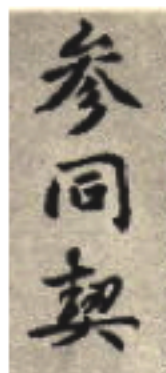


TRADITIONS

FABRIZIO PREGADIO

The Seal of the Unity of the Three



Vol. 2

Bibliographic Studies on the *Cantong qi*:
Commentaries, Essays, and Related Works

Golden Elixir Press



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THE SEAL OF THE UNITY OF THE THREE

VOL. 2

SAMPLE

The *Cantong qi* (The Seal of the Unity of the Three) is the main text of Taoist Internal Alchemy (Neidan). In addition to Taoist masters and adepts, it has attracted the attention of philosophers, cosmologists, poets, literati, calligraphers, philologists, and bibliophiles. Thirty-eight commentaries written through the end of the nineteenth century are extant, and dozens of texts found in the Taoist Canon and elsewhere are related to it. The present book is the most complete guide to this vast literature available in any language.

The book is divided into two main parts. Part 1 contains a catalogue of extant and lost commentaries, essays, and related texts, listing altogether about 150 works with details on their authors, editions, and reprints. Part 2 contains a survey of the textual tradition of the *Cantong qi*, focused on the composition and contents of about 40 major texts. A final index of authors, editors, titles, and editions facilitates the use of the book.

This book is a companion to the complete translation of the *Cantong qi* published by same author, entitled *The Seal of the Unity of the Three: A Translation and Study of the Cantong qi, the Source of the Taoist Way of the Golden Elixir* (Golden Elixir Press, 2011).

By the same author:

Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China (Stanford University Press, 2006)

The Encyclopedia of Taoism, editor (Routledge, 2008)

Awakening to Reality: The “Regulated Verses” of the Wuzhen pian, a Taoist Classic of Internal Alchemy (Golden Elixir Press, 2009)

The Seal of the Unity of the Three: A Study and Translation of the Cantong qi, the Source of the Taoist Way of the Golden Elixir (Golden Elixir Press, 2011)

Fabrizio Pregadio

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Commentaries, Essays, and Related Works

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Cover: “Cantong qi,” calligraphy by Zhao Mengfu (1310).

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- 3 Yu Yan, *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*. Cuncun zhai ed., 1310 (Beijing University).
- 4 Yu Yan, *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*. Ming ed. (Library of Cishu chubanshe, Shanghai).
- 5 Chen Zhixu, *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie*. Jinling shufang ed., 1484 (Shanghai Library).
- 6 Xu Wei, *Guzhu Cantong qi fenshi*. Late Ming or early Qing edition (Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo).
- 7 Huang Shiyong, *Chongzheng Guwen zhouyi cantong qi zhenyi*. Xiangqi tang ed., late sixteenth century? (National Library, Taipei).
- 8 Zhen Shu, *Zhouyi cantong qi yi*. Ed. of 1636 (Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo).
- 9 Li Shixu, *Zhouyi cantong qi zhushi*. Qianyu zhai ed., 1823 (Tokyo University).
- 10 Gong Yitu, *Guben zhouyi cantong qi*. Ed. of 1891 (Shanghai Library).

Preface

As I wrote in the preface to my translation of the *Cantong qi* (The Seal of the Unity of the Three), I began my work in 1990 using the edition of Peng Xiao's redaction found in the Taoist Canon (*Daozang*). Soon, however, I realized that I was working on a particular edition of a particular redaction. How dependable was it as a record of the text? Trying to answer that question considerably reduced the pace of my work, but introduced me to the large and complex textual and bibliographic tradition of the *Cantong qi*, which forms a substantial part of the literature of Taoist Neidan (Internal Alchemy).

While my translation slowly progressed, I began to compile a catalogue of extant and lost editions of the *Cantong qi*, and at the same time, to acquire reproductions of editions found in different libraries. The main result of those enquires was identifying the apparently single extant exemplar of the earliest edition of Chen Zhixu's redaction, which was published in 1484 and is now preserved in the Shanghai Library. My translation of the *Cantong qi* is based on that exemplar.*

The present volume has evolved from the notes taken during those years in parallel with my translation, and intends to be a survey of, and a guide to, the vast amount and the remarkable variety of literature directly related to the *Cantong qi*. The book is divided into two main parts. Part I contains a catalogue of extant and lost commentaries, essays, and related texts, listing altogether about 150 works with details on their authors, dates, editions, reprints, bibliographic records, and—where relevant—present whereabouts. Part II contains an overview of the textual tradition originated by the *Cantong qi*, focused on the composition and contents of about 40 major extant works.

* *The Seal of the Unity of the Three: A Study and Translation of the Cantong qi, the Source of the Taoist Way of the Golden Elixir* (Golden Elixir Press, 2011). Although it is not formally marked as such, in the present work I refer to my translation as “*The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, vol. 1.”

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Once again, I would like to express my gratitude to the librarians who, in different parts of the world, have assisted me in identifying, consulting, and reproducing a large number of editions of the *Cantong qi*. I also wish to thank Yang Zhaohua for his advice in solving some troublesome bibliographic issues, and Song Xiaokun for her dedicated help in bringing the book to completion and publication.

Responsibility for any errors is entirely mine. I apologize for the low quality of several reproductions, which derive from photocopies made several years ago, when I had no idea that I would publish them in any form.

Fabrizio Pregadio
Spring 2012

INTRODUCTION

Main Works on the *Cantong qi*: A Short Survey

This introduction surveys the main reference works and secondary studies on the *Cantong qi*. Numbers in square brackets refer to the entries in the Bibliographic Catalogue found in Part I of the present book.

TEXTUAL STUDIES

The only modern textual study of the *Cantong qi* was published by Imai Usaburō 今井宇三郎 in 1966. His *Shūeki sandōkei bunshō tsū shingi kōhon* 『周易三同契分章通真義』校本 (Textual collation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tong zhenyi*) consists of a collation based on the Daozang edition (1445) of Peng Xiao's redaction. It reports variants found in the Jindan zhengli daquan (1538) edition of Peng Xiao's work and in eleven editions of works by eight other authors:

1	Peng Xiao [3]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445, repr. 1598)
2	Zhu Xi [4]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
3	Chen Xianwei [7]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
4	Yu Yan [8]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
5	Zhu Xi and Yu Yan [4; 8]	Korean ed. (undated)
6	Yu Yan [8]	unidentified ed.
7	Yin Changsheng [2]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
8	Anon. Neidan comm. [5]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
9	Anon. Waidan comm. [1]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
10	Chu Yong [6]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
11	Yu Yan [8]	<i>Daozang jinghua lu</i> (1922)
12	Zhu Yuanyu [20]	Shoujing tang ed. (1915)
13	Peng Xiao [3]	<i>Jindan zhengli daquan</i> (1538)

For Peng Xiao's text, Imai used the 1598 reprint of the *Daozang* partially preserved at the Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内廳書陵部 (Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency) in Tokyo. This text is photographically reproduced in his work. Although Imai does not attempt to trace the original form of any of the redactions he consulted, his work provides an overview of the extent and the nature of the textual variants found in different editions of the *Cantong qi*.

Xiao Hanming's 萧汉明 and Guo Dongsheng's 郭东升 *Zhouyi cantong qi yanjiu* 『周易参同契』研究 (A study of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 2000) includes a reconstruction of the supposedly "original" *Cantong qi*, which is not based on dependable textual principles.¹

A concordance based on the *Daozang* edition of Zhu Xi's redaction (1197) was published by Kitahara Mineki 北原峰樹 and Sugita Shigeo 杉田茂夫 in their *Shūeki sandōkei sakuin, Kōtei inbu kyō sakuin* 周易参同契索引・黄帝陰符經索引 (Concordances of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and the *Yinfu jing*, 1987).

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Zhou Shiyi's 周士一 *Zhouyi cantong qi jizhu* 周易参同契集注 (Collected commentaries to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 1983) is a valuable work containing the full text of fourteen commentaries. The base text is the Bailing xueshan edition of Wang Wenlu's *Zhouyi cantong qi shulüe* (1584), subdivided by Zhou according to the ninety sections (*zhang*) of Peng Xiao's redaction. The textual notes report variant readings found in one edition of each of the other thirteen commentaries:

1	Peng Xiao [3]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
2	Yin Changsheng [2]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
3	Zhu Xi [4]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
4	Chu Yong [6]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
5	Chen Xianwei [7]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
6	Yu Yan [8]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
7	Chen Zhixu [9]	in Jiang Yibiao's <i>Guwen cantong qi jijie</i> (Jindai bishu, 1630)
8	Anon. Neidan comm. [5]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)

¹ For more details on this work see below, p. 12 note 17.

9	Anon. Waidan comm. [1]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
10	Wang Wenlu [14]	<i>Bailing xueshan</i> (1584)
11	Zhu Yuanyu [20]	<i>Daozang jiyao</i> (ca. 1800) or <i>Chongkan Daozang jiyao</i> (1906) ²
12	Yuan Renlin [25]	<i>Congshu jicheng chubian</i> (1937)
13	Dong Dening [29]	<i>Daoguan zhenyuan</i> (1789/ca. 1804)
14	Liu Yiming [31]	<i>Daoshu shi'er zhong</i> (1880)

In addition, three appendixes contain transcriptions of seven related works, of more than a dozen prefaces, and of descriptive notes on commentaries to the *Cantong qi* found in three bibliographic sources. Zhou's book is designated "for internal circulation" (*neibu* 内部) and has not been released through ordinary channels.³

The volume edited by Meng Naichang 孟乃昌 and Meng Qingxuan 孟庆轩, entitled *Wangu danjing wang*: "*Zhouyi cantong qi*" *sanshisi jia zhushi jicui* 万古丹经王—『周易参同契』三十四家注释集萃 ("The King of Alchemical Scriptures of All Times": A compilation of thirty-four commentaries to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 1993), is even larger in scope compared to Zhou Shiyi's work. The sources listed at the end of the book are the following (for more details see below, p. 17):⁴

1	Anon. Waidan comm. [1]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
2	Yin Changsheng [2]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
3	Peng Xiao [3]	<i>Jindan zhengli daquan</i> (1538); <i>Daozang</i> (1445)
4	Zhu Xi [4]	<i>Shoushan ge congshu</i> (1844); <i>Daozang</i> (1445)
5	Chu Yong [6]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
6	Chen Xianwei [7]	<i>Jindan zhengli daquan</i> (1538);

² Zhou Shiyi cites the year 1669, which is the date of Zhu Yuanyu's preface to his own work. He refers to an edition in two *juan*, which should consist either of the original edition of the *Daozang jiyao* or—more likely—of its expanded reedition, the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*.

³ I am grateful to Lowell Skar for providing me with a copy of this work, on which I began my study the *Cantong qi* in the early 1990s.

⁴ The most valuable of these sources are those by Xu Wei (*Guzhu Cantong qi fenshi*, ca. 1570); Wang Jiachun (*Jiaozhu guwen cantong qi*, 1591); Jiang Zhongzhen (*Cantong qi*, 1694); Liu Wulong (*Gu Cantong qi jizhu*, 1735); and Li Shixu (*Zhouyi cantong qi zhushi*, 1823). These works are extant in few or even in unique exemplars and, to my knowledge, are not available in reprints.

		<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
7	Anon. Neidan comm. [5]	<i>Daozang</i> (1445)
8	Yu Yan [8]	ed. of 1310; <i>Daozang</i> (1445)
9	Chen Zhixu [9]	Yifu ed. (1552)
10	Wang Wenlu [14]	<i>Bailing xueshan</i> (1584)
11	Xu Wei [12]	Late Ming or early Qing edition, ca. 1600/1650 (?)
12	Lu Xixing (<i>Ceshu</i>) [11]	<i>Fanghu waishi</i> (1580/1620); <i>Daotong dacheng</i> (1900)
13	Lu Xixing (<i>Kouyi</i>) [12]	<i>Fanghu waishi</i> (1580/1620); <i>Daotong dacheng</i> (1900)
14	Wang Jiachun [15]	ed. of 1591
15	Peng Haogu [16]	<i>Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu</i> (1599/1600)
16	Zhang Wenlong [10]	ed. of 1612
17	Tao Susi [22]	Yijing tang ed., 1701/1722
18	Tao Susi, ed. Yuxi zi [22]	Fuzhen shuju ed. (1915)
19	Jiang Zhongzhen [21]	ed. of 1694
20	Qiu Zhao'ao [24]	ed. of 1710; Hecheng zhai ed. (1873)
21	Li Guangdi [23]	<i>Rongcun quanshu</i> (1736)? ⁵
22	Zhu Yuanyu [20]	Tiande tang ed. (1721); <i>Chongkan</i> <i>Daozang jiyao</i> (1906)
23	Liu Wulong [26]	ed. of 1735
24	Yuan Renlin [25]	<i>Xiyin xuan congshu</i> (1846)
25	Dong Dening [29]	<i>Daoguan zhenyuan</i> (1789/ca. 1804)
26	Wang Fu [27]	<i>Wang Shuangchi xiansheng</i> <i>congshu</i> (1895)
27	Liu Yiming [31]	<i>Daoshu shi'er zhong</i> (1819)
28	Li Shixu [32]	Qianyu zhai ed. (1823)
29	Chen Zhixu [9]	<i>Jiyi zi dingpi daoshu sizhong</i> (1841)
30	Chen Zhixu [9]	Dunben tang ed. (1841)
31	Ji Dakui [30]	<i>Ji Shenzhai xiansheng quanji xuji</i> (1852)
32	Zhu Xi [4]	ms. (1892, ed. Yuan Chang 袁昶) ⁶

⁵ The reference given for this entry mentions the *Rongcun quanshu* 榕村全書, which was published in 1829, but is dated 1736, which is the date of the second edition of Li Guangdi's work in the *Li Wenzhen gong quanji* 李文貞公全集.

⁶ This manuscript is held at the Jiangsu Normal University. See *Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu*, "Zi" 子, p. 1146 (no. 473).

33	Lü Huilian [33]	Wanjin tang ed. (1911)
34	Yaoqu laoren [—]	ed. of 1718 (without comm.) ⁷

The commentaries are not fully transcribed, and the textual notes report only the main variants. The book also contains one-page reproductions from several editions of the *Cantong qi*, some of which are classified as “rare” (*shanben* 善本) in Chinese libraries.

STUDIES OF PREMODERN EDITIONS

The 13-page bibliography compiled by Wang Gang 王綱, Ding Wei 丁巍, and Su Lixiang 蘇麗湘, entitled “*Zhouyi cantong qi shumu*” 『周易參同契』書目 (A bibliography of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 1990), is one of the main reference works for the study of the *Cantong qi*. Its 69 entries cite extant and lost commentaries and related texts, and provide brief information on their editions. For more details on this list see below, p. 16.

- 1 *Yinyang tonglüe Cantong qi* (anon., or attr. Xu Congshi; before 1144) [77]
- 2 *Cantong qi zhu* (attr. Yu Fan, 164–233) [69]
- 3 Comm. Yin Changsheng (ca. 700) [2]
- 4 *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi* (Tang) [45]
- 5 Anon. Waidan comm. (ca. 700) [1]
- 6 Comm. Peng Xiao (947) [3] and “Mingjing tu” (947) [50]
- 7 *Cantong qi taiyi zhitu* (Zhang Chu; before ca. 1050) [72]
- 8 *Cantong qi taiyi zhitu* (Chongxuan zi; before 1144) [74]
- 9 *Cantong qi taiyi danshu* (anon.; before 1144) [75]
- 10 *Cantong qi taiyi ershisi qi xiulian dadan tu* (anon.; before 1144) [76]
- 11 *Cantong qi jie* (Ziyang xiansheng; before the mid-thirteenth century) [88]
- 12 *Jie cantong qi* (Zhang Sui; mid-eleventh century) [73]
- 13 *Dayi zhitu cantong jing* (anon.; Song) [91]
- 14 *Longhu shoujian tu* (anon.; before 1144) [52]
- 15 *Cantong qi huandan huojue* (anon.; before 1145) [79]
- 16 *Cantong qi texing dan* (anon.; before 1145) [81]
- 17 *Zhouyi cantong qi* (Li Baosu; before 1161) [83]
- 18 *Zhouyi cantong qi* (Zhai Zhigong; before 1161) [84]
- 19 *Jindan jinbi qiantong jue* (anon., or attr. Yang Sanwei; Tang) [42]
- 20 *Cantong taidan cixu huoshu* (anon.; before 1161) [85]

⁷ On this work see below, p. 17.

-
- 21 *Cantong jinshi zhiyao lun* (anon.; before 1161) [86]
 22 *Cantong qi he jindan jue* (anon.; before 1145) [78]
 23 *Cantong zhouhou fang* (anon.; before the late twelfth century) [87]
 24 Comm. Zhu Xi (1197) [4]
 25 Comm. Chu Yong (ca. 1230) [6]
 26 Comm. Chen Xianwei (1234) [7]
 27 *Cantong qi bian* (Tian Junyou; Song) [89]
 28 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* (Tang; commentary written in 1111/1117) [47]
 29 *Cantong qi xinjian* (Zheng Yuanzhi; before 1144) [51]
 30 *Zhouyi menhu cantong qi* [attr. Wei Boyang]
 31 *Cantong qi zhu* (Baozhen daoren; late thirteenth century?) [95]
 32, 64 Comm. Yu Yan (1284) [8]
 33, 67, 68 Comm. Chen Zhixu (ca. 1330) [9]
 34 Anon. Neidan comm. (after 1208) [5]
 35 *Cantong qi* [Du Yicheng]
 36 *Zhouyi cantong qi wuming zi zhu* (anon.; before the end of the sixteenth century) [111]
 37 *Cantong qi zhinan* (Wangyou zi; before the end of the sixteenth century) [110]
 38 Comm. Wang Wenlu (1582) [14]
 39 *Dingzhu Cantong qi jingzhuan* (Shang Tingshi; ca. mid-sixteenth century) [102]
 40 Comm. Xu Wei (Ca. 1570) [13]
 41 Comm. Lu Xixing (*Ceshu*) (1569) [11]
 42 Comm. Lu Xixing (*Kouyi*) (1573) [12]
 43 *Cantong qi buzhu* (Guo Jinmen; sixteenth century?) [112]
 44 Comm. Jiang Yibiao (1614) [18]
 45 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* (Zhang Wei; late sixteenth century) [107]
 46 *Gujin cantong qi jie* (Shen Yaozhong; late sixteenth century) [108]
 47 Comm. Zhang Wenlong (1566) [10]
 48 Comm. Peng Haogu (1599) [16]
 49 Comm. Wang Jiachun (1591?) [15]
 50 *Cantong qi zhu* (Chen Jinmou; Ming) [119]
 51 Comm. Zhu Yuanyu (1669) [20]
 52 Comm. Li Guangdi (ca. 1700) [23]
 53 *Cantong qi zhu* (Chen Zhaocheng; prob. ca. 1750) [125]
 54 Comm. Tao Susi (1700) [22]
 55 Comm. Qiu Zhao'ao (1704) [24]
 56 *Guben cantong qi* [Yaoqu laoren]
 57 Comm. Wang Fu (ca. 1750) [27]
 58 Comm. Liu Wulong (ca. 1735) [26]
 59 Comm. Yuan Renlin (1732) [25]
 60 *Cantong qi zhu* (Wang Yuanjing; Qing) [129]

- 61 Comm. Dong Dening (1787) [29]
 62 Comm. Jiang Zhongzhen (1694) [21]
 63 Comm. Ji Dakui (1797) [30]
 65 Comm. Liu Yiming (1799) [31]
 66 Comm. Li Shixu (1823) [32]
 69 Comm. Lü Huilian (1879) [33]

Shorter studies of editions of the *Cantong qi* include those by Meng Naichang 孟乃昌, “*Zhouyi cantong qi de zhulu yu banben*” 『周易參同契』的著录与版本 (Bibliographic records and editions of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 1988); and by Pan Yanchuan 潘延川, “*Shixi Cantong qi de zhushi banben*” 试析『參同契』的注释版本 (A preliminary analysis of editions of commentaries to the *Cantong qi*, 1988).

MODERN ANNOTATED EDITIONS

Transcriptions of the *Cantong qi* with annotations and explications have been published by several authors. All of them read the text as concerned with Neidan (Internal Alchemy). Only a few of the more valuable works will be cited here.

(1) Chen Yingning's 陳撷寧 (1880–1969) *Cantong qi jiangyi* 『參同契』講義 (An Explication of the Meaning of the *Cantong qi*) may be deemed to be the first work belonging to this group. The text is based on Lu Xixing's *Zhouyi cantong qi ceshu*, and the notes frequently quote the commentaries by Lu Xixing, Tao Susi, and Qiu Zhao'ao.⁸

(2) Fang Xu's 方煦 “*Zhouyi cantong qi jiangjie*” 周易參同契講解 (An explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), published in 1988, is based on the Daozang edition of Peng Xiao's redaction, rearranged into three main parts and 35 sections. Each section is followed by a general explication and notes on individual verses or terms.

(3) Wu Enpu's 烏恩浦 “*Zhouyi cantong qi*”, published in 1992, is based on the text established by Zhu Yuanpu, and accordingly is divided into three parts and 36 sections. In addition to the main text, each section contains a general explication, notes on verses and terms, and, interestingly, a poetical paraphrase into seven-character verses.

⁸ On Chen Yingning see Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, 4:375–415; and Catherine Despeux's entry in Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 1:261. There are several editions of Chen's work, including one found in Hu Haiya and Wu Guozong, eds., *Zhonghua xianxue yangsheng quanshu*, vol. 1.

(4) Ren Farong 任法融, chairman of the China Taoist Association and abbot of the Louguan 樓觀 (Tiered Abbey, in Zhouzhi, Shaanxi), published his *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 『周易參同契』釋義 (An explanation of the meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) in 1993. His work is based on Dong Dening's text, and in addition to notes on verses and terms, also includes an extended introductory essay on the *Cantong qi* and Neidan.

(5) Pan Qiming's 潘启明 *Zhouyi cantong qi tongxi* 『周易參同契』通析 (An analysis of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), first published in 1990 and reedited in an expanded version in 2004 under the title *Zhouyi cantong qi jiedu* 『周易參同契』解讀 (An interpretation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), provides annotations and paraphrases of the text into modern Chinese, and a study of some of its themes that frequently emphasizes their "scientific" aspects. The text is based on the Gujin tushu jicheng edition of Chen Zhixu's redaction, which Pan Qiming subdivides into 27 chapters and 90 sections.

(6) Liu Guoliang's 劉國梁 *Xinyi Zhouyi cantong qi* 新譯周易參同契 (A new interpretation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), published in 1999, is based on Peng Xiao's redaction. In addition to annotations and translations into modern Chinese, its introduction presents a valuable selection of bibliographic and other secondary materials on the *Cantong qi*.

For the Japanese annotated translation published by Suzuki Yoshijirō, see the next section.

TRANSLATIONS

One of the first Western-language studies to cite the *Cantong qi*, published in 1894, reports two early, unfruitful attempts at translating the text into English.⁹ Afterwards, three complete English versions were published before the translation found in vol. 1 of the present work.

The first translation, which deserves to be designated as genuinely "pioneer", was published by Wu Lu-ch'iang 吳魯強 and Tenney L. Davis in 1932, under the title "An Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy Entitled *Ts'an T'ung Ch'i*." The translation is based on the Daozang edition of Yu Yan's redaction, and is followed by extended

⁹ See Bolton, "Chinese Alchemical Literature", 53–54. The earliest Western-language work to include a short account of the *Cantong qi* appears to be Alexander Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (1867), pp. 218–19.

notes that quote comparable passages from Western alchemical literature. The translators understood and explicated the *Cantong qi* as an alchemical text concerned with Waidan (External Alchemy).

The English version by the above-mentioned Zhou Shiyi, entitled *The Kinship of the Three* (1988), is based on Wu's and Davis' work. It improves its source in many ways, but frequently makes recourse to extended paraphrases in order to represent the text as exclusively concerned with Neidan.¹⁰ Zhou's work is based on Peng Xiao's redaction, and includes a Chinese-English glossary of technical terms.

Richard Bertschinger's rendering of the so-called "Ancient Text" ("Guwen") of the *Cantong qi*, published as *The Secret of Everlasting Life* (1994), is a remarkable achievement, although it often departs from the original Chinese in order to translate the text into rhyming poetry. Bertschinger includes notes translated or summarized from the above-mentioned "*Zhouyi cantong qi jiangjie*" by Fang Xu, and selections from the commentaries by Zhu Xi, Yu Yan, and Chen Zhixu.¹¹

The *Cantong qi* was also translated and annotated into Japanese by Suzuki Yoshijirō 鈴木由次郎, the eminent Japanese scholar of the *Book of Changes*. His work, entitled *Shūeki sandōkei* 周易參同契 (*Zhouyi cantong qi*, 1977), is one of the finest contributions to the study of the *Cantong qi*. Based on an undated Korean edition of Yu Yan's redaction, and influenced to some degree by Yu Yan's commentary, it includes the original Chinese text, a Japanese literal translation, annotations on terms and verses, collation notes, and excellent explications of each section.¹²

¹⁰ To give one example, verses 1:5–6 (which may be translated quite literally as "Female and male, these four trigrams / function as a bellows and its nozzles" 牝牡四卦、以為橐籥) are rendered as: "The microcosm of man's body might be likened to the Chinese double-acting piston bellows. The other four trigrams, male and female, symbolise the cylinder of the bellows with Qian and Kun as its two valves" (p. 7).

¹¹ Bertschinger's translation is based on Ma Yizhen's 馬一貞 *Chongjiao Guwen cantong qi* 重校古文參同契 (1840), which is a reedition of Yao Ruxun's 姚汝循 *Guwen cantong qi* 古文參同契 (first published ca. 1575, and republished in 1820). Yao Ruxun, followed by Ma Yizhen, rearranges parts of Chen Zhixu's commentary according to the ordering of the "Guwen" version of the *Cantong qi*. I am grateful to Mr Bertschinger for providing me with details about his work and the edition he translated.

¹² Suzuki's work was posthumously published in 1977. The unfinished

STUDIES

The bibliography of studies on the *Cantong qi* is massive: at present, it consists of at least fifteen books and more than 200 articles—including books on such subjects as Taoism, Waidan, Neidan, Chinese cosmology, and Chinese science, which often include chapters on the *Cantong qi*. With the only exception of one section in Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, containing substantial contributions by Ho Peng Yoke 何丙郁,¹³ all of the most important studies are in Chinese or Japanese. I will briefly mention here only a few representative works.

The first modern study on the *Cantong qi* was published by Wang Ming 王明 in 1947. His “*Zhouyi cantong qi kaozheng*” 『周易參同契』考證 (An examination of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) expertly places the *Cantong qi* in the context of the Han-dynasty traditions, and despite its early date still deserves a place among the main studies of the *Cantong qi*. The main book-length study in Chinese is undoubtedly the collection of essays, some of which had been previously published, by Meng Naichang, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaobian* 『周易參同契』考辯 (An investigation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 1993). On the basis of his insightful knowledge of alchemy, the author examines in depth the most important issues concerning the text.

Chen Guofu 陳國符, who inaugurated the modern study of Taoism and alchemy (Waidan) in China, wrote three short essays on the text, its date, and the dating of the two earliest commentaries.¹⁴ Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, who published “A Study of *Chou-i Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*” in Japanese in 1972 and then in English in 1974, was the

manuscript was edited by Uno Seiichi 宇野精一 and other scholars. (The last few sections, which Suzuki left unfinished, contain notes based on Zhu Yuanyu's commentary.) As his source, Suzuki cites (p. 16) an edition of Yu Yan's commentary held by the Naikaku Bunko in Tokyo. The catalogue of this library, (*Kaitei*) *Naikaku Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, p. 319, reports only one printed edition of Yu Yan's work, published in Korea in an unspecified date (see below, “Commentaries,” no. 8, edition no. 15). It is unlikely that Suzuki used the Japanese manuscript also held by the Naikaku Bunko (id., p. 319), which lacks the second chapter.

¹³ Vol. V.3:50–75, published in 1976, but competed a few years earlier.

¹⁴ The three essays are found in *Daozang yuanliu xukao* (Further studies on the origins and development of the Taoist Canon), 352–55, 377, and 377–79, respectively.

first major scholar to dispute the traditional date of the text.

