (middle extremity), trying to [stab] deeply and thickly. He should insert and withdraw thinly and proceed according to the number of five and eight...⁶⁷³.



Figure 3: Tiger Walking

This is a quotation from the *Xuannüjing*, which is illustrated in Figure 3.

White Tiger Jumping: The woman should kneel face downwards. The man should kneel behind her,

⁶⁷³ Ibid., pp.639-640.

embrace her waist with his hands, and insert his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) into her *zigong* 子宫 (child palace)⁶⁷⁴.

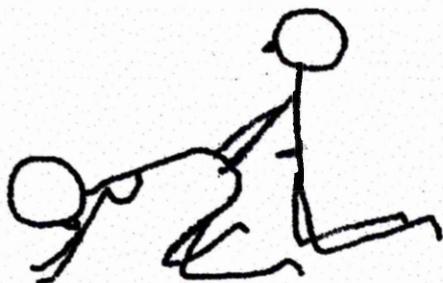


Figure 4: White Tiger Jumping

Above is the explanation from the *Dongxuanzi*, which is illustrated in Figure 4. These two positions likewise share the same basic style, in which the man kneels and penetrates the woman from behind. Also, both postures involve the woman facing downwards with her buttocks raised, as well as the man to holding the woman about the abdominal region. The main difference between Figure 3 and 4 is obviously whether or not the woman lies down. Figure 3, in which the woman is basically lying down with her buttocks raised, gives the general impression of a lower position, whereas Figure 4, in which the female basically kneels down, shows a higher position. These two sexual postures imitating the action of the tiger are different at first sight, yet have certain basic elements in common.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., p.641.

For another instance, these two texts also include a posture associated with the dragon. The *Xuannüjing* names it “dragon flying”, while the *Dongxuanzi* calls it “dragon twisting”.

Dragon Flying: Let the woman lie properly on her back. The man should lie down on her, so that his crotch is hidden on the floor. She should receive his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk— i.e. the penis) by raising her *yin* 陰 (genitalia). He should stab her *geshi* 穀實 (grain seed), and attack its upper part. He should move the penis seldom and slowly and proceed according to the method of eight times shallowly and two times deeply. He should penetrate when [the penis] is dead and withdraw when it is alive...⁶⁷⁵.

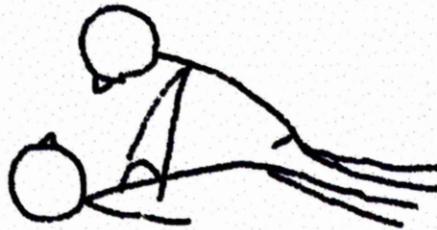


Figure 5: Dragon Flying

Above is the quotation from the *Xuannüjing*, which is illustrated in Figure 5.

Dragon Twisting: The woman should lie on her back and bend her legs. The man should kneel

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., p.639.

between her thighs and push her two feet upwards and forewords with his left hand so that they pass over her breasts. He should insert *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk— i.e. the penis) with his right hand into *heRyūmen* 玉門 (jade gate)⁶⁷⁶.



Figure 6: Dragon Twisting

This is the explanation from the *Dongxuanzi*, which is illustrated in Figure 6. Although both postures basically involve the female lying on her back and male placed above her, there are three major differences in the positioning of the male and female bodies. First, the woman bends her body in both cases, but the degree of curvature is dissimilar. She bends her body backwards in Figure 5, while she curls her body inwards in the other diagram. Obviously, Figure 6 requires the woman to bend much more than Figure 5. Secondly, the woman bends her body by herself in Figure 5, while she is made to bend with male assistance in the other figure. The degree of curvature in Figure 6 is apparently made possible because the woman

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., p.640.

is supported by the man. Thirdly, the basic position for the man is lying or reclining on the woman in Figure 5, whereas he is required to kneel in Figure 6.

Again, these two postures related to the movement of the dragon appear quite different at first glance. They do, however, share the same fundamental style, in which the woman lies on her back and curves her body.

Above, we have seen the comparison of the positions sharing the same creature in the *Xuannüjing* and *Dongxuanzi* of that first two pairs also appeared in Mawangdui sources. Since all the pairs above basically involve analogous diagrams, it seems quite possible to assume two possibilities. One is that two postures in Mawangdui, at least those bearing the names of a cicada and a tiger, might have quite similar to those depicted in later texts, whereas the other is that the positions with same creature have belonged to the same trend of sexual posture. Moreover, it can be evident for the likeliness of existence of several different trends or schools of sexual positions varying in accordance with naming.

Similar names, however, do not always reflect common positional features. Sometimes, positions named after the same creature turn out to be totally different. For example, the *Xuannüjing* and the *Dongxuanzi* describe positions associated with the actions of the monkey, which are completely different from each other.

Monkey Patting: Let the woman lie on the back. She should raise herself on her shoulders so that her knees pass over her breasts and her buttocks and back face upwards. The man should insert his *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) and stab her *choushu* 臭鼠 (smelly rat). Then, she keeps moving busily...⁶⁷⁷.

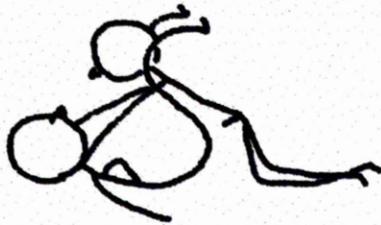


Figure 7: Monkey Patting

This is a description from the *Xuannüjing*, which is illustrated in Figure 7.

Howling monkey clinging to the tree: The man should sit in *jizuo* 箕坐 (winnowing basket pose). The woman should ride on his thighs, embracing his neck with her hands. He should support her buttocks with one hand and insert *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis). He should lean on the bed with the other hand.⁶⁷⁸.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p.640.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p.641.



Figure 8: Howling monkey clinging to the tree

This is a quotation from the *Dongxuanzi*, which is illustrated in Figure 8. The two diagrams show completely different positions. Figure 7 is rather similar to Figure 6 in the other source, in that the woman's legs are bent up to her breasts. On the other hand, Figure 8 is characteristic in that it requires the male and female to carry out sexual activity in what is basically a sitting position. Clearly, the two positions do not have any fundamental or additional elements in common, even though they are both named after the monkey.

This suggests two possibilities. First, there may be at least two different traditions characterised by the imitation of mammals. In this case, the *Xuannüjing* and the *Dongxuanzi* must have followed different traditions for the posture associated with the monkey. Secondly, either of these sources may have introduced individual variations for some positions, and this particular posture is an example of this.

Although the earliest sources provide no precise evidence of the practical aspects of sexual positions, the preceding arguments in this

section about positional naming and the percentage indicate that the *Xuannüjing* is apparently more influenced by the tradition exemplified in the Mawangdui material than is the *Dongxuanzi*. Yet, in the case of position related with monkey, the name "monkey sitting" given to one of the positions in the Mawangdui sources suggests a closer parallel with the position described in the *Dongxuanzi* rather than that in the *Xuannüjing*. It remains uncertain which of the positions described in the two later materials is closer to the Mawangdui tradition, in the case of monkey posture. However, on the examination so far, it is likely that the Mawangdui example is similar to one or other of the postures.

Thus, it seems more appropriate to assume that there are several different traditions for sexual positioning and that each sect involves the same creature to acknowledge their identities. Also, some of them were apparently obscured or confused to some extent by the time of composition of the later texts. Or they went through certain changes or shifts in positioning in the course of transmission. Despite of major or minor changes on the course of transmission, many postures in probably the same strand of tradition preserve individual elements.

The clearest evidence that sexual positioning is an advanced skill for achieving female orgasm is provided by the instructions for penetration that are contained in postural descriptions. As is already evident from the four quotations above, the *Xuannüjing* always includes instructions

about the depth and speed of insertion for each posture. Terms such as “grain seed”, “middle extremity”, “smelly mouse” and so forth are names for the female internal genitalia. Although the exact spots indicated by each term are still a matter of debate, as illustrated in Table 12, all the terms appearing in positional instruction are obviously places inside the vagina, according to the terminology of the specific texts at least.

Names appearing in <i>Ishinpō</i>	Interpretation by Ishihara Akira ⁶⁷⁹	Interpretation by Ma Boying ⁶⁸⁰	Interpretation by Li Ling by comparison with <i>Sunü Miaolun</i> 素女妙論 (Precise Theory of the Plain Girl) ⁶⁸¹	Corresponding names in <i>Sunü Miaolun</i> according to Li Ling ⁶⁸²
<i>Yumen</i> 玉門 (jade gate)	Vagina	Entrance of vagina/hymen		
<i>Zhizhu</i> 赤珠 (red ball)	Labia minora	Vaginal fornix/entrance of	Entrance of vagina	

⁶⁷⁹ Umayabara Shigeo. 1967. p. 267, pp. 264-266.

⁶⁸⁰ Ma Boying. 1994. p. 685.

⁶⁸¹ *Sunü Miaolun* 素女妙論 (Precise Theory of the Plain Girl). Attributed to a Daoist of Maoshan sect. Preface by Zhaihonglou Zhuren 摘紅樓主人 in 1566. This text has two editions, one which emerged in Japan sometimes during 1592-1596, while the other is copied 1566. I have used the edition collected in Van Gulik, R.H. 1951. *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period*. Tokyo: Private Edition. Vol. II. I also refer to Li Ling 李零 ed. 1993. *Zhongguo fangshu Gaiguan-Fangzhong* 中国方術概觀—房中 (Outline of Chinese Allied Techniques-The Art of the Bedchamber). Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chuban. pp. 190-203. For Li Ling's investigation, see Li Ling. 1993. pp.263-274.

⁶⁸² *Sunü Miaolun*. In van Gulik, R.H. 1957. Vol.II. p.149.

		vagina		
<i>Maichi</i> 麥齒 (wheat teeth)	Labia minora	Hymen/ 2 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	2 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Maichi</i> 麥齒(wheat teeth)
<i>Gushi</i> 穀實 (grain seed)	The glans of the clitoris	5 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	5 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Gushi</i> 谷實 (valley seed)
<i>Yüshu</i> 愉鼠 (cheerful mouse)	The glans of the clitoris	The entrance of vagina/ labia minora	3 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Tuoxi</i> 妥谿 (moderate mountain torrent)
<i>Choushu</i> 臭鼠 ,smelly rat)	The glans of the clitoris	The entrance of vagina/libia minora	6 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Yuque</i> 愈闕 (surpassing imperial palace)
<i>Qinxian</i> 琴弦 (zither strings)	Clitoris	Hymen/2 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance		
<i>Yingnü</i> 嬰女 (baby girl)	Larger vestibular gland	Vaginal fornix/ 3 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	4 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Xuanzhu</i> 玄珠 (dark ball)
<i>Kunshi</i> 昆石 (insect stone)	Larger vestibular gland	4 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance/ near to uterus	7 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Kunhu</i> 昆戶 (insect door)
<i>Zhongji</i> 中極 (middle extremity)			8 <i>cun</i> deep from the entrance	<i>Baiji</i> 北極 (the North Pole)

Table 12: Terms for female genitalia and their modern interpretations

Moreover, the instructions on depth of penetration appear in each case to make allowances for the exigencies of the different positions. Of course, this will depend on the particular conditions of penis and vagina, but the instructions for the insertion of the penis in each style, with regard to depth and location within the vagina, clearly

take account of a range of physical factors. For instance, the posture shown in Figure 1 evidently permits shallow insertion in case of difficulty, but deeper penetration may be problematic. The corresponding instruction gives the red ball as a place to stab. According to Table 12, red ball is quite possibly the entrance of the vagina.

This is more evident in comparison between Figure 1 and Figure 3 both of which involve the woman lying face downward. Figure 3, in which the woman raises her buttocks, potentially allows deeper penetration than Figure 1, in which she lies flat. The instruction corresponding to Figure 1 gives the red ball as a place to attack, which probably denotes the entrance of the vagina. On the other hand, the description for Figure 3 mentions the middle extremity, which is apparently the deepest place in the vagina. Obviously, the instructions specify a deeper point for a posture with potential for deep penetration, and a shallower one for a position which may make deep insertion difficult.

The literature of the sexual art takes account not only of the possible depth of penetration but also of the alignment of penis and vagina. For instance, Figure 9 below shows a posture named “rabbit sucking fur”, from the *Xuannüjing* which involves the woman kneeling astride the male, with her back to him. The description of this position instructs the man to attack her *qinxian* 琴弦 (zither strings), which are located at a depth of approximately one *cun* from the

entrance of the vagina⁶⁸³. As is clearly shown in Figure 9, the direction of the erected penis and the angle of incline of the vagina are opposed to each other. Therefore, the instructions for this particular posture appropriately advise shallow insertion.



Figure 9: Rabbit Sucking Fur

It is important to note that the “zither strings” are often viewed as a spot conducive to female orgasm. For instance, the *Yufang Mijue* describes a point between the zither strings and *maichi* 麥齒 (wheat teeth), as a “spot in which *yin* and *yang* are harmonised⁶⁸⁴” as well as the place “in which *yin* falls into trouble⁶⁸⁵”. Troubled *yin* indicates the female orgasm, at which the woman produces her best *qi*. Therefore, this source clearly associates the zither strings with efficacy

⁶⁸³ *Ishinnō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p. 640.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 646.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

for female orgasm. Since the wheat teeth is a spot approximately two *cun* from the entrance of the vagina, it can be identified, at least in this particular source, with the female G spot, which is believed to be located in a shallow place within the vagina.

Besides the references to zither strings, these differentiated instructions on depth of penetration in relation to variation in sexual positions are evidently intended to increase the likelihood of female orgasm. As clearly mentioned in the quotation on the “cicada clinging” from the *Xuannüjing*, which corresponds to Figure 1, instructions on sexual positions very often mention female orgasm as the criterion for concluding sexual activity. The strong focus on depth of penetration in relation to female orgasm is best exemplified in the following passage.

Turtle Raising: Let the woman lie properly on her back and bend her knees. The man should push her knees so that they reach her breasts. He should insert *yujing* 玉莖 (jade stalk—i.e. the penis) deeply and stab her *yingnü* 嬰女 (baby girl). Then, he should control the depth and shallowness from her *shi* 實 (the seed). This will increase her sexual pleasure. Then, she will start to quiver and raise her body and her energy secretion will overflow. At this point, he should place [the penis] deeply in her *ji* 極 (the extremity). He should finish the activity when she reaches orgasm⁶⁸⁶.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 640.

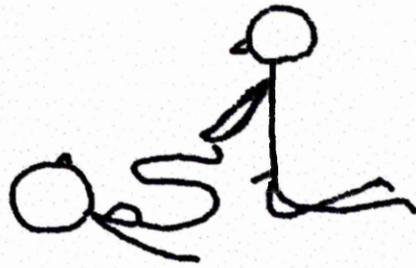


Figure 10: Turtle Rising

This position, which is illustrated in Figure 10, is similar to Figures 6 and 7. The terms, “the seed” and “the extremity”, in the quotation above are apparently equivalent to the “grain seed” and the “middle extremity”. Given that the “baby girl” indicates a spot at a depth of four *cun* from the entrance of the vagina, while the grain seed is 5 *cun* deep and the middle extremity is 8 *cun* deep, the instruction quoted above encourages gradually deeper penetration during intercourse. This is probably because this position makes it easy for the man to control the depth of penetration.

It is important to note that the progressive increase in depth of penetration is directly and explicitly connected with female orgasm, in the quotation above. Moreover, the changes in depth are supposed to proceed in response to the woman’s physical reactions. This indicates without doubt that the careful attention paid to the penetration depth for each position is directly connected to a strong interest in female orgasm.

In addition to the depth of penetration, it should also be noted that descriptions of sexual positions often involve other aspects of penetration. For instance, the descriptions in the *Xuannüjing* often include instructions on the speed of insertion such as “quickly”, “slowly”, as well as comments on frequency such as “rarely”. Moreover, the same source sometimes refers to methods such as “eight times shallowly and two times deeply”, as can be seen in the quotation on “dragon flying”. This is analogous to the most famous skill of “nine times shallowly and once deeply”, which is basically concerned with the rhythm governing depth of penetration.

Fundamentally, these penetration methods are employed differently in accordance with variations in sexual position. For instance, one of the Ming texts on the sexual art, the *Sunü Miaolun* 素女妙論 (Explicit Theory of the Plain Girl), which describes nine sexual positions almost identical to those in the *Xuannüjing*, asserts: “ Each posture has an individual method⁶⁸⁷”.

As was explained in the first section of this chapter, male penetrative methods are primary skills for achieving female orgasm. Since sexual postures employ a variety of penetration methods which are appropriate to the situation of each position, they are definitely advanced skills for the achievement of female orgasm.

⁶⁸⁷ van Gulik, R.H. 1951. vol.II. p.153.

3-5. Conclusion

The survey above has investigated technical features of the art of the bedchamber in light of the different purposes it sets out to achieve. In practice, the sexual art pursues three aims: the maintenance of life; recovery from illness and unhealthy conditions, which includes prophylactic aspects; and procreation. If we look at individual techniques having different aims, their procedures sometimes seem inconsistent. However, the skills for each purpose are founded on appropriate methodologies and employ relevant techniques.

Although each aim has different ideological ramifications, the concept of *qi* influences all the primary methodologies of the sexual art; and the accumulation, absorption and circulation of *qi* are fundamental practices for all methods. The crucial importance of *qi* fosters synergy between the sexual art and other skills for controlling *qi*, which are employed as complementary techniques in the preparation for coitus, during the sexual act, and in postcoital care.

In its practical aspects, this concern with *qi* crystallizes around the issue of female orgasm. As the occasion on which the woman produces the best *qi*, the female orgasm is strongly required for most purposes. The best female *qi* has the most curative value for male disorders, and in combination with the best male *qi*, it brings forth

offspring of high quality. Due to the imperative requirement for the best female *qi*, many practical aspects of sexual techniques are designed to increase the prospects of bringing the woman to orgasm. In addition to these practical aspects, the literature of the sexual art also provides abundant information on women's physical needs and their progression to sexual climax.

This aspect of the sexual art, as a set of skills for achieving female orgasm, is best exemplified in postural instructions, which are concerned with the depth, speed and frequency of penetration, and occasionally provide specific penetration methods. Sexual position is not only a technique aimed at accruing benefits for the male and occasionally for the female, but also one that provides enjoyable sexual activity for the female, in the course of which she has a high likelihood of reaching orgasm.

In addition, interest in individual areas of the female internal genitalia also reflects the intense concern with female orgasm that runs through the literature of the sexual art. The detailed terminology for the female internal genitalia demonstrates a strong interest in the female physical organism. Furthermore, the attention that is paid to establishing the best location in the vagina for each sexual position proves that the art of the bedchamber is, to a certain extent, deliberately designed for female sexual satisfaction.

Obviously, the aims which the sexual art sets itself are ostensibly intended for the benefit of men. It is not much concerned

with enhancing female conditions, health, or life. Yet, with regard to sexual satisfaction or pleasure at least, the sexual art works in the interest not of the man, but of the woman. It restricts the man's sexual satisfaction and encourages him to act for the sake of female satisfaction. The female orgasm is undoubtedly imbued with such importance only because of the benefits it brings the male, but it is still certain that the art of the bedchamber is also a technique for female sexual satisfaction.