Other important articles have been published by Pan Yuting 潘雨廷, Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, and Yang Xiaolei 楊效雷.¹⁵ Also worthy of note is Wang Qiming's 汪启明 study of the rhyme patterns in the *Cantong qi*, whose results, however, are affected by the author's intention to demonstrate that the whole received text is a product of the northern cosmological traditions.¹⁶

The above-mentioned book by Xiao Hanming and Guo

¹⁵ See especially Pan Yuting, “*Cantong qi zuozhe ji chengshu niandai*” 『参同契』作者及成书年代 (The author and date of the *Cantong qi*), and other studies collected in his *Daojiao shi fawei* 道教史發微 (Elucidating the fine points in the history of Taoism); Hu Fuchen, “Zhongguo kexue shi shang de *Zhouyi cantong qi*” 中国科学史上的『周易参同契』 (The *Zhouyi cantong qi* in the history of Chinese science), and “*Zhouyi cantong qi mizhuan xianshu de lailong qumai*” 『周易参同契』秘传仙术的来龙去脉 (Origins and development of the secret arts of immortality in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*); and Yang Xiaolei, “*Zhouyi cantong qi yanjiu*” 『周易参同契』研究 (A study of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*). The latter work contains one of the best short overviews of the text in Chinese.

¹⁶ Wang Qiming, “*Zhouyi cantong qi zuozhe xinzheng*” 『周易参同契』作者新证 (New evidence on the authorship of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*). The author—a specialist of historical phonology—suggests that the *Cantong qi* was written in the northern dialects of Qi 齐 and Lu 鲁 (approximately corresponding to present-day Shandong) during the Han dynasty. Using a set of about 130 examples, he focuses on three patterns, characterized by the concurrent use (*tongyong* 同用) of: (1) the *yu* 魚 and the *hou* 侯 rhyme groups (21 examples); (2) the *zhi* 之 and the *you* 幽 rhyme groups (22 examples); and (3) the *zhi* 之 and the *yu* 魚 rhyme groups (33 examples). While the second pattern is typical of northern poetry, Wang Qiming acknowledges that the first and the third patterns are usually deemed to be typical of the *Huainan zi* 淮南子 (a Han-dynasty southern text) and of the southern dialects, respectively. Nevertheless, he provides a few examples of their use in northern texts, and concludes that the *Cantong qi* was written in Shandong during the Han dynasty. He ties this conclusion with his suggestion that the place name Kuaiji 會稽 (Wei Boyang's reputed birthplace) does not indicate an area in Jiangnan 江南, but in Shandong. — In a much earlier, unpublished study entitled “Dating the *Chou i ts'an t'ung ch'i* through Rhyming Analysis” (presented at the Second International Conference of Taoist Studies, Tateshina, Japan, 1972), Robert A. Juhl had analyzed the same rhyme patterns and had concluded: “The rhyming of the *Chou i ts'an t'ung ch'i* shows some similarities with the rhyming of the *Huai nan tzu*, which is of southern origin. The *Chou i ts'an t'ung ch'i* may be written in a related, but not identical southern dialect.”

Dongsheng, *Zhouyi cantong qi yanjiu* (A study of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, 2000) is noteworthy, but the authors' attempt to find historical grounds to hagiographic or other traditional data often leads them to questionable evaluations.¹⁷

Finally, with regard to cosmology, the chapter entitled “*Shūeki sandōkei no kenkyū*” 周易參同契の研究 (A study of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) in Suzuki Yoshijirō's *Kan Eki kenkyū* 漢易研究 (Studies on the *Book of Changes* in the Han dynasty, revised edition, 1963), is valuable to appreciate features shared by the *Cantong qi* with the Han sources of the “Studies of the *Book of Changes*” (*Yixue* 易學).

¹⁷ For example, Xiao and Guo attempt to identify Wei Boyang as the son of Wei Lang 魏朗, a major officer who was a native of Shangyu and lived during Huandi's reign (r. 146–167). They suggest that Wei Boyang's dates are 151–221, even though this contradicts other details of his hagiography. To justify their claim, Xiao and Guo suggest, in particular, that the well-known episode of Chunyu Shutong's 淳于叔通 prophesy based on the appearance of a snake at court (see Mansvelt-Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han*, p. 169) did not happen during Huandi's reign in 146, but during Lingdi's reign in 169. Xiao and Guo's book also includes a reconstruction of the supposedly “original” text of the *Cantong qi*, which is not based on reliable text-critical principles. Their reconstruction, furthermore, is based on one the latest versions of the so-called “Ancient Text”, published in 1704 by Qiu Zhao'ao, who created a highly peculiar variant of this version of the *Cantong qi* (see below, p. 191).

Part I

Bibliographic Catalogue

Introduction

The catalogue found in the following four chapters reports the main bibliographic data on 131 works based on, or closely related to, the *Cantong qi*, and on 17 works attributed to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, the reputed author of the *Cantong qi*.

The first three chapters are concerned with:

- (1) Extant commentaries (38 works), either in print (nos. 1–34) or in manuscript (nos. 35–38)
- (2) Extant essays and other closely related texts (30 works, nos. 39–68)
- (3) Lost texts (63 works, nos. 69–131)

The fourth chapter, consisting of a catalogue of works attributed to Wei Boyang, includes three texts that are also listed among the extant essays and closely related texts.

The catalogue does not include editions of the *Cantong qi* without commentary (i.e., the so-called *baiwen* 白文 editions). Manuscript transcriptions (*chaoben* 抄本) of works that are also extant in print are not listed.

In the catalogue, I distinguish original editions from reeditions of the same work. For example, the 1341 edition of the *Zhuzi chengshu* 朱子成書, which includes Zhu Xi's commentary, is listed as an “original edition.” The early Ming edition of the same collection is listed as a “reedition.” The same principle applies to the edition of a work in the *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 (1445), which is listed as an “original edition.” Its edition in the *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏 (2003), which is largely a new edition of the same collection, is reckoned to be a “reedition.”¹ Original editions are numbered consecutively. Reeditions bear the same numbers as the original editions, with the addition of a letter (e.g., “1a,” “1b,” etc.).

Reprints are distinguished from editions. Those known to me are

¹ The *Zhonghua Daozang* contains all texts of the *Zhengtong Daozang*, as well as about 70 other works (mostly Dunhuang manuscripts) newly added by its editors.

listed in notes to the respective editions, but in several cases I have cited only selected reprints among those that are available.

Based on the criteria outlined above, the catalogue of extant commentaries lists 96 editions and 52 reeditions of the 34 works that are extant in print. I have personally seen about 90 editions or reeditions of 29 commentaries. Details on the remaining editions are provided on the basis of catalogues of collectanea (*congshu* 叢書), catalogues of “rare exemplars” (*shanben* 善本), library catalogues, and other bibliographic sources.

EARLIER CATALOGUES

Two main catalogues of works related to the *Cantong qi* have been published before the present one. The first is “*Zhouyi cantong qi shumu*” (“A bibliography of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*”), compiled by Wang Gang, Ding Wei, and Su Lixiang. The 69 entries of this catalogue list altogether 67 works (see above, p. 5), consisting of:

- (1) 30 extant commentaries, including one additional entry for Yu Yan’s work (cited under the name of Ji Dakui 紀大奎) and two additional entries for Chen Zhixu’s work (one cited under the name of Fu Jinquan 傅金銓, and one cited under the name of Ma Yizhen 馬一貞)²
- (2) 6 extant related works, including Peng Xiao’s “Mingjing tu,” which is listed in the same entry as his *Cantong qi* commentary
- (3) 29 lost commentaries and related works

The two remaining entries refer to the original edition of the *Guwen zhouyi cantong qi* 古文周易參同契 (i.e., the so-called “Ancient Text”) by Du Yicheng 杜一誠 (no. 35);³ and to an edition of the *Cantong qi*

² Ji Dakui published selections from Yu Yan’s work. See below, “Commentaries,” no. 8, edition no. 12. Fu Jinquan’s sparse notes on Chen Zhixu’s work are of the *dingpi* 頂批 type, printed on the upper margin of the page, and do not constitute a proper “commentary.” Ma Yizhen republished Yao Ruxun’s edition of Chen Zhixu’s work. See “Commentaries,” no. 9, editions nos. 13 and 4b, respectively.

³ On the “Ancient Text” see below, pp. 185 ff. The “Shumu” editors mark this entry as “not seen” (*weijian* 未見). No precise bibliographic reference to any printed edition of Du Yicheng’s work appears to be available, except for a statement by Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521–93) that it was printed in 1533 (see below, p. 186 note 6).

without commentary, published in 1718 under the pseudonym Yaoqu laoren 堯衢老人, with collation notes (*jiaokan* 校勘) by Xu Naichang 徐乃昌 (no. 56).⁴ The works by Huang Shiyang, Zhen Shu, Gu Rui, and Gong Yitu, and the four commentaries extant only in manuscript are not listed in “*Zhouyi cantong qi* shumu.”

The second list is found in the book by Meng Naichang and Meng Qingxuan, *Wangu danjing wang*: “*Zhouyi cantong qi*” *sanshi si jia zhushi jicui* (“The King of Alchemical Scriptures of All Times”: A compilation of thirty-four commentaries to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; see above, p. 3). Although the number of works referred to in the title of this book matches the number of printed works listed in the present catalogue, the actual works are different. This list includes 29 commentaries, with two entries for Zhu Xi (nos. 4 and 32); three entries for Chen Zhixu (nos. 9, 29, and 30); and two entries for Tao Susi (nos. 17 and 18). Entry no. 32 is a manuscript transcription (*chaoben* 抄本) of Zhu Xi’s commentary, edited by Yuan Chang 袁昶 in 1892.⁵ Entry no. 29 refers to the above-mentioned edition of Chen Zhixu’s commentary with supplementary notes by Fu Jinqian. Entry no. 30 is the Dunben tang edition of Chen’s commentary, edited by Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (1818–91) and published in 1841.⁶ Entry no. 18 is the edition of Tao Susi’s commentary found in the 1915 edition of the *Daoyan wuzhong* 道言五種, which contains additional notes by Yuxi zi 玉溪子 (identity unknown).⁷ The last entry is Yaoqu laoren’s edition of the *Cantong qi*, already mentioned above. The list published by Meng Naichang and Meng Qingxuan does not cite the works by Huang Shiyang, Jiang Yibiao, Zhen Shu, Gu Rui, and Gong Yitu, and the four manuscript commentaries.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the catalogue:

⁴ On Yaoqu laoren, whose edition was based on the “Ancient Text,” see also *Fanshu ouji* (1936), “Xubian”, p. 199.

⁵ This manuscript is kept at Jiangsu Normal University. See *Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu*, “Zi” 子, p. 1146 (no. 473).

⁶ See below, “Commentaries,” no. 9, edition no. 14.

⁷ See below, “Commentaries,” no. 22, edition no. 1e. Yuxi zi’s notes are also of the *dingpi* type.

<i>Baojing</i>	<i>Baojing lou cangshu zhi</i> 抱經樓藏書志 (1906)
<i>Baowen</i>	<i>Baowen tang shumu</i> 寶文堂書目 (ca. 1560)
<i>Bianzheng</i>	<i>Siku tiyao bianzheng</i> 四庫提要辨證 (1937)
<i>Biaozhu</i>	<i>Zengding Siku jianming mulu biao</i> 增訂四庫簡明目錄標注 (ca. 1860)
<i>Bishu</i>	<i>Bishu sheng xubian dao siku quesu mu</i> 祕書省續編到四庫闕書目 (1145)
<i>Bisong</i>	<i>Bisong lou cangshu zhi</i> 皕宋樓藏書志 (1882)
<i>Buzheng</i>	<i>Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao buzheng</i> 四庫全書總目提要補正 (1964)
<i>Cangyuan</i>	<i>Cangyuan qunshu jingyan lu</i> 藏園群書經眼錄 (ca. 1945)
<i>Chijing</i>	<i>Chijing zhai shumu</i> 持靜齋書目 (1870)
<i>Chongwen</i>	<i>Chongwen zongmu</i> 崇文總目 (1144)
<i>Companion</i>	Schipper and Verellen, eds. <i>The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang</i>
CT	Schipper, <i>Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages</i>
<i>DZJH</i>	<i>Daozang jinghua</i> 道藏精華
<i>Fanshu</i>	<i>Fanshu ouji</i> 販書偶記 (1936)
<i>Guoshi</i>	<i>Guoshi jingji zhi</i> 國史經籍志 (ca. 1600)
<i>Jiu Tangshu</i>	<i>Jiu Tangshu</i> , “Jingji zhi” 舊唐書經籍志 (945)
<i>Junzhai</i>	<i>Junzhai dushu zhi</i> 郡齋讀書志 (1151)
<i>Meng</i>	Meng Naichang and Meng Qingxuan, <i>Wangu danjing wang</i> 萬古丹經王
<i>Mingshi</i>	<i>Mingshi</i> , “Yiwen zhi” 明史藝文志 (1739)
<i>Qianqing</i>	<i>Qianqing tang shumu</i> 千頃堂書目 (mid-seventeenth century)
<i>Qingshi</i>	<i>Qingshi gao</i> , “Yiwen zhi” 清史稿藝文志 (1927)
<i>Quejing</i>	<i>Daozang quejing mulu</i> 道藏闕經目錄 (1445)
<i>Qunbi</i>	<i>Qunbi lou shanben shulu</i> 羣碧樓善本書錄 (1930)
<i>Seikadō</i>	<i>Seikadō hiseki shi</i> 靜嘉堂祕籍志 (1917–19)
<i>Shanben</i>	<i>Shanben shu suojian lu</i> 善本書所見錄 (1958)
“Shumu”	Wang Gang, Ding Wei, and Su Lixiang, “ <i>Zhouyi cantong qi shumu</i> ” 周易參同契書目
<i>Siku</i>	<i>Siku quanshu zongmu</i> 四庫全書總目 (1782)
<i>Songshi</i>	<i>Songshi</i> , “Yiwen zhi” 宋史藝文志 (1345)
<i>Suichu</i>	<i>Suichu tang shumu</i> 遂初堂書目 (late twelfth century)

<i>Taoist Books</i>	Van der Loon, <i>Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period</i>
<i>Tianyi</i>	<i>Tianyi ge shumu</i> 天一閣書目 (1803–4)
<i>Tieqin</i>	<i>Tieqin tongjian lou cangshu mu</i> 鐵琴銅劍樓藏書目 (1857)
<i>Tiyao</i>	<i>Daozang tiyao</i> 道藏提要 (2005)
<i>Tongkao</i>	<i>Wenxian tongkao</i> 文獻通考 (1309)
<i>Tongzhi</i>	<i>Tongzhi, Yiwu lue</i> 通志藝文略 (1161)
<i>Xin Tangshu</i>	<i>Xin Tangshu</i> , “Yiwen zhi” 新唐書藝文志 (1060)
<i>Xu tongkao</i>	<i>Xu wenxian tongkao</i> 續文獻通考 (1585)
<i>Xuxiu siku</i>	<i>Xuxiu Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao (gaoben)</i> 續修四庫全書總目提要（稿本）(1996)
<i>Yifeng</i>	<i>Yifeng cangshu ji</i> 藝風藏書記 (“Xuji” 續記, 1912)
<i>Zhengtang</i>	<i>Zhengtang dushu ji</i> 鄭堂讀書記 (ca. 1820)
<i>Zhizhai</i>	<i>Zhizhai shulu jieti</i> 直齋書錄解題 (mid-thirteenth century)
<i>ZWDS</i>	<i>Zangwai daoshu</i> 藏外道書
<i>ZYCTQ guzhu jicheng</i>	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi guzhu jicheng</i> 周易參同契古注集成
<i>ZYCTQ huikan</i>	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi huikan</i> 周易參同契彙刊
<i>ZYCTQ Kaoyi, Fahui, Fenzhang zhu</i>	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi, Zhouyi cantong qi fahui, Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang zhu</i> 周易參同契考異、周易參同契發揮、周易參同契分章注

Commentaries

This chapter of the Bibliographic Catalogue lists all the extant commentaries to the *Cantong qi* that are known to me. It includes the main details on the authors, dates, and editions of 38 commentaries, of which 34 are extant in print and the others in manuscript. The individual works are listed in an approximate chronological order. Each entry reports the title of the text; its author; any prefaces and postfaces; its editions and reprints; and, where applicable, references to entries in premodern and modern bibliographic works. Premodern bibliographic works that contain descriptions of texts or of editions (instead of mere citations of their titles) are marked with an asterisk (*).

Several entries report the formal features—page layout and numbers of columns and characters—that are useful, and sometimes crucial, to distinguish different editions from one another. Citations of “rare exemplars” (*shanben* 善本) are followed by references to general catalogues published in the People’s Republic of China or in Taiwan, and, where available, to the catalogues of the individual libraries that hold them.

Reeditions of individual commentaries arranged according to the ordering of the Ancient Text—for example, Yao Ruxun’s reedition of Chen Zhixu’s commentary (no. 9, edition no. 4)—are listed under the original work. On the contrary, compilations of multiple commentaries arranged according to the ordering of the Ancient Text (nos. 17, 18, and 34, whether they cite the earlier commentaries integrally or in part) are assigned independent entries, as they constitute new works from the viewpoint of bibliography. The same applies to the only work known to me (no. 30) that contains both an earlier commentary arranged according to the ordering of the Ancient Text and a new, complete commentary by a different author.

For other conventions and for the abbreviations used in this chapter, see above, pp. 15 ff.

* * *

(A) Printed Works

ANONYMOUS WAIDAN COMMENTARY

- [1] *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注. Ca. 700.

Anonymous.

Anonymous preface, undated.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 2 *juan*.

CT 1004. The extant portion of this work corresponds to the first *pian* or the first *juan* in other redactions based on the standard text of the *Cantong qi*.

The *Zhengtong Daozang* was edited by Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (fl. 1430–58), et al. In addition to the anonymous Waidan commentary, it contains the Yin Changsheng commentary (no. 2); the commentaries by Peng Xiao (no. 3) and Zhu Xi (no. 4); the anonymous Neidan commentary (no. 5); and the commentaries by Chu Yong (no. 6), Chen Xianwei (no. 7), and Yu Yan (no. 8).

Repr. Shangwu yinshuguan Hanfen lou (Shanghai, 1923–26); Yiwen yinshuguan (Taipei, 1963 and 1977); Xinwenfeng chubanshe (Taipei, 1977); Chūbun shuppansha (Kyoto, 1986); and Wenwu chubanshe (Beijing, 1987). The anonymous Waidan commentary is also reprinted from this edition in *ZYCTQ huikan*.

- 1a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Published by Huaxia chubanshe 華夏出版社 in Beijing. Based on the *Zhengtong Daozang* edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition of Yu Yan's redaction (no. 8).

The *Zhonghua daozaang* was edited by Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹, Wang Ka 王卡, et al. In addition to the eight commentaries to the *Cantong qi* found in the *Zhengtong Daozang*, it contains an edition of Chen Zhixu's commentary (no. 9) based on the 1906 edition of the *Daozang jiyao*.

“Shumu,” no. 5. Meng, no. 1. *Tiyao*, no. 997. *Companion*, no. 1004.

YIN CHANGSHENG COMMENTARY

- [2] *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契. Ca. 700.

Attr. Yin Changsheng 陰長生.

Anonymous preface, undated.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 *juan*.

CT 999.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1). The Yin Changsheng commentary is also reprinted from this edition in *ZYCTQ huikan*.

- 1a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition of Zhu Xi's redaction (no. 4).

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

Tongzhi, 43.6a. *Guoshi*, 4A.14b.

“Shumu,” no. 3. Meng, no. 2. *Taoist Books*, p. 139. *Tiyao*, no. 993. *Companion*, no. 999.

PENG XIAO

- [3] *Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang tong zhenyi* 周易參同契分章通真義. 947.

Peng Xiao 彭曉, ?–955. From Yongkang 永康 (Sichuan). *Zi*: Xiuchuan 秀川. *Hao*: Zhenyi zi 真一子. Also known as Cheng Xiao 程曉.

Author's preface, undated. Author's postface, 947.

The commentary is followed by Peng Xiao's “Mingjing tu” 明鏡圖.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 *juan*.

CT 1002 and 1003. Contains an additional postface by Bao Huanzhi 鮑澣之 (fl. 1207–10) dated 1208. The “Dingqi ge” 鼎

器歌, the “Zanxu” 讚序, the “Mingjing tu”, and Peng Xiao’s and Bao Huanzhi’s postfaces are printed as a separate text under the title *Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* 周易參同契鼎器歌明鏡圖.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

1a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

- 2 *Jindan zhengli daquan* 金丹正理大全, 1538. 3 juan. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi* 周易參同契通真義. (Fig. 1)

10 cols., 21 chars., *heikou* 黑口, *sizhou shuangbian* 四周雙邊. The table of contents lists a preface by Hanchan zi 涵蟾子 (Ming; *hao*: Zixia shanren 紫霞山人; identity unknown), which is not found in the text.

The *Jindan zhengli daquan* contains eleven Neidan texts. In addition to Peng Xiao’s commentary, it includes the commentaries by Chen Xianwei (no. 7) and Chen Zhixu (no. 9). — Indexes: *Congshu guanglu*, no. 7144; *Congshu zonglu xubian*, no. 8138.

The following libraries report exemplars of the 1538 edition of the *Jindan zhengli daquan*. — National Library, Beijing. — National Library, Taipei: two exemplars, of which one lacks Peng Xiao’s commentary, and the other lacks Peng Xiao’s and Chen Zhixu’s commentaries. Notes on these exemplars are found in *Guojia Tushuguan shanben shuzhi chugao*, “Zi” 子, 3:298–99). — Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing. — National Palace Museum, Taipei: two exemplars. — Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo. — In addition, the Shanghai Library reports an exemplar of Peng Xiao’s commentary from the 1538 edition of the *Jindan zhengli daquan*.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 1142 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*, no. 400; lists additional libraries) and p. 1146 (*Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi*, no. 472). — *Taiwan gongchang shanben shumu shuming suoyin*, pp. 738–39 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*) and p. 716 (*Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi*). — Beijing

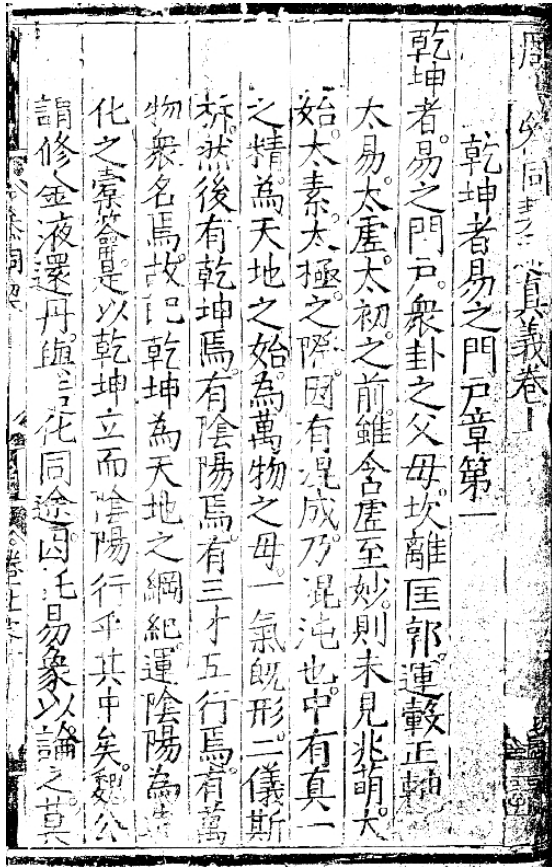


Fig. 1. Peng Xiao, *Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi*.
Jindan zhengli daquan ed., 1538 (Shanghai Library).

Tushuguan guji shanben shumu, p. 1641 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*). — *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu (zengding erban)*, pp. 838–39 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*). — *Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu*, pp. 979–80 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*). — (Kaitei) *Naikaku Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku*, p. 320 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*).

Peng Xiao's commentary is reprinted from this edition in *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成, vol. 65 (Taipei: Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng bianyin jijinhui, 1978); and in *ZWDS*, vol. 9 (Chengdu: Ba-Shu shushe, 1992; this reprint includes only the first *juan*).

2a *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集, 1591.

11 cols., 22 chars., *baikou* 白口, *zuoyou shuangbian* 左右雙邊.

The *Daoshu quanji* includes the entire *Jindan zhengli daquan* and fourteen other works (one of which, the *Xuanzong neidian zhujing zhu* 玄宗內典諸經注, consists in turn of a compilation of eleven texts). It was compiled by Yan Hezhou 閻鶴洲 and first published in 1591 by Tang Jiyun's 唐際雲 *Jixiu tang* 積秀堂 in Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing). — Index: *Congshu zonglu*, p. 817 (refers to the 1682 revised edition, on which see below).

National Library, Taipei: two exemplars, one of which lacks Chen Zhixu's commentary. Notes on these exemplars are found in *Guojia Tushuguan shanben shuzhi chugao*, “Zi” 子, 3:300–2. — Shanghai Library. — Renmin University of China, Beijing.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 1141 (no. 398). — *Taiwan gongcang shanben shumu shuming suoyin*, p. 716 (*Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi*) and p. 1348 (*Daoshu quanji*). — *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu (zengding erban)*, pp. 840–44.

Repr. as a volume in the series *Haiwang cun guji congan* 海王村古籍叢刊 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990). A note found at the beginning of this volume states that the reprint is based on an edition of the Chongzhen 崇禎 reign period (1628–44). No catalogue that I have seen lists this edition.

2b *Daoshu quanji*, revised edition, 1682.

11 cols., 22 chars., *baikou* 白口, *zuoyou shuangbian* 左右雙邊.

The *Daoshu quanji* was republished by Zhou Zaiyan's 周在延 (1653–after 1725) *Daye tang* 大業堂 in Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing)

in 1682. Although the exemplars bearing this date are sometimes reported to represent an “enlarged” (*zengbu* 增補) version of the *Daoshu quanji*, they actually contain the same texts found in the first edition of 1591.

National Library, Beijing. — National Library, Taipei: two exemplars. Notes on these exemplars are found in *Guojia Tushuguan shanben shuzhi chugao*, “Zi” 子, 3:302–3. — Henan Provincial Library, Zhengzhou.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, pp. 1141–42 (no. 399; lists additional libraries). — *Taiwan gongcang shanben shumu shuming suoyin*, p. 1348. — *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu* (*zengding erban*), pp. 844–46.

2c *Jindan zhengli daquan*, late Ming edition.

10 cols., 21 chars., *heikou* 黑口, *sizhou shuangbian* 四周雙邊.

Index: *Congshu guanglu*, no. 7144.

The following libraries report exemplars of the *Jindan zhengli daquan*, or of the *Jindan zhengli daquan* edition of Peng Xiao’s commentary, dated to the Ming period instead of specifically to the year 1538. — National Library, Taipei: *Jindan zhengli daquan* and Peng Xiao’s commentary. Notes on these exemplars are found in *Guojia Tushuguan shanben shuzhi chugao*, “Zi” 子, 3:299 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*) and 3:276 (Peng Xiao’s commentary). — Institute for the History of Natural Sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing. — Shaanxi Provincial Library, Xi’an. — Suzhou Library.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 1142 (no. 401). — *Taiwan gongcang shanben shumu shuming suoyin*, p. 739. — *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu* (*zengding erban*), p. 839–40 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*) and p. 832 (Peng Xiao’s commentary).

3 *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, 1782. 3 *juan*. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi* 周易參同契通真義.

Lacks the “Zanxu” the section on the “Eight Rings” of the “Mingjing tu” and Peng Xiao’s postface. Contains a descriptive note by the *Siku quanshu* editors dated 1781.

The *Siku quanshu* was edited by Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805), Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊 (1734–92), et al. In addition to Peng Xiao’s commentary, it contains the commentaries by Zhu Xi (no. 4

below), Chen Xianwei (no. 7), Yu Yan (no. 8), Chen Zhixu (no. 9), and Jiang Yibiao (no. 18).

The Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 exemplar of the *Siku quanshu* has been reprinted by Shangwu yinshuguan (Taipei, 1983–86) and by Shanghai guji chubanshe (Shanghai, 1987). Peng Xiao's commentary is also reprinted from this exemplar in *ZYCTQ guzhu jicheng*; in *ZYCTQ huikan*; and in *Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi*, *Zhouyi cantong qi jie*, *Guwen cantong qi jijie*. It is reproduced from the Wenjin ge 文津閣 exemplar in *Wenjin ge Siku quanshu* 文津閣四庫全書, vol. 352 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005); and from the Chizao tang 摘藻堂 exemplar in *Jingyin Chizao tang Siku quanshu huiyao* 景印摘藻堂四庫全書薈要, “Zi” 子, vol. 264 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1986–89).

- 4 *Xu Jinhua congshu* 續金華叢書, 1924. 3 juan. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi* 周易參同契通真義.

Based on the *Jindan zhengli daquan* edition. Contains an additional colophon by Hu Zongmao 胡宗樞, compiler and publisher of the *Xu Jinhua congshu*.

The *Xu jinhua congshu* was published by the Mengxuan lou 夢選樓 in Yongkang 永康 (Zhejiang). It is a continuation of the *Jinhua congshu* 金華叢書, a collection compiled by Hu Fengdan 胡鳳丹 and printed in 1869–82. — Indexes: *Congshu zonglu*, pp. 443–44; *Jinbun mokuroku*, pp. 1165, 1241.

Repr. Guji keyinshe (Guangling, Jiangsu, 1983) from the original woodblocks. The partial reprint in *Congshu qinghua* 叢書青華, sixth series (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1972), includes the *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tong zhenyi*. Peng Xiao's work is also reprinted from this edition in *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1989), vol. 39.

Junzhai, 16.753–54 (*). *Tongzhi*, 43.6b. *Suichu*, 52a. *Zhizhai*, 12.345–46 (*). *Tongkao*, 224.1803 (*). *Songshi*, 205.5197. *Baowen*, j. 3, “Daozang,” *Guoshi*, 4A.15a. *Siku*, 146.1248–49 (*). *Biaozhu*, 625 (*). *Chijing*, 3.89a. *Bianzheng*, 19.1211–14 (*). *Buzheng*, 1156–58 (*).

“Shumu,” no. 6. Meng, no. 3 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*, 1538; *Zheng-tong Daozang*). *Taoist Books*, p. 112. *Tiyao*, no. 996. *Companion*, nos. 1002 and 1003.

ZHU XI

- [4] *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異. 1197.

Zhu Xi 朱熹, 1130–1200. From Wuyuan 婺源 (Anhui). Zi: Yuanhui 元晦, Zhonghui 仲晦. Hao: Hui'an weng 晦庵翁, Yungu laoren 雲谷老人, Kongtong daoshi Zou Xin 空同道士鄒訢, etc.

Additional notes (*Fulu* 附錄) by Huang Ruijie 黃端節, fl. 1341, from Anfu 安福 (Jiangxi). Zi: Guanle 觀樂.

Author's preface and postface, both undated, with notes by Huang Ruijie.

- 1 *Zhuzi chengshu* 朱子成書, 1341. 1 *juan*. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契. (Fig. 2)

The *Zhuzi chengshu* was compiled by Huang Ruijie 黃端節 and was published by the Rixin shutang 日新書堂 in Jianyang 建陽 (Fujian). — Index: *Congshu guanglu*, no. 4009.

National Library, Beijing. — Shanghai Library. — National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 795 (nos. 495, 496, 497; lists additional libraries). — *Taiwan gongcang shanben shumu shuming suoyin*, p. 441. — *Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, p. 1201 (no. 6825). — *Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu*, pp. 653 and 975.

Repr. Beijing Tushuguan chubanshe (Beijing, 2005).

- 1a *Zhuzi chengshu*, early Ming.

National Library, Beijing.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 795 (no. 498). — *Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, p. 1201 (no. 13459).

- 2 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 *juan*. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契.

CT 1001.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

- 2a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.



Fig. 2. Zhu Xi, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi*.
Zhuzi chengshu ed., 1341 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

- 3 Korean edition, 1708. 1 *juan*. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契.

Published in Hamhung 咸興.

Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo.

- 4 *Zhuzi yishu* 朱子遺書, Supplement, 1692/1722. 1 *juan*. Title: *Zhuzi Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 朱子周易參同契考異.

The *Zhuzi yishu* was first published in 1692 by the Baogao tang 寶誥堂 in Shimen 石門 (Zhejiang). A supplement containing the *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* was published before the end of the Kangxi 康熙 reign period (1662–1722). — Indexes: *Congshu zonglu*, pp. 470–71; *Jinbun mokuroku*, p. 1263.

Repr. Yiwen yinshuguan (Taipei, 1969); Chūbun shuppansha (Kyoto, 1975).

4a *Shushi isho* 朱子遺書, ca. 1885.

Published by the Kibundō 奎文堂 in Tokyo.

4b *Zhuzi yishu*, 1886.

Published by the Chuanjing tang 傳經堂 in Linhai 臨海 (Zhejiang).

- 5 *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, 1782. 1 *juan*.

Contains a descriptive note by the *Siku quanshu* editors dated 1781.

On this edition see under Peng Xiao (no. 3). Zhu Xi's commentary is also reprinted from the Wen yuan ge 文淵閣 exemplar in *ZYCTQ guzhu jicheng*; in *ZYCTQ huikan*; and in *ZYCTQ Kaoyi, Fahui, Fenzhang zhu*. It is reprinted from the Wenjin ge 文津閣 exemplar in *Wenjin ge Siku quanshu* 文津閣四庫全書, vol. 352 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005).

- 6 *Shōhei sōsho* 昌平叢書, 1802. Republished in 1909. 1 *juan*. Title: *Zhuzi Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 朱子周易參同契考異.

The *Shōhei sōsho* was first published in Edo (Tokyo) from 1799.

The original woodblocks were almost entirely burned in the fire of 1846. The collection was reconstructed and republished by Tomita Tetsunosuke 富田鐵之助 in 1909. The edition of the *Cantong qi* commentary in this reedition still bears the date 1802 (Kyōwa 享和 2). It is followed by an appendix containing Zhu Xi's *Yinfu jing kaoyi* 陰符經考異. — Index: *Jinbun mokuroku*, pp. 971–72.

6a *Shushi Shūeki sandōkei kōi* 朱子周易參同契考異, 1803. 1 *juan*.

The *Cantong qi kaoyi* was republished (“newly engraved,” *xinjuan* 新鐫) in Edo (Tokyo) in 1803 by Suharaya Magohachi 須原屋孫八 and Suharaya Ihachi 須原屋伊八 on the basis of the *Shōhei sōsho* edition.

7 *Fenxin ge congshu* 紛欣閣叢書, 1827. 3 *juan*. Title: *Zhuzi Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 朱子周易參同契考異.

The *Fenxin ge congshu* was compiled by Zhou Xinru 周心如 (fl. 1821/1850) and was published by his Fenxin ge 紛欣閣 in Pujiang 浦江 (Zhejiang). — Index: *Congshu zonglu*, p. 168.

8 *Shoushan ge congshu* 守山閣叢書, 1844. 1 *juan*.

Based on the Siku quanshu edition.

The *Shoushan ge congshu* was compiled by Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚 (1801–44) and was published by the Shoushan ge 守山閣. — Indexes: *Congshu zonglu*, pp. 176–79; *Jinbun mokuroku*, pp. 898–901, 1109–11.

Shanghai Library.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Ji” 集 (下), pp. 1988–89 (no. 266).

Repr. Hongwen shuju 鴻文書局 (Shanghai, 1889); Bogu zhai 博古齋 (Shanghai, 1922); and Yiwen yinshuguan (Taipei, 1968, as part of the *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成; this reprint is partial but includes the *Cantong qi*). Zhu Xi's commentary is also reprinted from this edition in *Wuqiu beizhai Yijing jicheng* 無求備齋易經集成, vol. 155 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976).

9 *Ziyang congshu* 紫陽叢書, 1901. 1 *juan*. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注.

The *Ziyang congshu* contains sixteen works by Zhu Xi. — Index: *Congshu guanglu*, no. 5285.

10 *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要, 1920/1934. 1 *juan*.

10a *Sibu beiyao*, revised edition, 1936.

Edition in movable type, based on the Shoushan ge congshu edition.

The first edition of the *Sibu beiyao* was published 1920–34 by Zhonghua shuju in Shanghai. A revised edition was published in 1934–36 by the same publisher.

Repr. of the 1936 revised edition: Zhonghua shuju (Taipei, 1966–75, and several later reprints); Zhonghua shuju (Beijing, 1990).

11 *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編, 1937. 1 *juan*.

Edition in movable type, based on the Shoushan ge congshu edition.

The *Congshu jicheng* was edited by Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888–1979) et al. and was published by Shangwu yinshuguan in Changsha. It contains two movable-type editions of commentaries to the *Cantong qi*, those by Zhu Xi and by Yuan Renlin (no. 25); and reprints of the commentaries by Wang Wenlu (no. 14) and by Jiang Yibiao (no. 18, ed. no. 1).

Repr. Zhonghua shuju (Beijing, 1985). Zhu Xi's commentary is also reprinted from this edition in *Congshu jicheng xinbian* 叢書集成新編 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1985); in *Congshu jixuan* 叢書集選 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1987); and in *DZJH*, vol. 8.5 (Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1964).

12 Korean edition, undated. 3 *juan*. Title: *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契.

Includes Zhu Xi's and Yu Yan's commentaries.

Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo.

(Kaitei) Naikaku Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku, p. 319.

13 *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書, 2002. 3 *juan*.

Edition in movable type, based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition. Contains collation notes reporting variants found in the Zhuzi chengshu edition (1341), the Korean edition of 1708,

the Zhuzi yishu edition (1692/1722), and the Shoushan ge congshu edition (1844).

The *Zhuzi quanshu* was edited by Wu Weimin 伍偉民 and was published by Shanghai guji chubanshe (Shanghai) and Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe (Hefei shi).

Zhizhai, 12.346 (*). *Tongkao*, 224.1803 (*). *Songshi*, 205.5181. *Baowen*, j. 3, “Daozang.” *Guoshi*, 4A.14b. *Siku*, 146.1249 (*). *Biaozhu*, 625 (*). *Baojing*, 50.17a-b (*). *Buzheng*, 1158 (*).

“Shumu,” no. 24. Meng, nos. 4 (*Shoushan ge congshu*) and 32 (ms. edited by Yuan Chang 袁昶, 1892). *Taoist Books*, p. 112. *Tiyao*, no. 995. *Companion*, no. 1001.

ANONYMOUS NEIDAN COMMENTARY

- [5] *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注. After 1208.

Anonymous.

Anonymous postface, undated.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 *juan*.
CT 1000.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1). The present work is also reprinted from this edition in *ZYCTQ huikan*.

- 1a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition of Yu Yan’s redaction (no. 8).

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

“Shumu,” no. 34. Meng, no. 7. *Tiyao*, no. 994. *Companion*, no. 1000.

CHU YONG

- [6] *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契. Ca. 1230.

Chu Yong 儲泳, fl. ca. 1230. From Yunjian 雲間 (Jiangsu). Zi: Wenqing 文卿. Hao: Huagu 華谷. Often referred to as Chu Huagu 儲華谷.

No preface or postface.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 *juan*.
CT 1008.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1). Chu Yong's commentary is also reprinted from this edition in *ZYCTQ huikan*.

- 1a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition of Zhu Xi's redaction (no. 4).

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

Guoshi, 4A.14b.

"Shumu," no. 25. Meng, no. 5. *Tiyao*, no. 1001. *Xuxiu siku*, 20:479–80. *Companion*, no. 1008.

CHEN XIANWEI

- [7] *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解. 1234.

Chen Xianwei 陳顯微, ?–after 1254. From Huaiyang 淮陽 (Henan). Zi: Zongdao 宗道 (sometimes cited as "Yudao" 宇道). Hao: Baoyi zi 抱一子.

Prefaces: (1) Zheng Boqian 鄭伯謙 (zi: Jieqing 節卿), 1234; (2) Chen Xianwei, 1234. — Postfaces: (1) Anonymous, 1245; (2) Wang Yi 王夷, 1234.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 *juan*.

CT 1007. Lacks Chen Xianwei's preface. Contains an addition-

al section entitled “Cantong qi zhaiwei” 參同契摘微 at the end of the text (3.14b-18a).

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

1a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

2 *Jindan zhengli daquan* 金丹正理大全, 1538. 3 juan.

On this edition see under Peng Xiao (no. 3). Chen Xianwei's commentary is reprinted from this edition in ZWDS, vol. 9 (Chengdu: Ba-Shu shushe, 1992).

2a *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集, 1591

On this edition see under Peng Xiao (no. 3).

2b *Daoshu quanji*, revised edition, 1682.

On this edition see under Peng Xiao (no. 3).

2c *Jindan zhengli daquan*, late Ming edition.

On this edition see under Peng Xiao (no. 3). In addition, the National Library, Beijing, reports an exemplar of Chen Xianwei's commentary from the “Ming” edition of the *Jindan zhengli daquan*.

Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu, p. 1651 (no. 4331).

3 *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, 1782. 3 juan.

Contains a descriptive note by the *Siku quanshu* editors dated 1781.

On this edition see under Peng Xiao (no. 3). Chen Xianwei's commentary is also reprinted from the Wenyan ge 文淵閣 exemplar in *ZYCTQ guzhu jicheng*; in *ZYCTQ huikan*; and in *Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi*, *Zhouyi cantong qi jie*, *Guwen cantong qi jijie*. It is reprinted from the Wenjin ge 文津閣 exemplar in *Wenjin ge Siku quanshu* 文津閣四庫全書, vol. 352 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005).

4 *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要, ca. 1800. 1 juan. Title: *Cantong qi*

參同契。

The original version of the *Daozang jiyao* was compiled by Jiang Yupu 蔣予浦 (1756–1819) during the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign period (1796–1820). (There is no bibliographic or material trace of a *Daozang jiyao* by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求, 1645–1719, to whom an earlier version is sometimes attributed.) In addition to Chen Xianwei's commentary, it contains the commentaries by Chen Zhixu (no. 9) and Zhu Yuanyu (no. 20).

4a *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要, 1906. Title: *Cantong qi jie* 參同契解。

In this edition, the anonymous postface and the postface by Wang Yi are found at the beginning of the text.

This enlarged edition of the *Daozang jiyao* contains the same three commentaries found in the original version. It was compiled by He Longxiang 賀龍驤 and Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 and was published at the Erxian an 二仙庵 in Chengdu (Sichuan) in 1906.

Repr. Huawen chubanshe (Taipei, 1970); Kaozheng chubanshe (Taipei, 1971); Xinwenfeng chubanshe (Taipei, 1977, and later reprints); and Ba-Shu shushe (Chengdu, 1995). The 1971 and the 1977 reprints lack page 52a of Chen Xianwei's work, containing the last part of the “Dingqi ge” 鼎器歌。

5 Edition of 1918. 3 *juan*. Title: *Cantong qi Chen zhu* 參同契陳注 (?).

Unidentified edition published in Guangling 廣陵 (Jiangsu), listed in *Fanshu ouji* 販書偶記, “Xubian” 續編, p. 199, and attributed there to Chen Xianwei.

NOTE: In addition to the editions cited above, *Congshu zonglu xubian*, no. 1013, reports an edition found in the *Baijia mingshu* 百家名書, compiled by Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 and published by his Wenhui tang 文會堂 in Qiantang 錢塘 (Zhejiang) in 1573/1620 (Wanli 萬曆 reign period). This edition is not cited in *Congshu guanglu*, no. 1039, or in any other catalogue that I have seen.

Xu tongkao, 185.4269 (*). *Siku*, 146.1249 (*). *Tianyi*, 3.2.38b. *Biaozhu*, 626 (*). *Chijing*, 3.89b. *Fanshu*, “Xubian,” 199.

“Shumu,” no. 26. Meng, no. 6 (*Jindan zhengli daquan*, 1538). *Tiyao*, no. 1000. *Companion*, no. 1007.

YU YAN

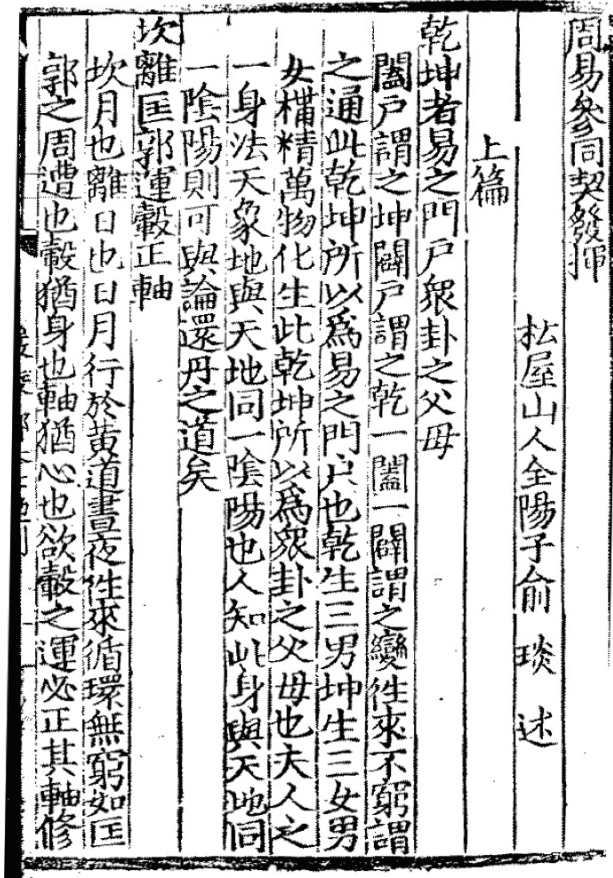
- [8] *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮 and *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑. 1284.

Yu Yan 俞琰, 1258–1314. From Wujun 吳郡 (Jiangsu). Zi: Yuwu 玉吾. Hao: Quanyang zi 全陽子, Shijian daoren 石澗道人, Linwu shanren 林屋山人.

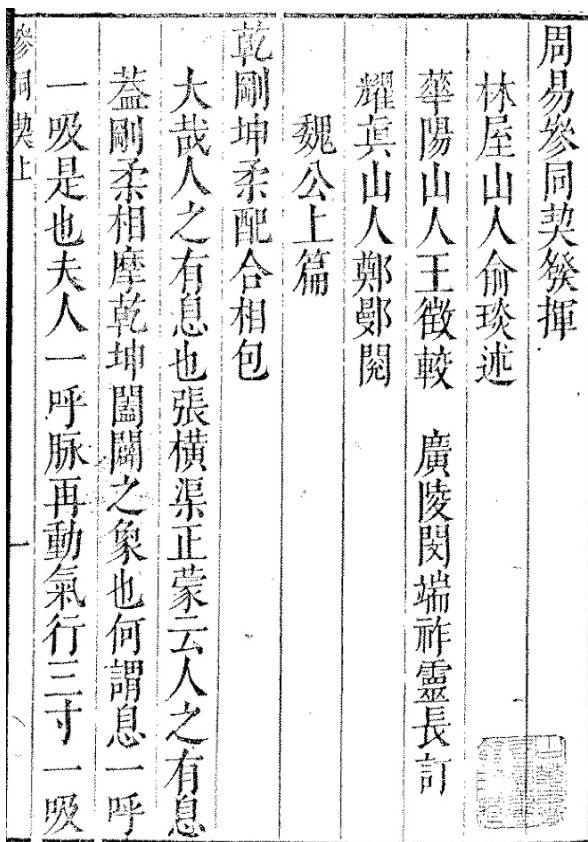
Prefaces: (1) Ruan Dengbing 阮登炳, undated; (2) Zhang Yucui 張與材, dated 1310; (3) Du Daojian 杜道堅, undated; (4) Yu Yan, dated 1284.

The commentary is followed by Yu Yan's *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑 (referred to below as *Shiyi*), mainly consisting of notes on variants found in earlier editions.

- 1 Cuncun zhai 存存齋, 1310. *Fahui*, 3 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*. (Fig. 3)
Published by the author in Wujun 吳郡 (Jiangsu).
Beijing University.
Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 1146 (no. 475). — *Beijing Daxue Tushuguan cang guji shanben shumu*, p. 356.
- 2 Edition of 1380. *Fahui*, 3 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*.
12 cols., 22 chars., *heikou* 黑口, *zuoyou shuangbian* 左右雙邊.
Published by Zhang Benzhen 張本真.
National Library, Beijing (lacks the second and the third *juan* of the *Fahui*).
Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 1146 (no. 476). — *Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, p. 1651 (no. 0991)
- 3 Edition of 1428. *Fahui*, 3 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*.
10 cols., 20 chars., *heikou* 黑口, *sizhou shuangbian* 四周雙邊.
Contains an additional preface by Chen Lu 陳陸 dated 1428.
Published by Zhu Wenbin 朱文斌.
Nanjing Library.
Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, p. 1146 (no. 478).

Fig. 3. Yu Yan, *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*.

Cuncun zhai ed., 1310 (Beijing University).

Fig. 4. Yu Yan, *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*.

Ming ed. (Library of Cishu chubanshe)

- 4 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. *Fahui*, 9 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*.

CT 1005 and 1006. The *Shiyi* is printed as a separate text entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

4a *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, 2003.

Based on the Zhengtong Daozang edition, with collation notes reporting variants found in the Siku quanshu edition.

On this edition see under the anonymous Waidan commentary (no. 1).

- 5 Edition of 1506/1521 (Zhengde 正德 reign period). *Fahui*, 3 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*.

Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo.

Seikadō Bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku, p. 610.

- 6 Edition of 1522/1566 (Jiajing 嘉靖 reign period). *Fahui*, 3 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*; *Houyin* 後音, 1 *juan*.

12 cols., 24 chars., *heikou* 黑口, *sizhou shuangbian* 四周雙邊.

National Library, Beijing. — National Library, Taipei (lacks the second *juan*). Notes on this exemplar are found in *Guojia Tushuguan shanben shuzhi chugao*, “Zi” 子, 3:276–77. — Shanghai Library. — Beijing University.

Zhongguo guji shanben zongmu, “Zi” 子, pp. 1146, 1147 (nos. 481, 482; lists additional libraries). — *Beijing Tushuguan guji shanben shumu*, p. 1652 (no. 6974). — *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu (zengding erban)*, p. 832. — *Beijing Daxue Tushuguan cang guji shanben shumu*, p. 356.

- 7 Anzheng tang 安正堂, ca. sixteenth century. *Fahui*, 3 *juan*; *Shiyi*, 1 *juan*.

10 cols., 22 chars., *heikou* 黑口, *sizhou shuangbian* 四周雙邊.

The Anzheng tang was active from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century.

Pages 42-76 are not included in this preview

Essays and Related Works

This chapter of the Bibliographic Catalogue reports the main details on thirty extant works closely related to the *Cantong qi*. These works consist of essays on the *Cantong qi*; the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 / *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 group of texts; the “Wu xianglei” 五相類 group of texts; extant works attributed to Wei Boyang; closely related works by commentators of the *Cantong qi*; and other extant works whose titles mention the *Cantong qi*.

The thirty works are listed in an approximate chronological order. Each entry reports the title of the work; its author; any prefaces and postfaces; its editions; and, where applicable, references to entries in premodern and modern bibliographic works. I have not attempted to trace “rare exemplars” (*shanben* 善本) of these texts.

Bibliographic works that contain descriptions of texts or of editions (instead of mere citations of their titles) are marked with an asterisk (*). For other conventions and for the abbreviations used in this chapter, see above, pp. 15 ff.

* * *

LIU ZHIGU

[39] *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論. Ca. 750.

Liu Zhigu 劉知古, before 661–after 742. From Jinzhou 錦州 (Sichuan). Zi: Guangxuan 光玄.

No preface or postface.

1 In *Daoshu* 道樞 (ca. 1150), Zhengtong Daozang 正統道藏 ed., 1445. Title: *Riyue xuanshu pian* 日月玄樞篇.

CT 1017, 26.1a-6b.

- 1a Zhonghua Daozang 中華道藏 ed., 2003.
- 2 *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, 1814.
334.12a-21a. Contains a memorial of submission to Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712–56).
- 3 In *Daoshu* 道樞 (ca. 1150), Daozang jiyao 道藏輯要 ed., ca. 1800. Title: *Riyue xuanshu pian* 日月玄樞篇.
- 3a Chongkan Daozang jiyao 重刊道藏輯要 ed., 1906.
- Junzhai*, 16.760 (*). *Tongkao*, 225.1807 (*). *Quejing*, 2.13a.
- Taoist Books*, p. 94.

SHITOU XIQIAN

- [40] *Cantong qi* 參同契. Late eighth century.
Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷, 700–91.
A Buddhist text. Available in several editions, including one in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (952).

WEI BOYANG QIFAN DANSHA JUE

- [41] *Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue* 魏伯陽七返丹砂訣. Before 806; commentary written before 1161.
Attributed to Wei Boyang.
Commentary attributed to Huangtong jun 黃童君 (or Huangjun 黃君, identity unknown).
No preface or postface.
- NOTE: This work is first cited in *Shiyao eryl* 石藥爾雅 (CT 901; 806), 2.3b.

- 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, 1445. 3 juan.
CT 888.

- 1a Zhonghua Daozang 中華道藏, 2003.
Tongzhi, 43.23b [七返靈砂歌].

Taoist Books, p. 71. *Tiyao*, no. 882. *Companion*, no. 888.

JINDAN JINBI QIANTONG JUE

- [42] *Jindan jinbi qiantong jue* 金丹金碧潛通訣. Tang.

Anonymous, or attributed to Yang Sanwei 羊三微 (or Yang Canwei 羊參微, late Tang or Five Dynasties).

No preface or postface.

NOTE: Same text as the *Longhu jing*, on which see entries nos. 43 and 44.

- 1 In *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (ca. 1025), Zhengtong Daozang 正統道藏 ed., 1445.

CT 1032, 73.7b-12a.

1a Zhonghua Daozang 中華道藏 ed., 2003.

- 2 In *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (ca. 1025), Qingzhen guan 清真館 ed., 1573/1620 (Wanli 萬曆 reign period).

Repr. in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929).

- 3 In *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (ca. 1025), Siku quanshu 四庫全書 ed., 1782.

Bishu, 2.18a (*) [參同契金碧潛通訣], 2.36a (*) [金碧潛通經]. *Junzhai*, 16.761 (*) [金碧潛通]. *Tongzhi*, 43.6b [參同契金碧潛通訣]. *Quejing*, 2.4b [參同契金碧潛通訣].

“Shumu,” no. 19. *Taoist Books*, p. 119 [金碧潛通經].

GUWEN LONGHU JING ZHUSHU

- [43] *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 古文龍虎經注疏. Tang; commentary written in 1185.

Pages 80-90 are not included in this preview

3

Lost Works

This chapter of the Bibliographic Catalogue lists sixty-three lost works on the *Cantong qi*. While the largest majority of them should be commentaries—as suggested by their titles or by bibliographic evidence—they certainly include works that would better be described as essays on, or as works related to, the *Cantong qi*.

The sixty-three works are listed in an approximate chronological order. Each entry reports the title of the work; its author; and references to premodern and modern bibliographic sources where the work is cited.

Bibliographic works that contain descriptions of texts or of editions (instead of mere citations of their titles) are marked with an asterisk (*). References to bibliographic sources are omitted in a few entries for which no detailed information is available to me. For other conventions and for the abbreviations used in this chapter, see above, pp. 15 ff.

* * *

[69] *Cantong qi zhu* 參同契注. Ca. 200.

Attributed to Yu Fan 虞翻, 164–233. From Kuaiji 會稽 (Zhejiang). Zi: Zhongxiang 仲翔.

NOTE: It is unclear whether this commentary actually existed, and if it did exist, whether it was actually composed by Yu Fan. A sentence apparently found in this work is quoted in the *Jingdian shiwen* (early seventh century), 2.1a. The commentary is also cited in the Yin Changsheng commentary to the *Cantong qi* (no. 2), 3.11a, and Yu Fan refers to it in his *Xishang futan*, 2.3a. Note that Yu Fan is also ascribed with a now-lost commentary to the *Cantong qi Lüli zhi* 京氏參同契律歷志 (a title possibly meaning “Monograph on the Pitch-pipes and the Calendar according to the

Cantong qi”), composed by Jing Fang 京方 (77–37 BCE); see *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, j. 12.

“Shumu,” no. 2.

- [70] Title unknown. Before ca. 700.

Attributed to Caotang 草堂 (identity unknown).