Chapter 4:

The Art of the Bedchamber as a Method for Numinous Ecstasy and for Communication with Divinity --- The Relationship between the Sexual Art and Religious Daoism

4-1. Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the general literature for *fangzhongshu* had, by the end of the Tang dynasty, disengaged itself from the religious dimensions of Daoism. As discussed in the second chapter, the Daoists conceived of the sexual art as an instrument of their religious pursuit: the multiplication of good deeds in order to become *xian*. These good deeds included procreation resulting from sexual intercourse; religious initiation involving the celebration of divinities and harmonisation with delighted divinities through sexual practices, and mass salvation by way of sexual intercourse in public. These Daoist conceptions undoubtedly explain the association of Daoism with the sexual art, to a certain extent. Yet, sexual activity

does not seem to be indispensable in any of these cases. It is possible to accrue merits, initiate neophytes, and save people by many other means.

Regardless of the conceptual differences with respect to sexual activities, Daoism and the literature of the sexual art have a specific purpose in common: attaining the state of *xian* through sexual intercourse.

As observed in the previous chapter, however, the techniques described in the literature of the sexual art do not have the power directly to make the practitioner *xian*, although methods for maintaining life are apparently favourable to this aim, assuming that the art intends to produce *xian* endowed with immortality or at least extreme longevity. Yet, representations of *xian*, despite the obscurities and ambiguities discussed in the second chapter, indicate that the concept of *xian* is not reducible to longevity or immortality. One may need to display additional unusual abilities to be recognised as having achieved the state of *xian*, such as magical flight, ascent to otherworldly utopias, power over fire and water, and so forth. Since the sexual art differentiates the pursuit of *xian* from that of longevity and immortality, sexual techniques are apparently supposed to offer some of the special features associated with images of *xian*, aside from the aspects of control of *qi*, maintenance of life, health and procreation. Moreover, the state of *xian*, as pursued by the Daoists, may not merely involve immortality or longevity, but also special abilities. In that

case, the relation between the sexual art and *xian* with extraordinary abilities may explain the Daoist employment of sexual practices from rather a different perspective than religious endeavour.

Two issues -- the images of *xian* as a person with special abilities and the association of Daoism with sexual activities -- are apparently closely intertwined. Thus, this chapter will consider these two aspects together and attempt to set up two tentative hypotheses.

In order to examine more particularly the unusual abilities of *xian*, this chapter will begin with a study of *wu* 巫 (medium or perhaps "shaman"), a figure that very often has extraordinary abilities in common with *xian*. I will then re-examine images of *xian* with special powers in comparison with images of *wu*. Through these surveys of *xian* and *wu*, I will endeavour to set up my first proposition: the images of *xian* with characteristic abilities coincide with those of *wu* as a mediator between this world and the otherworld.

Secondly, the chapter will reinvestigate the function of the sexual art in attaining the state of *xian*, in light of the preceding assumption. I will then survey religious aspects of sexual activities through a comparison between Daoism and other religious phenomena. By doing so, I will attempt to shed new light on the art of the bedchamber and offer a new explanation, albeit a tentative one, for the Daoist employment of the sexual art: sexual activity as a numinous method of communication with the world beyond.

Due to the nature of the survey, which aims to collect as much

evidence of terminological usage as possible, it should be noted in advance that this chapter refers to pre-modern materials far removed from each other in time and fundamentally composed before 1060. There may be diachronic differences or shifts in the semantic field or usage of terms, however this is beyond the scope of the current investigation. Rather I attempt, for the purposes of this chapter, to obtain a general understanding of terms whose precise meaning is obscure.

4-2. Clarification of *Wu* --- Is *Wu* a “Shaman”?

The special characteristics of *xian* are not always unique to that figure. Some parallel features are very often observed in *wu*. *Wu* are supposed to be able to visit the other world, summon rain, predict the future and so on, much like the *xian*⁶⁸⁸. Their abilities single them out from other people as numinous beings, just as *xian* are differentiated from ordinary people.

The special abilities common to *xian* and *wu* are apparently important for the reinvestigation of images of *xian*. Yet, since it is also difficult to generalise about the concept of *wu*, this section will first examine ideas and images of *wu*.

⁶⁸⁸ I will discuss and give some evidences and examples for *wu*'s similarity to *xian* in 4-1 and 4-2 sections.

The term *wu* is considered by some scholars to be synonymous with “shaman”⁶⁸⁹. Indeed, it seems that *wu* and “shamans”, both of whom supposedly have the ability to communicate with divine beings, share a considerable number of features. However, it is problematic to equate *wu* with “shaman”, since the concept of “shaman” seems to be a sensible topic in its own right, in the context of studies on shamanism. Therefore, we will begin, for the convenience of this survey, by clarifying what is meant by “shaman”, and then proceed to *wu*, in order to arrive at a clear understanding of the concept of *wu*.

The term “shaman” is said to come via Russian sources from the Tunguso-Manchurian word “*šaman*” meaning “he who knows”, with the verbal root “*ša-*” meaning “to know”⁶⁹⁰. It has also been suggested that the term “shaman” might derive from the Pali word “*samana* (Sanskrit, *śramana*)” or the Chinese “*sha-men* 沙門”,⁶⁹¹ both of which mean

⁶⁸⁹ For example, Chen Mengjia, Kominami Ichiro, Julia Ching and Nakamura Jihei 中村治兵衛 clearly show that they view as *wu* as equivalent to “shaman”. Nakamura Jihei 中村治兵衛. 1992. *Chūgoku Shamanizumu no Kenkyū* 中国シャーマニズムの研究 (The Study of Chinese Shamanism). Tokyo: Tousui Shoten. p.13; Chen Mengjia. 1936. p.534, p.567, p.578, pp. 572-573; Ching, Julia. 1997. pp.13-18; Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.279-280, p.285.

⁶⁹⁰ Diószegi, Vilmos. 1998. *Shamanism—Selected Writings of Vilmos Diószegi*. Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. p.1; Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. *Studies on Shamanism*. Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society. p.1.

⁶⁹¹ Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.2.

Buddhist monk, although that theory has been disproved. As the possible sources for the term “shaman” would suggest, shamanism applies primarily to a religious or belief system and constellation of phenomena centred on the “shaman”, found among north Asian, Ural-Altaic and Paleo-Asian peoples⁶⁹². However, “shamanic” phenomena and activities are observed among people of various other places, north and south America and Africa, for instance. Thus, it seems that the term “shaman” and the scope of its study today are not necessarily limited to phenomena localised in Asia⁶⁹³.

The precise definition of “shamanism” also varies accordingly to scholars. For example, Mircea Eliade who produced one of the most famous studies in this field, defines “shamanism” as a technique of ecstasy as well as a specialised technique involving a trance during which the “shaman” or the soul of the “shaman” is believed to leave the body⁶⁹⁴. Anna-Leena Siikala stipulates that “shamanism”, though “religious”, is not itself a religion, but “a complex of different rites and beliefs surrounding the activities of the shaman connected with very

⁶⁹² Diószegi, Vilmos. 1998. p.1.

⁶⁹³ For example, Ripinsky-Naxon mentions Mexican, Italian and other “shamanism”. Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. The Nature of Shamanism—Substance and Function of a Religious Metaphor. Albany: State University of New York Press. pp131-150, pp151-186. Also Hoppál collectively mentions “shamanism” all over the world. See Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. Shamanizumu no Sekai シヤーマニズムの世界 (*Schamanen und Schamanismus*). Translated by Murai Sho 村井翔. Tokyo: Seido Sha.

⁶⁹⁴ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. pp.4-5.

different religious systems⁶⁹⁵. Mihály Hoppál who suggests defining it as a "belief system", which is more neutral than "religion", shares the idea that "shamanism" is not precisely a "religion" ⁶⁹⁶. Two things, above all, seem to form common ground for many scholars in this field: the element of ecstasy appears to be one of the most salient characteristics of "shamanism", a point on which most later scholars agree⁶⁹⁷; and "shamanism" is "religious", but not exactly a "religion".

It is not easy to define the concept of "shaman", either. This difficulty seems to stem especially from the variety of "shamanic" experiences and the disparate abilities of individual "shamans"⁶⁹⁸. Nonetheless, communication with the world beyond and ascent to the heavens in a state of trance are unmistakable traits of most "shamans", by means of which he or she practises geomancy, divination, healing, rituals and so forth⁶⁹⁹. It seems often to be the case that spirits, divinities or ancestors choose a "shaman-to-be", thus establishing a relation with the world beyond, although in some cases the role of

⁶⁹⁵ Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály .1998. p.1.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., p.130.

⁶⁹⁷ For instance, Diószegi, Vilmos.1998. p.1; Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.15; Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.1.

⁶⁹⁸ For example, Siikala reports the categories and social ranks of "shamans" in two different ethnic groups. The social ranks of "shamans" depend on the abilities that an individual "shaman" possesses. Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.4.

⁶⁹⁹ Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. pp.24-27.

“shaman” is hereditary⁷⁰⁰. In either case, “shamans” are very often identified by certain marks that set them apart from ordinary people. They may for instance have extra bones, teeth or fingers⁷⁰¹, or possess an abnormal, often highly nervous, disposition⁷⁰².

It also appears to be a common element that a “shaman-to-be” needs to go through a certain initiatory period in the form either of systematic social rites on a concrete level, or of individual spiritual experience at a transcendent level, in order to become a socially recognised “shaman”⁷⁰³. This initiatory experience is commonly associated with so-called “shamanic illness”, ritual dismemberment, and occasionally a journey to the other world and/or initiatory death, which enable the “shaman-to-be” to be reborn or transformed into a “shaman”⁷⁰⁴.

The relationship of the “shaman” with spirits, which is very often realised during ecstatic trance, also differs widely. Some “shamans” have their own guiding and tutelary spirit, while others have a choice

⁷⁰⁰ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. p. 6, pp. 20-21; Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. pp. 29-30, p.39; Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.6.

⁷⁰¹ Diószegi, Vilmos. 1998. p.4.

⁷⁰² Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.5.

⁷⁰³ Diószegi, Vilmos. 1998. p.2; Eliade, Mircea. 1989. pp.64-65, pp.110-144; Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. pp. 82-87; Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. pp.5-6, pp. 151-155.

⁷⁰⁴ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. p.34, p. 55; Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.37; Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. p.76; Siikala, Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.6, pp.104-105, p.154.

of spirits with whom they may communicate. There are also some “shamans” who do not establish a relationship with specific spirits, although they are able to make contact with the otherworld⁷⁰⁵. Similarly, some “shamans” may have a personal guiding spirit in the form of a certain animal, which often acts as a vehicle to bring them to the heavens or the otherworld⁷⁰⁶, whereas others may have a guiding spirit of the opposite sex, who, occasionally, becomes a spirit-wife/husband to them. This erotic and sexual element, which is either voluntary or coerced by the spirit, establishes a sexual bond between the two⁷⁰⁷.

Whatever the nature of the relationship with the spirit world, a “shaman” requires ecstatic techniques to communicate with spirits. The techniques and mechanisms of “shamanic” trance are often associated with meditation and altered states of consciousness, which are induced by external causes such as music especially in association with drums, dance and hallucinogenic drugs, or by internal means such as fasting, sensory deprivation, breath control, mortification of the flesh, and so forth⁷⁰⁸. Besides these techniques and mechanisms,

⁷⁰⁵ Sasaki Kokan 佐々木宏幹. 1996. *Sei to Jyuryoku no Jinruigaku* 聖と呪力の人類学 (An Anthropology of the Holy and Magic). Tokyo: Kodansha. pp.34-35, pp.169-171;

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. p.89, pp.98-99.

⁷⁰⁶ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. p.89, pp.98-99.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., pp.71-74; Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. p.75; Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.8.

⁷⁰⁸ Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. p.18, p.52, p.142; Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. pp.28-29, p. 87. See also Eliade, Mircea.1989. pp168-176,

“shamans” often don special costumes symbolising the skeleton⁷⁰⁹ or certain animals for their trance⁷¹⁰. Some “shamans” even “transform” themselves into animals, by acting like animals and uttering animal sounds⁷¹¹.

Under these circumstances, a “shaman” can in general be understood as a mediator between this world and the otherworld, through certain means involving ecstatic trance. The role of the “shaman” is very much based on the world view of each community, that is, in Hoppál’s words, the “belief system⁷¹²” of the community. However, the “shaman” certainly has a distinctive status within society, as a specialist with particular functions.

In the Zhouli 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou), the term *wu* is applied both men and women, as in *nanwu* 男巫 (male *wu*) and *nüwu* 女巫 (female *wu*)⁷¹³. However, the Shuowen Jiezi 說文解字 (Explaining Single-Component Graphs and Analyzing Compound Characters)

pp176-180.

⁷⁰⁹ Diószegi, Vilmos. 1998. p.4; Eliade, Mircea. 1989. pp.158-159, pp.164-165.

⁷¹⁰ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. pp.156-157, pp.459-461; Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. pp. 134-137. See also, Hoppál, Mihály.1998. pp.143-162.

⁷¹¹ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. pp.93-94, p.381, p.385.

⁷¹² Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.130.

⁷¹³ Zhouli 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou). Anonymous. Probably a product of mid-second century B.C. I have used Zhouli Zhushu 周禮注疏 (Commentaries on Zhouli). Commented by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200) and Jia Gongyan 賈公彥(fl. 650). SSSJZ edition. 26th juan. “*chunguan* 春官”. pp.815-816.

restricts the use of *wu* to women, employing a special term *xi* 覡 as its masculine counterpart⁷¹⁴. In this source, *wu* and *xi* are distinguished by gender, but not according to any difference in functions or abilities.

The *Zhouli* explains the role of *wu* as follows: “When a state is suffering from drought, to lead out the *wu* and have them perform a rain dance⁷¹⁵”; “at a funeral, *wu* performs the rites [for the divinity] of descend⁷¹⁶”, “the male *wu* takes charge of the [rithe of] gaze and the sacrifice [in that] gazing the flat field, instituting and rising the voice, [he] invites widely with cogongrass⁷¹⁷”; and “the female *wu* administers seasonal sacrifices, rites for avoiding calamities and misfortunes and bathing with odorous grasses.⁷¹⁸”. Here, *wu* is basically a ceremonial and ritual celebrant, who is apparently a specialist in rites involving divinities and spirits.

Besides the role of *wu* as celebrant, the *Shuowen Jiezi* describes another feature of *wu*. This text explains *wu* as “those who are good at

⁷¹⁴ *Shuowen Jiezi*. 9th *pian shang*. “*wubu* 巫部”, p.202.

⁷¹⁵ “若国大旱。則師巫而舞雩”. *Zhouli*. 26th *juan*. “*chunguan*”. p.816.

⁷¹⁶ “凡喪事。掌巫降之禮”. This rithe is explained as “巫下神之禮 (the rite in which *wu* [makes] the divinity come down)”. Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ “男巫掌望祀。望衍。授號。旁招以茅”. Jia Gongyan’s commentary says “望衍者衍延也。(gazing the flat field is the field stretched)”, “授號者此二者皆詛祝授以神號。(these two, naming and rising the voice, are that ritual announcer assigns with divinities’ name)” and “旁謂四方此男巫於地官祭此神時則以茅招之四方也 (Widely is said [to mean] the four direction. When this male *wu* appointed as earth official worships this divine, he invites [the divine] from the four directions with the cogongrass)”. Ibid.

⁷¹⁸ “女巫掌歲時祓除鬻浴”. Ibid.

dealing with formless beings and dancing to call up divinities⁷¹⁹". Dancing is often associated with the role of *wu*, in many cases for rainmaking purposes⁷²⁰. *Wu*'s dance is apparently directed to divinities or spirits, to entreat their support⁷²¹. Rather than the execution of a ritual, this is mediation between the two realms, which clearly involves a certain communication or relationship with the divinities.

Some commentaries by Pei Yin 裴駟(5th century) and Sima Zhen 司馬貞(early 8th century) on the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of History) clearly attest the role of *wu* as mediator between humans and spirits. For instance, Sima refers to Wuxian 巫咸 of the Yin dynasty as the first *wu* who had power over divinities. Sima also describes him as being the official of the Yin dynasty responsible for supervising *wu* in their contacts and dealings with spirits⁷²². Pei also explains that *wu* asks the opinions of divinities⁷²³. Thus, the ability to act as a mediator or to establish communication with spirits or divinities belonging to the otherworld is obviously one of the characteristics of *wu*.

The function of *wu* as mediator is further corroborated by

⁷¹⁹ *Shuowen Jiezi*. 9th pian shang. "wubu". p.201.

⁷²⁰ For instance, *Zhouli*. 26th juan. "chunguan". p.816; *Xin Tangshu*.145th juan. p.4721.

⁷²¹ For instance, *Xin Tangshu* mentions that a *wu* and *xi* addressed their dance to a dragon in order to call for rain. *Xin Tangshu*. 145th juan. p.4721.

⁷²² *Shiji*. 28th juan. p.1357.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, p.1379.

etymology. *Ling* 靈 (spirit), for instance, is composed of three functional elements, *yu* 雨 (rain), three *kou* 口 (mouth) and *wu* 巫. The construction of the character *ling* suggests the relationship between *wu* and rain. It also indicates that spirits are embodied or called up by *wu*, apparently by means of songs or summons issuing from the mouth of *wu*.

The construction of the character *ling* may further imply that *wu* is not merely able to communicate with divinities, but is also possessed by spirits on certain occasions. The *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han) attests possession by spirits as one of *wu*'s specialities: "To those who are pure, fresh, no turncoat, in good order, stern and bright, divinities come down. In a male, it is called *xi* 覡, in a female, it is called *wu*. They are offering themselves to be the habitation in which the divinities reside, and sometimes offering themselves up as a sacrificial vessel."⁷²⁴

With help from the spirits, *wu* performs or brings about miraculous effects⁷²⁵, which may lead to difficulty in distinguishing whether it is *wu* or the spirits consorting with *wu* that perform special feats. For instance, commentaries by Wang Yi 王逸(90?-145?) on the

⁷²⁴ "民之精爽、齊肅聰明者、神或降之、在男曰覡、在女曰巫、使制神之處位、為之牲器".
Hanshu. 25th *juan*. p.1189.

⁷²⁵ Zhou Cezong 周策縱. 1896. *Guwuyi yu "Liushi" Kao—Zhongguo Langman Wenxue Tanyuan* 古巫醫与「六詩」考—中国浪漫文学探源 (On Old Shamanic Physicians and "Six Poems" -- Survey of Chinese Romantic Literature). Taipei: Lianqing Chupan. p.78.

Chuci 楚辭 (The Songs of the South) mention that “people in the state of Chu call *wu* a child of the spirits⁷²⁶”. Moreover, the concept that “spirit is equivalent to *wu*⁷²⁷” was apparently commonplace, since both Wang and the Shuowen Jiezi agree on this point. Similarly, the commentary made by Wen Ying 文穎 (3rd century A.D.) on the Shiji describes the *wu* who understand spirits as ranking second to divinities⁷²⁸. Thus, we see that *wu* was equated with spirits, or was at least regarded as possessing numinous qualities next to only to spirits and divinities.

Wu is, like a “shaman”, able to communicate with the world beyond. This alone may not answer the question whether *wu* is a “shaman”. However, *wu* also possesses certain other attributes associated with “shamans”.

Just as the “shaman” performs divination⁷²⁹, so too one of the means by which *wu* communicates with divinities is divination. The character *shi* 筮 (divination stick) is made up of *zhu* 竹 (bamboo) and *wu* 巫. According to commentaries by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815)

⁷²⁶ “靈巫也、楚人名巫為靈子”。Chuci 楚辭(The Songs of the South). Attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原(340-299 B.C.). Compiled probably late 4th century B.C. I refer to Chuci Zhangju 楚辭章句 (Chuci with Commentaries). Collected and annotated by Wang Yi 王逸(90?-145?). This edition. 1967. Taipei: Yiwenyin Shuguan. “*Jiuge* 九歌”. p.83. As for the compilation date of this text, see Loewe, Michael. 1993. pp.48-51.

⁷²⁷ “靈、巫也”。Shuowen Jiezi. 1st pian shang. “*yubu* 玉部”. p.19; Chuci. “*Jiuge*”. p.83.

⁷²⁸ Shiji. 28th juan. p.1379.

⁷²⁹ Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. pp.24-27.

on the *Shuowen Jiezi* bamboo was one of the materials used for divination⁷³⁰. The same source explains that divination was close to the practices in which *wu* specialised⁷³¹ and describes six *wu* who were skilled in divination⁷³². Thus, divination was certainly one of the specialities of *wu*.

In addition, *wu* took charge of healing, just like the “shaman”. The character *yi* 醫 (physician), for instance, is etymologically related to the character *wu* 巫. According to Shirakawa Shizuka, the element *yi* 毘, which is both a phonetic and a signfic in the character *yi* 醫, belongs to a family of words current in the Shang period that related to exorcism. Therefore, he suggests that the character *yi* 醫 might have signified “*wu* who heals with exorcistic techniques”⁷³³. Similarly, Cheng Mengjia mentions that the characters *wu* 巫 and *yi* 醫 were used interchangeably in the Shang period⁷³⁴. *Wu*'s function as a physician, which is implied by these statements, is further corroborated by the existence of the term *wuyi* 巫醫 (medium physician or probably “shamanic” physician) seen in the *Lunyu* 論語 (The Analects)⁷³⁵. As

⁷³⁰ *Shuowen Jiezi*. 9th *pian shang*. “*zhubu* 竹部”. p.191.

⁷³¹ *Ibid*.

⁷³² *Ibid*.

⁷³³ Shirakawa Shizuka 白川静. 1976. *Kanji no Sekai* 漢字の世界 (The World of Chinese Characters). Tokyo: Heibonsha. Vol.2. pp.232-233.

⁷³⁴ Cheng Mengjia.1936. p.533.

⁷³⁵ *Lunyu* 論語(The Analects). Compiled by disciples of Confucius, Kong Zi 孔子. Pre-Han. I have used *Lunyu Zhushu* 論語注疏(Commentaries on *Lunyu*). Commented by He An 何晏(190-249), Xing Bing 邢昺 (930-1010). SSJZ edition. 13th

this term indicates, *wu* and physicians shared the role of curing ailments, for a certain period⁷³⁶. This is also evidenced by the character *yi* 醫, which was an alternative graph for *yi* 醫, but at the same time signified *wu*⁷³⁷.

The associations of the “shaman” with dancing, drums and even a special costume are also features of *wu*. The rain dances performed by *wu* have already been mentioned, moreover such dances sometimes involved *gu* 鼓 (a hand drum). For instance, the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) relates an episode concerning a *wu* from the state of Qi, who danced to the sound of hand drums in an army camp, unfortunately incurring the wrath of a king⁷³⁸. Similarly, the *Jiu Tangshu* 旧唐書 (Old History of the Tang), refers to *wu* dancing to the rhythm of a hand drum⁷³⁹. More evidence is provided by the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang), which says that *wu* beat the drums dressed in a special costume, with a coronet of bird feathers and a tiger skin belt⁷⁴⁰.

juan. “*zilu* 子路”. p.13

⁷³⁶ Sakade Yoshinobu. 1999. pp. 226-227; Yamada Keiji. 1990. pp.56-63 Harper, Donald. 1997. pp.47-68.

⁷³⁷ The character *Yi* 醫 first appears in *Taixuanjing* 太玄經 (The Classic of Great Mystery), for instance as “巫醫不失”. *Taixuanjing* 太玄經 (The Classic of Great Mystery). Compiled by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53B.C-18 A.D.), before 18. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 803. p.49.

⁷³⁸ *Hou Hanshu*. 11th *juan*. p.479.

⁷³⁹ *Jiu Tangshu*. 160th *juan*. p.4210.

⁷⁴⁰ *Xin Tangshu*. 216th *juan xia*. p.6103.

Not only do the roles of *wu* and the “shaman” overlap; *wu* also shares features particularly associated with the “shaman” such as “shamanic illness” and an individual relationship with a particular spirit. The *Shiji* relates a case concerning a *wu*, which involves both “shamanic illness” and a personal relationship with a divinity, as follows: A certain person named Fagen 發根 from Youshui introduced a *wu*, who had become possessed by a spirit as a result of illness, to the emperor Wu of the Han when the emperor was ill. Although none of the other *wu* or physicians of the court could do anything for the emperor’s sickness, a spirit named *shenjun* 神君, who was associated with that *wu*, successfully cured the emperor⁷⁴¹.

Illness as a prelude to becoming *wu*, as observed in the example above, was apparently common. Nakamura Jihei 中村治兵衛 investigates cases of *wu* in the Tang dynasty and concludes that many of them underwent *xianbing* 仙病 (*xian* illness) or *wubing* 巫病 (*wu* illness)⁷⁴², in order to become *wu*⁷⁴³. Sometimes, these “initiatory” illnesses resulted in some disability or handicap for the *wu*. Nakamura mentions that *wu* “seers⁷⁴⁴” very often had weak eyesight

⁷⁴¹ *Hanshu* also gives the same episode. Here the source clearly explains that the *wu* had become a *wu* because of the illness. *Shiji*. 12th *juan*. p.459; *Hanshu*. 25th *juan*. p.1221.

⁷⁴² Kominami Ichiro seemingly prefers the term *wubing* 巫病, *wu* illness rather than *xianbing* 仙病, illness of *xian*, since these illness are suffered by “*wu*-to-be” but not by “*xian*-to-be”. Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.279-280.

⁷⁴³ Nakamura Jihei. 1992. p.13.

⁷⁴⁴ Sasaki Kokan suggests a typology of “shamans” according to their means of

and were sometimes even completely blind, at least during the Tang dynasty⁷⁴⁵.

Just as extra bones⁷⁴⁶ and an abnormal disposition⁷⁴⁷ are the numinous signs of the “shaman”, so too disabilities in everyday life could apparently be stigmatic marks distinguishing *wu* from ordinary people. Besides visual handicaps, Kato Jyoken 加藤常賢 describes a hunchback and a midget as bearing the “numinous” marks of *wu*⁷⁴⁸. Julia Ching comments on this link between handicap and ability as *wu*, saying that “if a certain deformity was considered to be the sign of a possible religious talent, other disabilities have been regarded widely as the sign of possible compensatory gift⁷⁴⁹”. Thus, *wu* were considered to bear a mark differentiating them from ordinary people, in

establishing communication with spirits. He presents the primary division of “shamans” as follows: the “possession type”, those who are possessed by spirits, and the “ecstatic type”, whose souls leave the physical body for an otherworldly place. The former further involves three different genres: the “medium” in whom a divinity is directly located and who acts and talks as the divinity, the “prophet” who sees and hears the divinity and acts and speaks on its behalf, and the “seer”, which is a subset of “medium” and “prophet”. Sasaki’s typology generally agrees with that of R. Firth. Sasaki Kokan. 1996. pp.144-145. See also Firth, R. 1970. Rank and Religion in Tikopia--A Study in Polynesian Paganism and Conversion of Christianity. Boston: Beacon Press. p.33.

⁷⁴⁵ Nakamura Jihei. 1992. p.13.

⁷⁴⁶ Diószegi, Vilmos. 1998. p.4.

⁷⁴⁷ Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.5.

⁷⁴⁸ Kato Jyoken 加藤常賢. 1954. Chūgoku Kodai no Shūkyō to Shisō 中国古代の宗教と思想 (Religion and Thought of Ancient China). Kyoto: Harvard-Yanjing-Dōshisha tōhō bunka kōza iinkai. pp.22-23.

⁷⁴⁹ Ching, Julia. 1997. p.17.

many cases if not all.

Although illness as a prelude to becoming *wu* is evidently common, an individual relationship between a specific *wu* and a specific spirit is not always the rule. The relationship between *wu* and spirits involves variations, just like the relation between “shamans” and the spirit world. Sometimes *wu* is just a person who is able to see non-specific invisible spirits. *Wu* with special abilities as “seers” are sometimes described as “*shigui* 視鬼 (seeing spirits of deceased)”⁷⁵⁰. For instance, an episode concerning Prince Shensheng(申生) in the *Shiji* informs us that the prince, who had already passed away, made *wu* see him⁷⁵¹. Since the deceased prince did not intend to possess the *wu*, nor did he designate a specific *wu* to see him, this story does not indicate a particular relationship between the spirit of the prince and a specific *wu*. However, the deceased prince presumably needed any *wu* as a temporary medium since he was not visible to everyone.

In addition to initiatory illness and a variety of relationships with spirits, *wu* also shares with the “shaman” a distinctive status within the community. According to studies by Kato and Ching, *wu* or the abilities of *wu* were very closely linked with Chinese administration and kingship up until the early Zhou dynasty⁷⁵².

⁷⁵⁰ For instance, *Shiji*. 39th *juan*. p.1651; 107th *juan*. p.2854; *Hanshu*. 45th *juan*. p.2178.

⁷⁵¹ *Shiji*. 39th *juan*. p.1651.

⁷⁵² Kato Jyoken. 1954. pp. 7-8, p.10, p.17; Ching, Julia. 1997. pp.1-34. Zhang Chenli 張振犁 also considers that ancient kings held the status of *wu* in addition to their

Ching, who considers that the abilities of *wu* were identical to those of the “shaman” and that those abilities were numinous symbols of kingship, sums up the status of king as *wu* as follows: “Their spiritual qualification to the title of rulership or kingship was in the possession of superior intelligence and shamanic power⁷⁵³.” Although *wu* gradually disappeared from the imperial centre, they remained for a while in certain administrative structures⁷⁵⁴, as executors of imperial ceremonies and rites. Moreover, *wu* living among ordinary people still had occasion to become involved in imperial events as is evident in the case of the illness of the emperor Wu of the Han⁷⁵⁵.

So far, *wu* and “shaman” have a considerable range of attributes in common. Indeed, some scholars employ the term “shaman” as an English translation for *wu* and identify them as “shamans”⁷⁵⁶. Yet,

regular one. He argues this point especially in relation to kings' responsibility for calling for rain. Zhang Chenli 張振犁. 1991. *Zhongyuan Gudian Shenhua Liubian Lunkao* 中原古典神話流變論考 (Studies of Shifts and Changes in Classic Myth in Central China). Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chuban. pp.237-255.

⁷⁵³ Ching, Julia. 1997. p.17.

⁷⁵⁴ *Zhouli* gives male and female *wu* in a section of “*chunguan*”. *Zhouli*. 26th *juan*. “*chunguan*”. p.816. Although the text is from the late Warring States period rather than from the Western Zhou, as it purports to be, the categorisation of *wu* in Zhou official organisations might be a useful reflection of the conditions of the time in which it was actually written.

⁷⁵⁵ *Hanshu* also gives the same episode. The source clearly explains that the *wu* had become *wu* because of illness. *Shiji*. 12th *juan*. p.459; *Hanshu*. 25th *juan*. p.1221.

⁷⁵⁶ For instance, Kato Jyoken, Julia Ching and Kominami Ichiro employ the term “shaman” to describe *wu*.

there are others who, while generally accepting that *wu* share certain "shamanic" features, do not consider the special term "shaman" completely appropriate for *wu*. For instance, David Keightley suggests that "spirit-medium" may better render the idea of *wu* than "shaman" does⁷⁵⁷. Again, Eliade notes that Chinese *wu* are not exactly "shamans"⁷⁵⁸.

In my point of view, *wu* obviously shares a certain number of characteristics with "shaman" and therefore a survey of *wu* can definitely borrow some approaches from studies of "shamanism". Yet, due to the interpretive and exegetic complexities of the concept of "shaman" itself as well as that of *wu*, I prefer not to explain *wu* as "shaman". *Wu* can be a ceremonial celebrant, medium, prophet or seer; *wu* is associated with a variety of specialities and enters into a variety of relationships with spirits through variety of means. Thus, I define *wu* for the purposes of this paper in rather general terms as a mediator between this world and the otherworld who has a certain

⁷⁵⁷ Keightley, David N., 1998. "Shamanism, Death, And The Ancestors". *Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques*. vol. LII .3 . Bern: A.G. Francke. P. 765, p.825. Susan Nell Erickson and Lothar von Falkenhausen also prefer the term "spirit-medium" to "shaman" for *wu*. Erickson, Susan Nell. 1989. Boshan Mountain Censors: Mountains and Immortality in the Western Han Period. Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota.; von Falkenhausen, Lothar. 1995. "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The *Wu* Officials in the *Zhou*". Early China. Vol.20. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies. pp.279-280.

⁷⁵⁸ Eliade, Mircea. 1988. pp.448-449.

means of communicating with the otherworld, which may not necessarily be the means of ecstasy. In addition, the rest of this paper will not employ any English term to designate *wu*, but will adhere to the Chinese term *wu*, in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding.

4-3. Images of *Wu* and *Xian*

As discussed in the second chapter, popular images of *xian* include, in sum, features of longevity and immortality; supernatural abilities such as prediction, power over water and fire and metamorphosis; and associations with medicine and healing. These images of *xian* obviously coincide to a considerable extent with the features of *wu* explored in the previous section. This indicates that popular images of *wu* may have been related to the construction of popular ideas of *xian*. Thus, this section will begin with a survey of the construction of images of *xian*, and will investigate some shared characteristics shared of *xian* and *wu*, including their flight or ascent to the sky, their association with mountains and medicine, and their stigmatic appearance.

Although *xian* is differentiated from *shen* 神 (divinity) in the semantics of Chinese, the two terms are equivalent insofar as they both basically denote otherworldly beings. Interestingly, *xian* and *shen* are also similar in that both can have a human origin. For

instance, Ying Shao comments in the *Shiji* that “*shenren* 神人 (divine person) is a sort of *xianren* 仙人 (*xian* person) from Penglai(蓬莱)⁷⁵⁹”. Although *shenren* may not be synonymous with *shen*, this commentary indicates two things: the equivalence of *shen* and *xian*, and their possible human origin. This indicates that the typology of *xian*, embracing “inborn” and “acquired” status, evidently applies to Chinese divinities as well⁷⁶⁰. On this point of the Chinese construct of otherworldly beings, Charles le Blanc notes as follows.

In archaic and preliterate Chinese history.....various ethnic groups had evolved a rich fount of myths about a number of divine beings.At this time (Zhou dynasty), some of the foregoing myths were put into writing, but not without undergoing deep modifications and transformations so as to fit in with the cultural, intellectual, and political institutions of Chou. One fundamental aspect of the modification and transformation of archaic myths was “humanisation” and “euhemerisation”⁷⁶¹.

⁷⁵⁹ “神人、蓬莱仙人之属也”. *Hanshu*. 6th *juan*. p.207.

⁷⁶⁰ For instance, Guanyu 关羽, a famous warrior from 蜀 is worshipped as a divinity of battle as well as of wealth. He is obviously a human being who has become a divinity, whereas *tian* 天, Heaven, and *shangdi* 上帝, the highest emperor, which are divinities worshipped in the Yin and Zhou dynasties, are “inborn” divine beings.

⁷⁶¹ le Blanc, Charles. 1985&1986. “A Re-Examination of the Myth of Huang-Ti”. *Journal of Chinese Religions*. No.13&14. Denver: Society for the Study of Chinese Religion. p.58.

In addition to “humanisation”, “euhemerisation”, “deification” and “apotheosisation” are also very important notions, pointed out by many scholars with regard to the Chinese conception of divinities or numinous spirits⁷⁶². Huangdi 黄帝 (the Yellow Emperor), for instance, is apparently the most famous example of a humanised divinity⁷⁶³, whereas Guan Yu from the *Sanguozhi Yanyi* 三国志演義 (Story of Three States), who started to be worshipped in the Song dynasty, is an apotheosised divinity⁷⁶⁴.

This process of constructing images of numinous beings, which le Blanc calls “mythification⁷⁶⁵”, apparently corresponds to the “historical phase⁷⁶⁶” which involves social and religious changes and

⁷⁶² Schwartz, Benjamin I. 1985. *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press. pp.25-26; Kominami Ichiro 小南一郎. 1994. “*Kandai no Sorei Kannen* 漢代の祖靈観念 (The Han view of Divine Ancestors)”. *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方学報 (Journal of Oriental Studies). Vol. 66. Kyoto: The Institute for Research Humanities. p.2, p.19; Mitarai Masaru 御手洗勝. 1984. *Kodai Chūgoku no Kamigami—Kodai Densetsu no Kenkyū* 古代中国の神々—古代伝説の研究 (Gods in Ancient China—The Study of Ancient Legends). Tokyo: Sobunsha. pp.13-15, p.52; Liu Zhiman 劉枝万. 1983. *Chūgoku Dōkyō no Matsuri to Shinkō* 中国道教の祭り と信仰 (The Festivals and the Believes of Chinese Daoism). 2 Volumes. Tokyo: Ofusha. Vol.1. p.34; Ching, Julia. 1997. pp.61-62. Benjamin I.Schwartz also introduces Derk Bodde and Maspero’s comments on it. Schwartz, Benjamin. 1985. p.26.

⁷⁶³ le Blanc, Charles. 185&1986. pp.58-59. See also Mitarai Masaru.1984. pp.265-301.

⁷⁶⁴ Liu Zhiman. 1983. Vol.1. p.34.

⁷⁶⁵ Le Blanc, Charles. 1985&1986. pp.58-59.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

movements⁷⁶⁷. Yet, there were seemingly no standard criteria for this “mythification⁷⁶⁸”; Guan Yu was apotheosised, becoming a divinity, but his fellow Zhang Fei was not⁷⁶⁹. Similarly, Mozi, a famous Confucian, was “deificated” to become *xian* in the *Shenxienzhuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of Divine Immortals)⁷⁷⁰, whereas Kongzi, the founder of Confucianism, was not.