Quoted in the anonymous Waidan commentary (see “Commentaries,” no. 1).

- [71] *Cantong qi zhigui* 參同契指歸. Before 806.

Anonymous.

Cited in *Shiyao eryl* 石藥爾雅 (CT 901), 2.3b.

- [72] *Cantong qi taiyi zhitu* 參同契太易志圖. Before ca. 1050.

Zhang Chu 張處 (Song). *Hao*: Yunchang zi 雲常子, Tianlao shenjun 天老神君.

Other titles: *Cantong qi taiyi tu* 參同契太易圖; *Cantong dayi tu* 參同大易圖; *Cantong qi taiyi zhitu jing* 參同契太易至圖經.

NOTE: This text and texts nos. 74–76 and 91 appear to be closely related to each other. They may also be related to the *Cantong dayi zhi* 參同大易誌, a work attributed to Wei Boyang in the bibliography of the *Songshi* (see below, “Works Attributed to Wei Boyang,” no. 142).

Chongwen, 9.18b–19a. *Bishu*, 2.37a (*). *Junzhai*, 16.755 (*). *Tongzhi*, 43.6b. *Tongkao*, 224.1803 (*). *Songshi*, 205.5179. *Quejing*, 2.5a. *Guoshi*, 4A.14b.

“Shumu,” no. 7. *Taoist Books*, p. 133.

- [73] *Jie cantong qi* 解參同契. Mid-eleventh century.

Zhang Sui 張隨, fl. between 1049 and 1054 (Huangyou 皇祐 reign period).

Other title: *Cantong qi* 參同契.

NOTE: Passages from this commentary are quoted in *Ziyang zhenren wuzhen pian zhushu* (CT 141), 3.10a and 7.10b. See also the *Xiuzhen shishu* commentary to the *Wuzhen pian* (CT 263), 26.6a and 7a.

Junzhai, 16.754 (*). *Tongkao*, 224.1803 (*). *Songshi*, 205.5196. *Guoshi*, 4A.14b.

“Shumu,” no. 12. *Taoist Books*, p. 133.

- [74] *Cantong qi taiyi zhitu* 參同契太易志圖. Before 1144.

Chongxuan zi 重玄子 (identity unknown).

Chongwen, 9.19a. *Tongzhi*, 43.6b.

“Shumu,” no. 8. *Taoist Books*, p. 133.

- [75] *Cantong qi taiyi danshu* 參同契太易丹書. Before 1144.

Anonymous.

Chongwen, 9.19a. *Tongzhi*, 43.6b. *Guoshi*, 4A.15a.

“Shumu,” no. 9. *Taoist Books*, p. 133.

NOTE: *Chongwen*, 9.19a, also has a separate entry for a lost text entitled *Taiyi danshu* 太易丹書.

- [76] *Cantong qi taiyi ershisi qi xiulian dadan tu* 參同契太易二十四氣修鍊大丹圖. Before 1144.

Anonymous.

Other title: *Cantong qi taiyi ershisi qi xiulian huodan tu* 參同契太易二十四氣修鍊火丹圖.

Chongwen, 9.19a. *Tongzhi*, 43.6b. *Guoshi*, 4A.15a.

“Shumu,” no. 10. *Taoist Books*, p. 133.

- [77] *Yinyang tonglüe Cantong qi* 陰陽統略參同契. Before 1144.

Anonymous, or attributed to Xu Congshi 徐從事.

Other title: *Yinyang tonglüe Zhouyi cantong qi* 陰陽統略周易參同契.

Chongwen, 9.18b. *Tongzhi*, 43.6a. *Quejing*, 2.20b. *Guoshi*, 4A.14b.

“Shumu,” no. 1. *Taoist Books*, p. 142.

Pages 94-102 are not included in this preview

4

Works Attributed to Wei Boyang

The final chapter of the Bibliographic Catalogue lists seventeen works attributed to Wei Boyang by different premodern bibliographies and other sources. These attributions testify to the prestige of the *Cantong qi* and of its reputed author, which progressively led to the multiplication of works composed in his name.

Bibliographic works that contain descriptions of texts or of editions (instead of mere citations of their titles) are marked with an asterisk (*). For the abbreviations used in this chapter, see above, p. 17.

* * *

[132] *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契.

[133] *Zhouyi wu xianglei* 周易五相類.

The *Zhouyi cantong qi* is first cited in *Shiyao eryl* 石藥爾雅 (CT 901; 806), 2.3b, as *Cantong qi Wei Boyang jue* 參同契魏伯陽訣.

The entry *Zhouyi wu xianglei* (or *Cantong qi wu xianglei* 參同契五相類, or *Wu xianglei* 五相類, or *Wuxing xianglei* 五行相類) in bibliographic works refers to the third and last Book (*pian*) in the received text of the *Cantong qi*.

The bibliographic references cited below comprise only works relevant to the Tang and Song periods.

Jiu Tangshu, 47.2041 [周易參同契 and 周易五相類]. *Xin Tangshu*, 59.1553 [id.]. *Chongwen*, 9.19b [五相類]. *Bishu*, 2.14b [周易參同契] (*) and 2.90a [五相類] (*). *Suichu*, 29b [參同契]. *Zhizhai*, 12.345 [周易參同契] (*). *Songshi*, 205.5179 [周易參同契]. *Tongzhi*, 43.6b [參同契五相類].

Taoist Books, pp. 111–12 [周易參同契] and p. 81 [周易五相類].

- [—] *Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue* 魏伯陽七返丹砂訣. Before 806; commentary written before 1161.
See “Essays and Related Works,” no. 41.
- [—] *Dadan ji* 大丹記. Tang.
See “Essays and Related Works,” no. 48.
- [134] *Penglai dongshan xizao huandan jing* 蓬萊東山西灶還丹經. Before 1144.
Probably the same as the extant work entitled *Penglai shan xizao huandan ge* 蓬萊山西灶還丹歌 (CT 916).
Chongwen, 10.2a. *Tongzhi*, 43.26a [蓬萊東山西灶還丹歌].
Taoist Books, p. 157.
- [135] *Ganying jue* 感應訣. Before 1144.
Not extant.
Chongwen, 9.24b.
Taoist Books, p. 148.
- [136] *Longhu danjue* 龍虎丹訣. Before 1144.
Not extant.
Chongwen, 9.22b. *Tongzhi*, 43.23b.
Taoist Books, p. 161.
- [137] *Huandan jue* 還丹訣. Before 1145.
Not extant.
Bishu, 2.10a. *Songshi*, 205.5189.
Taoist Books, p. 163.
- [138] *Huojing zhoutian tu* 火鏡周天圖. Before 1145.
Not extant.
Bishu, 2.33a.
Taoist Books, p. 94.
- [139] *Danjing* 丹經. Before 1145.
Not extant.

Bishu, 2.39a (*).

Taoist Books, p. 71.

- [—] *Cantong qi* 參同契. Ca. 1150.

Third chapter in the collection of writings found in the *Daoshu* 道樞, *juan* 32–34. See “Essays and Related Works,” no. 54.

- [140] *Cantong qi* 參同契. Song (?).

Edited by Jiuhua zi 九華子. Not extant.

Zhizhai, 12.351.

Taoist Books, p. 133.

- [141] *Baizhang ji* 百章集. Song (?).

Not extant.

Zhizhai, 12.352 (*). *Quejing*, 2.15b [修真訣百章集].

Taoist Books, p. 102.

- [142] *Cantong dayi zhi* 參同大易誌. Song (?).

Not extant.

Songshi, 205.5179.

Taoist Books, p. 132.

- [143] *Zhouyi menhu cantong qi* 周易門戶參同契. Song (?).

Not extant.

Songshi, 205.5189.

“Shumu,” no. 30 (*). *Taoist Books*, p. 111.

- [144] *Taidan jiuzhuan ge* 太丹九轉歌. Song (?).

Not extant.

Songshi, 205.5189.

Taoist Books, p. 90.

- [—] *Sanguan zhi yao* 三關之要. Before the late fourteenth century.

See “Essays and Related Works,” no. 61.

Part II

Commentaries, Essays and Related Works

Introduction

The following four chapters present an outline of the textual tradition of the *Cantong qi* from the Tang to the Qing dynasties (ca. seventh to nineteenth centuries). The outline generally follows a historical sequence and focuses on commentaries and on some of the most representative essays and related texts.

Bibliographic details on the works included in this outline are found in Part I of the present book. Several sections are concluded by a list of references to studies in Chinese, Japanese, and English. These references supplement those to premodern and modern bibliographic works given in Part I.

Unless otherwise noted, references to the *Cantong qi* are to section and verse numbers in the text reproduced below in Appendix 3, and translated in my *The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, vol. 1.

1

Tang Dynasty and Five Dynasties

After a few mentions in sources dating from the sixth century,¹ approximately from the beginning of the Tang period (618–907) several works display an increased awareness of the *Cantong qi*, and not only in the context of the alchemical traditions. The earliest quotations of the text are found in encyclopedias and in poetical works, showing that, by that time, copies of the *Cantong qi* were kept in the imperial library and circulated among certain literati. The first quotation is found in the *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (Excerpts from the Books of the Northern Hall), an encyclopedia dating from the short-lived Sui dynasty (581–618). This quotation was followed, after a few decades, by those found in the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Classified Compendium of Arts and Letters; 624), and one century later in the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Records for Primary Studies; 725).² Illustrious poets, notably Li Bai 李白 (better known as Li Po, 701–62) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), were also attracted to this text. Li Bai even composed a piece that can be defined as a short poetical paraphrase of the *Cantong qi*, adopting its imagery and vocabulary.³ One of Bai Juyi's poems, also abounding in alchemical terminology, describes a meeting with a Master Guo Xuzhou 郭虛舟 who “taught the *Cantong qi*.”⁴

Around the time in which Bai Juyi was writing, Mei Biao 梅彪 (756–after 806, from Sichuan) recorded for the first time the title of the *Cantong qi* in an extant bibliography, appended to his dictionary

¹ See Pregadio, *The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, vol. 1, pp. 23–25.

² The *Beitang shuchao*, 160.1a, quotes verses 42:3–6. The *Yiwen leiju*, 95.1650, quotes verses 35:11–12. The *Chuxue ji*, 23.549 and 27.645, quotes the whole section 75 and verses 32:7–8, respectively.

³ *Li Bai ji jiaozhu*, 10.691–92. See Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po*, 55–56.

⁴ *Bai Xiangshan shi houji*, 1.9b-10b. See Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i*, 127–28; Ho, Goh and Parker, “Po Chü-i's Poems on Immortality,” 167; and Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, V.3:148–49.

of alchemical synonyms.⁵ By Mei Biao's time, the affiliations of the text with alchemy were firmly established, leading eventually to a multiplication of Waidan and Neidan works attributed to Wei Boyang: different catalogues, most of which date from the Song period, ascribe him with altogether about fifteen works in addition to the *Cantong qi* (see above, pp. 103 ff.). Details on how the text was read and understood in the Tang period are provided by two commentaries that have survived through their inclusion in the Taoist Canon of 1445, which we shall now briefly discuss.⁶

1. ANONYMOUS WAIDAN COMMENTARY

[1] *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注, ca. 700.

While Peng Xiao's commentary, written in 947, has often been regarded to include the earliest extant exegesis of the *Cantong qi*, Chen Guofu was the first scholar to suggest that the anonymous *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* (Commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) dates from between the late-seventh and the mid-eighth centuries.⁷ The only extant edition of this work contains only the first of the three Books (*pian*) in which most other redactions are arranged. The preface,

⁵ The *Shiyao eryl* (CT 901), 2.3b, lists a *Cantong qi Wei Boyang jue* 參同契魏伯陽訣 (a title probably meaning “*The Seal of the Unity of the Three: Instructions by Wei Boyang*”), and an anonymous *Cantong qi zhigui* 參同契指歸 (Pointers to the Meaning of the *Cantong qi*). These citations antedate by about one and a half centuries those found in the *Jiu Tangshu*, which, however, are based on an earlier and now-lost catalogue dating from ca. 720, the *Kaiyuan neiwai jinglu* 開元內外經錄. In his preface (1a-b), moreover, Mei Biao alludes to passages of the *Cantong qi* found in 38:9–12 and 45:6–7.

⁶ According to the introduction to the *Cantong qi* in Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 1:324, “*yinyang*” (a term interpreted as meaning “sexual”, *ibid.*) commentaries to the *Cantong qi* “existed in Tang times.” The anonymous author of this introduction provides a reference to “Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, 80–81.” However, neither are those commentaries cited in any bibliographic or other source, nor does Van Gulik actually state that they existed during the Tang dynasty.

⁷ Chen Guofu, “Rong zihao *Zhouyi cantong qi* Wuming shi zhu.” There are two anonymous commentaries of the *Cantong qi* in the Taoist Canon, both entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu*, one in two *juan* (CT 1004) related to Waidan, the other in three *juan* (CT 1000) related to Neidan.

however, describes the work as divided into three parts, the last of which was entitled *The Five Categories* (*Wu xianglei* 五相類) and is said to have consisted of explications on the first two parts.⁸ Moreover, the commentary refers twice to passages that are found in the latter parts of the text. This shows that the commentary originally included the whole *Cantong qi*.⁹

In addition to mentions of place names officially adopted together only between the years 686 and 760 (with the important indication that those places were the current sources of certain minerals), other details support Chen Guofu's suggestion. All texts and authors quoted in the commentary were written or lived before or during the early Tang period. The evidence provided by tabooed graphs is not unequivocal, but the graphs forming the personal names of Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–49) and Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–83) are often replaced by other graphs.¹⁰ Meng Naichang has provided another substantial indication on the date of the commentary, pointing out that a verse in the anonymous preface is quoted in two Tang texts.¹¹

⁸ *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* (CT 1004), 1.2a.

⁹ See *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu*, 1.19b (故下文云「誡誡如嬰兒慕母」, compare verses 78:9–10); and 1.20a (下篇又云「挺除武都」, verse 87:19). These statements show that the second and third chapters are missing in the present version because they were lost by the time the Taoist Canon was compiled—and not (as suggested in Schipper and Verellen, eds., *Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 1:331) because the author “considers only [the first *juan*] to be the authentic work of Wei Boyang.” In fact, the preface to this commentary states that Wei Boyang played no active role in the composition of the *Cantong qi*, which is Xu Congshi's 徐從事 work (see Pregadio, *The Seal*, vol. 1, p. 10 note 14).

¹⁰ Two of five occurrences of *shi* 世 (part of the personal name of Taizong) are replaced with *su* 俗 in the main text (1.42a and 2.31a). Both characters, however, are found in the commentary, where *shi* 世 appears ten times and *su* 俗 nine times. *Min* 民 (also part of Taizong's name) does not occur at all in the whole text. One of three occurrences of *zhi* 治 (part of the personal name of Gaozong) in the main text is replaced with *li* 理 (1.34b). *Zhi* 治 appears twelve times in the commentary, while *li* 理—the most common replacement for *zhi* 治 for taboo avoidance—appears about three dozen times. To further contradict any clear pattern, this redaction of the *Cantong qi* reads *zhi* 治 in verse 36:12, where other redactions have *fei* 飛 or *zhi* 之. A possible reason of these inconsistencies is that, after the Tang dynasty, the tabooed graphs found in this commentary were replaced with the original forms, but not in a consistent way.

Taken together, the available evidence suggests that the commentary dates from approximately 700 CE. Its contents support this dating. The text interprets several passages of the *Cantong qi* as dealing with a lead-mercury compound called Elixir of Correct Yang (*zhengyang dan* 正陽丹). It also describes methods of other elixirs, and provides instructions on the furnace and other instruments.¹² References to earlier works are especially significant. The anonymous author summarizes one of the lead-mercury recipes and the method of the luting mud for the crucible from the *Jiudan jing* 九丹經 (*Scripture of the Nine Elixirs*).¹³ Acquaintance with the corpus of writings attributed to Hugang zi 狐剛子, dating from the late Six Dynasties, is reflected in a quotation from the *Wujin fen tujue* 五金粉圖訣 (*Illustrated Instructions on the Powders of the Five Metals*).¹⁴ These and other details suggest that the anonymous commentary may be a late product of the southern Waidan traditions centered around the *Cantong qi* during the latter part of the Six Dynasties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chen Guofu, “Rong zihao *Zhouyi cantong qi* Wuming shi zhu.” — Xiao Hanming, “Tang Wudai sanzong zhu *Qi zhi zuo de waidanshu yitong helun*.” — Zeng Chuanhui, *Yuandai Cantong xue*, pp. 89–93.

¹¹ Meng Naichang, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaobian*, 28–29. The two texts are the *Yuqing neishu* (Inner Writ of Jade Clarity; CT 947), 3a, and the *Tongyou jue* (Instructions for Penetrating the Obscurity; CT 913), 23a. Both works quote the passage explicating the title of the *Cantong qi* from the preface of the anonymous commentary, 1a.

¹² One of the clearest statements on the Elixir of Correct Yang is found in 1.16b–17a; see also 1.13a (“Gold is the Elixir of Correct Yang” 金者正陽丹也), 2.6a, and 2.34b–35b. For other elixir recipes see, e.g., 2.24b–25a, and on the furnace, 2.2b.

¹³ For the lead-mercury recipe see the passage in 2.12b–13a, concerned with the Liquid Pearl (*liuzhu* 流珠). The method of this elixir is found in *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* (CT 885), 1.6a (Pregadio, *Great Clarity*, 171). On the luting mud see 2.3a, and *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue*, 1.3b–4a (Pregadio, 166–67). The *Scripture of the Nine Elixirs* is also mentioned in 2.45a.

¹⁴ The *Wujin fen tujue* is quoted as *Wujin jue* 五金訣 in 2.24a. The Essence of Lead is mentioned in 2.12b. On Hugang zi see Pregadio, *Great Clarity*, 247–48.

2. YIN CHANGSHENG COMMENTARY

[2] *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契, ca. 700.

Not long before or after the year 700, another anonymous author wrote the second Tang commentary of the *Cantong qi* exclusively preserved in the Taoist Canon. Attributed to the immortal Yin Changsheng, a legendary master associated with several early Taoist traditions, this work is distinguished by a cosmological interpretation, but contains incidental references to Waidan practices.¹⁵ The commentary quotes several times the *Yisi zhan* 乙巳占 (Prognostications for the Year 645) by the early Tang cosmologist, Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (fl. 633–65). As no later sources or authors are mentioned in the whole text, Chen Guofu suggested that the work must date from the seventh century.¹⁶

Additional evidence confirms this dating. The text of the *Cantong qi* found in the Yin Changsheng commentary is closely related to the text found in the anonymous Waidan commentary. Taking as a unit the single verses of the *Cantong qi*, the Yin Changsheng and the anonymous redaction together diverge more than one hundred and fifty times from the text established by Peng Xiao about two centuries later. About two thirds of these variants are shared by both works, which in many other cases differ only in minor details from one another. As shown by Meng Naichang, moreover, quotations from the *Cantong qi* in several Tang works correspond to the readings of both Tang redactions.¹⁷

¹⁵ In particular, the commentary mentions the drawing of images of the deities of the four directions on the four sides of the furnace; the ingestion of a small quantity of the elixir; and the refining of lead into “white lead” (*fen* 粉, for *hufen* 胡粉, ceruse). See *Zhouyi cantong qi* (CT 999), 1.10a and 1.25b; 1.32b; and 1.37a, respectively. On Yin Changsheng see Campamy, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 274–77, and Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 2:1167.

¹⁶ Chen Guofu, “*Zhouyi cantong qi* Yin Changsheng zhu.” The *Yisi zhan* is quoted in 1.22b, 1.23a, 1.24a, 1.25b, 2.2b, and 2.3b. The unidentified Wang Fusi 王輔嗣 mentioned in the entry on this text in Schipper and Verellen, *Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 1:328, is Wang Bi 王弼 (226–49), whose commentary to the *Book of Changes* is quoted in 1.3b, 1.4a, 1.8b, and 2.8a.

¹⁷ Meng Naichang, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaobian*, 5–30.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chen Guofu, “*Zhouyi cantong qi* Yin Changsheng zhu.” — Xiao Hanming, “Tang Wudai sanzong zhu *Qi zhi zuo de waidanshu yitong helun*.” — Zeng Chuanhui, *Yuandai Cantong xue*, pp. 89–93.

3. THE ESSAY BY LIU ZHIGU

[39] *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論, ca. 750.

In addition to the two Tang commentaries, a third source shows that the *Cantong qi* had reached its present form by the mid-eighth century. The *Riyue xuanshu lun* (Treatise on the Sun and the Moon, the Mysterious Axis) was composed by Liu Zhigu 劉知古 (before 661–after 742, from Sichuan). A *daoshi* and, according to some sources, Magistrate of the Changming 昌明 district in the Jin prefecture 錦州 of present-day Sichuan, Liu was summoned to court by Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–56) near the beginning of his reign to suggest ways to deal with the natural disasters that struck in those years, and again several years later to celebrate Offering (*jiao* 醮) rituals. As shown by a memorial of submission that is contained in one of its two extant versions, the composition and preservation of Liu’s work is closely linked to Xuanzong’s patronage.¹⁸

The *Riyue xuanshu lun* is the earliest extant essay on the *Cantong qi*. Although it has been often described as pertaining to Neidan,¹⁹ it does not specifically refer to “inner practices”: the author’s main purpose is to advocate the cosmological model outlined in the *Cantong qi*—a model that can be applied to both Waidan and Neidan—and to show its superiority compared to other models at the basis of contemporary Waidan methods. Near the end of his treatise, Liu Zhigu states emphatically:

The short-sighted people of the world take the yellow flower of lead

¹⁸ The two versions of Liu Zhigu’s essay are found in *Quan Tang wen*, 334.12a–21a, which includes the memorial; and in *Daoshu*, 26.1a–6b, where the text is abridged and is entitled *Riyue xuanshu pian* 篇. Liu Zhigu has biographies in *Sandong qunxian lu* (preface dated 1154; CT 1248), 1.10b–11a; *Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* (1201; CT 1226), 1.12a–b; and *Lishi zhenxian tidaog tongjian* (ca. 1294; CT 296), 32.2a–3b.

¹⁹ This includes my entry on this text in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 1:694–95, which should be amended in light of the present paragraph.

(*qian huanghua* 鉛黃花), add it to quicksilver, refine it, and make a purple powder; they take cinnabar, quicksilver, realgar, orpiment, laminar and nodular malachite, alum, and mica, and mix and refine them to be fixed by fire; they take the azure stones, the alums, the green stones, and the ashes, mix them with quicksilver and make red silver (*hongyin* 紅銀), and then again transmute it into powder; they boil sulphur in other ingredients to make powder of jade; they dye leaves of copper with sulphur, and refine them into red cinnabar; they transmute copper with arsenic, and shrink tin with iron. This is not what I do. Some say that gold, silver, copper, iron and tin are the five metals. Others say that realgar, orpiment, arsenic, alum, chalcantite, laminar malachite, nodular malachite and alum are the eight minerals. I say: This is not what I mean. *Zi* 子 and *wu* 午 form the 3, *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 make the 5. This is what I call the “eight minerals.”²⁰

In his discussion, Liu Zhigu touches upon several subjects, including the emblematic roles of the Dragon and the Tiger; the symbolism of the five agents and the eight trigrams; and the cycles of the sixty hexagrams (associated with the thirty days of the month) and the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦, associated with the twelve months of the year). In doing so, he repeatedly quotes passages of the *Cantong qi*. These citations consist of four- and five-character verses found in different parts of the present version, and confirm that, by the mid-eighth century, the *Cantong qi* existed essentially in the same form as we know it today. Liu Zhigu quotes or alludes to the passage on the Flowing Pearl and the Green Dragon in section 28; several verses in section 41; the description of the cycle of the year in section 51; the verses “The 9 reverts, the 7 returns, the 8 goes back, the 6 remains” in section 55; the initial portion of section 64; and the verses on realgar and the eight minerals in section 87. Some verses from the “Song of the Tripod” (“Dingqi ge” 鼎器歌) are also quoted. Other significant details are the references to passages in sections 23 and 58 as found in the first (“upper”) and the second (“middle”) Books (*shangjing* 上經 and *zhongjing* 中經) of the *Cantong qi*, respectively. This attests that by the mid-eighth century the *Cantong qi* was already divided into three parts.

²⁰ *Daoshu*, 26.5b-6a (the corresponding text in the *Quan Tang wen*, 334.19a, is much shorter). For the final sentences on the “eight minerals,” compare *Cantong qi* 32:1-4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Qiang Yu, “Liu Zhigu de *Riyue xuanshu lun*.” — Zeng Chuanhui, *Yuandai Cantong xue*, pp. 69–72. — Zhang Qin, “Lun *Riyue xuanshu pian* de neidan sixiang.”

4. CANTONG QI WU XIANGLEI BIYAO

[47] *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 參同契五相類祕要, Tang (prob. eighth century); commentary written in 1111/1117.

While Liu Zhigu grounds the entire alchemical discourse onto the new foundations provided by the *Cantong qi*, an example of the inverse problematic attempt to graft the *Cantong qi* onto earlier, established forms of Waidan is provided by one of the “Wu xianglei” (“Five Categories”) texts preserved in the Taoist Canon, entitled *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* (Secret Essentials of the Five Categories According to the *Cantong qi*).²¹ In the perspective of the *Cantong qi*, only the conjunction of True Lead and True Mercury can produce the Elixir, as these metals are the only substances that belong to the “same category” (or are of the “same kind”, *tonglei* 同類) as Qian ☰ and Kun ☷, the active and passive principles, respectively. As we shall presently see, instead, the *Biyao* applies this notion to a large variety of minerals and metals that are alien to the discourse of the *Cantong qi*.²²

Despite this, the *Biyao* claims to represent the true version of Wei Boyang’s own *Wu xianglei*, which according to one of several different views corresponds to the second Book of the received *Cantong qi*. In fact, according to the *Biyao*, the original *Wu xianglei* composed by Wei Boyang is not the one contained in the *Cantong qi*:

昔真人魏伯陽與淳于叔通、授青州徐從事『參同契』及古歌、魏君丹成、撰此『五相類』、後昇雲而去、令弟子大篆、諸本並

²¹ The two other texts whose titles contain the expression “Wu xianglei” are the *Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei* 陰真君金石五相類 (The Five Categories of Metals and Minerals, by the True Lord Yin Changsheng; CT 906), which essentially consists in an annotated alchemical lexicon; and the *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi* 金碧五相類參同契 (The Seal of the Unity of the Three According to the Five Categories of Gold and Jade; CT 904), which pertains to Neidan. See above the Bibliographic Catalogue, nos. 45 and 46.

²² The main presentation of the principle of “same category” in the *Cantong qi* is found in sections 34–35. See also the comments in *The Seal*, vol. 1, pp. 167–69.

無、皆云『參同契』中卷是也、深屬淺見矣。

Formerly, the True Man Wei Boyang transmitted to Chunyu Shutong the *Cantong qi* and the “Old Songs” by Xu Congshi, who came from Qingzhou (Shandong). When Wei Boyang compounded the Elixir, he wrote this *Wu xianglei*. Later he departed, mounting into the clouds, but ordered his disciples to inscribe [this book] in “seal characters” (*dazhuan*). None of the various editions [of the *Cantong qi*] includes [this book], and they all state that [the original *Wu xianglei*] is the second chapter of the *Cantong qi*. This is indeed a very shallow view.²³

The passage continues by saying that while the *Wu xianglei* that is found in the present-day *Cantong qi* deals with other matters, the *Biyao* “is concerned with the different categories [of ingredients], and with the treatment of the Three Yellows (*sanhuang* 三黃, i.e., sulphur, realgar, and orpiment) and the Two Treasures (*erbao* 二寶, i.e., lead and mercury).”