Yet, one thing is clear: the boundaries between human beings and otherworldly beings, including divinities and *xian*, are uncertain. This further indicates “the absence of a qualitative abyss between the two realms⁷⁷¹”, as Benjamin I. Schwartz points out.

The ambiguous status of the two realms and the absence of a clear boundary between them apparently leads to further uncertainty

⁷⁶⁷ Lin He 林河. 1988. “*Lun Nanchu de Taiyang Zongpai yu <Jiuge. Dongqun>* 論南楚的太陽崇拜与<九歌·東君> (Arguments on Sun Worship in the Southern Chu and <Nine Songs. Lord of the East>). In Wu Ruishu 巫瑞書, Lin He 林河 and Long Haiqing 龍海清 ed. *Wufeng yu Shenhua* 巫風与神話 (Customs of Wu and Myths). Hunan: Hunan Wenyi Chupansh. p. 101.

⁷⁶⁸ Le Blanc, Charles. 1985&1986. pp.58-59.

⁷⁶⁹ For instance, *Sanjiao Yuanliu Soushen Daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 (Complete Collections of Seeking for Divinities in the Origin of the Three Teachings) includes Guan Yu, but does not mention Zhang Fei 張飛. *Sanjiao Yuanliu Soushen Daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 (Complete Collections of Seeking for Divinities in the Origin of the Three Teachings). Anonymous. Compiled between 1573-1620. I have used the following edition. 1980. *Huitu Sanjiao Yuanliu Soushen Daquan/ Fu Soushenji* 繪圖三教源流搜神大全/附搜神記 (Complete Collections of Seeking for Divinities in the Origin of Three Teachings with Pictures/ Supplementary Records of Seeking for Divinities). Based on Ye Dehui’s edition. Taipei: Xianjing chubanshe. pp.109-112.

⁷⁷⁰ *Shenxianzhuan*. p.226.

⁷⁷¹ Schwartz, Benjamin I. 1985. p.25.

in the definition of *xian* and *shen*, divinities. Images of *xian* are, to some extent, similar to those of *shen*, divinities and *ling* 靈 (spirits). Yan Shigu 顏師古, for instance, comments about Xiwangmu 西王母 (the Queen Mother of the West) in the *Hanshu*: “Xiwangmu is the most superior among the *xian* and *ling*⁷⁷². Indeed, “to become” *xian* apparently required a certain “euhemerisation” or “deification” process. The *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui) states that a person “gradually approaches longevity in the course of which he naturally becomes like a deity, and then he can become a *xian* in clear daylight⁷⁷³”. The similarity or closeness of *xian* to *shen* is further evidenced semantically. As has repeatedly been pointed out, the other term for *xian*, *shenxian* apparently carries numinous connotations.

Yet the numinous image of *xian* does not seem merely to be an outcome of similarity to *shen*, divinities. Leaving aside the otherworldly nature of “*xian*”, *xian* are rather to be identified with *wu*, who are sometimes regarded as equivalent to spirits. For instance, *xian* are sometimes supposed to mediate between otherworldly spirits or divinities and human beings, just as *wu* do. The *Hanshu* mentions that spirits made contact with a person named Ling Yu 靈圉⁷⁷⁴. Since this person is described in the *Shiji* as a *xian*⁷⁷⁵, the statement from the

⁷⁷² “西王母為仙靈之最”. *Hanshu*. 57th *juan*. p.2598.

⁷⁷³ “漸致長生、自然神化、或白日得仙”. *Suishu*. 35th *juan*. p.1092.

⁷⁷⁴ “鬼神接靈圉”. *Hanshu*. 57th *juan*. p.2598.

⁷⁷⁵ “靈圉...仙人名也”. *Shiji*. 117th *juan*. p.3027.

Hanshu suggests that *xian* are not only beings belonging to the other world, but also act as mediators between this world and the otherworld.

Furthermore, a commentary on this statement by Wen Ying 文穎 of the 3rd century suggests that one of the means of communication with the spirit world used by this particular *xian*, was sexual intercourse with spirits⁷⁷⁶. Wen explains that there was once a female *wu* called Changling nüzi 長陵女子 who was able to have sexual intercourse with a spirit named Shenjun, whereby she healed diseases. In Wen's view, Changling nüzi's method is quite similar to that of the *xian* Ling Yu 靈圉⁷⁷⁷.

According to this commentary, *wu* and *xian* are identical in establishing communication with divinities through sexual intercourse, although sexual relations may be merely one of a variety of channels. Moreover, the spirit Shenjun is obviously the spirit-husband of the *wu* Changling nüzi, as in some relationships between "shamans" and spirits. Although it is not clear if the *xian* Ling Yu was female or male, this *xian* also established a special relation with a spirit-husband or

⁷⁷⁶ *Hanshu*. 57th *juan*. p.2603.

⁷⁷⁷ “是時上求神仙之人、得上郡之巫長陵女子、能与鬼神交接、治病輒愈...號曰神君、有似於古之靈圉、禮待之於閒館舍中也 (At this moment, [they] seek for a man of *shenxian* above and get in touch with a *wu* of Shang area, namely Changling nüzi. She was able to have sexual intercourse with divinities and spirits and heal diseases to turn them better...The name [of the divinity] was Shenjun. There are similarities with ancient Ling Yu who worshipped and waited it in a quiet mansion)”. Ibid.

spirit-wife, according to Wen's commentary⁷⁷⁸.

As *xian* is still a being with strong otherworldly associations whereas *wu* is a being belonging to our world, the numinous connotations attached to the images of *xian* must have been stronger than in the case of *wu*, and the images of *xian* and *shen* very often merge. Yet, while *shen* require the assistance of *wu*, or occasionally *xian*, to manifest themselves in this world, *xian* are generally visible to everyone and some dwell among us in our world.

Presumably, *xian* can be a mediator between this world and the otherworld, just like *wu*. Whereas *wu* obviously retains human nature and belongs to the human world, *xian*, who fundamentally belongs to the other world, although still visible and living in our world, is apparently a creature poised on the boundary between this world and the otherworld.

1) Flight or Ascent to the Sky

Flight or ascent to the sky or to an otherworldly utopia is one of the most common attributes of *xian*. *Xian* sometimes rises with the wind or smoke and descends with the rain, or at other times they fly or

⁷⁷⁸ *Xian* as a mediator between this and the other world are also evidenced in the *Xin Tangshu* which states as follows: "the Tang family, descendants of *xian*, are good at ...inviting spirits." *Xin Tangshu*. 109th *juan*. p.4108.

ascend to the sky with the aid of dragon or birds⁷⁷⁹.

Some scholars consider that *xian's* flight or ascent to the sky or to a utopia is a figurative depiction of leaving this world. For instance, Donald Holzman says that *xian's* "distant voyage" is a flight from "the parlous state of this world's way" and from "the time of foulness and impurity"⁷⁸⁰. Miura Kunio 三浦国雄 and Kominami Ichiro consider that the image of *xian's* flight or ascent to the sky comes from the idea that spirits consist of *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄⁷⁸¹.

As discussed in the second chapter, the concept of *hun*, which is equivalent to *qi* and rises to the sky at one's death, and that of *po*, which remains with the body and returns to the earth at death, are related to the image of *xian*. Kominami, who discusses the construction of the Immortal cult and ideas of *xian* in relation to ancestor worship, suggests that the idea that the ancestor's *hun*

⁷⁷⁰ Taiping Guangji 太平廣記 (Records Widely Gathered in the Taiping Period) records Peng Zu's description of *xian* which mentions that *xian* are capable of "entering the clouds and flying without wings, riding on dragons and be carried by clouds to visit the heavens, or transforming themselves into a bird or animal to float amid the blue sky". Also, Chisongzi in the Liexianchuan 列仙傳 (Legends of Xian) is said to rise with the wind and fall down with the rain, while Ningfengzi is said to ascend and descend along with the smoke. "隨風雨上下", "隨烟氣上下". Taiping Guangji 太平廣記 (Records Widely Gathered in the Taiping Period). Compiled by Li Fang 李昉(925-996), presented to the throne in 978 and published by imperial command in 981. This edition. 1959. Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe. 2nd *juan*. p.2; Liexianzhuan. p.3, p.5.

⁷⁸⁰ Holzman, Donald. 1994. p.107.

⁷⁸¹ Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.147-150; Miura Kunio. 2000. pp.93-99.

ascends to the sky or to heaven may have shaped beliefs in *xian's* flight⁷⁸².

Kominami discusses this question in connection with *hun* and birds. The *hun* of an ancestor is very often believed to fly back to heaven in the form of a bird⁷⁸³. A similar motif is also witnessed in some stories about *xian*. For instance, Wangzi Qiao 王子喬 (Prince Qiao) is said to have transformed himself into a big bird and flown away at his demise⁷⁸⁴. Adducing earlier pictorial images and statues of winged *xian* as additional evidence⁷⁸⁵, Kominami proposes that early representations of *xian's* ascent to the sky involve transformation into a bird rather than the *xian* being borne aloft by birds⁷⁸⁶.

Since some representations of *xian* are connected with death⁷⁸⁷,

⁷⁸² Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.148-149.

⁷⁸³ Ma Changyi 馬昌儀 also mentions *hun* in the form of a bird. He also says that the motif of the divine female in the form of a birds (*maoyinü* 毛衣女, woman with feathery clothes or *tiane chunü* 天鵝處女, virgin in the form of a heavenly goose) are related to the idea of *hun* being transformed into a bird. Ma Changyi 馬昌儀. 1998. *Zhongguo Linghun Xinyang* 中國靈魂信仰 (Chinese Belief in Spirits). Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshan. pp.135-141; Kominami Ichiro. 1999. p.148.

⁷⁸⁴ *Soushenji* 搜神記 (Records of Seeking for Divinities). Compiled by Gan Bao 干寶 of Jin dynasty (265-420), his preface was written ca. 317. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 1042. 1st *juan*. pp. 367-368

⁷⁸⁵ Kominami Ichiro describes *Tongyuren* 銅羽人 (a bronze statue of a person with wings). Also, he quotes Wang Chong's comments on a depiction of *xian*, in which he says that *xian* is shown with wings (圖仙人之形, 體生毛, 臂變為翼). Kominami Ichiro. 1999. p.149, p.151; *Lunheng* 論衡 (Discourses Weighed in the Balance). 2nd *juan*. "wuxing, 無形". p.23.

⁷⁸⁶ Kominami Ichiro. 1999. p.148.

⁷⁸⁷ See chapter 2, section 3.

the connotations of *xian*'s flight or ascent are primarily related to *hun*'s ascent to the heavens where the *hun* of ancestors dwells.

Fundamentally, *hun*, along with *po*, is not supposed to leave the body until death. Yet, these spirits, especially *hun*, are thought to have the power to leave or float away from the body during dreams or illness in particular⁷⁸⁸. During these out-of-body events, especially during dreams, *hun* is supposed to wander the otherworld rather than journeying to the sky, in general if not universally⁷⁸⁹.

Ping-Chiu Yen relates several demonic tales from China in which numerous encounters with demonic spirits take place in dreams⁷⁹⁰. Although many stories conclude with exorcisms by priests or *wu*, some heroes obtain useful knowledge during their visit to the otherworld, which they apply to life in this world. Yen clearly assumes that dream events take place in the otherworld and that the spirit of the dreamer leaves the body and enters that other world⁷⁹¹.

Ma Changyi 馬昌儀 documents a widespread belief in *hun*'s departure from the body in the case of illness. Although his evidence is mostly taken from modern case studies, he argues that the concept of *hun*'s leaving the body to wander the otherworld is traditional. He

⁷⁸⁸ Ma Changyi. 1998. p.123, p.233; Miura Kunio. 2000. p.99.

⁷⁸⁹ Ma Changyi. 1998. pp.233-243.

⁷⁹⁰ Yen, Ping-Chiu. 1990. Chinese Demon Tales---Meanings and Parallels in Oral Tradition. New York, London: Garland Publishing. pp.283-285.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., pp.90-92.

also describes some cases from the ethnic minorities of China in which the *hun* of *wu* leaves the body and travels to the otherworld in search of the *hun* of a patient⁷⁹². According to Ma's research, the departure of *hun* from the body, especially prior to death, is obviously related to the journey to the otherworld, in the Chinese conception.

With regard to the two aspects of entry into the otherworld and acquisition of supreme knowledge there from, Ping-Chiu suggests that these demonic tales endow the hero with the attributes of *wu*⁷⁹³. Since heroes are not professional *wu*, their spiritual visits to the otherworld, by means of *hun* leaving the body, are apparently accidental or at least involuntary. Interestingly, a recurrent motif in such demonic tales is heavy drinking before falling asleep⁷⁹⁴. There may be a relationship between the hallucinogenic or psychotropic effects of alcohol and the possibility of ordinary person undergoing such an extraordinary experience, as we will discuss later.

On the other hand, *wu* are supposed to be in control of the journey to the otherworld, as well as the departure of *hun* from the body. For instance, a girl named Lin Fei 林妃⁷⁹⁵, who generally

⁷⁹² Ma Changyi. 1998. pp.238-244.

⁷⁹³ Yen, Ping-Chiu. 1990. pp.90-92.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., p.69.

⁷⁹⁵ *Sanjiao Yuanliu Soushen Daquan* only mentions her surname, Lin. Ma indicates that the girl mentioned in this source is identical to Lin Mo, who was later worshipped as Mazu. *Sanjiao Yuanliu Soushen Daquan*. pp. 186-187. Ma Changyi. 1998. p.134.

demonstrated her ability as *wu* by seeing and communicating with spirits, allowed her *hun* to leave her body to assist her brothers in a distant place. One day, her parents attempted to rouse her by calling her, as she lay with her eyes closed as though dead. She was indignant at being awoken and said that her parents had disturbed her in her attempt to rescue her brothers. Later, her brothers related that they were overtaken by a fierce storm at sea, when they saw the figure of a girl leading them to safety. Then her parents realised that she had been meditating that day in order to allow her soul to leave her body and help her brothers⁷⁹⁶. It is clear from the episode that Lin Fei, the *wu* had perfect control over her *hun*.

As pointed out earlier, Chinese concepts of this world and the otherworld and of otherworldly beings contain certain ambiguities regarding the demarcation of the two realms and the status of beings. Thus, not only *wu*, as a mediator between two worlds, but also ordinary people experience *hun*'s departure from the body and transportation to the other world, albeit involuntarily. Yet, *wu* and apparently *xian* in their "distant voyages" or ascent to utopia are expected to have perfect control over their *hun*.

In accordance with studies of "shamanism", heroes of demonic tales who possess potential abilities as *wu* and professional *wu* like Lin Fei share a common means of communicating with the world beyond.

⁷⁹⁶ *Sanjiao Yuanliu Soushen Daquan*, pp.186-187.

That is, their *hun* visits the otherworld in an out-of-body experience – they are not on the contrary possessed by spirits (divine or demonic). Although there are many different variations on the manner of establishing communication with the otherworld, as discussed in the previous section, they belong primarily to the “ecstatic type” of *wu*, whose soul leaves the physical body for an otherworldly location⁷⁹⁷.

Under these circumstances, *hun*'s departure from the body suggests not only ascent to the sky, but also to the otherworld, to which demonic spirits and apparently divinities belong. It also indicates that *hun*'s journey to the otherworld is a prerequisite for communication with the spirits, if not always then at least for *wu* of the “ecstatic type”⁷⁹⁸.

Although I have not come across any statements or documents suggesting that *wu* possess the power of flight or ascent to the sky⁷⁹⁹, their ability to cause their *hun* to leave the body and journey to the otherworld is apparently related to images of *xian*'s flight. Studies of “shamanism” record that the spiritual journey of the “shaman”, which

⁷⁹⁷ Sasaki Kokan. 1996. pp.144-145.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Oceans) mentions *wu* climbing up (*shang* 上) and ascending (*sheng* 昇) as well as coming down (*xia* 下) and descending (*jiang* 降) mountains. Possibly, the ascent and descent of mountains symbolises a voyage to the sky. *Shanhaijing*. 7th *juan*. “*haiwai xijing* 海外西經”. p.57; 16th *juan*. “*dahuang xijing* 大荒西經”. p.75.

includes ascent to the heavens or descent to the underworld, is often identified with the ability to fly⁸⁰⁰. Eliade further suggests that “shamanic costumes”, which often incorporate bird feathers, imply the ability to fly like birds⁸⁰¹. Chinese *wu* sometimes wear special costumes decorated with feathers⁸⁰², which probably indicate the power of soul flight, following Eliade. As another instance, Lin Fei’s spiritual transportation through space from her home to the stormy sea carries suggestions of spiritual flight.

Thus, flight or ascent to the sky in images of *xian* is fundamentally related to the idea of *hun*’s ascent to the sky. The departure of *hun* from the body further indicates a visit to the otherworld. Since *wu*, especially those of the “ecstatic type” are in control of the journey of *hun* to the other world, images of flight or ascent to the sky imply spiritual travel beyond this world. Therefore, the image of *xian*’s flight is a metaphorical representation of the journey to the otherworld undertaken by *xian* and *wu*, as mediators between this world and the otherworld.

2) Mountains and Drugs in Popular Images of *Xian* and *Wu*

⁸⁰⁰ Eliade, Mircea. 1998. p.89, pp.92-93.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., pp.83-84, p.89, p.392.

⁸⁰² *Xin Tangshu* mentions that a *wu* with a feathered crown and belt of tiger skin beats the drum. *Xin Tangshu*. 216th *juan*. p.6103.

As discussed in the second chapter, a popular image of *xian* is that of a person living in the mountains, as explained in the later Han dictionary by Liu Xi 劉熙, the *Shiming* 釋名 (Explanation of Words)⁸⁰³. Indeed, more than 30 out of 70 *xian* listed in the *Liexianzhuan* 列仙傳 (Biographies of *Xian*) are specifically connected with mountains; some live on mountains⁸⁰⁴, some pick herbs on mountains⁸⁰⁵ and others are witnessed in the mountains or disappear beneath mountains⁸⁰⁶. Moreover, all the paradises of the *xian* are mountains. Besides Mt. Kunlun, the three divine islands, Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 瀛州 in the Eastern Sea, are islands with mountains.

Mountains are also important in images of *wu*. Mt. Kunlun in the west is specially linked with six *wu* in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Oceans) of probably 290-240 B.C compilation. These six *wu*⁸⁰⁷ of Mt. Kunlun possess “drugs of immortality (*busi zhi yao* 不死之藥)” so that they can prevent the *qi* of death from approaching⁸⁰⁸. For instance again, Mt. Lingshan 靈山 is also

⁸⁰³ *Shiming*. 3rd *juan*. “*shichangyou* 釋長幼”. p.21.

⁸⁰⁴ For instance, Fang Hui 方回, Jiu Sheng 仇生, Lü Tong 陸通 et al. *Liexianzhuan*. p.17, p.34, p.46.

⁸⁰⁵ For instance, Wo Quan 偃佺, Duzi 攢子 et al. *Ibid.*, p.13, p.91.

⁸⁰⁶ For instance, Xuan Su 邛疏, GUchūng 谷春 et al. *Ibid.*, p.38, p.107.

⁸⁰⁷ They are *Wu Peng* 巫彭, *Wu Di* 巫抵, *Wu Yang* 巫陽, *Wu Lü* 巫履, *Wu Fan* 巫凡 and *Wu Xiang* 巫相. *Shanhaijing*. 10th *juan*. “*hainei xijing* 海內西經”. p. 65.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

associated with the *wu* Han and nine other *wu*⁸⁰⁹ in the same source. They climb up and down the mountain to obtain “drugs of immortality”⁸¹⁰.

Bearing in mind that both *xian* and *wu* are mediators between this world and the other world, ideas drawn from studies on “shamanism” can explain the role of mountains in the images of *xian* and *wu*, if not fully at least to some extent. In various cultures, mountains often symbolise the “centre of the world”, which is connected to the underworld, the earth and the sky in the form of a “cosmic mountain”⁸¹¹. According to studies of “shamanism”, the idea of the “centre of the world” is not limited to mountains, but may also entail a pillar, a tree or sometimes a giant⁸¹². These “centres of the world” in various forms are a route or a conduit connecting this and the other world, which is not open to everybody. Only those who know how to accomplish the ascent or occasionally descent through the “central opening”⁸¹³ can establish communication with the world beyond⁸¹⁴.

⁸⁰⁹ They are *Wu Xian* 巫咸, *Wu Ji* 巫即, *Wu Fen* 巫盼, *Wu Peng* 巫彭, *Wu Gu* 巫姑, *Wu Zhen* 巫真, *Wu Li* 巫禮, *Wu Di* 巫抵, *Wu Xie* 巫謝, and *Wu Luo* 巫羅. Among them, *Wu Peng* and *Wu Di* are also mentioned in association with Mt. Kunlun. See footnote 806 above. *Ibid.*, 16th *juan*. “*dahuang xijing*”. p.75.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹¹ Eliade, Mircea. 1988. p.267.

⁸¹² *Ibid.*, p.268.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, p.265.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.264-265.

Some scholars consider that this idea of the "centre of the world" applies to Mt. Kunlun⁸¹⁵. For instance, Kominami argues that Mt. Kunlun was regarded as an axis or pivot of the earth, from which *qi* arose⁸¹⁶. He points out that Mt. Kunlun is often described as a mountain with a narrow base and wide peak, like a Chinese jar, and that such a form implies difficulty of access. Thus, embracing the ideas of Eliade, he suggests that the Mt. Kunlun is a boundary between this world and the otherworld⁸¹⁷ and that only those people who are able to climb up and down the "centre of the world" can pass through the portal of heaven, where they will find the possibility of immortality⁸¹⁸. As another instance, Erickson makes clear her view of this matter as follows: "The earliest mountains censors were not strict representations of the famed isles of the immortals but rather depictions of a cosmic universal mountain which could be any one of the five sacred Marchmounts or the mountainous isles of the Immortals"⁸¹⁹.

Thus, in the context of *xian* and *wu* as mediators between our world and the otherworld, mountains are symbols of a cosmic pivot that links this and the other world, and more importantly, functions as

⁸¹⁵ Kominami Ichiro. 1999. pp.46-49, pp.55-57; Erickson, Susan Nell. 1989. pp.91-92, p.97.

⁸¹⁶ Kominami Ichiro. 1999. p.47.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., p.55.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., pp.47-48.

⁸¹⁹ Erickson, Susan Nell. 1989. p.97.

a pathway to the otherworld. The concept of mountains as portals to the otherworld explains why many *xian* live in the mountains, are witnessed there and disappear beneath mountains. The mountain is the gateway through which they return to their utopia and also come to visit the human world. The same perception also informs the association with *wu* and mountains. It is their necessity as well as their function to climb these mountains, which should possibly be understood in metaphoric terms, in order to attain or communicate with the world beyond.

The association of mountains with representations of *xian* and *wu* points to another shared aspect: that of drugs.

Where *wu* are mentioned in association with mountains in the *Shanhajing*, this is very often in the context of “drugs of immortality”. Koma states that these references to *wu* in relation to “drugs for immortality” point to *wu*'s role as a physician⁸²⁰, which is often expressed in the term *wuyi* 巫醫. As healers, *wu* may have had knowledge of herbs and drugs. This function of *wu* as healer explains some aspects of the relation between *wu* and drugs.

Xian are also linked with drugs, in the image of *xian* as healer. For example, the *Liexianzhuan* mentions some *xian* like Fang Hui 方回

⁸²⁰ Koma Mitsuyoshi 高馬三良. 1998. *Sengaikyō—Chūgoku Kodai no Shinwa Sekai* 山海經—中国古代の神話世界 (Canon of Mountains and Oceans—The World of Myths in Ancient China). Tokyo: Heibonsha. p.140.

“giving [mical] to people suffering from illness⁸²¹”, which apparently implies curing diseases like a physician. In addition, selling drugs⁸²² which is another attribute of *xian* can be understood as a part of their medical activities.

Yet, the most vivid image of *xian* in connection with drugs is apparently their association with “drugs of immortality” and especially “elixirs or drugs for *xian* (*xiandan* 仙丹/ *xianyao* 仙藥)”.

These drugs, especially those “for *xian*” are fundamentally supposed to be effective “to become *xian*”, but not for curative purposes. Susan Cahill, for instance, describes some female Daoists of the Tang dynasty who were believed “to have become” *xian* through the use of drugs⁸²³. Some of these drugs were generally manufactured by alchemical means, and they are usually referred to as *dan* 丹 (an elixir)⁸²⁴; whereas others are single or multiple natural substances

⁸²¹ “煉食雲母，亦与民人有病者”. *Liexianzhuan*. p.17

⁸²² For instance, Xia Qiuzhong 瑕丘仲. *Ibid.*, p.67.

⁸²³ Cahill, Susan. 1998. “Discipline and Transformation: Body and Practice in the Lives of Taoist Holy Women of the T'ang Dynasty(618-709)”. Translated by Tuchiya masami. In Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 and Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄 ed. *Dōkyō no Rekishi to Bunka* 道教の歴史と文化 (History and Culture of Taoism). Tokyo: Yuzankaku shoten. pp.233-234.

⁸²⁴ For instance, Ge Hong mentions that common people do not know mercury is made from cinnabar (世人少所識...或不知水銀出於丹砂). He further introduces several methods to create elixirs in the section for “*jindan*(etc.) 金丹 (golden elixir)” in *Baopuzi. Baopuzi Neipian*. 4th juan. “*jindan* 金丹”. p.72. Also see *Baopuzi Neipian*. 4th juan. “*jindan*”. pp.74-87.

such as mica⁸²⁵, types of fungi (*zhi* 芝)⁸²⁶ and so forth, which were generally held not to produce immediate effects, and were rather intended as a staple diet for *xian*⁸²⁷. These drugs “to become” *xian* involve a variety of terminology, but sometimes they are collectively described in English as “elixir”. Since they all serve the identical aim of “becoming” *xian*, I will hereafter employ “elixir” as a general term for “drugs for *xian*”.

While the “drugs for immortality” are intended to prevent the approach of death⁸²⁸, “elixir” does not necessarily avert death, as we will see later. It is on this very point that the former and the latter clearly differ, although both are associated with representations of *xian*. “Elixir” which is expected to enable one “to become” *xian* apparently possesses two important features – hallucinogenic or

⁸²⁵ Fang Hui is mentioned in the *Liexianzhuan* as having mica as his staple food. Also, the *Xin Tangshu* relates that a person named Fu Wei 伏威 who had been practising “to become” *xian* took mica and got poisoned. “伏威好神仙長年術、餌雲母被毒”. Although Fu is said to be poisoned by taking mica, mica was considered to be an efficacious diet effective for becoming *xian*. *Liexianzhuan*. p.17; *Xin Tangshu*. 92th *juan*. p.3801.

⁸²⁶ For instance, Peng Zu 彭祖 is said to have had *guizhi* 桂芝, which indicates blossoms of *Cinnamon cassia Presl*, and fungi as his staple food (常食桂芝). Also, a commentary on the *Houhanshu* states that a *xian* eats a herb called *huangzhi* 黄芝 (一名黄芝...見仙人服之). *Liexianzhuan*. p.36; *Houhanshu*. 82th *juan*. p.2740.

⁸²⁷ *Shiji* refers to the seeds of Sumac (*Cotinus coggryria scop*) which are seemingly immediately effective for “becoming *xian*” (榘、今黄櫨木也、一云玉精、食其子得仙也). Also, some of these natural products are beneficial for improving health or cure curing diseases. *Shiji*. 117th *juan*. p.3030.

⁸²⁸ *Shanhajing*. 7th *juan*. “hainei xijing”. p.57.

psychotropic effects; and the power to cause initiatory death – both of which may be related to characteristics of *wu* and can be investigated from the point of view of studies on “shamanism”.

The use of hallucinogenic or psychotropic drugs is common among “shamans” in many different regions, regardless of cultural background. Ripinsky-Naxon argues that such drugs are often employed during “religious-ritualistic experiences⁸²⁹” for “the spiritual and metaphysical contingencies of the energies and the forces of life”⁸³⁰. These ritual uses of drugs enable one to enter the otherworld in which “the knowledge of the great cosmic causality can be apprehended⁸³¹”. Since the “shaman” is the central figure in those rituals among “shamanic” communities⁸³², those who visit the otherworld during the ceremony by means of hallucinogens are mostly “shamans”.

Hallucinogenic and psychotropic drugs were commonly known and used in China, and their use was not confined to ritualistic occasions, or to *wu* or *xian*, according to a study by Ishida Hidemi⁸³³.

⁸²⁹ Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. p.131.

⁸³⁰ This sort of state of mind is primarily caused by a high concentration of the alkaloids hyoscyamine, scopolamine, and norhyoscyamine as a results of drugs such as *Datura*. And such drugs often produce not only hallucination, but also an excitation, delirium and thereafter a state of narcosis. Ibid., p.133, p.145.

⁸³¹ Ibid., p.133.

⁸³² Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.4.

⁸³³ Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実. 2000b. “*Kenki Yaku Kō* 見鬼薬考 (Study of Seers of the Spirits of Deceased)”. *Tōhō Shūkyō* 東方宗教 (The Journal of Eastern Religion). Vol.

In the medical field, these drugs were often used as tranquilizers to heal people suffering from mental disorders, especially those induced by demons, by enabling them to see the demons affecting them⁸³⁴. In addition, psychotropic drugs with narcotic effects, such as hemp, were employed as anaesthetics or analgesics⁸³⁵. Of course, the Chinese were well aware of the hallucinations caused by some of these drugs and were wary of excessive use⁸³⁶.

On the other hand, these drugs evidently also served to enable the user to see the invisible, with more religious connotations, in the field of Daoism. Sometimes, hallucinogens were employed for prediction and some sorts of telepathy⁸³⁷. The hallucinogenic effects

96. Kyoto: Nihon Dōkyō Gakkai. pp.38-57.

⁸³⁴ Ibid., p.41.

⁸³⁵ Ibid., pp.42-43.

⁸³⁶ For instance, the *Shennong Bencaojing* 神農本草經 (*Materia Medica of Divine Farmer*) mentions cannabis flower (麻蕒), saying the excessive use of it makes one see demons and run mad (麻蕒 . . . 多食、令人見鬼狂走). *Shennong Bencaojing* 神農本草經 (*Materia Medica of Divine Farmer*). Received text is compiled and annotated by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景(456-536A.D.), ca. 500 as *Shennong Bencaojing Jizhu* 神農本草經集注 (Collected Commentaries on *Shennong Bencaojing*). This edition. 1955. Shanghai: Shangwuyuang shudian. 1st juan. p.54. As for the transmission of the *Shennong Bencaojing*, see Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠. 2000. "Sankanbon 'Honzō Shūchū' to Shutudo Shiryō 三卷本 '本草集注' と出土資料 (The Three Volumes of *Bencao Jizhu* and Excavated Records)". *Yakushigaku Zasshi* 薬史学雑誌 (Journal of Studies on Medical History). Vol. 35. no.2. Tokyo: Nihon Yakushi Gakkai. pp.135-143. English version of this paper will be available which has been presented at the Dunhuang conference held at Needham Research Institute and SOAS on September in 2000.

⁸³⁷ Ishida Hidemi. 2000b. pp.46-47.

of drugs were regarded as similar to the abilities of *xian*. Therefore, some substances such as *shanglu* 商陸 (*Radix Phytolaccae*)⁸³⁸ were prized as drug which not only conferred the ability to see the invisible, but were also effective for becoming *xian*⁸³⁹.

Some dynastic records provide possible evidence for the use of hallucinogenic or psychotropic drugs in connection with *xian* and *wu*. For instance, the *Shiji* mentions that the emperor Wu sent a *wu* who was a seer to Tian Fen 田蚡 who was currently ill and that the *wu* let Tian see the demons affecting him⁸⁴⁰. Since Tian was apparently an ordinary person and not a seer, this episode indicates the possible use of hallucinogenic drugs, although this story does not mention any kind of drugs. As another instance, the *Xin Tangshu* tells the story of a *wu* named Bi 泌. He claimed to have become immortal thanks to an "elixir" obtained from Mt. Tiantai 天台, which he presented to the emperor. The emperor took Bi's "elixir" which resulted in his becoming unusually excited and angry⁸⁴¹. Although it is unclear what

⁸³⁸ *Shanglu* 商陸 (*Radix Phytolaccae*)— its effects on the central nerve system are not currently known, although this substance was clearly thought by the Daoists to have hallucinogenic effects. Thus, Ishida Hidemi cautiously suggests that a pharmacological survey of these items supposed to allow people to see the invisible should not be limited to their effects on the nervous system. *Ibid.*, p.53.

⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.50-51.

⁸⁴⁰ “春、蚡疾、一身盡痛、若有擊者、諫服謝罪。上使視鬼者瞻之、曰。魏其侯與灌夫共守、笞欲殺之”。*Shiji* 52th *juan*. p.2393.

⁸⁴¹ “泌者...習方技...自云能致藥為不死者、因言、天台山靈仙所舍、多異草、願官天台、求采之...帝餌泌藥、寢躁怒不常”。*Xin Tangshu*. 167th *juan*. p.5114.

kind of ingredients Bi's "elixir" contained, this narrative clearly implies the use of psychotropic drugs and their association with the "elixirs" of the *xian*.⁸⁴²

Under these circumstances, the drugs involved in images of *wu* can be understood, sometimes if not always, in terms of a relationship between the hallucinogenic or psychotropic effects of some substances and the ability to see spirits. Moreover, due to the special powers of second sight generally enjoyed by *xian*, these drugs were incorporated into images of *xian* as "elixirs" for becoming *xian*.

As pointed out earlier, the "elixir" for *xian* does not necessarily avert death, but sometimes actively causes "mimetic", "fake" or "temporary" death as an initiatory process in order "to become" *xian*.

The *Jiu Tangshu* mentions that an "elixir" caused Liu Daohe 劉道合 to die and become a *shijiexian* 尸解仙 (*xian* released from the body). Liu manufactured the "elixir" primarily for the emperor Gaozong 高宗, but he took it himself, to leave the world as a *xian*. The emperor was uneasy about Liu's death and uncertain about his release from the body. So, the emperor had Liu's body transferred from one coffin to another, only to find out that Liu had just left his

⁸⁴² It should be noted that most elixirs are said to have contained mercury, which can cause long-term personality changes, without being "hallucinogenic" or "psychotropic" in the normal sense. Needham, Joseph. 1970. Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 316-339.

skin there, as a cicada sloughs off its skin⁸⁴³. Obviously, it was the “elixir”, which caused the death of Liu, thus releasing him from his body to become *xian*.

As another example, a tale concerning Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, collected in the *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 (Records Widely Gathered in the Taiping Period) which is edited by Li Fang 李昉(925-996) and presented to the throne in 978, also seems to refer to an “elixir” causing temporary death. Wei was one of three pupils. One day their teacher gave the pupils “elixirs” which would enable them to become *xian*. Before letting them try, the teacher gave an “elixir” to a dog, which died after taking it. Having seen the effect on the dog, the other two pupils did not dare to take the “elixir”; but Wei had faith in his teacher and took it, only to die in his turn. However, the story goes on to relate that once the two doubters were gone, both Wei and the dog returned to life, by which point they had already become *xian*⁸⁴⁴.

The writer apparently accounts for Wei’s success in becoming *xian* by his unswerving belief in his master. Yet, the story seems rather to indicate an “initiatory death” by means of certain drugs, which is a very common experience shared by many “shamans”. As

⁸⁴³ “道士劉道合者...高宗又令道合合還丹...遷道合之殯室、弟子開謂尸解、高宗聞之不悅棺將改葬、其尸惟有空皮...有似蟬蛻...曰劉師為我合丹、自服仙去”. *Jiu Tangshu*. 192th *juan*. p.5127.

⁸⁴⁴ *Taiping Guangji*. 2nd *juan*. p.5.

pointed out earlier, a "shaman-to-be" very often needs to go through a certain initiatory period, which sometimes takes the form of "shamanic illness". One of the elements of this phase is "initiatory death" which can be purely symbolic, or can be literal and may result from serious "shamanic illness". In either case, the experience of "initiatory death" is required in order for the initiate to be reborn or transformed into a shaman⁸⁴⁵.

Taking account of this point of view, based on studies of "shamanism", Wei's temporary death is obviously an "initiatory" death culminating in rebirth as a *xian*. Moreover, the "fake" death in the case of Liu, permitting him to become a *xian* released from the body, is also possibly an initiatory one. Kominami suggests a similar idea about death in relation to *xian* of this type, stating, "Considering the existence of *xian* from a religious point of view, they might be certain spirits of ancestors that did not experience real death (not as other spirits did), or just experienced an initiatory death, as *xian* released from the body would do⁸⁴⁶".

In the case of *wu*, there is not a great deal of data regarding "initiatory death" in conjunction with drugs. However, the

⁸⁴⁵ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. p.34, p.55; Hoppál, Mihály.1998. p. 37; Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. p.76; Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály.1998. p.6, pp.104-105, p.154.

⁸⁴⁶ Kominami Ichiro. 1989. p.177. It should be noted that Kominami examines *xian* in relation to ancestor worship and he further presumes that *xian* might be those spirits that do not lose their identity.

association with “initiatory death” is not entirely absent, since many individuals become *wu* as a result of “illness of *wu/ xian*”, which is parallel to “shamanic illness”, as discussed in the previous section. Also, some sorts of hallucinogenic and psychotropic drugs commonly used by *wu* may induce experiences similar to “initiatory death”, as may be evidenced by Wei’s story.

In sum, mountains and drugs in images of *xian* and *wu* are strongly related to their roles as mediators with the otherworld as well as their functions as healers. Mountains are their portal to the otherworld and their treasure house of herbs. Drugs are primarily their instruments for curing sickness, but at the same time they are a means of attaining the special experiences and powers that assist them in mediating between this world and the otherworld.