However, neither sulphur nor realgar and orpiment are part of the discourse of the *Cantong qi*, which, as a matter of fact, blames those alchemist who “roast sulphur above camphor wood” (36:14), and then enjoins: “Dispose of realgar!” (87:19). The same is true of the main part of the *Biyao*, which is devoted to establishing correspondences between twenty or so pairs of mineral and other ingredients, one of which is Yin and the other is Yang: for example, cinnabar and mercury; realgar and orpiment; sulphur and magnetite; litharge and tin; brass and mercury; and salt and iron.²⁴ These and several other

²³ *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao*, 1b. The study by Ho and Needham, “Theories of Categories in Early Mediaeval Chinese Alchemy”, p. 178, contains a different translation of this passage that does not deliver its main point. The passage is fully understandable only in the light of the controversies about the authorship of the *Cantong qi* (see *The Seal*, vol. 1, pp. 9–11). Before the entire *Cantong qi* was attributed to Wei Boyang, one of the views about its origins made Xu Congshi the author of the first chapter, and Wei Boyang the author of the second chapter, which consisted of explanations on the first one and was entitled *Wu xianglei*. See *Zhouyi cantong qi* (CT 999), preface, 1a. This work is approximately contemporary with the main text found in the *Biyao*.

²⁴ See table II, p. 200, in Ho and Needham, “Theories of Categories”; and table 120 in Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, V.4:320.

Pages 120-130 are not included in this preview

2

Song and Yuan Dynasties

Five commentaries to the *Cantong qi* dating from the Song (960–1279) or the Yuan (1279–1368) dynasty are extant. The first was composed in 1197 by Zhu Xi, whose redaction introduces several peculiar readings; his text, as we have seen (above, pp. [Bookmark "_ @ Bao Huanzhi" is missing.] ff.), was used by Bao Huanzhi in 1208 to edit Peng Xiao's redaction. Peng Xiao's text, in its turn, is at the basis of the anonymous Neidan commentary, written some time after Bao Huanzhi's *remaniement*; and of the commentary by Chen Xianwei, dating from 1234. Zhu Xi's redaction, instead, was followed by Chu Yong (also known as Chu Huagu), whose work dates from ca. 1230; and later by Yu Yan, whose remarkable commentary was completed—according to Yu Yan's own statement—in 1284, when the author was in his mid-twenties, but may have undergone revisions before it was published in 1310. Finally, a few decades before the end of the Yuan period (ca. 1330), Chen Zhixu composed the redaction of the *Cantong qi* that served as basis for several commentaries written during the following five centuries (see below, p. 160). Whether the same is or is not deemed to be also true of his exegesis, Chen Zhixu's redaction represents one of the best and most reliable textual states of the *Cantong qi* before the Ming and Qing editions.

Except for the one composed by Zhu Xi, all the above-mentioned commentaries are related to Neidan (Internal Alchemy), which received new major codifications from the early Song period onward. Dozens of works in the *Daozang* (Taoist Canon) of 1445 reflect the influence of the *Cantong qi* on the Taoist alchemical traditions. By far the most important of these works is the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (Awakening to Reality), composed around 1075 by Zhang Boduan 張伯端, the originator of the Southern Lineage (Nanzong 南宗) of Neidan. As shown below, several central notions in the *Wuzhen pian* are not only drawn from the *Cantong qi*, but also formulated in language clearly inspired by it.

In addition to the *Wuzhen pian*, Zhang Boduan is also ascribed—in all likelihood, without historical grounds—with a short poetical essay entitled *Du Zhouyi cantong qi* 讀周易參同契 (Reading the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; no. 57). Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92) wrote a commentary on this poem (no. 60). Another essay in prose, similarly entitled *Du Cantong qi zuo* 讀參同契作 (Written After Reading the *Cantong qi*), was composed by Xiao Tingzhi (fl. 1260), a later representative of the Southern Lineage. Hao Datong (1140–1213), one of the early masters of the Northern Lineage (Beizong 北宗, or Quanzhen 全真), also wrote an essay entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi jianyao shiyi* 周易參同契簡要釋義 (A Synthetic Explanation of the Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) in 1178 (no. 55). In addition to those briefly mentioned here and described in more detail in the present chapter, bibliographic and other sources provide information on about two dozen commentaries and essays on the *Cantong qi* that are no longer extant.

Finally, during the Yuan period, the famous painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) produced a manuscript copy of the *Cantong qi* dated to 1310. His manuscript deserves attention not only as a work of art: being one of the two earliest extant records of the text—with the original edition of Yu Yan's commentary, which also dates from 1310—it is also a major source for textual studies on the *Cantong qi*.¹

1. CANTONG QI AND WUZHEN PIAN

Even though it does not fulfill the formal criteria mentioned above (p. 77) to be considered as a text related to the *Cantong qi*, the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (Awakening to Reality) requires a place in this survey for at least two reasons. First, this text—written by Zhang Boduan 張伯端 around the year 1075—is the most important work entirely composed within the Neidan tradition, and countless representatives of Neidan lineages make reference to it. Second, it abounds in concepts, images, and terms directly derived from the *Cantong qi*.

This section does not intend to compare the doctrines of the *Cantong qi* and the *Wuzhen pian*, and even less so to discuss their

¹ A reprint of Zhao Mengfu's work is found in *Zhao Wenmin gong fashu* (Calligraphic works by Master Zhao Wenmin).

influence on the history of Chinese alchemy, but only to cite a few passages that reveal the analogies between the two texts. In the examples that follow, the titles of the two works are abbreviated as “CTQ” and “WZP”, respectively. For notes on the passages quoted from the *Cantong qi*, see *The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, vol. 1.²

1. Li ☵ and Kan ☷

CTQ “Kan ☵ is man and is the Moon; Li ☲ is woman and is the Sun” (坎男為月、離女為日; 70:1–2)

WZP “The Sun resides in the position of Li ☲, but is a woman; Kan ☵ matches the palace of the toad [i.e., the Moon], yet is a man.” (日居離位反為女、坎配蟾宮卻是男; “Jueju” 15)

2. Cycle of the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (bigua 辟卦)

CTQ “Moving in a ring in accordance with Jade-cog and Armil, rising and falling, ascending and descending, it flows in cycles through the six lines, and can hardly be beheld. Thus it has no constant position: it is the ancestor of change” (循環璇璣、昇降上下、周流六爻、難可察覩、故無常位、為易宗祖; 50:1–6)

WZP “Between south and north, the ancestral source causes the hexagrams to revolve; from daybreak to dusk, the fire times accord with the Celestial Axis” 南北宗源翻卦象、晨昏火侯合天樞; “Lüshi” 5)

This example requires an explanation. In the *Cantong qi*, the “ancestor of change” is the One Breath prior to Heaven (*xiantian yiqi* 先天一氣), which is distributed throughout the cosmos in accordance with the directions of space and the cycles of time. Its circular movement along the time cycles is represented by the twelve “sovereign hexagrams.” This movement accords with the apparent rotation of the Northern Dipper at the center of Heaven. The *Wuzhen pian* uses the same imagery and a similar terminology. The “ancestor of change” of the *Cantong qi* is its “ancestral source.” The “movement in a ring” is expressed by its words, “between south and north.” Just as the “ancestor of change” in the *Cantong qi* “flows in cycles through the six lines” of the hexagrams (from

² The quotations from the *Wuzhen pian* derive from the text found in Wang Mu, *Wuzhen pian qianjie* (*wai san zhong*).

the rebirth of Yang to its exhaustion), so does the “ancestral source” of the *Wuzhen pian* cause “the hexagrams to revolve” (from Fu ䷋, which stands for the rebirth of Yang, to Kun ䷁, which stands for its exhaustion). Finally, the rotation of the hexagrams is determined by the Northern Dipper, which is referred to in the *Cantong qi* by its second and third stars, Jade-cog and Armil; and in the *Wuzhen pian* by Celestial Axis, which is the first star of the Dipper and denotes, by extension, the whole constellation.

3. *Inversion of the “generation” (xiangsheng 相生) sequence of the five agents*

CTQ “Metal is the mother of Water — [but] the mother is hidden in the embryo of her son” (金為水母、母隱子胎; 23:1–2)

WZP “As the two things entirely depend on one another, the child gives birth to its mother” (二物總因兒產母; “Jueju” 17)

4. *“Three, Five, and One” (san wu yi 三五一)*

CTQ “The Three Fives combine into One, the ultimate essence of Heaven and Earth” (三五與一、天地至精; 63:5–6) [See also 72:15–16 and 79:13–14]

WZP “Three, Five, One — all is in these three words” (三五一都三箇字; “Lüshi” 14)

5. *“Two Eights” (erba 二八)*

CTQ “Two times 8 corresponds to one pound” (or: “The Two Eights correspond to one pound” 二八應一斤; 29:5)

WZP “For the Medicine to weigh one pound, the Two Eights are needed” (藥重一斤須二八; “Lüshi” 7) [See also “Lüshi” 8, and “Jueju” 18]

6. *“Being of the same kind” (or: “category”, tonglei 同類)*

CTQ “. . . Eggs are employed for hatching chicks . . . Like kinds yield results with ease; unlike types are a challenge to craft” (. . . 覆雞用其卵 . . . 同類易施工、非種難為巧; 35:4 and 80:11–12)

WZP “. . . to hatch a chicken, you must use an egg. If all things are of unlike kinds, you merely toil yourself” (. . . 覆雞當用卵為之、

萬般非類徒勞力; “Jueju” 8)

7. “Punishment and virtue” (xingde 刑德)

CTQ “Punishment and virtue meet, seeing each other with delight . . . [W]hen the knights array themselves at the gates of *mao* . . . In the second month, the elm seeds fall when Head faces *mao*; in the eighth month, wheat grows when Celestial Net accords with *you*” (刑德並會、相見歡喜 . . . 二月榆落 . . . 魁臨於卯、八月麥生、天罡據酉’ 73:5–6, 51:22, 73:9–12)

WZP “As the months of the hare and the rooster (i.e., the second and the eighth months) reach their time, punishment and virtue approach the gates — the Medicine takes these images as models.” (兔雞之月及其時、形德臨門藥象之; “Jueju” 34)

In addition to these examples, which concern major doctrinal notions, the *Wuzhen pian* draws several other images and terms from the *Cantong qi*. For example, the *Cantong qi* describes the joining of Lead and Mercury saying that first the Golden Flower (Lead) is heated, and then the Flowing Pearl of Great Yang (Mercury) joins it. The *Wuzhen pian* describes this process using the same images:

CTQ “The Golden Flower is the first to sing . . . The Yang (i.e., the Flowing Pearl of Great Yang) is next to join it” (金華先唱 . . . 陽乃往和; 62:7, 11)³

WZP “First the green leaves open, for Yang is the first to sing, then a red flower blossoms, as Yin follows later” (初開綠葉陽光倡、次發紅花陰後隨; “Lüshi” 12)

Other instances of shared vocabulary between the *Cantong qi* and the *Wuzhen pian* concern common alchemical terms, such as Yellow Sprout (*huangya* 黃芽), Lovely Maid (*chanü* 姹女), River Chariot (*heche* 河車), and several others.

³ Note that, in these verses, “the Yang” is an abbreviation of “Flowing Pearl of Great Yang” (*taiyang liuzhu* 太陽流珠), which is a common alchemical name of Mercury. Since Mercury is an emblem of True Yin, “the Yang” actually means “the Yin.”

2. “CANTONG QI” (DAOSHU)

[54] “Cantong qi” 參同契, ca. 1150; contains earlier texts.

During the Song dynasty, Zeng Zao 曾慥 (?–1155) published his *Daoshu* 道樞 (Pivot of the Dao), a major anthology of Neidan and related texts. Three chapters of this work (*juan* 32–34) are entitled “Cantong qi.” Although these chapters have been described as embodying a different version of the *Cantong qi*, they consist in fact of several writings individually related to the *Cantong qi*, but not directly related to one another, which were edited and compiled by Zeng Zao.

1. *Juan* 32 is anonymous. It contains:

(a) 32.1a1–9a7, 9b5–27a1, and 33a7–33b8: Unidentified texts.

(b) 32.9a7–9b5: Part of an anonymous text also found in *Yunji qiqian*, j. 63.

(c) 32.27a1–28b1: Part of the *Taiqing yu beizi* 太清玉碑子 (Jade Stele of the Great Clarity; CT 927). This work is associated with Hugang zi 狐剛子, an alchemist who is ascribed with several works, now extant in fragments, dating from the late Six Dynasties. It mentions Hugang zi as a disciple of Wei Boyang (6b), and contains materials of interest for the textual history of the *Cantong qi*. It also includes the well-known passage of the *Zhen-gao* 真誥 that ties to *Cantong qi* to Chunyu Shutong (see *The Seal*, vol. 1, p. 8).⁴

(d) 32.28b1–33a7: The whole *Huanjin shu* 還金述 (On the Return to Gold; CT 922), by Tao Zhi 陶植 (or 陶埴, ?–826).⁵

2. *Juan* 33 contains an otherwise unknown text attributed to Lou Jing 婁敬 (*hao*: Caoyi zi 草衣子, Dongzhen Zixuan 洞真子玄). Lou Jing is said to be the original name of the Han-dynasty official, Liu Jing 劉敬.⁶

⁴ On Hugang zi see Pregadio, *Great Clarity*, 242–50 *passim*. For the quotation of the *Zhengao* passage, see *Taiqing yu beizi* (CT 927), 6a.

⁵ For verses of the *Cantong qi* quoted in the *Huanjin shu* see above, p. 129.

⁶ Lou Jing is also ascribed with the *Da huandan qi bitu* 大還丹契秘圖 (no. 49).

3. *Juan* 34 is attributed to Wei Ao 魏翱 (*zi*: Boyang 伯陽; *hao*: Yunya zi 雲牙子). The text in this chapter corresponds to the entire *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi* 金碧五相類參同契 (The Seal of the Unity of the Three According to the Five Categories of Gold and Jade; no. 45). Wei Ao supposedly transmitted the text to Yuanyang zi 元陽子, who wrote a commentary (see 34.1a). The *hao* Yunya zi for Wei Boyang appears to have been used for the first time by Yu Yan.⁷ As for Yuanyang zi, it is significant that this was the *hao* of Yang Canwei 羊參微 (or Sanwei 三微), who is sometimes ascribed with the alchemical paraphrase of the *Cantong qi* known as *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 (Book of Gold and Jade) during the Tang dynasty, and later re-entitled *Longhu jing* 龍虎經 (Book of the Dragon and the Tiger; see above, pp. 126 ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chen Guofu, “Caoyi Dongxuan zi, Yunya zi, Yuanyang zi.” — Jin Zhengyao, “*Jinbi Wu xianglei Cantong qi* Songdai bieben zhi faxian.” — Meng Naichang, “*Cong Xin Jiu Tangshu zhong shiluole de Wu xianglei*.” — Qin Weigang, “*Nan Song chuqi Cantong qi wenxian shitai kaocha*”, part 1. — Zeng Chuanhui, *Yuandai Cantong xue*, pp. 76–89.

3. ZHU XI

[4] *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異, 1197.

The best-known commentary of the *Cantong qi* outside the Taoist tradition was composed by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200, from Anhui). His *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* (Investigation of Discrepancies in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) is the first of several works, written through the Qing period, that testify to the attention paid by Neo-Confucian thinkers and scholars to the *Cantong qi*. It is also the work that more than any other lifted the *Cantong qi* out of an exclusive relation to Taoism.

Zhu Xi's active interest in the *Cantong qi* arose in the last decades of his life. As he also did for the *Yixue qimeng* 易學啟蒙 (Instructing the Young in the Studies on the *Changes*; 1186), for the composition of the *Kaoyi* Zhu Xi benefited from the advice of his disciple and

⁷ *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* (CT 1005), 9.15b.

friend Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 (1135–98), an expert of the *Book of Changes* with whom Zhu Xi corresponded regularly on details of interpretation. The final version of the commentary owes much to Cai, who closely examined the text with Zhu Xi in early 1197.⁸ The commentary was almost certainly completed shortly thereafter, between the end of 1197 and the beginning of 1198.⁹

Zhu Xi, whose interest in the esoteric traditions of Taoism is also documented by a commentary to the *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (Scripture of the Hidden Response), signed his work as “Zou Xi, Master of the Dao of Unity-in-Emptiness” 空同道士鄒訢. In this unique appellation, formed by paronomasia, Zou 鄒 is another name of the ancient kingdom of Zhu 邾, whose graph contains the graph of Zhu Xi’s surname, while the graph 「訢」, usually pronounced *xin*, is also read *xi* and, in one of its uses, stands for the word *xi* (“bright,” usually represented by 「熹」), which is Zhu Xi’s first name.

The *Kaoyi* is—at least in principle, as we shall presently see—the earliest extant exegesis of the *Cantong qi* based on a critical examination of different redactions and editions. As Zhu Xi states in his postface,¹⁰ his work was inspired by the disappointing state of the text, due to alterations introduced by earlier editors and commentators. Upon completing his commentary, nevertheless, Zhu Xi acknowledges that in the *Cantong qi* “there are still many dubious and obscure points” (*shang duo yihui* 尚多疑晦). His appraisal of the literary quality and the difficulty of the text has been frequently quoted in later works:

『參同契』文章極好、蓋後漢之能文者為之、讀得亦不枉、其用字皆根據古書、非今人所能解、以故皆為人枉解。

The text of the *Cantong qi* is exquisite. It must have been written by a

⁸ *Zhuzi yulei* (Classified Sayings of Zhu Xi), 107.2670; also quoted in *Zhouyi cantong qi* [*kaoyi*] (CT 1001), 3.8a-b.

⁹ On the genesis of Zhu Xi’s commentary see Azuma Jūji, “Shu Ki *Shūeki sandōkei kōi* ni suite,” especially pp. 176–78; and Kim Yung Sik, “The *Ts’ant’ung-ch’i k’ao-i*,” pp. 101–5 (especially p. 104). In 1198, Zhu Xi also wrote a short essay entitled “*Cantong qi shuo*” 參同契說 (On the *Cantong qi*), where he criticizes certain interpretations of cosmological cycles in relation to the alchemical “fire times.” See *Zhu Wengong wenji* (Collected Writings of Zhu Xi), 67.25a-26b.

¹⁰ *Zhouyi cantong qi* [*kaoyi*], 3.8a.

capable author of the Later Han dynasty. It is never senseless, but since its language is grounded on ancient works and is beyond the understanding of present-day people, it has been interpreted in senseless ways.¹¹

The interpretation offered in the *Kaoyi* is primarily cosmological. Although Zhu Xi states that the *Cantong qi* does not consist of an explication of the *Book of Changes*, but uses its emblems to describe the Neidan practice,¹² the most detailed remarks in his commentary concern passages related to cosmology, and the alchemical import of the text is often neglected or discounted. In fact, Zhu Xi comments on about a dozen passages by saying “I do not clearly understand what this means” (*wei xiang qi zhi* 未詳其指) or in analogous ways.¹³ On the other hand, the junctures at which Zhu Xi inserts his comments are often more accurate than the subdivisions into sections made by Peng Xiao.

The *Kaoyi* was first published by Cai Yuanding’s son, Cai Yuan 蔡淵 (1156–1236), in 1198, shortly after its completion.¹⁴ Later, in the first half of the fourteenth century, it was edited by Huang Ruijie 黃瑞節 (fl. 1341), who included it in his *Zhuji chengshu* 朱子成書, an early collection of Zhu Xi’s works. Huang added an undated preface, as well as notes consisting of his own comments and of quotations from other works by Zhu Xi. In addition to the *Kaoyi*, Huang knew Peng Xiao’s commentary in the reedition by Bao Huanzhi, whom he quotes in his preface and in a note attached to Zhu Xi’s commentary.¹⁵

In clear contrast with its title, and with Zhu Xi’s own statements about his philological work found in both the preface and the postface, the commentary contains only a handful of critical notes. In other works, moreover, Zhu Xi points out variants and suggests

¹¹ *Zhuji yulei*, 125.3002; also quoted by Huang Ruijie in *Zhouyi cantong qi* [*kaoyi*], preface, 2b-3a.

¹² *Zhouyi cantong qi* [*kaoyi*], preface, 2a.

¹³ *Zhouyi cantong qi* [*kaoyi*], 1.3b, 1.11b, 1.14b, 1.16a, 1.18a, 2.8b, 2.10a, 2.11a, 3.2a, 3.4a, and 3.5b. On this point see Azuma, “Shu Ki *Shūeki sandōkei kōi* ni tsuite,” p. 181, who provides a detailed analysis of the commentary on pp. 181–86; and Kim Yung Sik, “The *Ts’an-t’ung-ch’i k’ao-i*,” pp. 121–22.

¹⁴ See Lin Zhenli, “Zhu Xi: Zuowei bianji chubanjia de pingjie,” 181.

¹⁵ *Zhouyi cantong qi* [*kaoyi*], preface, 1b, and 1.5a, respectively.

emendations that are ignored in the *Kaoyi*.¹⁶ The limited number of critical notes in the *Kaoyi* did not fail to draw the attention of the *Siku quanshu* editors, whose descriptive note on Zhu Xi's work contains this passage:

Zhu Xi's postface states: "I have retained all agreements and variants (*tongyi* 同異) [among different redactions and editions] and have provided textual investigations and verifications (*kaozheng* 考證)." Therefore his work is entitled *Investigation of Discrepancies*. It should be noted, however, that the only explications of "agreements and variants" in the whole book are those concerning the graph *zhi* 治 in the verse 「天下然後治」 ("only [when the function of Qian and Kun is at work] can the world be governed", 14:18), which "some write *li* 理", and the graph *xi* 熹 in the verse 「威光鼎乃熹」 ("the tripod glows with awesome radiance", 31:8), which "is originally written *xi* 喜 and some write *xi* 僖." These are the two only instances in which Zhu Xi collates different editions. The instances in which Zhu Xi supplies textual notes are no more than six or seven. These concern, for example, the graph *xiu* 修, which Zhu Xi suspects should read *xun* 循 (40:7); the graphs *wuliu* 六五, which he suspects should read *nianliu* 廿六 (49:33); the graph *qian* 鉛, which he suspects should read *qian* 飴 (56:10); and the graph *yu* 與, which he suspects should read *wei* 為 (63:5). In all other instances, the notes found after each section are in the format of a commentary, and do not contain exhaustive textual emendations (*dingzheng wenzi* 訂正文字). For the above reasons, one cannot make sense of the title *Investigation of Discrepancies*.¹⁷

The case is strong enough to assume that a number of critical notes were expunged by Huang Ruijie, or possibly by someone before him.¹⁸ A confirmation in this regard is provided by Yu Yan, who, writing fifty years before Huang Ruijie, states that he found it superfluous to

¹⁶ See Azuma, "Shu Ki *Shūeki sandōkei kōi* ni tsuite," pp. 178–79 and note 10, p. 189. Azuma does not mention Huang Ruijie and his editorial work, and suggest that Zhu Xi's postface may not be authentic.

¹⁷ *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 146.1294

¹⁸ It may be significant, under this light, that Huang Ruijie reentitled Zhu Xi's commentary *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解 (Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), since his edition retains the explanations (*jie* 解) but dismisses most of the philological notes (the *kaoyi* 考異 proper) found the original text.

duplicate variants already pointed out by Zhu Xi: this remark would hardly be meaningful if the critical apparatus in the *Kaoyi* had been as exiguous as it is in the received version.¹⁹ Further, and most significantly, in his own textual notes on the *Cantong qi*, Yu Yan refers twice to Zhu Xi's critical comments that are not found in the received text of the *Kaoyi*:

1. The first comment concerns verse 15:12: "They would part away from each other" (諺離俯仰). For *yangfu* 仰俯, other redactions or editions read *fuyang* 俯仰. Yu Yan writes: "Zhu Xi says: The correct reading is *yangfu* 仰俯" (「朱子謂、當作仰俯」). This sentence is not found in Zhu Xi's received text.
2. The second comment concerns verses 64:9–10: "Thus they bite and they gulp, they chew and they swallow each other" (遂相銜咽、咀嚼相吞). These verses are found after verse 62:16 in Yu Yan's redaction, which follows Zhu Xi's text. Yu Yan reports a note that was found in Zhu Xi's commentary:

Zhu Xi says: These two verses (i.e., 64:9–10) should come after the verses "The two feed on one another and crave one for the other" (兩相飲食、俱相貪併, 64:7–8), [because] the four verses (i.e., 64:7–10) are tied to one another and are connected by their meaning. They should not be found here (i.e., after 62:16). (「朱子謂、今按二句、自屬下文『俱相貪併』之下、四句相承、語意連屬、不當在此」).

Contradicting this remark, verses 64:9–10 are found after 64:7–8 in Zhu Xi's received text, and not after 62:16. It seems evident that Huang Ruijie (or perhaps another earlier editor of Zhu Xi's work) moved the two verses from section 62 to section 64 in agreement with Zhu Xi's remark, and eliminated the remark.

Zhu Xi does not state which redaction of the *Cantong qi* provided the basis of his work. Textual comparison shows that he certainly knew Peng Xiao's redaction, but also followed readings of the Tang text derived from the Yin Changsheng redaction, or from a very close

Pages 142-158 are not included in this preview

¹⁹ *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* (CT 1006), preface, 3b.

Ming and Qing Dynasties

With the exception of Zhu Xi's work, all extant commentaries to the *Cantong qi* written through the Yuan period are related to the Taoist alchemical traditions. During the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, the *Cantong qi* continued to exert its prestige on Neidan, but its influence also extended to other fields.

Zhu Xi's commentary inspired many literati to read the text and write commentaries, essays, and notes about it. The works by Xu Wei and Wang Wenlu during the Ming period, and those by Li Guangdi, Wang Fu, and Li Shixu during the Qing period, are representative of this trend. The large number of lost commentaries and related texts—no less than three dozen during the two dynasties—is related to the same phenomenon. Most of them were never printed and, unlike the Taoist and alchemical commentaries, were not intended for transmission from master to disciple. It is often owed only to the catalogues of book collectors and to the efforts of the editors of local monographs (*difang zhi* 地方誌) that we know of the existence of these works.¹

Related developments occurred in two fields closely associated with one another, namely cosmology and philology. One of the main compendia of traditional cosmological knowledge written during the Qing period, Hu Wei's 胡渭 (1633–1714) *Yitu mingbian* 易圖明辨 (Clarifications on the *Book of Changes* and Its Charts), contains a chapter almost entirely devoted to the *Cantong qi*. It provides detailed information on the authorship and the history of the text, and discusses its views on cosmology with numerous quotations from commentaries and related works, especially those by Zhu Xi and by Yu Yan.² Philological remarks on six passages of Yu Yan's redaction are found in the notes on the *Siku quanshu* that Wang Taiyue 王太岳 and

¹ About a dozen lost Ming and Qing commentaries are cited only in local monographs, and nine are cited in catalogues of private libraries, especially Huang Yuji's 黃虞稷 (1629–91) *Qianqing zhai* 千頃齋 in Nanjing.

² *Yitu mingbian*, 3.1a–41b.

other scholars published in 1783.³ The eminent textual scholar, Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908), annotated three passages of Zhu Xi’s redaction in 1894.⁴ The *Cantong qi*, moreover, was one of the sources for the last major premodern dictionary of the Chinese language, the *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Dictionary of the Kangxi Reign Period; 1716). This work quotes the *Cantong qi* to illustrate the meanings of a few words or phrases, and to provide examples of uncommon pronunciations of certain graphs.⁵ Quotations of the *Cantong qi* are also found in Qing-dynasty rhyme-books. In particular, the *Qinding yayun huiji* 欽定押韻彙輯 (Compendium of Rhymes, Compiled by Imperial Command; 1725) cites the *Cantong qi* more than one hundred times.⁶

The main indicators of textual filiation (see Appendix 2) show that the redaction by Chen Zhixu was, either on its own or at least to a substantial extent, at the basis of the commentaries by Zhang Wenlong, Xu Wei, Wang Wenlu, Zhen Shu, Li Guangdi, Wang Fu, and Dong Dening. In addition, the text redacted by Chen Zhixu gained renown—albeit anonymously—among literati and scholars when, in 1592, the *Cantong qi* was included in the expanded version of the *Han Wei congshu* 漢魏叢書 (Collected Works of the Han and the Wei Dynasties). This highly regarded collection features the *Cantong qi* at the beginning of the “Masters” (“Zi” 子) section. It

³ *Qinding siku quanshu kaozheng*, 73.43a–b.

⁴ “*Zhouyi cantong qi*”, in his *Zhayi*, 11.14a–15a.

⁵ The *Kangxi zidian* quotes passages of the *Cantong qi* in at least four entries, concerned with the words or phrases *ya* 芽 (“sprout, beginning”, 22:8), *bagui* 八歸 (“the 8 goes back”, 55:8, including a quotation from Chen Zhixu’s commentary), *chanü* 姸女 (“lovely maid”, 68:1), and *tiangang* 天罡 (“Celestial Net”, 73:12). The *Kangxi zidian* also refers to the *Cantong qi* for the uncommon pronunciations of several characters: *yi* 一, pronounced like *xi* 兮 in 22:6; *si* 祀, pronounced like *ci* 祠 in 26:16; *tai* 臺, pronounced like *ti* 題 in 37:22; *ya* 芽, pronounced like *wu* 吾 in 42:6; and *rong* 容, pronounced like *yang* 陽 in 85:8. (On this subject, see also the next footnote).

⁶ This and similar works—e.g., the *Maoshi guyin kao* 毛詩古音考 (A Study of the Ancient Rhymes of the *Book of Odes*)—provide intriguing hints about the readings of certain graphs of the *Cantong qi*, which sometimes match the “irregular” readings of the same graphs in such sources as the *Book of Odes*, the *Songs of Chu*, and other poetical works. Based on these readings, certain verses of the *Cantong qi* that appear to fall outside the rhyme patterns would actually rhyme with the adjacent verses. The *Qinding yayun huiji* and the *Maoshi guyin kao* are both found in the *Siku quanshu*.

contains the text found in Zhang Wenlong's commentary of 1566, which in turn is based on Chen Zhixu's redaction.⁷

During the Ming period, Du Yicheng created the "Ancient Text" ("Guwen") version of the *Cantong qi*, which Yang Shen later republished under his own name (see pp. 185 ff.). Ten commentaries to this version are extant. The Ancient Text also inspired the new, atypical formats of the standard version of the *Cantong qi* contained in the commentaries by Xu Wei, Li Guangdi, and Li Shixu. Finally, several commentaries to the standard text—those by Peng Xiao, Chen Xianwei, Yu Yan, Chen Zhixu, Lu Xixing, and Zhu Yuanyu—were adapted to the format of the Ancient Text and republished in miscellanea by Jiang Yibiao, Ji Dakui, and Gong Yitu.⁸ A related but inverse phenomenon also occurred: from the Ming period onward, the authors of several Ming and Qing commentaries to the standard version of the *Cantong qi* increasingly discuss its authorship in terms of a "Canon" ("Jing" 經) attributed to Wei Boyang, and a "Commentary" ("Zhu" 注) attributed to Xu Congshu, a view directly inspired by the format of the Ancient Text.

⁷ The 1592 expanded version of the collection is entitled *Guang Han Wei congshu* 廣漢魏叢書. All the main indicators of textual filiation show that it contains Chen Zhixu's text in the version edited by Zhang Wenlong, but two details are sufficient to demonstrate it. (1) The text is divided into the same 35 chapters of Chen Zhixu, but the first chapter is not numbered, and the remaining chapters are numbered from 1 to 34, as in Zhang Wenlong's text. (2) The redactions prior to Chen Zhixu record verse 32:8 as "The Flowing Pearl is the mother of Water" (流珠水之母). Chen Zhixu changes this verse to "The Flowing Pearl is the child of Water" (流珠水之子), and adds a gloss saying "The graph *mu* 母 ('mother') is wrong" (「作『母』字非」). Zhang Wenlong, in turn, alters Chen Zhixu's text into "the Flowing Pearl is the child of Wood" 流珠木之子. In order to account for this change, but nevertheless preserve the gloss, Zhang Wenlong also alters the gloss into "The graph *xiao* 孝 ('filial son') is wrong" (「作『孝』字非」). The same variant and the same gloss are found in the *Han Wei congshu*.

⁸ Despite its title, the *Chongzheng Guwen zhouyi cantong qi zhenyi* (True Meaning of the Ancient Text of the Zhouyi cantong qi, Newly Emended; no. 17), by Huang Shiyong 黃士英 (prob. late sixteenth century), does not follow the arrangement of the Ancient Text. This work includes the commentaries by Peng Xiao, Chen Xianwei, and Chen Zhixu.

1. ZHANG WENLONG AND ZHU CHANGCHUN

[10] *Zhouyi cantong qi jiejian* 周易參同契解箋, 1566 and 1612.

The *Zhouyi cantong qi jiejian* (An Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, with Additional Annotations) contains a commentary by Zhang Wenlong 張文龍 (fl. 1566, from Shaanxi) and a subcommentary by Zhu Changchun 朱長春 (fl. 1583–1612, from Zhejiang). Zhang Wenlong obtained his *juren* degree in 1546 and served the Qing administration with a minor office in Chengdu (Sichuan).⁹ Zhu Changchun, who obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1583 and was Secretary (*zhushi* 主事) in the Ministry of Justice, is also known as the editor of an extant commentary to the *Guanzi* 管子.¹⁰

The text of the *Cantong qi* found in this work is based on Chen Zhixu's redaction. It is divided into 35 chapters that follow those of Chen Zhixu, except that the first chapter bears no number, and the remaining ones are numbered from 1 to 34. The main indicators of textual filiation consistently agree with Chen Zhixu's text, including the sequences of verses 2:3–6, 46:9–12, and 72:9–14, and the presence of verse 15:2 (even Chen Zhixu's gloss, "Other redactions lack this verse", is included).¹¹ Unlike Chen Zhixu's redaction, however, Zhang Wenlong's text contains the "Eulogium" ("Zanxu" 讚序) as an appendix to chapter 34, clearly set apart from the main text. This section is drawn from Yu Yan's redaction, as shown by readings found only in his text.

Zhang Wenlong's and Zhu Changchun's commentaries are marked as "Explications" ("Jie" 解) and "Annotations" ("Jian" 箋), respectively. Several chapters are concluded by appendixes containing quotations from earlier commentaries to the *Cantong qi*—especially those by Yu Yan and Chen Zhixu—and other works.

⁹ On Zhang Wenlong see *Xuxiu Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao (gaoben)*, 19:370–71; and the entries on Chen Zhixu's and Li Guangdi's commentaries in *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 146.1249 and 147.1257, respectively. While there is no indication that he was initiated or formally ordained as a Taoist, the colophon to the *Han Wei congshu* edition of his work calls him a "true man" (*zhenren* 真人).

¹⁰ On Zhu Changchun and his *Guanzi* commentary see *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 101.849.

¹¹ For more details on this point see above, p. 161 note 7.

2. LU XIXING

[11] *Zhouyi cantong qi ceshu* 周易參同契測疏, 1569.

[12] *Zhouyi cantong qi kouyi* 周易參同契口義, 1573.

The reputed founder of the Eastern Branch (Dongpai 東派) of Ming-dynasty Neidan, Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520–1601 or 1606, from Jiangsu), wrote two commentaries to the *Cantong qi*.¹² The first is the *Zhouyi cantong qi ceshu* (An Exploratory Commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), which was completed in 1569. It is divided 49 sections, and also includes the essay on the *Cantong qi* attributed to Zhang Boduan, followed by Lu Xixing's own comments. The second commentary is the *Zhouyi cantong qi kouyi* (Oral Instructions on the Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), which was completed in 1573 and consists in a considerably revised version of the *Ceshu*. The *Kouyi* contains only 46 sections, and refers the reader to the *Ceshu* for the final three sections. It is concluded by several charts and illustrations.

Although Lu Xixing praises Chen Zhixu in his preface to the *Ceshu*, and although the titles of several sections in his text are identical or similar to those found in Chen Zhixu's work, the main indicators of textual filiation show that his text is based on Yu Yan's redaction. In particular, Lu Xixing follows Yu Yan in the sequences of verses 2:3–6, 46:9–12, and 72:9–14; in placing verses 64:9–10 after 62:16, and section 85 after section 13; and in omitting verses 45:9–10. Lu Xixing's commentary, moreover, includes the "Eulogium," with readings corresponding to those found only in Yu Yan's text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Liu Ts'un-yan, "Lu Hsi-hsing and his Commentaries on the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*." — Zeng Chuanhui, *Yuandai Cantong xue*, 108–12.

3. XU WEI

[13] *Fenshi guzhu Cantong qi* 分釋古注參同契, ca. 1570.

The famous dramatist, poet, and calligrapher Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521–93,

¹² On Lu Xixing and his works see Goodrich and Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 991–94; Qing Xitai, ed., *Zhongguo Daojiao*, 1:387; and the entry by Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein in Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 719–21.

from Zhejiang) wrote his *Fenshi guzhu Cantong qi* (An Analytical Explication of Ancient Commentaries to the *Cantong qi*) in jail, where he was serving a sentence for uxoricide. A short colophon signed by Qintian Shuiyue 秦田水月 tells that he had received the *Cantong qi* on Mount Wuyi (Wuyi shan 武夷山, Fujian) from a Nangdao zhe 囊道者, also known as Qingteng shanren 青藤山人. Despite ten years of attempts, says the colophon, Qintian Shuiyue had not yet succeeded in ascertaining Nangdao zhe's identity. Both characters in this account are Xu Wei's *alter egos*, since their names are known as his pseudonyms.¹³

Except for the fanciful colophon, Xu Wei's work does not bear a preface or a postface. His collected works, however, include an undated essay entitled "Preface to a Commentary to the *Cantong qi*" ("Zhu *Cantong qi* xu" 注參同契序).¹⁴ In this essay, Xu Wei maintains that the present *Cantong qi* contains not only Wei Boyang's Canon, but also Xu Congshi 徐從事's Commentary. He rejects, however, the arrangement of the Ancient Text, disputing the view that Canon and Commentary respectively consist of the portions in four- and five-character verses. According to Xu Wei, the portions that in most redactions of the *Cantong qi* correspond to Book 1 are Wei Boyang's Canon; those that correspond to Book 2 are Xu Congshi's Commentary; and those that correspond to Book 3 are equally divided between Canon and Commentary.

On the basis of this understanding, Xu Wei divides the *Cantong qi* into three Books, followed by a Postface ("Houxu"). Each section of the Canon is immediately followed by the corresponding section of the Commentary. The result of this rearrangement is actually similar to the version that Xu Wei criticized: the correspondences between the sections that he designates as Canon and Commentary often match those pointed out by commentators of the Ancient Text. The main difference is that, in Xu Wei's text, Canon and Commentary are not set apart from one another according to

¹³ "Qintian Shuiyue" 秦田水月 is a wordplay on Xu Wei's name, created by reading the graph *xu* 徐 as formed by *sanren* 三人 and *he* 禾, and reassembling these graphs into the graph *qin* 秦; and by breaking the graph *wei* 渭 into its components *tian* 田, *shui* 水, and *yue* 月. Xu Wei has a biography in *Mingshi*, 288.7387–88. See also Goodrich and Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 609–12, and Nienhauser, ed., *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 1:436–37. On his relation to Taoism, see Zhang Songhui, "Tan Xu Wei de daoshi shenfen ji qi yu Daojia Daojiao de guanxi."

¹⁴ *Xu Wei ji*, 19.543–44. See also p. 186, note 6 below.

SECTION	TEXT		COMMENTARY	
<i>Shang pian</i> 上篇 (Book 1) [1–17; 43–52]				
1	1–3	[I]	43–47	[XVI–XVII]
2	4–17	[II–V]	48–52	[XVIII–XIX]
<i>Zhong pian</i> 中篇 (Book 2) [18–27; 53–61]				
3	18–25	[VI–VII]	53–60	[XX–XXII]
4	26–27	[VIII]	61	[XXIII]
<i>Xia pian</i> 下篇 (Book 3) [28–42, 82–85; 62–81]				
5	28–29	[IX]	62–65	[XXIV]
6	30–31	[X]	66–67	[XXV]
7	32–33	[XI]	68–71	[XXVI–XXVII]
8	34–38	[XII–XIII]	72	[XXVIII]
9	39–40	[XIV]	73	[XXIX]
10	41–42	[XV]	74–76	[XXX–XXXI]
11	82	[XXXIII]	—	
12	83–85	[XXXIV]	77–81	[XXXII]
<i>Houxu</i> 後序 (Postface) [86–88; “Eulogium”]				
13	86–88	[XXXV]	“Eulogium”	[—]

Arrangement of Xu Wei's *Guzhu Cantong qi fenshi* 古注參同契分釋, showing the correlations between main text and commentary. Sections are not numbered in Xu Wei's text. The corresponding numbers of chapter (*zhang* 章) in Chen Zhixu's redaction are shown in roman numbers.

their meter, but principally according to their placement within the standard text.

The individual sections of Xu Wei's text precisely correspond to the chapters established by Chen Zhixu (when a section includes more than one of Chen Zhixu's chapters, Xu Wei marks the end of a chapter with an empty circle). The text is also partly based on Chen Zhixu's redaction, as shown by the sequences of verses 2:3–6, 46:7–8, 46:9–12, and 72:9–14. However, Xu Wei's text contains the verse

Pages 166-184 are not included in this preview

The Ancient Text and Its Commentaries *

In the early sixteenth century, a new version of the *Cantong qi*, anachronistically called *Guwen cantong qi* 古文參同契, or Ancient Text of the *Cantong qi*, was created on the basis of a complete rearrangement of the scripture. At the origin of this version are the sections of Books 1 and 2 that mirror one another. Among the authors of extant commentaries, Zhu Xi (1197) is the first to note these correspondences.¹ Almost one century later, Yu Yan (1284) not only points out that the sections in which identical themes and terms recur more than once are written in different meters, but also suggests that those portions should be isolated from one another. This, he adds, would result in a text divided into three parts: one in verses of four characters, one in verses of five characters, and one in prose (*sanwen* 散文).²

Yu Yan's suggestion was not unheeded, but led to complex developments. In 1546, the well-known scholar, Yang Shen 楊慎 (*hao Sheng'an* 升庵, 1488–1559), claimed to have come in possession of a manuscript

* A shorter version of the introduction to this chapter is found in *The Seal*, vol.1, pp. 31–33.

¹ *Zhouyi cantong qi* [kaoyi] (CT 1001), 2.1a, 2a, 4a, 6a, and 8a-b. Zhu Xi uses the term *xiangbiao* 相表 to point out correspondences between different sections.

² Yu Yan's remarks on this subject are found in his notes on the "Eulogium" ("Zanxu" 讚序), i.e., at the very end of his commentary; see *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* (CT 1005), 9.19b-21a. He refers to this as a sudden realization that he had after he finished to write his work: "Suddenly one evening, while I was in complete quietude, I heard something like a whisper saying: 'Wei Boyang wrote the *Cantong qi*, and Xu Congshi made a commentary. The sequence of the bamboo slips was disrupted; this is why the portions in four-character verses, those in five-character verses, and those in prose are in disorder (*butong* 不同).' . . . I wish I could subdivide the text into three parts, respectively made of four-character verses, five-character verses, and prose, so that text and commentary are not confused, in order to facilitate the inquiries of future students. However, my book is complete, and I cannot change it."

containing the *Guwen cantong qi*.³ Supposedly recovered from a stone casket, this version separates the sections in verses of four characters from those in verses of five characters. Scholars from the Qing period onward have often regarded the Ancient Text as spurious, and similar criticism is echoed in several Ming- and Qing-dynasty commentaries to the standard version, whose authors reject the new arrangement of the work.⁴ The prestige enjoyed by the Ancient Text within the Ming and Qing lineages of Neidan—and also within certain present-day milieus related to Neidan—suggests, however, that the verdict of non-authenticity is inaccurate, and that it was to a large extent influenced by the controversial personality of Yang Shen, who was often charged with falsifying texts.⁵

This accusation is ultimately irrelevant as far as the *Cantong qi* is concerned, for in fact the Ancient Text is not Yang Shen's own work. Its origins can be traced back to at least three decades before him, when Du Yicheng 杜一誠 (*zi* Tongfu 通復, *hao* Yunfeng Daoren 雲巖道人, a native of Suzhou like Yu Yan) wrote a now-lost commentary on it in 1517.⁶ Moreover, and more important, the *Guwen cantong qi*

³ Yang Shen's statement is included as a preface in several commentaries to the "Ancient Text," including those by Jiang Yibiao (1614), Yuan Renlin (1732), Liu Wulong (ca. 1735), and Lü Huilian (1879).

⁴ See the entries on Jiang Yibiao's and Li Guangdi's commentaries to the Ancient Text in *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 146.1249 and 147.1257. See also Pan Yuting, "Cantong qi zuozhe ji chengshu niandai", 58, and Meng Naichang, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaobian*, 60–61.

⁵ On Yang Shen's life and work see Goodrich and Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1531–35; and Schorr, "Connoisseurship and the Defense Against Vulgarly: Yang Shen (1488–1559) and his Work" (especially pp. 105–8 on the *Guwen cantong qi*). In their account of Li Guangdi's work (see the previous footnote), the *Siku* editors plainly state that "[Yang] Shen liked to falsify ancient books" (*Shen hao weituo gushu* 慎好偽托古書).

⁶ Bibliographic materials on Du Yicheng's work were collected by Yu Jiaxi in his *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 19.1214–18; see also Wang Ming, "Zhouyi cantong qi kaozheng", 288–90. In an essay entitled "Preface to a Commentary to the *Cantong qi*" ("Zhu Cantong qi xu" 注參同契序, in *Xu Wei ji*, 19.543–44), Xu Wei provides several important details, including a statement that Du's work was already printed in 1533, a dozen years before Yang Shen's claim of discovery. The same does Qiu Zhao'ao in his *Guben zhouyi cantong qi jizhu*, "Lian ershi tiao", 10b–11a. In another essay, entitled "Note on Errors about the Ancient Text of the *Cantong qi*" ("Shu guben Cantong qi wu shi" 書古本參同契誤識, in *Xu Wei ji*, 29.679–81), Xu Wei discusses again the

cannot be deemed to be a “forgery” in the common sense of the term. Not only does the text, despite the different arrangement, include virtually the whole *Cantong qi*, with the omission of only a few verses and without any addition; but no one without a solid knowledge of the standard version of the *Cantong qi*, and of its doctrinal principles, could have fabricated a work of this nature. In the arrangement of the Ancient Text, the four- and five-character verses are not reproduced in the same sequence as in the standard version; while this is the only major difference at the textual level, in the new arrangement the discourse of *Cantong qi*, its threefold set of subjects, and its “mirrored” portions reveal a much clearer pattern.

The account of the composition of the Ancient Text includes all three authors traditionally deemed to have been involved in the creation of the standard version—and this is the main reason why several commentators, for whom Wei Boyang could only be the single author of the *Cantong qi*, rejected the Ancient Text as a whole.⁷ According to the new version, Wei Boyang wrote the “Canon”; Xu Congshi 徐從事 (whom the Ancient Text exegetes regularly identify as Xu Jingxiu 徐景休, as Yu Yan had already indicated) contributed a “Commentary”; and Chunyu Shutong 淳于叔通 added a final section, entitled “Three Categories” (again following Yu Yan’s suggestion).⁸ The format of the text is, on the other hand, entirely different, with each of the three authors being attributed one of its main parts:

1. “Canon” (“Jingwen” 經文), in verses of four characters, deemed

Ancient Text, this time mainly to point out that it originated with Du Yicheng and not with Yang Shen, who did nothing beyond republishing it under his own name. Two other essays in the *Xu Wei ji* are concerned with the *Cantong qi*, respectively found in 16.471–72 and 16.473–78.

⁷ Despite their criticism, the Ancient Text inspired the new, inventive formats of the standard version of the *Cantong qi* contained in the commentaries by Xu Wei (ca. 1570), Li Guangdi (ca. 1700), and Li Shixu (1823). Moreover, the views of Zhu Yuanyu (1669) and Dong Dening (1787) on the three main subjects of the *Cantong qi* are also clearly inspired by those of the Ancient Text. On these commentaries see the previous chapter.

⁸ The earliest extant source that records the name Xu Jingxiu appears to be the *Danlun juezhi xinjian* (CT 935), 8a, an alchemical text related to the *Cantong qi* dating from ca. 900 (the same passage is also found in the *Huandan zhouhou jue*, CT 915, 2.4a, composed in the tenth or the eleventh century). Yu Yan mentions Xu Jingxiu in *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui*, 9.16a. For his views on the “Three Categories,” see below, p. 209.

to be the main text written by Wei Boyang. This section is divided into three chapters (*juan*) or “books” (*pian*). Its postface (in some versions, preface) is the portion of text corresponding to sections 86–88.

2. “Commentary” (“Jianzhu” 箋注), in verses of five characters, considered to have been contributed by Xu Jingxiu. This section too is divided into three chapters or “books.” Its postface (in some versions, preface) is the “Eulogium” (“Zanxu” 讚序) found in the redactions by Peng Xiao, Zhu Xi, and Yu Yan.
3. “The Three Categories” (“San xianglei” 三相類), attributed to Chunyu Shutong and divided into two chapters or “books.” The first chapter includes sections 77–81, i.e., the portion of the “Epilogue” patterned on the “Lisao” poem; the second consists of section 82, i.e., the “Song of the Tripod.” The postface (or preface) of this section corresponds to sections 83–84.

In both the “Canon” and the “Commentary,” the three chapters are respectively devoted to cosmology, Taoism, and alchemy.

The original version of the Ancient Text is arranged as shown in the table on the next page.

Ten commentaries to the Ancient Text, written between the late sixteenth and the late nineteenth centuries, are extant. At least four of their authors—Wang Jiachun, Peng Haogu, Qiu Zhao’ao, and Liu Yiming—were affiliated with the Ming and Qing lineages of Neidan.⁹

In addition to the new arrangements of the standard text seen in the previous chapter—those by Xu Wei, Li Guangdi, and Li Shixu—the Ancient Text also inspired another genre of writing. Four of the ten extant commentaries consist, either in whole or in part, of rearrangements of earlier works according to the format of the Ancient Text. In addition to those by Jiang Yibiao and by Ji Dakui, discussed in more detail below, this is also true of the *Guben zhouyi cantong qi*

⁹ On the commentaries by Peng Haogu, Qiu Zhao’ao, and Liu Yiming see below in the present chapter. Wang Jiachun (fl. ca. 1591, from Zhejiang) was a Taoist priest at the Yingdao guan 應道觀 (Abbey of the Response to the Dao) in Wenzhou 溫州. He is also ascribed with commentaries to the *Daode jing*, the *Yinfu jing*, and the *Wuzhen pian*.

	BOOK	SECTIONS
Canon	1 (上篇)	43–47, 5–7, 48–52, 15, 17
	2 (中篇)	53–56, 70–71, 74, 20–25, 18, 27
	3 (下篇)	75–76, 68–69, 62–65, 72–73, 66–67
	Postface (後序)	86–88
Commentary	1 (上篇)	1–4, 8 (first part), 16, 8 (second part), 9–13, 85, 14, 37–38
	2 (中篇)	57–60, 19, 26
	3 (下篇)	34–36, 28–31, 61, 39–40, 32–33, 41–42
	Postface (後序)	“Eulogium”
Three Categories	1 (上篇)	77–81
	2 (中篇)	82
	Postface (後序)	83–84

The original version of the “Ancient Text” of the *Cantong qi*. Based on the commentaries by Peng Haogu (1599), Jiang Yibiao (1614), Yuan Renlin (1732), and Lü Huilian (1879).

(The Ancient Version of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; no. 34) by Gong Yitu 龔易圖 (1835–94, from Fujian), which is made of selections from other commentaries, including those of Peng Xiao, Chen Xianwei, Chen Zhixu, and Lu Xixing.

While these four works contain multiple commentaries, they are not the only examples of such *remaniements*. Yu Yan’s commentary also was rearranged to match the arrangement of the Ancient Text by Gao Shiming 高時明 in his *Yihua yuanzong* 一化元宗 (1624); and so also was Chen Zhixu’s commentary in the editions published by Yao Ruxun 姚汝循 in ca. 1575, and shortly later by Dong Xizu 董希祖 in his *Daoshu wuzhong* 道書五種 of 1604.¹⁰

¹⁰ For Gao Shiming’s edition see above the Bibliographic Catalogue, “Commentaries,” no. 8, edition no. 8. For Yao Ruxun’s and Dong Xizu’s editions see id., no. 9, editions nos. 4 and 5, respectively.

1. PENG HAOGU

[16] *Guwen cantong qi* 古文參同契, 1599

No precise details about Peng Haogu 彭好古 (fl. 1586–99, from Hubei) and his life appear to be available. His upholding the “joint cultivation of *xing* and *ming*” (*xingming shuangxiu* 性命雙修) suggests, however, that he was in touch with Taoist circles. In this perspective, Peng Haogu also rejects the commentaries by Chen Zhixu and Yu Yan, which he deems to be respectively related to the “Yin-Yang” and the “Qingxiu” (Pure Cultivation) branches of Neidan.¹¹

The *Guwen cantong qi* (Ancient Text of the *Cantong qi*) is divided into the sections *Jingwen* 經文 (3 *pian*), *Jianzhu* 箋注 (3 *pian*), and *San xianglei* 三相類 (2 *pian*), and follows the sequence of the “original” Ancient Text (see the table on p. 189).

2. JIANG YIBIAO

[18] *Guwen cantong qi jijie* 古文參同契集解, 1614

According to his own statement, Jiang Yibiao 蔣一彪 (fl. 1614, from Zhejiang) based his *Guwen cantong qi jijie* (Collected Explications on the Ancient Text of the *Cantong qi*) on an edition of the Ancient Text containing Yang Shen’s preface, but no commentary. To this edition he added selections from the commentaries by Peng Xiao, Chen Xianwei, Yu Yan, and Chen Zhixu, rearranged according to the ordering of the Ancient Text. The work follows the sequence of the “original” Ancient Text (see the table on p. 189), except that the portion corresponding to section 27 is found after sections 72–73.¹²

¹¹ These remarks are found in the preface to the *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* and in the preface to the *Cantong qi* commentary, respectively. On Peng Haogu and his works see the entry by Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein in Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 2:785–86.

¹² On Jiang Yibiao’s work see the descriptive note in *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 146.1249–50, which consists, however, almost entirely in a criticism of the Ancient Text.

3. QIU ZHAO'AO

[24] *Guben zhouyi cantong qi jizhu* 古本周易參同契集注, 1704

Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (or 仇兆鼈, 1638–1713, from Zhejiang), associated with the “Yin-Yang” branch of Neidan, obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1685 and served the Qing administration for some time as Vice Minister in the Ministry of Personnel. In addition to the commentary to the *Cantong qi*, he is also known for a commentary to the *Wuzhen pian* (*Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟真篇集注) and a commentary to Du Fu's 杜詩 poems (*Du Fu xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注).¹³

The front matter of his *Guben zhouyi cantong qi jizhu* (Collected Commentaries on the Ancient Version of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) includes an essay by Lu Xixing; Peng Xiao's preface to his commentary, followed by Qiu's remarks; and a section outlining the main editorial principles observed by the author.¹⁴ The back matter contains the poetical essay on the *Cantong qi* attributed to Zhang Boduan (no. 57), quoted from Lu Xixing's *Zhouyi cantong qi ceshu* and including Lu's commentary; the essay by Xiao Tingzhi (no. 56); hagiographic materials on Wei Boyang; and several illustrations.

In addition to his own annotations, Qiu Zhao'ao quotes passages from several other earlier commentaries. His list of sources enumerates the works of sixteen authors, consisting of the extant commentaries to the standard text by Peng Xiao, Zhu Xi, Chen Xianwei, Yu Yan, Chen Zhixu, Xu Wei, Lu Xixing (*Kouyi*), Zhen Shu, Jiang Zhongzhen, and Tao Susi; the extant commentaries to the Ancient Text by Wang Jiachun, Peng Haogu, and Jiang Yibiao; the now-lost commentaries to the standard text by Li Wenzhu and Yin Taixuan; and Du Yicheng's original edition of the Ancient Text.

¹³ On Qiu Zhao'ao see Wu Shuling, “Qiu Zhao'ao sixiang gaishuo”; and Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 2:811–12.

¹⁴ Lu Xixing's essay, entitled “*Cantong Wuzhen zonglun*” 參同悟真總論 (A General Discourse on the *Cantong qi* and the *Wuzhen pian*), corresponds to the postface of his *Jindan jiuzheng* 金丹就正 (The Correct Understanding of the Golden Elixir). The section on the editorial principles is entitled “*Liyan ershi tiao*” 例言二十条 (Explanatory Notes in Twenty Points).