3) Stigma and Numinous Sign – Irregularities of Appearance and Special Gifts

The handicaps and disabilities seen in *wu* are numinous signs of possible compensatory gifts⁸⁴⁷, as discussed in the previous section. This is evident in an episode about Duzi 犢子 from the *Liexianzhuan*.

⁸⁴⁷ Ching, Julia. 1997. p.17.

The story mentions a city lady at a wine shop, whose eyebrows are joined together and whose earlobes are long and thin. Due to these obvious dissimilarities to ordinary people, the people of the city suppose that she must be a *tianren* 天人 (a celestial personage)⁸⁴⁸. Although the narrative ends with her meeting Duzi and their leaving the town together⁸⁴⁹, it very clearly indicates a view of a person with clear distinguishing marks as a numinous being. Hence, obvious differences from ordinary people are seen as signs of specialness, mostly of numinousness, in Chinese tradition, in many cases if not always.

While disabilities like blindness⁸⁵⁰ or an abnormal disposition⁸⁵¹, associated with *wu*, may not be noticeable at first sight, irregularities of appearance, like a hunchback or restricted growth⁸⁵² distinguish them from other people at a glance. Evidently, the stigmatic marks of *wu* like their special talents comprehend two aspects: disabilities for everyday life and irregularities of appearance.

This is very similar or probably still more obvious in the case of *xian*. They are very often described as persons with an irregular — or frankly abnormal — appearance or disabilities for daily life. For instance in the *Liexianzhuan*, Gui Fu 桂父 is said to have a dark skin

⁸⁴⁸ *Liexianzhuan*, p.91.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁰ Nakamura Jihei. 1992. p.13.

⁸⁵¹ Siikala Anna-Leena and Hoppál, Mihály. 1998. p.5.

⁸⁵² Kato Jyoken. 1954. pp.22-23.

that sometimes turns white, yellow or red⁸⁵³. Wu Guang 務光, in the same source, is said to have earlobes seven *cun* long⁸⁵⁴. Again, Madam Gouyi 鈞翼, an empress of the emperor Wu of the Han, is unable to unclench her right fist as a consequence of illness until she meets with the emperor⁸⁵⁵. The former two *xian* obviously display a non-standard appearance, whereas the last instance involves a disability.

These irregularities, especially those of appearance, are sometimes mentioned in line with special talents. For instance, the *Liexianzhuan* relates of Wo Quan 偓佺 that "hair several *cun* long covers his whole body, his eyes are square in shape and he can fly so fast that he can overtake a galloping horse⁸⁵⁶". Occasionally, those irregularities of appearance are described as resulting from special abilities. Zhi Ye 赤斧, for instance, is restored to youth for thirty years, as if he were a boy again, owing to potassium nitrate. As a result of his rejuvenation, all his hair henceforward grows red⁸⁵⁷.

Sometimes, *xian* apparently take on a strange appearance intentionally. This is evident in the depiction of the Daoist Huang Yuanqiu 黄阮丘 in the *Liexianzhuan*. He wears a sash made of skin and his hair is loose and dishevelled; he has pendulous earlobes, seven

⁸⁵³ *Liexianzhuan*, p.65.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.89.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.125.

cun long, is entirely toothless and is able to walk four hundred *li* a day⁸⁵⁸. His extraordinarily long earlobes may be an inborn characteristic, yet his eccentric garb and untidy hair seem to be intentional. He might be primarily an aspirant *xian* who also predicts natural calamities such as earthquakes and landslides and warns villagers of impending danger⁸⁵⁹. Since physical irregularities are a sign of special or numinous attributes, he apparently differentiates himself positively by adopting a distinctive appearance.

Such deliberate deviation from the norm, especially in appearance, is also evident in the cases of *wu*, probably because a distinctive appearance is more convenient and easy to cultivate than a disability. *Wu* usually achieve this singularity of appearance in the same way as in the example of the Daoist Huang, i.e. by means of costume.

The practice of wearing special costumes with animal and bird features or made out of animal skins has been already pointed out in connection with *wu* and flight⁸⁶⁰. However some scholars argue that *wu*'s distinctive costumes are imitative of divinities. Mitarai Masaru 御手洗勝 and Zhang Yan 張岩 consider that many divinities of half human, half animal appearance mentioned in the *Shanhajing* are probably *wu* wearing special costumes and masks made of animal

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.134.

⁸⁵⁹ “地動山崩、道絶、預戒下人”. *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁰ I have discussed this matter in 4-2-1).

skins⁸⁶¹. When *wu* take on such a singular appearance, they are primarily embodiments of spirits⁸⁶². They express the presence of divinities within themselves, as well as their distinctive ability to communicate with spirits, by means of these intentional differences in appearance. In addition to costumes, the association of masks with *wu*⁸⁶³ also implies that they actively mark themselves out from ordinary people.

The distinctive appearance of *xian* and *wu*, especially the use of costumes made of animal skins, further indicates one of their special abilities: metamorphosis.

As pointed out by Isabelle Robinet⁸⁶⁴, metamorphosis is one of the common attributes of *xian*. For instance, Liu Zheng 劉政 in the *Shenxianzhuan* is capable of transformation. He is able not only to transform himself into trees, animals and birds, but also to metamorphose others. He can also multiply himself into many persons – from one into a hundred and a hundred to a thousand⁸⁶⁵.

⁸⁶¹ Zhang Yan 張岩. 1999. *Shanhaijing yu Gudai Shehui* 山海經与古代社会 (The Book of Mountains and Oceans and Ancient Society). Beijing: Wenhua Yishu chubanshe. p.34; Mitarai Masaru. 1984. p.683

⁸⁶² Mitarai Masaru. 1984. p.683.

⁸⁶³ Kato Jyoken and Ikeda Suetoshi 池田末利 discuss *wu*'s use of masks, especially those made from a human skull. Ikeda Suetoshi 池田末利. 1981. *Chūgoku Kodai Shūkyō Shi Kenkyū--Seido to Shisō* 中国古代宗教史研究—制度と思想 (The Study about History of Ancient Chinese Religion--The Systems and Thoughts). Tokyo: Tokai Daigaku Shuppan. p.169, p.179, p.200; Kato Jyoken. 1958. p.19.

⁸⁶⁴ Robinet, Isabelle. 1985-1986. p.87.

⁸⁶⁵ *Shenxianzhuan*. p.232.

Also, one of the eight *xian* who visits King Liu An 劉安 in Huainan has the special ability of metamorphosis into anything including grass, trees, animals and birds⁸⁶⁶. As another instance, Zuo Ci 左慈(?-?) is said to transform himself into a sheep when Cao Cao 曹操(155-220) wants to kill him so that Cao cannot tell him from other sheep⁸⁶⁷. Although some *xian* are capable of changing themselves into plants, the metamorphosis of *xian* usually involves transfiguration into animals or birds.

Eliade mentions that the transformations of some “shamans” are achieved by acting like animals and uttering animal sounds⁸⁶⁸, as pointed out earlier. Bearing this in mind, *wu*'s idiosyncratic costumes may be one means of “transformation” into animal shape⁸⁶⁹.

Yet, *wu* are also believed to change themselves into actual animals, without any imitative process.

Charles E. Hammond, for instance, discusses the weretiger in Chinese tales. He argues that the belief in a particular werebeast is sometimes “the product of a religious belief in shamans associated with

⁸⁶⁶ King Liu An 劉安 of Huainan is also mentioned in the *Shenxianzhuan* which, however, does not mention the specialities of the eight *xian*. Ibid., p285; *Tai ping Guangji*, 2nd juan. p.8.

⁸⁶⁷ *Shenxianzhuan*. p.350.

⁸⁶⁸ Eliade, Mircea.1989. pp.93-94, p.381, p.385.

⁸⁶⁹ If so, the imitation of divinities in half human, half animal form mentioned in the *Shanhaijing* may also be a metamorphosis into an animal at the same time as an imitation of divinities as pointed out by Mitarai and Zhang. See footnote 861.

the given animals⁸⁷⁰. He refers to a particular story in the *Taiping Guangji* in which a woman named Xiaozhu transforms herself into a tiger after her first visit to the temple, Hammond indicates that she is a *wu*, "shaman" in his word⁸⁷¹. He considers that her first metamorphosis into a tiger comes about because the locus of the tiger's force possesses her, and that it marks the beginning of her new relationship with a higher power through the realisation of the new role⁸⁷². He also indicates that weretigers that often eat people appear to be *wu* who spare their victims rather than devour them in accordance with Heaven's will⁸⁷³.

Under these circumstances, the different abilities (and often disabilities) of *xian* and *wu* and their differences in appearance from other people are a stigma indicating their special gifts. Mainly because of their association with divinities, especially in the case of *wu*, these stigmatic singularities mostly indicate their numinous talents. Moreover, marked out as they are from ordinary people, these signs apparently imply that *xian* and *wu* in themselves are numinous; they are the ones who communicate with the world beyond, help people by

⁸⁷⁰ Hammond, Charles E. 1995. "The Demonization of the Other: Women and Minorities as Weretigers". *Journal of Chinese Religion*. no.23. New York: The society for the study of Chinese religion. p. 59.

⁸⁷¹ Although Charles E. Hammond does not clarify if he employs the terminology "shaman" for *wu*, he apparently conceives of the Chinese *wu* as a sort of "shaman".

⁸⁷² Hammond, Charles E. 1995. p.65.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.72.

healing and predicting calamities and perform Heaven's will.

In order to express their numinous aspects, intentional differentiation also occurs, especially in appearance given its convenience and obviousness. Such deliberate distinctiveness in appearance is often associated with costumes made of animal skins. Thus, metamorphosis can be understood as one form of irregular appearance with a stigmatic function, and at the same time as a special numinous ability.

So far, it is clear that images of *xian* and *wu* have much in common. Furthermore, they also share a common background to these images. As seen in Table 13 below, immortality or longevity is the only feature that differentiates *xian* from *wu*. Images of *xian* are undeniably complex, comprehending a variety of beliefs and backgrounds. Therefore, the concept of *xian* cannot be unequivocally generalised. Yet, the preceding surveys clearly show that representations of *xian* obviously derive from the figure of *wu* in actuality, in many respects if not in all particulars.

These circumstances, along with the ambiguity of the Chinese view of the status of beings as well as the absence of a clear demarcation between the worlds of humans and spirits, strongly suggest that *xian*, at least to a certain extent, is an apotheosised image

of *wu*⁸⁷⁴, the mediator between this world and the otherworld.

Features	Xian	Wu
Mediation between this and the otherworld	○	○
Flight or ascent to the sky or to the other world	○	○
Association with mountains	○	○
Association with healing	○	○
Association with medicine	○	○
Irregularity of ability or appearance	○	○
Numinous connotations	○	○
Immortality or longevity	○	

Table 13: *Xian* and *Wu*

4-4. *Fangzhongshu* for *Xian* as a Mediator

While sexual techniques evidently provide a method of controlling *qi* in order to attain the state of *xian* endowed with immortality and/or longevity, it remains unclear whether the figure of *xian* as an apotheosised image of *wu* is something that can be attained by the same means. Yet, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the sexual art apparently offers certain means of becoming a *xian* with

⁸⁷⁴ Mitarai Masaru also considers that *xian* is equivalent with *wu* which he understands as “shaman”. Although he does not argue or attest the concept, he seems to consider this way due to Mt. Kunlun’s associations with *xian* and *wu*. Mitarai Msaru. 1984. pp.689-691.

special abilities as a mediator between this world and the otherworld.

I should like to focus on the term of “*shenming* 神明 (divine wisdom)”, which apparently gives some intimations regarding the matter in question: whether the sexual art offers a special technique required for communication and mediation with the world beyond.

Shenming, divine wisdom is one of the beneficial effects achieved by the sexual art. The term occurs with considerable frequency in the literature of the sexual art and it is evidently regarded as something of great consequence. For instance, the acquisition of divine wisdom is often the final achievement among nine or ten benefits brought about by seminal restriction⁸⁷⁵. Yet, it remains unclear what exactly this term indicates, although many scholars suggest that it might refer to a certain kind of mental state⁸⁷⁶.

The achievement of divine wisdom is very often expressed in Chinese as “*tong shenming* 通神明⁸⁷⁷” or “*tong yu shenming* 通於神明⁸⁷⁸”. Several meanings are associated with the character “*tong* 通”. Here it may indicate thorough knowledge as in the usage *tongxiao* 通曉, interchange like *wanglai* 往来 and/or sameness like *tong* 同. Thus, the

⁸⁷⁵ It is the final one of the nine benefits in the third dialogue in the *Shiwen*, the ninth of ten consequences in the *Heyinyang* from Mawangdui and the final one of ten benefits in the *Yufang Mijue*. *Shiwen*. p.146; *Heyinyang*. p.155; *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.643.

⁸⁷⁶ Harper, Donald. 1997. p.388; Ma Jixing. 1992. p.878; Wile, Douglas. 1992. p.80.

⁸⁷⁷ For instance, third dialogues in the *Shiwen*. *Shiwen*. p.146.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ishinpō*. 28th *juan*. “*fangnei*”. p.643; *Heyinyang*. p.155.

meaning of both expressions can be one of the followings: "to know divine wisdom thoroughly", "to open traffic or to lead to divine wisdom", or "to become divine wisdom".

Although the meaning of divine wisdom remains indeterminate, all such interpretations recall some features of *wu*. As argued in the preceding sections, *wu* understands supernatural beings, which may indicate thorough knowledge of divinities; has access to their world, which may require opening a channel; and is sometimes seen as equivalent to them. Thus, this section will investigate the term *shenming*, divine wisdom so as to examine its associations with the sexual art and with *xian* as a representative image of *wu*. Due to the nature of this section, I will hereafter employ the Chinese term *shenming*, dispensing with the English translation "divine wisdom".

Shenming in the Chinese classics and standard histories has various implications. Among this variety, there are roughly three meanings that are frequently carried by the term: the spirits of the deceased, which apparently include god-like beings such as *di* 帝 (the highest deity) and *tian* 天 (Heaven)⁸⁷⁹; general and/or specific divinities, which often guide and help people; and a certain altered spiritual or mental

⁸⁷⁹ *Di* 帝 which I describe here as a god is what the people had worshipped since the Yin dynasty, whereas *tian* 天, the heaven is what the people of the Zhou dynasty prayed to. These two godly beings are considered the most sacred divinities and are apparently collective spirits of ancestors. Ikeda Suetoshi. 1983. pp.51-53, p.99.

state.

Shenming often indicates the spirits of the deceased in general. This is evident in Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200)'s comments on the *Hanshu* in which he mentions that the shroud and the funerary vessels used in funerals are called *mingyi* 明衣 (bright garb) and *mingqi* 明器 (bright vessels). According to Zheng, the element *ming* 明 (brightness), in these terms stands for *shenming*⁸⁸⁰. The *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) also mentions *mingqi*, the bright vessels, and explains that spirit eliminate it (神明之). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200) comments on this and explains *shenming* as follows: "*shenming* is the deceased person; it is not something that the living can be aware of⁸⁸¹". Thus, *shenming* obviously carries the meaning of the spirits of the deceased.

Sometimes, *shenming* specifically denotes the spirits of deceased ancestors. For instance, the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs) mentions "reporting the *shenming* of fathers and ancestors⁸⁸²". Similarly, a commentary on the *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms) cites the term "*shizu shenming* 世祖神明 (*shenming* of generation of ancestors)⁸⁸³". In addition, the *Hanshu* explains *si* 祀 (worship or

⁸⁸⁰ *Hanshu*. 81th *juan*. p.2690.

⁸⁸¹ "言神明死者也。神明者非人所知". *Liji*. 8th *juan*. "tangong 檀弓". p.1289.

⁸⁸² "告其父祖之神明". *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs) which is also known as *Maoshi* 毛詩. Attributed to Confucius. Composition of poems between c. 1000 to c. 600 B.C. I have referred to *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義(Commentaries on *Shijing*). Commented by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200), Kong Yingda 孔穎達(574-648) et al. SSJZ edition. 19th *juan*. "zhousong 周頌". p.581.

⁸⁸³ *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms). Compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽

ceremony) as “gaining access to *shenming* by showing off filial pieties and serving ancestors⁸⁸⁴”. Thus, the various usages of the term involve not only the denotation of the spirits of the deceased in general, but also specifically the spirits of ancestors.

The spirits of the deceased, especially those of ancestors, are objects of worship. This is partly because of the Chinese ideas of family and filial piety, which were discussed in the second chapter, and partly because of the idea that the collective spirits of ancestors form a figure of powerful divinity⁸⁸⁵. *Di* 帝 and *tian* 天 are the paradigms of such divine authorities, which are apparently the collective spirits of ancestors⁸⁸⁶ or “humanised” forms of natural forces beyond human control⁸⁸⁷. Thus, just as with ancestor worship, these revered divinities are objects of worship.

Occasionally, *shenming* seems to indicate such heavenly authorities rather than spirits of the deceased or of ancestors. For instance, the *Sanguozhi* contains the following passage: “Therefore they set up an altar, kill the victim to report clearly to *shenming*; again take a blood oath on a letter, and attach the letter to *tianfu* 天府 (the

(233-297), in 297. I have used the following edition. 1962. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 1st *juan*. “*weishu* 魏書”. p.4.

⁸⁸⁴ “祀者、所以昭孝事祖、通神明也”. *Hanshu*. 25th *juan*. p.1189.

⁸⁸⁵ Ikeda Suetoshi. 1983. pp.51-53, p.99; Mitarai Masaru. 1984. p.15, p.52.

⁸⁸⁶ Ching, Julia. 1997. pp.61-62; Ikeda Suetoshi. 1983. pp.51-53, p.99; Mitarai Masaru. 1984. p.15, p.52.

⁸⁸⁷ Mitarai Masaru. 1984. p.15, p.52.

heavenly office)⁸⁸⁸. Since the ceremony described here is directed at the heavenly office, *shenming*, as the object of the sacrifice, is apparently a divine authority like *tian*, Heaven, rather than the spirits of ancestors.

As another instance, a commentary on the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents) suggests a connection between *shenming* and a powerful heavenly divinity. The source explains *tianming* 天命 (the mandate of Heaven) which possibly involves connotations similar to destiny, as follows: "Heaven ordering a man, it is not through words or letters. It is *shenming*, which helps a man and makes a man unmatched by anyone anywhere. This is called receiving the mandate of Heaven⁸⁸⁹". Clearly, *shenming* is related to authoritative heavenly divinities in this instance.

The last example from a commentary of Kong Anguo to the *Shangshu* suggests another connotation of *shenming*, besides its reference to divine authorities. *Shenming* in the quotation above implies unspecified divinities or spirits rather than particular divinities such as *di* or *tian*, which help a certain person. This further

⁸⁸⁸ "故立壇殺牲、昭告神明、再獻加書、副之天府". *Sanguozhi*. 47th *juan*. "wushu 吳書". p.1135.