Canon (四言經文)

Preface	魏真人自序	86–88
[1]	(乾坤坎離)	43
[2]	(君臣御政)	15, 17
[3]	(發號施令)	44 (second part), 45–47
[4]	(坎離戊己)	6–7, 5
[5]	(晦朔合符)	48–50
[6]	(卦律終始)	51–52
[7]	(性命根宗)	53–56
[8]	(養己守母)	20, 18, 25 (first part), 22–24, 25 (second part), 27
[9]	(日月含吐)	70–71
[10]	(流珠金華)	62
[11]	(三五至精)	63–64
[12]	(四象歸土)	72
[13]	(陰陽反覆)	73
[14]	(以類相況)	65, 66 (first part)
[15]	(父母滋稟)	66 (second part), 67
[16]	(姤女黃芽)	68–69
[17]	(牝牡相須)	74
[18]	(後序孔竅)	75–76

Commentary (五言傳文)

Preface	徐從事傳文序	“Eulogium”
[1]	(牝牡四卦)	1–3
[2]	(乾坤二用)	4
[3]	(日月神化)	8
[4]	(發號順時)	44 (first part), 14 (second part)
[5]	(朔受震符)	9, 29 (second part), 10, 11 (first part), 12 (first part), 11 (second part), 12 (second part)
[6]	(藥生象月)	16, 13, 85
[7]	(八卦列曜)	14 (first part)
[8]	(上下有無)	21, 19, 42
[9]	(二八弦炁)	28 (second part), 29 (first part)
[10]	(金火含受)	30–31
[11]	(三性會合)	32
[12]	(金水銖兩)	39–40
[13]	(水火性情)	41
[14]	(二氣感化)	57
[15]	(關鍵三寶)	58–60
[16]	(同類伏食)	61, 34–35, 33

[17]	(背道迷真)	36, 26
[18]	(三聖制作)	37, 28 (first part), 38

Filling Lacunae (補遺)

Preface	三相類序	83–84
[1]	(大丹賦)	77–81
[2]	(鼎器歌)	82

Arrangement of Qiu Zhao'ao's *Guben zhouyi cantong qi jizhu* 古本周易參同契集注.

As shown by the table above, although Qiu Zhao'ao preserves the basic threefold subdivision, he submits the Ancient Text to a major rearrangement that relocates a large number of sections. Disagreeing with the view that “Canon” and “Commentary” are divided into three main parts respectively devoted to cosmology, Taoism, and alchemy, this commentator reads the whole *Cantong qi* as a Neidan text. Since the arrangement into three parts is irrelevant to his views, he merely subdivides “Canon” and “Commentary” into 18 sections, corresponding to the “thirty-six palaces of the hexagrams of the *Book of Changes*”, and the *Three Categories* (which he entitles *Filling Lacunae*, or *Buyi* 補遺) into two sections, corresponding to the “two parts of the *Book of Changes*” (*Zhouyi er pian* 周易二篇).¹⁵ This unique rearrangement disregards the very purpose of the Ancient Text and disrupts its carefully crafted ordering.

¹⁵ *Guben zhouyi cantong qi jizhu*, “Liyan ershi tiao”, 10a-12a. The “thirty-six palaces” (“Yi gua sanshiliu gong” 易卦三十六宮) are the thirty-six lines of the six hexagrams that represent each half of the cycle of the “fire times.”

Appendixes

Appendix 1

The Three Books of the *Cantong qi* *

Despite the large number of differences found in individual redactions and editions, the textual shape of the *Cantong qi* is defined by two main features:

- (1) In all redactions until the one edited by Chen Zhixu in ca. 1330, and in most of the later ones, the *Cantong qi* is divided into three main parts, or “Books” (*pian*).¹
- (2) The last part, or Book 3, contains three distinct compositions, which in certain redactions are followed by an additional “postface.”

Speculations about the authorship of the three main parts, and of the individual compositions in the final part, abound in both commentaries and modern studies, where they are variously attributed to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, Xu Congshi 徐景休, or Chunyu Shutong 淳于叔通, according to the different views about the authorship of the text. Whoever stands behind these names, it may be safely assumed that the text found in Books 1 and 2 (corresponding to sections 1–42 and 43–74) and the additional compositions found in Book 3 (sections 75–88) originated separately from one another.

* A shorter version of this appendix is found in *The Seal*, vol. 1, Introduction, § 4.

¹ To give one example of different textual arrangements, Peng Xiao deems the *Cantong qi* to consist of five parts (*pian*), respectively corresponding to sections 1–42, 43–74, 75–81, 83–88, and 82. His redaction, however, retains the basic three-part arrangement because sections 75–81 (“Epilogue”), 83–88 (“The Five Categories”), and 82 (“Song of the Tripod”) are included in the third chapter (*juan*), except for the Daozang edition where section 82 is printed as a separate work.

BOOKS 1 AND 2: THE MAIN TEXT

Most commentators and scholars agree that the main text of the *Cantong qi* is found in Books 1 and 2. Except for a few passages in prose, mainly consisting of sentences quoted from the *Book of Changes*, these portions of the text are made of rhymed verses in four or five characters. Sections written in either prosodic form follow one another without any order or regularity; the only noticeable feature in this regard is that the five-character verses prevail in Book 1, while Book 2 is almost entirely made of four-character verses. This is unrelated to any prevalence of subjects, which are written in one or the other format and are equally treated in both Books. On the other hand, as shown in more detail below, Books 1 and 2 are marked by a prominent feature: several portions written in four- and five-character verses mirror one another.

Since subjects and prosodic forms are not tied to one another, the attention of scholars has mainly focused on two other issues. The first is whether the distinct prosodic meters reflect different authorship and times of composition. The second is whether the different meters are related to the tradition that the *Cantong qi* contains a main text, or “Canon” (“Jing” 經), and a “Commentary” (“Zhu” 注). These questions have been answered in several ways, none of which appears to be entirely convincing. Two of the main hypotheses, nevertheless, deserve attention.

A noteworthy suggestion has been given by Pan Yuting, who identifies the final part of the composition entitled “Filling Lacunae” in Book 3 (sections 83–88) as Wei Boyang’s own postface to the *Cantong qi*. Since this section is in four-character verses, Pan Yuting suggests that all portions of Books 1 and 2 written in that format are Wei Boyang’s own work. According to Pan Yuting, moreover, the reading “When I was a guest in far-away Yan, I wrote this book” for a passage in this part of the text (86:9–10: 「遠客燕間、乃撰斯文」), found in Zhu Xi’s redaction, indicates that Wei Boyang transmitted his work to Xu Congshi when he supposedly resided in northern China, where the ancient kingdom of Yan was located. It was at that time, Pan Yuting concludes, that Xu Congshi wrote his commentary, consisting of the five-character verses found in Books 1 and 2.² This

² Pan Yuting, “*Cantong qi* zuozhe ji chengshu niandai”, 56 and 58–59. On

conjecture is perhaps the best attempt made by a modern scholar to bring the different traditions on the origins of the *Cantong qi* in line with one another. It attempts to explain how Wei Boyang and Xu Congshi—each of whom was tied to a different tradition, and respectively came, according to those traditions, from the South and the North—may have been the authors of the same text. However, Pan Yuting’s view is entirely dependent on hagiographic accounts, and in the first place, on the assumption that the *Cantong qi* was actually written by Wei Boyang and Xu Congshi. In addition, Pan bases his suggestion on Zhu Xi’s unique reading of the verse quoted above. In fact, the attempt to coordinate the two different traditions to one another appears to have been made first by Zhu Xi himself, or by the author of one of the earlier redactions that Zhu Xi used to establish his own text.

In partial agreement with Pan Yuting, Meng Naichang suggests that since the cryptogram hiding Wei Boyang’s name (found in section 88) is set in four-character verses, Wei Boyang is the author of all portions of the *Cantong qi* written in that meter. However, Meng Naichang also notes divergences in the views of the five-character and the four-character portions. One divergence concerns the eight minerals (*bashi* 八石), which are mentioned twice in the *Cantong qi*. The first passage, in five-character verses, states that “the eight minerals set the guiding thread in line” (32:4). The second passage, in four-character verses, says instead: “Discard the eight minerals!” (87:20). On the basis of this and other analogous (but less explicit) divergences, Meng Naichang suggests that the five-character verses are the main text of the *Cantong qi* and pertain to Waidan, while the four-character verses are a commentary and pertain to Neidan. Since Wei Boyang wrote the portions in four-character verses, Meng concludes that Wei Boyang is not the author of the main text of the *Cantong qi*, but of its commentary. This suggestion, however, conflicts with other passages of the text. For example, section 62, which is in four-character verses, describes the alchemical process using plain Waidan terminology.³

One of the most evident, but also most enigmatic, features of Books 1 and 2 is the fact that several sections written in different meters mirror one another. Some of the main correspondences include

the section entitled “Filling Lacunae” see below. In all other redactions and editions that I have seen, verses 86:9–10 read “Unhurried, dwelling at ease, I wrote this book” (晏然閑居、乃撰斯文).

³ See Meng Naichang, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaobian*, 43–46.

those between sections 1 and 43, on the representation of change by trigrams and hexagrams; 3 and 45, on the sixty-hexagram cycle; 10 and 48, on the joining of the Sun and Moon; 13 and 49, on the cycle of trigrams; and 39–40 and 62, on the alchemical conjunction of Lead and Mercury. Several scholars have drawn attention to this feature and have discussed the possible historical priorities among these portions of the text. One point, however, does not seem to have been considered. The *Cantong qi* describes three main cosmological cycles: those of the sixty hexagrams during the days, of the eight trigrams during the month, and of the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦) during the year.⁴ The first cycle is described once in four-character verses and once in five-character verses (sections 45 and 3, respectively); the second cycle also is described once in four-character verses and once in five-character verses (sections 49 and 13); but the third cycle is described only in four-character verses (section 51). In the extent to which the twelve-hexagram cycle is integral to the doctrines of the *Cantong qi*, its description may be deemed to be part of the original core of the text; and as long as this assumption is correct, the original core would consist of the portions in four-character verses. Whether and how this may be related to the view that the *Cantong qi* includes a “Canon” and a “Commentary” remains unclear. Nevertheless, the mirrored sections suggest that, in parallel to the separate composition of the portions on cosmology, Taoism, and alchemy, the individual sections that form Books 1 and 2 were written in different times.

BOOK 3: ADDITIONAL WRITINGS

Book 3 contains three distinct additional compositions:

- (1) “Epilogue” (“Luanci” 亂辭, sections 75–81)
- (2) “Song of the Tripod” (“Dingqi ge” 鼎器歌, section 82)
- (3) “Filling Lacunae” (“Busai yituo” 補塞遺脫, sections 83–88)

In Peng Xiao’s, Zhu Xi’s, and Yu Yan’s redactions, moreover, Book 3 is concluded by a postface entitled “Eulogium” (“Zanxu” 讚序). These additional writings have given rise to further hypotheses con-

⁴ See *The Seal*, vol. 1, pp. 41–43.

cerning the respective authorship, in both commentaries and modern studies. Without touching on these insoluble issues, the individual compositions of Book 3 are introduced below, pointing out differences in content and format compared to the first two Books.

(1) “*Epilogue*.” The first subdivision of Book 3 consists of two poems. The first poem, which is in four-character verses (sections 75–76), states that the sages of antiquity gave teachings on the Elixir, but intentionally used a veiled and suggestive language. In later times, those who devoted themselves to the alchemical arts ignored or misunderstood their writings. It is for this reason, says the author, that he wrote his *Cantong qi*. Having done so, he appends a concluding portion in order to “open a gateway” to his work. He refers to this portion as “Epilogue” (or “Envoi,” “Luanci” 亂辭), using the same term that, in the *Songs of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭), defines the portion appended to a poem in order to summarize its essential points. In fact, the verses of the “Epilogue” proper (sections 77–81) are patterned on the *saoti* 騷體 prosody, so called after the “Lisao” 離騷 (“Encountering Sorrow”) piece in the *Songs of Chu*, where the verses of each couplet are separated by the metrical particle *xi* 兮.

Given the different prosodic forms of the introductory poem and the “Epilogue” proper, it seems possible that the “Epilogue” was originally a separate composition related in content and language to the *Cantong qi*, which was later incorporated into the text and grafted onto it by means of the introductory poem. One detail suggests that this may indeed have been the case. While the introductory poem states that the *Cantong qi* and the “Epilogue” are closely related to one another, it has been noted that, unlike the alchemical sections of Books 1 and 2 that are focused on Lead and Mercury, this composition alludes to a process based on the five agents (see 78:1–12). With the explicit statement that the “Epilogue” is a supplement meant to elucidate the *Cantong qi*, and with its peculiar poetic form, this divergence suggests that this composition originated separately

Pages 206-210 are not included in this preview

Appendix 2

Main Indicators of Textual Filiation

This appendix concerns eighteen major textual features in which the redactions of the *Cantong qi* by Peng Xiao, Zhu Xi, Yu Yan, and Chen Zhixu agree with, or differ from, one another. The variants consist of omissions or additions of verses; changes in the sequence of verses; and relocations of portions of text. Although an analysis of these features cannot be as dependable as a complete survey of textual variants, they provide, by correlating them to one another, basic indications on the filiation of the Ming- and Qing-dynasty commentaries from the earlier redactions.

The two Tang redactions are omitted from this list, as it is certain that no Ming- or Qing-dynasty commentary is directly based on their texts. Chu Yong's and Chen Xianwei's commentaries are also omitted, as their texts derive from Zhu Xi's and Peng Xiao's redactions, respectively. References to section and verse numbers are to the text of the *Cantong qi* found in Appendix 3.

- 1 準繩墨、執銜轡、正規矩、隨軌轍 “. . . who level the marking-cord and the plumb-line, hold the bit and the bridle, align the compass and the square, and follow the tracks and the ruts.” (2:3–6)

Chen Zhixu's reading corresponds to Peng Xiao's redaction. Zhu Xi omits the third verse and reads: “. . . who hold the bit and the bridle, level the marking-cord and the plumb-line, and follow the tracks and the ruts” (執銜轡、準繩墨、隨軌轍). Yu Yan reads: “. . . who hold the bit and the bridle, bear the leveling marking-cord, align the compass and the square, and follow the tracks and the ruts” (執銜轡、有準繩、正規矩、隨軌轍).¹

¹ Zhu Xi's reading corresponds to the one found in the Yin Changsheng redaction. Yu Yan's reading corresponds to the one found in the two-*juan* anonymous redaction.

- 2 易有三百八十四爻、據爻摘符、符謂六十四卦 “In the *Changes* there are 384 lines; the signs are chosen in accordance with the lines. ‘Signs’ means the sixty-four hexagrams.” (9.1–3)

These verses, corresponding to the whole section 9, are not found in Zhu Xi’s redaction.

- 3 乾坤用施行、天地然後治。|| 御政之首、鼎新革故 “Only when the function of Qian and Kun is at work can Heaven and Earth be regulated || The foremost in conducting government is renewing the tripod and renovating the ancient.” (14:17–15:2)

After verses 14:17–18, Peng Xiao’s redaction adds “Could one not, then, be cautious?” (可得不慎乎), and Zhu Xi’s and Yu Yan’s redactions add “Must one not, then, be cautious?” (可不慎乎). However, both Zhu Xi and Yu Yan place the added verse at the beginning of section 15, which is in four-character verses. The readings of these four authors are as follows (the mark || indicates the end of a section in the respective texts):

Peng Xiao: “Only when the function of Qian and Kun is at work can Heaven and Earth be regulated. Could one not, then, be cautious? || The foremost in conducting government . . .” (乾坤用施行、天地然後治、可得不慎乎。|| 御政之首。)

Zhu Xi: “Only when the function of Qian and Kun is at work can the world be governed. || Must one not, then, be cautious about the foremost in conducting government?” (乾坤用施行、天下然後治。|| 可不慎乎、御政之首。)

Yu Yan: “Only when the function of Qian and Kun is at work can Heaven and Earth be regulated. || Must one not, then, be cautious about the foremost in conducting government?” (乾坤用施行、天地然後治。|| 可不慎乎、御政之首。)

Chen Zhixu maintains that the verse “Could one not, then, be cautious?” is not part of the *Cantong qi*. He omits it and replaces it with verse 15:2 (“is renewing the tripod and renovating the ancient” 鼎新革故), which is not found in any earlier extant redaction.

- 4 易道正不傾 “The Way of the *Changes* is correct and unbiased.” (29:7)

After this verse, Peng Xiao’s and Yu Yan’s redactions add: “There are 384 *zhu*, and they correspond to the number of the hexagrams lines” (銖有三百八十四、亦應卦爻之數).

- 5 僥倖訖不遇、至人獨知之 “Their good luck ends without

achievement, but only the accomplished knows what this means.” (36:19–20)

These verses are not found in Zhu Xi’s redaction.²

- 6 順之者吉、按歷法令 “Those who transgress this have ill fortune; those who comply with it have good fortune.” (45:9–10)

These verses are not found in Yu Yan’s redaction.

- 7 水旱相伐、風雨不節 “Flood and drought would attack one another, and wind and rain would never be timely.” (46:7–8)

The sequence of these verses is inverted in Peng Xiao’s, Zhu Xi’s, and Yu Yan’s redactions: “Wind and rain would never be timely, flood and drought would succeed one another” (風雨不節、水旱相伐).

- 8 蝗蟲蟲涌沸、羣異旁出、天見其怪、山崩地圯 “Locusts and worms would seethe and churn, and anomalies would come forth from all sides; strange apparitions would be seen in the skies, the mountains collapse and the earth fissure.” (46:9–12)

The sequence of these verses differs in Zhu Xi’s and Yu Yan’s redactions: “Locusts and worms would seethe and churn, the mountains collapse and the earth fissure; strange apparitions would be seen in the skies, and anomalies would come forth from all sides” (蝗蟲涌沸、山崩地裂、天見其怪、羣異旁出).

- 9 陽數已訖、訖則復起、推情合性、轉而相與 “The Yang numbers are now completed, and being completed, they rise once again: turning over their qualities, conjoining their natures, in turn one gives way to the other.” (49:41–44)

These verses are found after 49:36 (“She is like a mother to all things in the world” 世為類母) in Zhu Xi’s redaction.³

Pages 214-216 are not included in this preview

² Both verses are also omitted in the Jindan zhengli daquan, Siku quanshu, and Daozang jiyao editions of Chen Zhixu’s commentary.

³ Zhu Xi’s reading corresponds to the reading of the Yin Changsheng redaction.

Appendix 3

Chinese Text

References to the *Cantong qi* in the present book are to section and verse numbers in the text found below. This text is based on Chen Zhixu's *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Commentary and Explication of the *Cantong qi*, ca. 1330), as found in the Jinling shufang 金陵書坊 edition of 1484, subdivided into sections and edited according to the criteria described in *The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, vol. 1, pp. 67–68 and 266–68.

周易參同契

上篇

【第一節】

乾坤者易之門戶、衆卦之父母、坎離匡郭、運轂正軸、5 牝牡四卦、以為橐籥。

【第二節】

覆冒陰陽之道、猶工御者、準繩墨、執銜轡、5 正規矩、隨軌轍、處中以制外、數在律曆紀。

【第三節】

月節有五六、經緯奉日使、兼并為六十、剛柔有表裏、5 朔旦屯直事、至暮蒙當受、晝夜各一卦、用之依次序、既未至晦爽、10 終則復更始、日月為期度、動靜有早晚、春夏據內體、從子到辰巳、15 秋冬當外用、自午訖戌亥、賞罰應春秋、昏明順寒暑、爻辭有仁義、20 隨時發喜怒、如是應四時、五行得其理。

【第四節】

天地設位、而易行乎其中矣、天地者乾坤之象也、設位者列陰陽配合之位也、5 易謂坎離、坎離者乾坤二用、二用無爻位、周流行六虛、往來既不定、10 上下亦無常。

【第五節】

幽潛淪匿、變化於中、包囊萬物、為道紀綱、5 以無制有、器用者空、故推消息、坎離沒亡。

【第六節】

言不苟造、論不虛生、引驗見效、校度神明、5 推類結字、原理為證。

【第七節】

坎戊月精、離已日光、日月為易、剛柔相當、5 土旺四季、羅絡始終、青赤黑白、各居一方、皆稟中宮、10 戊己之功。

【第八節】

易者象也、懸象著明、莫大乎日月、窮神以知化、5 陽往則陰來、輻輳而輪轉、出入更卷舒。

【第九節】

易有三百八十四爻、據爻摘符、符謂六十四卦。

【第十節】

晦至朔旦、震來受符、當斯之際、天地媾其精、5 日月相譚持、雄陽播玄施、雌陰化黃包、混沌相交接、權輿樹根基、10 經營養鄞鄂、凝神以成軀、衆夫蹈以出、蠕動莫不由。

【第十一節】

於是仲尼讚鴻濛、乾坤德洞虛、稽古當元皇、關雎建始初、5 冠婚氣相紐、元年乃芽滋、聖人不虛生、上觀顯天符、天符有進退、10 屈伸以應時。

【第十二節】

故易統天心、復卦建始萌、長子繼父體、因母立兆基、5 消息應鍾律、昇降據斗樞。

【第十三節】

三日出為爽、震庚受西方、八日兌受丁、上弦平如繩、5 十五乾體就、盛滿甲東方、蟾蜍與兔魄、日月氣雙明、蟾蜍視卦節、10 兔者吐生光、七八道已訖、屈折低下降、十六轉受統、巽辛見平明、15 艮直於丙南、下弦二十三、坤乙三十日、東北喪其朋、節盡相禪與、20 繼體復生龍、壬癸配甲乙、乾坤括始終、七八數十五、九六亦相應、25 四者合三十、陽氣索滅藏。

【第十四節】

八卦布列曜、運移不失中、元精眇難覩、推度效符證、5 居則觀其象、準擬其形容、立表以為範、占候定吉凶、發號順時令、10 勿失爻動時、上察河圖文、下序地形流、中稽於人心、參合考三才、15 動則循卦節、靜則因彖辭、乾坤用施行、天地然後治。

【第十五節】

御政之首、鼎新革故、管括微密、開舒布寶、5 要道魁柄、統化綱紐、爻象內動、吉凶外起、五緯錯順、10 應時感動、四七乖戾、謠離俯仰、文昌統錄、詰責台輔、15 百官有司、各典所部。

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- 86 Anonymous. *Cantong jinshi zhiyao lun* 參同金石至藥論.
- 54 ——. “*Cantong qi*” 參同契, *juan* 1. [§2.2]
- 78 ——. *Cantong qi he jindan jue* 參同契合金丹訣.
- 79 ——. *Cantong qi huandan huojue* 參同契還丹火訣. [§2.7]
- 75 ——. *Cantong qi taiyi danshu* 參同契太易丹書.
- 76 ——. *Cantong qi taiyi ershisi qi xiulian dadan tu* 參同契太易二十四氣修鍊大丹圖.
- 81 ——. *Cantong qi texing dan* 參同契特行丹.
- 47 ——. *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 參同契五相類祕要. [§1.4]
- 51 ——. *Cantong qi xinjian* 參同契心鑑.
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- 85 ——. *Cantong taidan cixu huoshu* 參同太丹次序火數.
- 87 ——. *Cantong zhouhou fang* 參同肘後方.
- 49 ——. *Da huandan qi bitu* 大還丹契秘圖.
- 91 ——. *Dayi zhitu cantong jing* 大易誌圖參同經. [§2.7]
- 43 ——. *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 古文龍虎經注疏. [§1.6]
- 44 ——. *Guwen longhu shangjing zhu* 古文龍虎上經注. [§1.6]
- 42 ——. *Jindan jinbi qiantong jue* 金丹金碧潛通訣. [§1.6]
- 52 ——. *Longhu shoujian tu* 龍虎手鑑圖.
- 77 ——. *Yinyang tonglüe Cantong qi* 陰陽統略參同契. [§2.7]
- 111 ——. *Zhouyi cantong qi wuming zi zhu* 周易參同契無名子注. [§3.6]
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- 95 Baozhen daoren 葆真道人. *Cantong qi zhu* 參同契注.
- Baozhen yuhe 葆真毓和, *see* Baozhen daoren 葆真道人.

- 109 Cao Yinru 曹印儒. *Cantong qi quanshi* 參同契詮釋. [§3.6]
 70 Caotang 草堂. [Title unknown] (attr.).
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 119 Chen Jinmou 陳盡謀. *Cantong qi zhu* 參同契注. [§3.6]
 7 Chen Xianwei 陳顯微. *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解.
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 18 Jiang Yibiao 蔣一彪. *Guwen cantong qi jijie* 古文參同契集解.
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- 21 Jiang Zhongzhen 姜中真 (or 姜中貞). *Cantong qi* 參同契.
 35 Jiao Tinghu 焦廷琥. *Guzhu Cantong qi fenjian zhushi* 古注參同契分箋注釋.
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 23 Li Guangdi 李光地. *Cantong qi zhangju* 參同契章句. [§3.9]
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 26 Liu Wulong 劉吳龍. *Gu Cantong qi jizhu* 古參同契集注.
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- 122 Xie Taiyi 謝太易. *Cantong qi zhushu* 參同契注疏. [§3.13]
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- 105 Xu Mengyi 徐夢易. *Dayi cantong qi jie* 大易參同契解. [§3.6]
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- 65 Xu Wei 徐渭. *Zhu Cantong qi xu* 注參同契序.
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 8 Ji Dakui 紀大奎 (ed. no. 12).
 3 Ji Yun 紀昀 (ed. no. 3).
 9 Jiang Tingxi 蔣庭錫 (ed. no. 10).
 7 Jiang Yupu 蔣予浦 (ed. no. 5).
 140 Jiuhua zi 九華子.
 23 Li Qingzhi 李清植 (ed. no. 2).
 23 Li Weidi 李維迪 (ed. no. 3).
 25 Li Xiling 李錫齡 (ed. no. 1).
 3 Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊 (ed. no. 3).
 9 Ma Yizhen 馬一貞 (ed. no. 4b).
 18 Mao Jin 毛晉 (ed. no. 1).
 20 Pan Jingguan 潘靜觀 (ed. no. 1).
 7 Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (ed. no. 5).
 7 Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 (ed. no. 5a).
 4 Qian Xizuo 錢熙祚 (ed. no. 8).
 22 Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲.
 8 Ruan Dengbing 阮登炳.
 1 Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (ed. no. 1).
 3 Tang Jiyun 唐際雲 (ed. no. 2a).
 1 Wang Ka 王卡 (ed. no. 1a).
 20 Wang Kueipu 王魁浦.
 11 Wang Qihuo 汪啟瀟 (ed. no. 2).
 7 Wang Yi 王夷.
 4 Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (ed. no. 11).

- 4 Wu Weimin 伍偉民 (ed. no. 13).
 9 Xiao Zhiling 蕭智靈 (ed. no. 15).
 29 Xu Lichun 徐立純.
 3 Yan Hezhou 閻鶴洲 (ed. no. 2a).
 9 Yang Shen 楊慎 (ed. no. 4).
 18 Yang Shen 楊慎.
 25 Yang Shen 楊慎.
 26 Yang Shen 楊慎.
 33 Yang Shen 楊慎.
 9 Yao Ruxun 姚汝循 (ed. no. 4).
 33 Yinan zi 易南子 (ed. no. 1).
 9 Yu Mu 俞慕 (ed. no. 13).
 4 Yuan Chang 袁昶.
 22 Yuxi zi 玉溪子 (ed. no. 1e).
 7 Zheng Boqian 鄭伯謙.
 18 Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 (ed. no. 3).
 1 Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹 (ed. no. 1a).
 10 Zhang Weishu 張維樞.
 8 Zhang Yucai 張與材.
 1 Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (ed. no. 1).
 4 Zhou Xinru 周心如 (ed. no. 7).
 10 Zhu Weiren 朱惟任.
 9 Zhu Zhongtang 朱仲棠 (ed. no. 13).

TITLES OF COMMENTARIES, ESSAYS,
 AND WORKS RELATED TO THE CANTONG QI

- 70 [Title unknown.] Caotang 草堂 (attr.).
 92 [Title unknown.] Chen Huizhen 陳會真. [\$2.10]
 93 [Title unknown.] Zhan Gu 詹谷. [\$2.10]
 141 *Baizhang ji* 百章集. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 142 *Cantong dayi zhi* 參同大易誌. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 86 *Cantong jinshi zhiyao lun* 參同金石至藥論. Anonymous.
 94 *Cantong qi* 參同契. Huo Ru'an 霍如菴.
 21 —. Jiang Zhongzhen 姜中真 (or 姜中貞).
 82 —. Li Yu 李郁. [\$2.10]
 40 —. Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷.
 140 —. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 —, see *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契解 (attr. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽).
 —, see *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解 (Chen Xianwei).