⁸⁸⁹ "天之命人非有言辭文誥、正以神明祐之、使之所征無敵、謂之受天命也". *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents). Anonymous. Great preface (*daxu* 大序) by Kong Anguo 孔安國 (d.ca.100.B.C.) was ostensibly written in the second century B.C. I have used *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Commentaries on *Shangshu*). Commented by Kong Anguo, Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) et al. SSJZ edition. 8th *juan*. "shangshu 尚書". p.165.

suggests that the term *shenming* is not necessarily limited to a specific individual divinity, but may also imply divinities and spirits in general. Indeed, the term often indicates non-specific divinities or spirits collectively. For instance, a commentary in the *Liji* says “to deal with the *shenming* of heaven and earth is to worship heaven, earth and every *shenming*⁸⁹⁰”.

In some cases, *shenming*, in the sense of spirits and divinities in general, acts exclusively to help or guide certain persons. For instance, the *Shangshu* refers to life being saved by *shenming*⁸⁹¹. The same source also mentions that one can entreat *shenming* to increase divine punishment for an offence. It further explains terminological usage, stating that a supplication to *shen* 神 is called *zhu* 祝 (incantation), while a request for divine punishment is called *zu* 詛 (curse)⁸⁹². It is noteworthy that *shenming* and *shen* are used interchangeably in this explanation, with reference to divinities with the power to dispense divine punishment. For another instance, the *Jiu Tangshu* states as follows: “If one suppose that *shenming* does not have knowledge, how could fortune come down? One definitely [suppose] that they have knowledge, therefore, he or she privately demands [them] what he or she loves”⁸⁹³. Here, *shenming* is rather a helpful spirit in the sense of

⁸⁹⁰ “皆事天地之神明者謂祭事天地及諸神明”. *Liji*, 54th *juan*, p.1644.

⁸⁹¹ *Shangshu*, 13th *juan*, “*shangshu*”, p.196.

⁸⁹² “謂告神明令加殃咎也、以誥神謂祝、請神加殃謂之詛”. *Ibid.*, 16th *juan*, “*zhoushu* 周書”, p.222.

⁸⁹³ “若使神明無知、則安能降福。必其有知、則私己求媚之事”. *Jiu Tangshu*, 148th *juan*.

“*shiyi guishen* 使役鬼神 (setting divinities and spirits to labour)”⁸⁹⁴.

Above all, *shenming* in these three examples, especially the second and the third ones, refers to tutelary or guiding spirits close to the concepts of “shamanism”⁸⁹⁵. Chinese *wu*, as discussed previously, also establish a relationship with a specific tutelary or guiding spirit, as in the case of the *wu* who had suffered from illness and his or her individual spirit, *Shenjun*⁸⁹⁶. Since *shenming* is often a general term indicating non-specific spirits, there are only a few examples in which *shenming* refers to a particular spirit acting as guide or helper to a specific person. Yet, its connotation of tutelary or guiding spirits surely suggests a connection with *shenming* as a tutelary spirit and in turn with *wu*.

Indeed, the usages of *shenming* point to additional features of *wu*. A commentary by Kong Yingda on the *Shijing* speaks of “communicating with *shenming* in the heights⁸⁹⁷”. In the *Sanguozhi*, we read “if one cultivates virtue within oneself and is also to move other beings, this means to declare from the mouth because of having achieved *shenming*⁸⁹⁸”. Kong Yingda’s notes on the *Liji* say “the

p.4000.

⁸⁹⁴ For instance, *Houhanshu*. 82th *juan shang*. p.2711.

⁸⁹⁵ Eliade, Mircea. 1989. p.89, pp.98-99; Sasaki Kokan. 1996. pp.34-35, pp. 169-171.

⁸⁹⁶ The *Hanshu* also gives the same episode. The source clearly explains that the *wu* had become *wu* because of illness. *Shiji*. 12th *juan*. p.459; *Hanshu*. 25th *juan*. p.1221.

⁸⁹⁷ “自交於神明以上”. *Shijing*. 17th *juan*. “*daya* 大雅”. p.536.

⁸⁹⁸ “夫脩德於身而感異類、言發於口而通神明”. *Sanguozhi*. 65th *juan*. “*wushu*”. p.1466.

sounds of music call and invite every *shenming* between heaven and earth, those who hear and come”⁸⁹⁹. Since music is closely associated with communication between *wu* and the world beyond⁹⁰⁰, the last instance apparently refers to the use of music for the purposes of mediation.

Besides these supportive evidences, *shenming* is obviously related to *wu*. In fact, Zheng Xuan comments on the *Zhouli* and states as follows: “*Shenming* descends to a male who is called *xi* 覡 and to a female who is called *wu*”⁹⁰¹. Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 650) further notes on this statement and apparently glosses the descent of *shenming* as the possession of *wu* by a spirit⁹⁰². In these instances, *shenming* is a divinity or spirit who establishes communication with *wu* and who is embodied with the help of *wu*.

Moreover, *shenming* can, surprisingly, enter into sexual intercourse, probably on a spiritual plane. The *Liji* states that the method of communication with *shenming* is, precisely, sexual intercourse with it, since it is hard to find *shenming* in any one place or to predict where it will stay. Thus, the source continues, by means of *jiaojie* 交接 which may indicate sexual intercourse here⁹⁰³ with

⁸⁹⁹ “用音之音聲號呼告於天地之間庶神明聞之而來”. *Liji*. 26th *juan*. “*jiatesheng* 交特性”. p.1458.

⁹⁰⁰ See section 4-2.

⁹⁰¹ “神明降之在男曰覡在女曰巫”. *Zhouli*. 27th *juan*. “*jiazongren* 家宗人”. p. 827.

⁹⁰² “云神明降之者、正謂神來降於其身”. *Ibid.*, p.828.

⁹⁰³ *Jiaojie* 交接 also means “mutual contact” and “mutual association”, and thus,

shenming, one can achieve communion with divinities and this is why it is called the way of communication with *shenming* (*jiaoshenming zhi dao* 交神明之道)⁹⁰⁴. In addition, the method referred to in the statement in the *Shijing* on “communicating with *shenming* in the heights⁹⁰⁵”, which has already been quoted above, is further explained as involving sexual intercourse with *shenming*⁹⁰⁶.

As pointed out previously, *wu* sometimes enters into a sexual relationship with his or her individual spirit, like the spirit-husband or spirit-wife of “shamanism”⁹⁰⁷. Although the examples above do not mention whether these sexual relations with *shenming* are exclusively established by *wu*, they assuredly provide additional evidence associating *wu* with the term *shenming*.

Just as a *wu* who communicates with divinities is often regarded as their equivalent, *shenming* sometimes indicates *wu* rather than the spirits that embody themselves in *wu*. This is evident in the statement in the *Jiu Tangshu* that “depending on *shenming* to obtain

some would suggest the interpretation of the term in the context may not be sexual intercourse. However, *jiaojie* in the sentence from *Liji* (see the footnote 906 below) seems to me an explanation of means to *jiao* 交 (associate) with *shenming*. Thus, I understand the term in question in this context as sexual intercourse.

⁹⁰⁴ “以交神明之道也者、神明難測不可一處求之、或門旁不改定、是與神明交接之通鬼神道”. *Liji*. 49th *juan*. “*jitong* 祭統”. p.1605.

⁹⁰⁵ “所以交接於神明者”. *Shijing*. 17th *juan*. “*daya*”. p.536.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

⁹⁰⁷ See section 4-2.

virtue, worshipping the shirne to make spirit come down⁹⁰⁸. Bearing in mind the aspect of *wu* as a mediator with the ability to call down spirits, the *shenming* that facilitates the presence of spirits in this particular usage is definitely not a spirit itself, divine or ancestral, but a *wu*. Alternatively, it may refer to a special mental state such as an ecstatic one in which *wu* goes into a trance in order to communicate with the world beyond.

The latter possibility of *shenming* to indicate an altered mental or spiritual state is also evident in the *Hanshu*. This source mentions that, by acceding to *shenming*, it becomes possible to induce divinities and spirits to bring good fortune and so forth⁹⁰⁹. Although the term sometimes appears synonymous with divinities and spirits in general, in this text entry into *shenming* is obviously a crucial step, which makes it possible to set divinities and spirits to labour. In other words, without access to *shenming*, communication with the divinities is impossible. Thus, it is clearly appropriate to interpret *shenming* in this instance as a special mental state or possibly trance that enables one to see the invisible, hear that which has no voice and visit the otherworld.

If we accept that *shenming* can denote an altered mental or

⁹⁰⁸ “賴神明祐德、宗廟降靈”. *Jiu Tangshu*. 77th *juan*. p.2684.

⁹⁰⁹ “精誠通於神明...故能為鬼神所福饗 (the whole heart reaches *shenming*...therefore, it makes it possible that divinities and spirits fulfill and reward)”. *Hanshu*. 100th *juan*. p.4208.

spiritual state, then the expression “*tong yu shenming* 通於神明 (access to *shenming*)” can be interpreted with reference to two different means by which *wu* communicates with the world beyond. With *tong* 通 meaning interchange or access, it implies *wu*'s entry into an ecstatic trance, in which his or her *hun* leaves the body to visit the otherworld. On the other hand, with *tong* meaning sameness, it indicates the possession of *wu* by a spirit, in which *wu* acts and speaks as that spirit.

Under these circumstances, access to *shenming*, as one of the benefits enumerated in the literature of the sexual art, can indicate any of the following possibilities. First, it may be the general ability to see, hear, or communicate with the world beyond, with *shenming* meaning, indifferently, spirits of the deceased, spirits of ancestors, or individual or unspecified divinities. Secondly, it may be an altered mental or spiritual state in which one can enter an ecstatic trance, with *shenming* understood as a special mental state and *tong* 通 taken to mean entry. Finally, it may be another spiritual state in which one becomes equivalent to divine beings by becoming possessed by them, with *shenming* indicating a mental state and *tong* meaning sameness.

Any of the three possibilities above accords with the view of *xian* as a mediator and an apotheosised image of *wu*⁹¹⁰. Access to

⁹¹⁰ In addition, the link between *shenming* and *xian* is also marked in relation to *xian*'s longevity in *Shijing*, which mentions that “to become equivalent to *shenming* is to obtain longevity”. The sentence “當於神明是得壽” in the source may indicate

shenming, in the literature of the genre, may be a special ability to communicate with the otherworld possessed by *xian* as an apotheosised image of *wu*, and it may also be a technique for achieving this communication. Moreover, recalling ourselves that sexual arts associated with dietary and breathing control which can be internal means to enter ecstasy, sexual activities may well be one of the techniques for ecstasy, if not universally, but at least for certain situation for the communication with the world beyond. Then, if it is the case that this is a method of establishing a relationship with the otherworld, *shenming* in the sexual art is a special mental state brought about through sexual activity.

4-5. Sexual Intercourse as a Numinous Method of Communication with the World Beyond

— Sexual Activities in Daoism and Other Religions

The preceding investigation of the term *shenming* suggests the possibility of sexual intercourse as a method of communication with

“dealing with *shenming*” instead of “becoming equivalent”. Yet in either case, this sentence implies communication with world beyond and its association with longevity. Thus, *shenming* is definitely associated with images of *xian* endowed with longevity and *xian* as a mediator between this and the other world. *Shijing*. 19th *juan*. “*zhousong*”. p.603.

divinities. The special ability or unusual state of mind achieved through sexual intercourse, which enables one to connect with the otherworld, is a representative function of *xian* as a mediator.

Early religious Daoists also aimed to become *xian*. Since images of *xian* are themselves complex, the paradigm of *xian* in the Daoist conception presumably involves the extraordinary talents of *xian* as an apotheosized image of *wu* as well as immortality or longevity.

It is noteworthy that the use of sexual practices as a means to a religious end and the view of sexual intercourse as a numinous activity are very common in religions other than Daoism. Its widespread currency is partly evident in the idea of spirit-husband and spirit-wife, documented in studies of “shamanism”, in which a “shaman” sets up a sexual relationship with a spirit⁹¹¹. It is also shown by the worldwide existence of “numinous prostitutes⁹¹²” who offer sexual intercourse to ordinary people as a means of communion with deities.

With the numinous connotations of sexual activities found all over the world, this section fundamentally attempts to reconsider the features of the sexual art especially in terms of the Daoist association with sexual practices, on the following two assumptions: First, the state of *xian* as pursued by the Daoists involved not only immortality or

⁹¹¹ See section 4-2.

⁹¹² Bishop, Clifford. 2000. *Sei to Sei* 性と聖(Sex & Spirit). Translated by Tanaka Masashi 田中雅志. Tokyo: Kawade Shuppan. p.42.

longevity, but also special gifts. Secondly, sexual intercourse, especially ecstatic orgasm, brings about the special state of mind in which communication with the world beyond becomes, or at least is believed, possible.

Thus, this section will begin with a survey of the numinous associations of sexual intercourse, especially in religions other than Daoism. It will then go on to investigate the effects of sexual activity on the human mental state. Finally, I will examine the Daoist connection with sexual practices.

One aspect of the idea that sexual activities are numinous⁹¹³ is the concept of cosmic coitus between the two genders. In the Chinese world view, this signifies the harmony between *yin* and *yang* as discussed in the second chapter, while in India, it consists in the coitus between the goddess Shakti and the god Siva which symbolically produces the power of cosmic creation.⁹¹⁴ Just as the potential of *yin* is sometimes considered stronger than that of *yang*⁹¹⁵, it is very often

⁹¹³ Many worldwide examples are given in the following studies. Goldberg, B.Z. 1958. Sacred Fire—The Story of Sex in Religion. Montana: Kessinger Publishing Company; Bishop, Clifford. 2000.

⁹¹⁴ The kind of energy used to create the world is, in some concepts, said to be sexual power, which would be obtained from sexual intercourse, rather than sexual intercourse itself. Bishop, Clifford. 2000. p.119, p.261; Nakamura Jihei. 1992. p. 205.

⁹¹⁵ For instance, literature of the sexual art sometimes shows the idea that female *yin* is stronger than male *yang*. “夫女之勝男、猶水之滅火 (That a female wins over a male is the same with that water extinguishes fire). Qianjin Yaofang. 27th *juan*.

the cosmic female that possesses superior strength to the male. On this matter, Charlotte Furth mentions that the female force is regarded as "the embodiment of wisdom and the energy of consciousness"⁹¹⁶.

Besides being a figure of wisdom and consciousness, femininity is also marked by a closer relationship with numinous beings than masculinity. For instance, the female power of pregnancy and birth sometimes signify a potential for mediating between the two realms. For instance, festivals held in the Okinawa, located in the southern part of Japan close to Taiwan, involve procedures mimicking sexual intercourse for the conception, gestation and birth of divinities⁹¹⁷. All divine beings have to come into this world through the womb⁹¹⁸. In other words, these spirits can only be embodied by means of rebirth in this world. Interestingly, the ceremonies in which these divinities return to the other world also involve almost the same process of pregnancy and rebirth, this time into the other world from whence they originally came⁹¹⁹.

Clearly, parturition in the example above is a means of interchange between the two realms. Spirits are reborn into this world and take on human form in the sight of ordinary humans with

"*fangzhong buyi*". p. 489; *Ishinpō*. 28th juan. "*fangnei*". p.633.

⁹¹⁶ Furth, Charlotte. 1996. p.29.

⁹¹⁷ Yoshino Hiroko 吉野裕子. 1990. *Matsuri no Genri* 祭りの原理 (The System of Festivals). Tokyo: Keiyusha. pp.166-168, pp.190-193.

⁹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.166-168.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.190-193.

the assistance of "shamans", and they are reborn into the otherworld when they return there. In this view, the womb is a bridge between the two realms and it is an organ that only females possess.

This mediating faculty of the female is also evident in "numinous prostitutes"⁹²⁰ in Bishop's term. These numinous prostitutes are fundamentally women who serve at a shrine. They both serve and represent the deities. As servants, they are the brides of the deities, but at the same time, as their embodiment, they create a bridge between a man and the deities by means of sexual union⁹²¹. Sexual intercourse with one of these numinous prostitutes is a numinous method for the use of ordinary people, through which they can theoretically be united with divine beings.

Women with the role of numinous prostitutes have existed in various countries. Bishop reports examples from ancient Sumeria and Babylon. B.Z. Goldberg mentions the cases of certain Yoni in ancient India, and Wang points to some female *wu* in this context⁹²². The worldwide existence of numinous prostitutes indicates that the concept of femininity possessing a certain mediatory function is a very fundamental one.

⁹²⁰ Bishop, Clifford. 2000. p.42.

⁹²¹ Ibid., pp.42-43; Goldberg, B.Z. 1985. pp.80-83; Wang Shunu. 1988. p.18.

⁹²² Bishop, Clifford. 2000. pp.42-43; Goldberg, B.Z. 1985. pp.80-83; Wang Shunu. 1988. p.18.

Besides the female ability to unite this world and the otherworld, the many instances of numinous prostitutes indicate another important point: sexual activity can itself be a means of communication with the world beyond. Since coitus with one of these women who embody divinities stands for union with the divine, it is a method by which ordinary people can commune with spirits.

The power of the female to mediate between the two realms is presumably related to the idea of sexual intercourse as a means of communication with the otherworld for the male. However, a particular mental state brought about by sexual intercourse, like the state of *shenming*, is apparently the important prerequisite for this specific outcome.

Ripinsky-Naxon reports that a certain sense of illumination resulting from the use of drugs is also experienced during sexual intercourse. He mentions that Indians report that they experience sensations of illumination, usually triggered by exogenous stimuli, during sexual intercourse. Thus, hallucinogenic experience and sexual activity are comparable, according to him⁹²³. He further mentions that the transformative sequence especially observed in shamanic initiation is "comparable to the succession of neurological sensations perceived during an advancing state of drug-induced trance, and many of all these states and conditions have a strong sexual

⁹²³ Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. p.149.

resonance⁹²⁴.

As discussed previously, hallucinogenic and psychotropic drugs are an aid to establishing communication with the world beyond. Then, certain sexual experiences also help bring about a special state, like ecstatic one, of communion with the otherworld, since hallucinogenic experience is equivalent to states experienced through sexual activity.

This sense of illumination caused by sexual intercourse is often regarded as a numinous state of mind. This is well exemplified in the dogma of the Japanese Buddhist sect, *Tachikawa-ryū* (立川流) which values sexual orgasm from a religious perspective⁹²⁵. *Tachikawa-ryū* was derived from the larger Buddhist branch of *Shingon shū* 真言宗 (the branch of true words), but has been considered a heresy. This is

⁹²⁴ Ibid. Quotation of Reichel-Dolmatoff's words.

⁹²⁵ Moriyama Seishin 守山聖真. 1990. *Tachikawa Jyakyō to Sono Shakaiteki Haikai no Kenkyū* 立川邪教とその社会的背景の研究 (A Study of the Heretical Tachikawa Sect and Its Social Background). Tokyo: Kokusho kankoukai. p. 401, pp. 411-413; Nakamura Gen 中村元. 1994. *Indo Shisōshi* インド思想史 (History of Indian Thoughts). Tokyo: Iwanami zensho. p.216; Sasama Yoshihiko 笹間良彦. 2000. *Sei to Shūkyō—Tantara, Mikkyō, Tachikawa Ryū* 性と宗教—タントラ、密教、立川流 (Sex and Religion—Tantrism, Esoteric Buddhism, Tachikawa Sect). Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo. pp.13-17, pp.23-29; Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明. 1997. *Sei to Shi no Mikkyō* 性と死の密教 (Esoteric Buddhism with Sexuality and Death). Tokyo: Shunjyusha. pp. 70-71. As for the study about *Tachikawa-ryū*, also see the following works. Manabe Shunsho 真鍋俊照. 1999. *Jyakyō/ Tachikawa Ryū* 邪教・立川流 (Heretic Religion/ Tachikawa Sect). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo; Mizuhara Gyoei 水原堯榮. 1968. *Jakyō Tachikawa Ryū no Kenkyū* 邪教立川流の研究 (A Study on A False Religion Tachikawa Sect). Kyoto: Toyama shobo.

because of the sect's positive involvement of sexual activities in their religious discipline, and their interpretation of "*sokushinbutu* 即身仏 (Buddhahood with the present body)", which the branch of true words fundamentally sets out to achieve⁹²⁶.

The branch of true words, as a school of Tantrism⁹²⁷, takes an affirmative stance towards human desires and pleasures including sexual ones. In particular, its two central texts the *Liqujing* 理趣經 (*Prajñāpāramitā Naya Sutra*)⁹²⁸ and the *Jingangdingjing* 金剛頂經 (Diamond Peak Sutra)⁹²⁹ explain the way to achieve enlightenment while affirming sexual desire and pleasure⁹³⁰. *Tachikawa-ryū*

⁹²⁶ Miyasaka Yusho 宮坂宥勝. 1979. *Mikkyō Shisō no Shinri* 密教思想の真理 (The Truth of Esoteric Thought). Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin. pp.88-89; Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏. 1987. "Mandara kara Yomitoru Shinpi Shisō まんだらから読み取る神秘思想 (Mysticism Seen in the Mandala)". In Yamazaki Yasuhiro 山崎泰広 ed. *Mikkyō Shinpi Shisō* 密教の神秘思想 (Mysticism in Esoteric Buddhist Thought). Osaka: Osaka Shoseki. P. 44; Sasama Yoshihiko. 2000. pp.19-21.

⁹²⁷ Nakamura Gen. 1994. p.216; Tanaka Kimiaki. 1997. pp.70-71; Sasama Yoshihiko. 2000. p.13.

⁹²⁸ *Prajñāpāramitā-nayaśatapañcāśatikā* or *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* is the full title for *Liqujing* 理趣經 in Sanskrit, which is sometimes paraphrased and rendered as "Perfection of Insight in One Hundred and Fifty Lines". This sutra associates with *Prajñāpāramitā* canon (般若波蜜多經), but belonging really to the strain of the Tantric tradition.

⁹²⁹ *Sarvatathāgatatattvassamgraha* which may be better known as *Vajraśekhara sutra* is the full Sanskrit title for *Jingangdingjing* 金剛頂經.

⁹³⁰ Sadakata Akira 定方晟. 1996. *Shumisen to Gokuraku—Bukkyō no Uchūkan* 須弥山と極楽—仏教の宇宙観 (Mt. Shumi and Buddhist Utopia—Ideas of Universe in Buddhism). Tokyo: Kōdansha. P. 55; Sasama Yoshihiko. 2000. pp.5-6; Tanaka Kimiaki. 1997. p.64, p.90, p.118; Yoritomi Motohiro. 1987. p.32.

incorporates influences from Shintoism and *onmyōdō*, 陰陽道 (the way of *yin* and *yang*) which can be assumed as a sort of Japanese Daoism⁹³¹. In the understanding of this sect, the principle enshrined in these sutras is that orgasm brought about during sexual activity is equivalent to the state of enlightenment, and sexual intercourse is an important form of training for their religious purpose⁹³².

It is unclear what *Tachikawa-ryū* understands by the term enlightenment, but it clearly views orgasm in relation to a special altered mental state which is identical to the state of Buddhahood. Moreover, since *Tachikawa-ryū* conceives of the male and female as the principal elements of the cosmos⁹³³, enlightenment through sexual activity apparently implies simultaneous male and female orgasm.

Presumably, the state of *shenming*, as mentioned in the literature of the sexual art, which apparently enables one to enter an altered state of consciousness such as ecstatic trance, also indicates a mental state similar to the state of enlightenment in the conception of *Tachikawa-ryū*, which is apparently linked with orgasm. For traditional *fangzhongshu*, however, these special ecstatic mental situations are not necessarily experienced during orgasm. As

⁹³¹ Manabe Shunsho. 1999. p.143; Mizuhara Gyoei. 1968. p.108; Tanaka Kimiaki.1997. pp.53-54.

⁹³² Mizuhara Gyoei. 1968. p.55, p.65.

⁹³³ Ibid.

discussed in the previous chapter, the literature of the art fundamentally discourages seminal emission which indicates the restriction of male orgasm. Thus, *shenming* as a certain altered state of consciousness proposed by sexual arts may be brought about via female partner who, just like "numinous prostitute" might be thought capable to mediate male with otherworldly beings. Or alternatively, it may advocate male orgasm or similar excited state of body and mind without ejaculation. Possibly, such a special mental situation can be caused by strict restriction of ejaculation, or by the allowed orgasm after strong constraint of seminal release which may accompany with powerful sexual ecstasy.

Although for adherents of *Tachikawa-ryū*, the special mental state achieved as a result of sexual intercourse does not necessarily involve communication with the otherworld, they may experience an altered spiritual state during orgasm in which they are "enlightened" like Buddha. This illuminated state during orgasm is understood as a form of religious inspiration or enlightenment by Buddhist monks in this particular sect, while it is a portal to the otherworld for people who practice *fangzhongshu*.

Sexual intercourse as a method of bringing about a state of illumination in which one can communicate with divinities is apparently important for the investigation of the early Daoist employment of sexual activities. As discussed in the second chapter, the early religious Daoists employed sexual practices, roughly speaking,

for the following three purposes: multiplying good deeds, initiation and mass salvation. Regardless of their purpose, one of the constant characteristics of Daoist sexual practices is apparently a great concern with celebrating or worshipping divinities.

For instance, the regulations concerning male and female positions are established in accordance with the disposition of natural principles, such as *yin* and *yang*, *wuxing* 五行 (the five phases) and so forth⁹³⁴. Prayers are also addressed to divinities during sexual activities, by means of which adepts express their religious desire⁹³⁵. In addition, the regulations on the dates for sexual activities are apparently set in accordance with astrology⁹³⁶. On this point, Yan Shanzhao 嚴善炤 indicates that account might be taken of the idea that the power of the divinities governing each star varies with the revolution of the stars⁹³⁷.

These ways of orienting to divinities imply that the Daoists presumably aimed to establish a certain relationship with divinities through sexual practices. Yan points out that “amongst the Daoists who apotheosized *qi* to the maximum, the idea that the practice of combining the *qi* of the male and the female (i.e. sexual congress) is capable of summoning the divinities of heaven⁹³⁸” has developed.

⁹³⁴ Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. p.8.

⁹³⁵ Ibid.

⁹³⁶ Yan Shangzhao. 2001. p.3.

⁹³⁷ Ibid.

⁹³⁸ Ibid., p.13.

Similarly to Yan, Ge Tiaoguang 葛兆光 also considers that the sexual practices of religious Daoism were fundamentally intended to establish a certain connection with divine beings. He assumes that the meditation involved in initiatory sexual activities might lead to a certain specific mental state⁹³⁹. In his supposition, the meditation process in which initiates visualize deities in heaven enables the initiates to enter the realm of the subconscious. Moreover, he supposes that this hypnotic state of mind facilitates a communion of sensations with divinities, such that they can be entreated to be present at the initiation⁹⁴⁰. In particular, religious initiation with the attendance of divinities by means of *heqi* 合氣 (combining *qi*—i.e. sexual intercourse) is available only to adults. Ge presumes that it is a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood, from the everyday world to a numinous world, or from a world filled with danger to a world of peace⁹⁴¹.

Yan investigates Daoist sexual practices in terms of religious context and suggests that the concern with worshipping deities fundamentally serves the purpose of mass salvation⁹⁴². On the other hand, Ge studies the text of an initiatory ritual for a ceremony of *guoduyi* 過度儀 (rites of passage). He assumes that the involvement of

⁹³⁹ Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. p.8.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.19.

⁹⁴² Yan Shangzhao. 2001. p.14.

divinities in sexual initiation is a kind of rationalization of its taking place in public⁹⁴³.

Both of these theories seem to provide appropriate explanations of the Daoist adoption of sexual practices. Yet, in particular the Daoist concern with worshipping divinities during sexual intercourse presumably involves the notion that sexual intercourse is a means of communicating with the world beyond.

Although Yan points out that the literature of Daoist sexual practices, which intensively involves talismans and prayer, is rather distinct from other literature of the sexual art, which generally tends to explain practical aspects⁹⁴⁴, the traditional *fangzhongshu* apparently formed the basis for the sexual practices of Daoism⁹⁴⁵. As argued in the previous section, the sexual art is certainly a means of establishing communication with the otherworld. Whereas the literature of the sexual art apparently attaches importance to orgasm or alternatively the ecstatic mental state achieved during sexual arousal, for Daoism the whole process of sexual activity may constitute a ceremony of communion with divinities.

For Daoism as a religious organisation, initiation and mass

⁹⁴³ Ge Tiaoguang. 1998a. p.9.

⁹⁴⁴ Yan Shangzhao. 2001. p.3.

⁹⁴⁵ Zhang Daoling 張道陵(?-184), the leader of *tianshidao* seems to have been believed, at least by some Daoists by the time of early 4th century, to have established Daoist sexual practises on the base of texts of the sexual art such as the *Xuannüjing* and the *Sunüjing*. Yan Shangzhao. 2001. p.16.

salvation were the purposes served by sexual practices. However, as a movement centred on the aspiration to become *xian*, the sexual art was presumably adopted out of a more fundamental necessity: as a numinous method of communication with the world beyond.

4-6. Conclusion

To become *xian* is certainly one of the aims which the art of the bedchamber and early religious Daoist set out to pursue. However, the special abilities involved in images of *xian* were seemingly rather neglected in previous studies of the sexual art as well as studies of Daoism. The underlying aim of this chapter, albeit a tentative one, was to examine the sexual art and the Daoist association with sexual practices in relation to *xian* with special abilities.

This chapter has set up two hypotheses: 1) Images of *xian* are to a certain extent derived from representations of *wu* and 2) One aspect of the sexual art is its function a technique of communicating with the world beyond, on the premise of the first hypothesis.

The first two surveys relating to the first hypothesis have shown sufficient points of resemblance between *xian* and *wu*, which cannot be ignored in considering images of *xian*. With the concept of *xian* as an apotheosized image of *wu* as a mediator, the sexual art involves

different connotations from its concerns with life maintenance, healing and procreation. The third investigation concerning the term *shenming* has adequately suggested the possibility of sexual activities as a method of communication with the otherworld. Given these postulations, the Daoist employment of sexual activities, in the quest to become *xian*, implies the notion of establishing a relationship with divinities.

This chapter is no more than a tentative attempt to look at the art of the bedchamber and its connections with Daoism from points of view which may possibly differ from those offered by more finished studies. Due to the rather provisional nature of this chapter, the discussions above may contain certain ruptures of logic, or shortages of evidence. Yet, I hope it has proposed a possible new aspect of the sexual art and its involvement with Daoist for future studies.

The sexual art certainly attempts to prolong life, improve the physical state and assist procreation, all of which is linked to the concept of becoming *xian* to a certain extent. Similarly, the religious ideologies of mass salvation and initiation proper to Daoism are apparently connected with the Daoist concern with the celebration of divinities through sexual practices. Yet, without the concept of *xian* reflecting an image of *wu* as a mediator and the concept of sexual activities as a method of communicating with the world beyond, our understanding of the sexual art as well as its association with Daoism

may be incomplete.

Conclusion

This thesis, which primarily sets out to provide an explanation of *fangzhongshu* from pre-Han to the end of Tang dynasties, has investigated historical shifts in classification, the intellectual context, technical aspects of the subject, and numinous features associated with sexual activities.

Looking back briefly over the whole thesis, the first chapter shows that *fangzhongshu* was from the outset a highly complex issue and that it fell into the Daoist category from the Song dynasty onward. The chapter, as a result, sets forth three phenomena, namely medicine, Daoism and *shenxiandao*, which interface with the art of the bedchamber. These three phenomena, which are shown to have had clear associations with the sexual art, provide keys to the intellectual background of the art. In addition, diachronic conceptual shifts offer a criterion to narrow down the periods on which the thesis focuses.

The second chapter demonstrates that the idea of *qi* – which forms the basis of contextual factors including the idea of family and filial piety, along with the three phenomena set out in the previous chapter – also underlies sexual techniques. By doing so, this chapter establishes a tentative explanation of *fangzhongshu* and its literature. The chapter also facilitates the categorization of the various aims

pursued by the art and offers a theoretical background for the investigation of technical features in the following chapter. It is also noteworthy that the general survey of images of *xian* in this chapter forms a bridge to the arguments developed in the fourth chapter.

The third chapter, which categorizes variant techniques according to their purposes, reveals the high value placed upon the female orgasm. Many methods require the woman's most precious *qi*, which is released at orgasm, in order to attain the desired benefits, and each technique sets out to lead the female partner to a higher stage of satisfaction. As a result, this chapter brings to light the interesting phenomenon of the reversal of gender priority, insofar as the pleasure principle is applied to sexual practices. This chapter also tentatively investigates the transmission of sexual positions, which also turns out to involve the objective of female orgasm.

The fourth chapter, which primarily sets out to find out a possible answer to what for me is the greatest mystery surrounding this issue, entails a survey of religious aspects of *fangzhongshu*. This chapter re-examines images of *xian* in connection with *wu*, and investigates sexual practices in relation to Daoism and other religious phenomena, drawing on studies of shamanism. It thereby proposes two hypotheses: images of *xian* with characteristic special abilities reflect the figure of *wu* as a mediator between this and the other world; sexual activities function as a numinous method of communication with the otherworld. The arguments in this chapter suggest that the value

placed upon female orgasm in the literature of *fangzhongshu* may indicate that sexual activity is connected with a certain altered state of consciousness, which in Buddhist terms may have been regarded as a spiritual enlightenment and in Daoism as spiritual illumination. It further implies the possibility that sexual practices may have been required as a technique to become *xian*, because they enable one to achieve that the state of spiritual illumination which makes it possible to communicate with the world beyond.

All things considered, the Chinese sexual art involves at least three different dimensions. First, according to my working hypothesis for this thesis, it is a method of controlling *qi*, mainly by means of sexual activities aiming to achieve the maintenance of life. This comprises health improvement; longevity, immortality and attaining the status of *xian*; recovery from illness and unhealthy states, which often includes prophylaxis; and procreation, which includes pregnancy and conception.

Secondly, it definitely constitutes, from one aspect, a collection of practical techniques for bringing the woman to orgasm. Although ideologically *fangzhongshu* pursues various different ends, the female orgasm is obviously an immediate objective of the sexual art at a practical level and most techniques are designed to assist the male in achieving this immediate aim. The female orgasm is primarily required to accomplish the purposes set out in the principle dimension

of *fangzhongshu* and it is possibly associated with the attainment of *xian* status.

The third and final aspect is that of *fangzhongshu* as a numinous method of communication with the otherworld, by means of spiritual illumination obtained through sexual activities. This might be an unexpected inspiration, enlightenment, an epiphany, a vision of the invisible, an illusion of utopia or any other altered state of consciousness that is conceived of as a criterion for communication with the world beyond. Similarly, this specific mental state may be brought about by an ecstatic experience achieved during sexual intercourse, by severely suppressed sexual stimulation due to restricted ejaculation, by orgasm -- which in the case of the male is strictly controlled and allowed only after rigorous constraint -- or by lassitude as a result of orgasm. Although it obviously requires further investigation due to the tentative nature of the relevant arguments, this aspect must be one of the reasons why *fangzhongshu*, being a collection of techniques for sexual relations, is associated with the attainment of *xian*-hood and why these sexual practices were adopted by Daoism for religious purposes.

Sexual activities always inspire our curiosity. Unless our spirit of inquiry about sex should wane, I believe that the study of *fangzhongshu* will increase and reach new heights. Through my studies, I have become aware that more research is called for on the

numinous aspects of *fangzhongshu* and the links between sexual activities and *xian*, involving not only longevity or immortality, but also special abilities. I strongly believe that without due attention to the issue, the religious uses of the sexual art, especially in the sphere of Daoism, and the relationship between *fangzhongshu* and *xian* cannot be understood adequately. Moreover, for a thorough understanding of the Chinese sexual arts, an investigation of these aspects is indispensable.

In concluding this thesis, therefore, I hope that my research may lay down a foundation for future studies of the Chinese sexual arts and that further investigations of this subject will be generated continuously; just as *fangzhongshu* promises us immortality and prosperity of lineage.

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Lunheng 論衡 (Discourses Weighed in the Balance). Compiled by Wang Chong 王充(27-91), possibly between c.70-80 A.D. I have used SKQS edition. Volume 862. 3rd juan. "wushi 物勢". p.44.

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the Upper Cave) . Collected in DZ. no. 948.

Shangqing Huangshu Guoduyi 上清黃書過度儀 (Book of Yellow of Shangqing Sect for Rules for the Ceremony of Guodu) . Collected in DZ. no.1291.

Shangqing Huangting Neijingjing 上清黃庭內景經 (Canon of Inner Scenery of Yellow Garden in Supreme Purity Sect). Collected in Yunji Qijian 雲笈七籤 (Cloudy Basket and Seven Sticks) . 11th *juan*.

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Shennong Bengcaojing 神農本草經 (Materia Medica of Divine Farmer).

Received text is compiled and annotated by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536A.D.), ca. 500 as Shennong Bengcaojing Jizhu 神農本草經集注 (Collected Commentaries on Shennong Bencaojing). This edition, 1955. Shanghai: Shangwuyuang shudian.

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Shijing 詩經 (Book of Songs) which is also known as Maoshi 毛詩 . Attributed to Confucius. Includes 305 poems which may be dated between c. 1000 to c. 600 B.C. I have referred to Maoshi Zhengyi 毛詩正義 (Commentaries on Shijing). Commented by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), Kong Yingda 孔穎達(574-648) et al. SSJZ edition.

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Shuowen Jiezi 說文解字 (Explaining Single-Component Graphs and Analyzing Compound Characters). Compiled by Xu Zhen 許慎 (c.50-c.121), in 100 A.D. I refer to *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu* 說文解字注 (Commentaries on the *Shuowen Jiezi*). Commented by Duan Yucai 段玉裁(1735-1815) in 1807. This edition. 1997. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban.

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Attributed to Bai Xingjian 白行簡(776?-826). Collected in Ye Dehui 葉德輝 ed. 1903. Shuangmei Jingan Congshu 双梅景閣叢書 (Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Collection). Changsha: Private Publication.

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