- , see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 54 “*Cantong qi*” 參同契. Edited by Zeng Zao 曾慥. *Juan 1*: Anonymous. *Juan 2*: Lou Jing 婁敬 (attr.). *Juan 3*: Wei Ao 魏翱 (attr.). [§2.2]
- 98 *Cantong qi benyi* 參同契本義. Zhou Ying 周瑛. [§3.6]
- 89 *Cantong qi bian* 參同契辯. Tian Junyou 田君祐.
- 124 *Cantong qi bu tianshi* 參同契補天石. Yin Taixuan 尹太鉉. [§3.13]
- 112 *Cantong qi buzhu* 參同契補注. Guo Jinmen 郭金門. [§3.6]
- 20 *Cantong qi chanyou* 參同契闡幽. Zhu Yuanyu 朱元育. [§3.7]
- Cantong qi Chen zhu* 參同契陳注 (?), see *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解 (Chen Xianwei).
- 33 *Cantong qi fenjie bijie* 參同契分節祕解. Lü Huilian 呂惠連. [§4.7]
- Cantong qi fenzhang zhu* 參同契分章注, see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 97 *Cantong qi gangling* 參同契綱領. Huang Runyu 黃潤玉. [§3.6]
- 78 *Cantong qi he jindan jue* 參同契合金丹訣. Anonymous.
- 79 *Cantong qi huandan huojue* 參同契還丹火訣. Anonymous. [§2.7]
- 99 *Cantong qi jie* 參同契解. Chen Hongbi 陳洪璧. [§3.6]
- 104 ———. Hong Tianxin 洪天馨. [§3.6]
- 115 ———. Tao Zhiwei 陶致煒. [§3.6]
- 126 ———. Yang Shixun 楊世勛. [§3.13]
- 116 ———. Ye Shaoyuan 葉紹袁. [§3.6]
- 88 ———. Ziyang xiansheng 紫陽先生.
- , see *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解 (Chen Xianwei).
- , see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 36 *Cantong qi jindi dayi* 參同契金堤大義. Xu Guilin 許桂林.
- 128 *Cantong qi jizhu* 參同契集注. Liu Yinglong 劉英龍. [§3.13]
- 113 *Cantong qi jujie* 參同契句解. Li Wenzhu 李文燭. [§3.6]
- 38 *Cantong qi pizhu* 參同契批注. Huang Baonian 黃葆年.
- 109 *Cantong qi quanshi* 參同契詮釋. Cao Yinru 曹印儒. [§3.6]
- 106 *Cantong qi shi* 參同契釋. Zhao Jianyu 趙建郁. [§3.6]
- 75 *Cantong qi taiyi danshu* 參同契太易丹書. Anonymous.
- 76 *Cantong qi taiyi ershisi qi xiulian dadan tu* 參同契太易二十四氣修煉大丹圖. Anonymous.
- 74 *Cantong qi taiyi zhitu* 參同契太易志圖. Chongxuan zi 重玄子. [§2.7]
- 72 ———. Zhang Chu 張處. [§2.7]
- 81 *Cantong qi texing dan* 參同契特行丹. Anonymous.

- Cantong qi wu xianglei* 參同契五相類, see *Zhouyi wu xianglei* 周易五相類.
- 47 *Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 參同契五相類祕要. Anonymous. Commentary by Lu Tianji 盧天驥. [§1.4]
- 101 *Cantong qi xince* 參同契心測. Xu Xianzhong 徐獻忠. [§3.6]
- 51 *Cantong qi xinjian* 參同契心鑑. Zheng Yuanzhi 鄭遠之, or listed as anonymous.
- 23 *Cantong qi zhangju* 參同契章句. Li Guangdi 李光地. [§3.9]
- 71 *Cantong qi zhigui* 參同契指歸. Anonymous.
- 110 *Cantong qi zhinan* 參同契指南. Wangyou zi 忘有子. [§3.6]
- 31 *Cantong qizhi* 參同直指. Liu Yiming 劉一明. [§4.6]
- 95 *Cantong qi zhu* 參同契注. Baozhen daoren 葆真道人.
- 119 —. Chen Jinmou 陳盡謀. [§3.6]
- 125 —. Chen Zhaocheng 陳兆成. [§3.13]
- 67 —. Li Guangdi 李光地. [§3.9]
- 131 —. Tu Wenlin 屠文林.
- 129 —. Wang Yuanjing 王元敬. [§3.13]
- 69 —. Yu Fan 虞翻 (attr.).
- 117 —. Zhou Maolan 周茂蘭. [§3.6]
- 130 *Cantong qi zhujie* 參同契注解. Zhou Longjia 周龍甲. —, see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 103 *Cantong qi zhushi* 參同契注釋. Zhou Maozhong 周茂中. [§3.6]
- 122 *Cantong qi zhushu* 參同契注疏. Xie Taiyi 謝太易. [§3.13]
- 85 *Cantong taidan cixu huoshu* 參同太丹次序火數. Anonymous.
- 37 *Cantong yice* 參同易測. Jin Biaosong 靳標嵩.
- 87 *Cantong zhouhou fang* 參同時後方. Anonymous.
- 17 *Chongzheng Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi zhenyi* 重正古文周易參同契真義. Huang Shiyong 黃士英.
- 49 *Da huandan qi bitu* 大還丹契秘圖. Anonymous, or attr. Lou Jing 婁敬.
- 64 *Da renwen Cantong* 答人問參同. Xu Wei 徐渭.
- 48 *Dadan ji* 大丹記. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
- 139 *Danjing* 丹經. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
- 105 *Dayi cantong qi jie* 大易參同契解. Xu Mengyi 徐夢易. [§3.6]
- 91 *Dayi zhitu cantong jing* 大易誌圖參同經. Anonymous. [§2.7]
- 102 *Dingzhu Cantong qi jingzhuan* 訂注參同契經傳. Shang Tingshi 商廷試. [§3.6]
- 27 *Du Cantong qi* 讀參同契. Wang Fu 汪紱. [§3.10]
- 100 *Du Cantong qi zhi* 讀參同契志. Mei E 梅鶚. [§3.6]
- 56 *Du Cantong qi zuo* 讀參同契作. Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝.
- 63 *Fengda Feng zongshi shu* 奉答馮宗師書. Xu Wei 徐渭.

- 135 *Ganying jue* 感應訣. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
- 26 *Gu Cantong qi jizhu* 古參同契集注. Liu Wulong 劉吳龍.
- 34 *Guben zhouyi cantong qi* 古本周易參同契. Gong Yitu 龔易圖.
- 24 *Guben zhouyi cantong qi jizhu* 古本周易參同契集注. Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲. [§4.3]
- 120 *Gujin cantong qi* 古今參同契. Ma Yinglong 馬應龍. [§3.6]
- 108 *Gujin cantong qi jie* 古今參同契解. Shen Yaozhong 沈堯中. [§3.6]
- 16 *Guwen cantong qi* 古文參同契. Peng Haogu 彭好古. [§4.1]
—, see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 18 *Guwen cantong qi jijie* 古文參同契集解. Jiang Yibiao 蔣一彪. [§4.2]
- 121 *Guwen cantong qi zhenquan* 古文參同契真詮. Wang Yiyan 王一言. [§3.6]
- 43 *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 古文龍虎經注疏. Anonymous, or attr. Liu Yan 劉演. Commentary and sub-commentary by Wang Dao 王道. [§1.6]
- 44 *Guwen longhu shangjing zhu* 古文龍虎上經注. Anonymous, or attr. Liu Yan 劉演. [§1.6]
Guwen zhouyi cantong qi fahui 古文周易參同契發揮, see *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮 (Yu Yan).
- 25 *Guwen zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 古文周易參同契注. Yuan Renlin 袁仁林. [§4.4]
- 35 *Guzhu Cantong qi fenjian zhushi* 古注參同契分箋注釋. Jiao Tinghu 焦廷琥.
- 13 *Guzhu Cantong qi fenshi* 古注參同契分釋. Xu Wei 徐渭. [§3.3]
- 137 *Huandan jue* 還丹訣. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
- 138 *Huojing zhoutian tu* 火鏡周天圖. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
- 15 *Jiaozhu guwen cantong qi* 校注古文參同契. Wang Jiachun 王家春.
- 73 *Jie cantong qi* 解參同契. Zhang Sui 張隨. [§2.10]
Jinbi guwen Longhu shangjing 金碧古文龍虎上經, see *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 古文龍虎經注疏.
Jinbi guwen Longhu shangjing zhushu 金碧古文龍虎上經, see *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 古文龍虎經注疏.
- 53 *Jinbi longhu pian* 金碧龍虎篇. Liu Yan 劉演 (attr.).
- 45 *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi* 金碧五相類參同契. Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (attr.). [§2.2]
- 42 *Jindan jinbi qiantong jue* 金丹金碧潛通訣. Anonymous, or attr. Yang Sanwei 羊三微 (or Yang Canwei 羊參微). [§1.6]
- 136 *Longhu danjue* 龍虎丹訣. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).

- 52 *Longhu jing* 龍虎經. Anonymous. [§1.6]
 134 *Longhu shoujian tu* 龍虎手鑑圖. Anonymous.
Penglai dongshan xizao huandan jing 蓬萊東山西灶還丹經.
 Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 50 *Mingjing tu* 明鏡圖. Peng Xiao 彭曉. [§1.5]
 39 *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論. Liu Zhigu 劉知古. [§1.3]
Riyue xuanshu pian 日月玄樞篇, see *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月
 玄樞論.
 61 *Sanguan zhi yao* 三關之要. Wei Boyang (attr.).
 127 *Shi Cantong qi* 釋參同契. Mou Ting 牟庭. [§3.13]
 66 *Shu guben Cantong qi wushi* 書古本參同契誤識. Xu Wei 徐渭.
 144 *Taidan jiuzhuan ge* 太丹九轉歌. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 41 *Wei Boyang qifan dansha jue* 魏伯陽七返丹砂訣. Wei Boyang
 (attr.).
Wu xianglei 五相類, see *Zhouyi wu xianglei* 周易五相類.
Wuxing xianglei 五行相類, see *Zhouyi wu xianglei* 周易五相類.
Wuzhen pian 悟真篇. Zhang Boduan 張伯端. [§2.1]
Xinjing pian 心鏡篇, see *Cantong qi xinjian* 參同契心鑑.
 46 *Yin zhenjun jinshi wu xianglei* 陰真君金石五相類. Yin Chang-
 sheng 陰長生 (attr.).
 77 *Yinyang tonglüe Cantong qi* 陰陽統略參同契. Anonymous, or
 attr. Xu Congshi 徐從事. [§2.7]
 59 *Yuwai biechuan* 易外別傳. Yu Yan 俞琰. [§2.8]
Yu shi Cantong qi fahui wuyan zhu zhailu 俞氏參同契發揮五
 言注摘錄, see *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮
 (Yu Yan).
 6 *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契. Chu Yong 儲泳. [§2.5]
 83 —. Li Baosu 李抱素. [§2.10]
 68 —. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓.
 132 —. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 90 —. Xu Congshi 徐從事 (attr.).
 2 —. Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (attr.). [§1.2]
 84 —. Zhai Zhigong 翟直躬.
 —, see *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮 (Yu Yan).
 —, see *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異 (Zhu Xi).
 —, see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen
 Zhixu).
 11 *Zhouyi cantong qi ceshu* 周易參同契測疏. Lu Xixing 陸西星.
 [§3.2]
 8 *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮. Yu Yan 俞琰. [§2.8]
 3 *Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang tong zhenyi* 周易參同契分章通真
 義. Peng Xiao 彭曉. [§1.5]

- Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang zhu* 周易參同契分章注, see
Zhouyi cantong qi zhu jie 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang zhu jie 周易參同契分章注解, see
Zhouyi cantong qi zhu jie 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 118 *Zhouyi cantong qi he zhu* 周易參同契合注. Fei Jingyu 費經虞.
 [§3.6]
- 28 *Zhouyi cantong qi jian xian jie* 周易參同契淺顯解. Gu Rui 谷睿.
- 55 *Zhouyi cantong qi jian yao shi yi* 周易參同契簡要釋義. Hao
 Datong 郝大通.
- 7 *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解. Chen Xianwei 陳顯微.
 [§2.6]
- 96 ———. Yan Duo 晏鐸. [§3.6]
- 10 *Zhouyi cantong qi jie jian* 周易參同契解箋. Zhang Wenlong 張
 文龍 and Zhu Changchun 朱長春. [§3.1]
- 30 *Zhouyi cantong qi ji yun* 周易參同契集韻. Ji Dakui 紀大奎. [§4.5]
Zhouyi cantong qi ji zhu 周易參同契集注, see *Zhouyi cantong
 qi zhu jie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen Zhixu).
- 4 *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異. Zhu Xi 朱熹. [§2.3]
- 12 *Zhouyi cantong qi kouyi* 周易參同契口義. Lu Xixing 陸西星.
 [§3.2]
- 22 *Zhouyi cantong qi mai wang* 周易參同契脈望. Tao Susi 陶素
 耜. [§3.8]
- 58 *Zhouyi cantong qi shi yi* 周易參同契釋疑. Yu Yan 俞琰. [§2.8]
- 14 *Zhouyi cantong qi shu lue* 周易參同契疏略. Wang Wenlu 王文
 祿. [§3.4]
- Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhen yi* 周易參同契通真義, see *Zhouyi
 cantong qi fen zhang tong zhen yi* 周易參同契分章通真義
 (Peng Xiao).
- 111 *Zhouyi cantong qi wu ming zi zhu* 周易參同契無名子注.
 Anonymous. [§3.6]
- 62 *Zhouyi cantong qi yaowu huohou tushuo* 周易參同契藥物火
 候圖說. Lou Ying 樓英.
- 19 *Zhouyi cantong qi yi* 周易參同契譯. Zhen Shu 甄淑. [§3.5]
- 29 *Zhouyi cantong qi zheng yi* 周易參同契正義. Dong Dening 董
 德寧. [§3.11]
- 1 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注. Anonymous. [§1.1]
- 5 ———. Anonymous. [§2.4]
- 114 ———. Li Kan 李堪. [§3.6]
- 123 ———. Tao Sixuan 陶思萱. [§3.13]
- , see *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異 (Zhu Xi).
 ———, see *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu jie* 周易參同契注解 (Chen
 Zhixu).

- 9 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie* 周易參同契注解. Chen Zhixu 陳致虛. [§2.9]
 107 —, Zhang Wei 張位. [§3.6]
 32 *Zhouyi cantong qi zhushi* 周易參同契注釋. Li Shixu 黎世序. [§3.12]
 143 *Zhouyi menhu cantong qi* 周易門戶參同契. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 80 *Zhouyi qianqi shenfu baixue tu* 周易潛契神符白雪圖. Zhang Ziyang 張紫陽 (attr.).
 133 *Zhouyi wu xianglei* 周易五相類. Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (attr.).
 65 *Zhu Cantong qi xu* 注參同契序. Xu Wei 徐渭.
 60 *Zhu Du Zhouyi cantong qi* 注讀周易參同契. Li Daochun 李道純.
 Zhuzi Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi 朱子周易參同契考異, see
 Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi 周易參同契考異 (Zhu Xi).
 57 *Ziyang zhenren du Zhouyi cantong qi wen* 紫陽真人讀周易參同契文. Zhang Ziyang 張紫陽 (i.e., Zhang Boduan 張伯端, attr.).

EDITIONS OF THE CANTONG QI

NOTE: Editions identified only by place or date of publication are not included.

- 23 *Anxi Li Wenzen gong jieyi sanzong* 安溪李文貞公解義三種 (1719) (ed. no. 1).
 23 — (1722) (ed. no. 1a).
 8 *Anzheng tang* 安正堂 (ed. no. 7).
 14 *Bailing xueshan* 百陵學山 (ed. no. 1).
 4 *Baogao tang* 寶誥堂 (ed. no. 4).
 21 *Chimu tang* 尺木堂 (ed. no. 1).
 7 *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (ed. no. 4a).
 9 — (ed. no. 12a).
 20 — (ed. no. 2a).
 —, see also *Daozang jiyao*
 4 *Chuanjing tang* 傳經堂 (ed. no. 4b).
 4 *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (ed. no. 11).
 25 — (ed. no. 2).
 8 *Cuncun zhai* 存存齋 (ed. no. 1).
 28 *Danyong tang* 淡永堂 (ed. no. 1).
 9 *Daofan zhengzong wujing sishu daquan* 道範正宗五經四書大全 (ed. no. 6).

- 29 *Daoguan zhenyuan* 道貫真源 (ed. no. 1).
 3 *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集 (1591) (ed. no. 2a).
 7 — (1591) (ed. no. 2a).
 9 — (1591) (ed. no. 2a).
 3 — (1682) (ed. no. 2b).
 7 — (1682) (ed. no. 2b).
 9 — (1682) (ed. no. 2b).
 31 *Daoshu shi'er zhong* 道書十二種 (1819) (ed. no. 1).
 31 — (1880) (ed. no. 1a).
 31 — (1913) (ed. no. 1b).
 31 — (1925) (ed. no. 1c).
 31 — (1995) (ed. no. 1e).
 9 *Daoshu wuzhong* 道書五種 (ed. no. 5).
 11 *Daotong dacheng* 道統大成 (ed. no. 2).
 12 — (ed. no. 2).
 20 — (ed. no. 3).
 16 *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* 道言內外秘訣全書 (1599/1600) (ed. no. 1).
 16 — (late Ming or Qing) (ed. no. 1a).
Daoyan neiwai wuzhong bilu 道言內外五種祕錄, see *Daoyan wuzhong*
 22 *Daoyan wuzhong* 道言五種 (1700) (ed. no. 1).
 22 — (1701/1722) (ed. no. 1a).
 22 — (1800) (ed. no. 1b).
 22 — (1847) (ed. no. 1c).
 22 — (1854) (ed. no. 1d).
 22 — (1915) (ed. no. 1e).
 22 — (1930) (ed. no. 1f).
Daozang 道藏, see *Zhengtong Daozang* and *Zhonghua Daozang*
 8 *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 (ed. no. 14).
 29 — (ed. no. 2).
 7 *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (ed. no. 4).
 9 — (ed. no. 12).
 20 — (ed. no. 2).
 —, see also *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*
 3 *Daye tang* 大業堂 (ed. no. 2b).
 7 — (ed. no. 2b).
 9 — (ed. no. 2b).
 31 *Dazhong shuju* 大眾書局 (ed. no. 2).
 21 *Deyi canwu* 得一參五 (ed. no. 1).
 9 *Dunben tang* 敦本堂 (ed. no. 14).
 9 *Dunren tang* 敦仁堂 (ed. no. 13c).
 7 *Erxian an* 二仙庵 (ed. no. 4a).

- 9 — (ed. no. 12a).
 20 — (ed. no. 2a).
 4 Fenxin ge 紛欣閣 (ed. no. 7).
 4 *Fenxin ge congshu* 紛欣閣叢書 (ed. no. 7).
 11 *Fanghu waishi* 方壺外史 (1571/1572) (ed. no. 1).
 11 — (1580/1620) (ed. no. 1a).
 12 — (1580/1620) (ed. no. 1).
 11 — (1915) (ed. no. 1b).
 12 — (1915) (ed. no. 1a).
 31 *Fushou baozang* 福壽寶藏 (ed. no. 2).
 22 Fuzhen shuju 復真書局 (ed. no. 1e).
 9 Guizhen tang 歸真堂 (ed. no. 5).
 9 *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (1726) (ed. no. 10).
 9 — (1884–88) (ed. no. 10a).
 9 — (1964) (ed. no. 10b).
 29 Guyue jiyang lou 古越集陽樓 (ed. no. 1).
 24 Hecheng zhai 合成齋 (ed. no. 2).
 25 Hongdao shuyuan 宏道書院 (ed. no. 1).
 1 Huaxia chubanshe 華夏出版社 (ed. no. 1a).
 2 — (ed. no. 1a).
 3 — (ed. no. 1a).
 4 — (ed. no. 2a).
 5 — (ed. no. 1a).
 6 — (ed. no. 1a).
 7 — (ed. no. 1a).
 8 — (ed. no. 4a).
 9 — (ed. no. 18).
 31 Huguo an 護國庵 (ed. no. 1).
 30 *Ji Shenzhai xiansheng quanji xuji* 紀慎齋先生全集續集 (ed. no. 1).
 9 Jiangdong shuju 江東書局 (ed. no. 13d).
 31 — (ed. no. 1b).
 31 Jicheng shuju 集成書局 (ed. no. 1c).
 18 Jigu ge 汲古閣 (ed. no. 1).
 18 *Jindai bishu* 津逮秘書 (ed. no. 1).
 3 *Jindan zhengli daquan* 金丹正理大全 (1538) (ed. no. 2).
 7 — (1538) (ed. no. 2).
 9 — (1538) (ed. no. 2).
 3 — (late Ming edition) (ed. no. 2c).
 7 — (late Ming edition) (ed. no. 2c).
 9 — (late Ming edition) (ed. no. 2c).
 9 Jinling shufang 金陵書坊 (ed. no. 1).

- 9 Jinzhang tushuju 錦章圖書局 (ed. no. 17).
 3 Jixiu tang 積秀堂 (ed. no. 2a).
 23 Juye tang 居業堂 (ed. no. 1a).
 4 Kibundō 奎文堂 (ed. no. 4a).
 23 *Li Wenzhen gong quanji* 李文貞公全集 (ed. no. 2).
 3 Mengxuan lou 夢選樓 (ed. no. 4).
 32 Qianyu zhai 謙豫齋 (ed. no. 1).
 23 Qingjin xian 清謹軒 (ed. no. 1).
 4 Rixin shutang 日新書堂 (ed. no. 1).
 23 *Rongcun quanshu* 榕村全書 (ed. no. 3).
 24 Sanyuan gong 三元宮 (ed. no. 2).
 9 Shancheng tang 善成堂 (ed. no. 13).
 4 Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 (ed. no. 13).
 4 Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 (ed. no. 11).
 16 Shigu zhai 師古齋 (ed. no. 1).
 4 *Shōhei sōsho* 昌平叢書 (1802; 1909) (ed. no. 6).
 20 Shoujing tang 守經堂 (ed. no. 4).
 4 Shoushan ge 守山閣 (ed. no. 8).
 4 *Shoushan ge congshu* 守山閣叢書 (ed. no. 8).
 31 Shumu wenxuan chubanshe 書目文獻出版社 (ed. no. 1e).
 4 *Shushi isho* 朱子遺書 (ca. 1885 (ed. no. 4a).
 4 *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 (1920/1934) (ed. no. 10).
 4 — (1936) (ed. no. 10a).
 3 *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (ed. no. 3).
 4 — (ed. no. 5).
 7 — (ed. no. 3).
 8 — (ed. no. 11).
 9 — (ed. no. 11).
 18 — (ed. no. 2).
 20 Tiande tang 天德堂 (ed. no. 1).
 9 *Tianxian daquan* 天仙大全 (ed. no. 15).
 9 Tushu jicheng ju 圖書集成局 (ed. no. 10a).
 27 *Wang Shuangchi xiansheng congshu* 汪雙池先生叢書 (ed. no. 1).
 33 Wanjin tang 萬金堂 (ed. no. 1).
 11 Weisun tang 未孫堂 (ed. no. 1a).
 12 — (ed. no. 1).
 16 Wenjin tang 文錦堂 (ed. no. 1a).
 9 Wenxing shudian 文星書店 (ed. no. 10b).
 17 Xiangqi tang 祥啟堂 (ed. no. 1).
 9 Xingqi tang 星霽堂 (ed. no. 13a).
 25 Xiyin shuju 惜陰書局 (ed. no. 1a).
 25 *Xiyin xuan congshu* 惜陰軒叢書 (1846) (ed. no. 1).

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- 25 — (1888) (ed. no. 1a).
 25 — (1896) (ed. no. 1b).
 3 *Xu Jinhua congshu* 續金華叢書 (ed. no. 4).
 18 *Xuejin taoyuan* 學津討原 (ed. no. 3).
 9 Yifu 伊府 (ed. no. 3).
 22 Yihua tang 翼化堂 (ed. no. 1f).
 31 — (ed. no. 1a).
 8 *Yihua yuanzong* 一化元宗 (1624) (ed. no. 8).
 8 — (1642) (ed. no. 8a).
 22 Yingjing tang 瀛經堂 (ed. no. 1b).
 22 Yijing tang 遺經堂 (ed. no. 1a).
 8 Yixue shuju 醫學書局 (ed. no. 14).
 18 Zhaokuang ge 照曠閣 (ed. no. 3).
 8 Zhaoyan tang 詔燕堂 (ed. no. 13).
 1 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 (ed. no. 1).
 2 — (ed. no. 1).
 3 — (ed. no. 1).
 4 — (ed. no. 2).
 5 — (ed. no. 1).
 6 — (ed. no. 1).
 7 — (ed. no. 1).
 8 — (ed. no. 4).
 31 Zhenshanmei chubanshe 真善美出版社 (ed. no. 1d).
 1 *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏 (ed. no. 1a).
 2 — (ed. no. 1a).
 3 — (ed. no. 1a).
 4 — (ed. no. 2a).
 5 — (ed. no. 1a).
 6 — (ed. no. 1a).
 7 — (ed. no. 1a).
 8 — (ed. no. 4a).
 9 — (ed. no. 18).
 4 Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (ed. no. 10).
 4 *Zhuzi chengshu* 朱子成書 (1341) (ed. no. 1).
 4 — (early Ming) (ed. no. 1a).
 4 *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書 (ed. no. 13).
 4 *Zhuzi yishu* 朱子遺書 (1692/1722) (ed. no. 4).
 4 — (1886) (ed. no. 4b).
 4 *Ziyang congshu* 紫陽叢書 (ed. no. 9).
 9 Ziyang shanfang 紫英山房 (ed. no. 16).
 22 Ziyun tang 紫雲堂 (ed. no. 1d).
 22 Zunde tang 尊德堂 (ed. no. 1c).

Works Quoted

EDITIONS OF THE CANTONG QI

NOTE: In addition to individual editions of the *Cantong qi*, this section also includes collected reproductions of premodern editions. Modern annotated transcriptions are listed below under “Studies on the *Cantong qi* and Its Commentaries.”

Zhouyi cantong qi 周易參同契. Attr. Yin Changsheng 陰長生, ca. 700. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 999.

Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu 周易參同契鼎器歌明鏡圖 [The “Song of the Tripod” and the “Chart of the Bright Mirror” of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Peng Xiao 彭曉, 947. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 1003.

Zhouyi cantong qi fahui 周易參同契發揮 [An Elucidation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Yu Yan 俞琰, 1284. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 1005.

Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang tong zhenyi 周易參同契分章通真義 [True Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, with a Subdivision into Sections]. Peng Xiao 彭曉, 947. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 1002.

Zhouyi cantong qi guzhu jicheng 周易參同契古注集成 [Collection of ancient commentaries to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990.

Zhouyi cantong qi huikan 『周易參同契』彙刊 [Collected editions of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1990.

Zhouyi cantong qi [kaoyi] 周易參同契【考異】 [(Investigation of Discrepancies in the) *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Zhu Xi 朱熹, 1197. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 1001.

Zhouyi cantong qi zhujie 周易參同契注解 [Commentary and Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Chen Zhixu 陳致虛, ca. 1330. Jinling shufang 金陵書坊 ed., 1484.

Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi, Zhouyi cantong qi fahui, Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang zhu 周易參同契考異、周易參同契發揮、周易參同契分章注 [Investigation of Discrepancies in the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (by Zhu Xi); An Elucidation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (by Yu Yan); Commen-

- tary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, with a Subdivision into Sections (by Chen Zhixu)]. Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988.
- Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑 [Explanation of Doubtful Points in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Yu Yan 俞琰, 1284. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 1006.
- Zhouyi cantong qi tong zhenyi, Zhouyi cantong qi jie, Guwen cantong qi jijie* 周易參同契通真義、周易參同契解、古文參同契集解 [True Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (by Peng Xiao); Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (by Chen Xianwei); Collected Explications on the Ancient Text of the *Cantong qi* (by Jiang Yibiao)]. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1988.
- Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注 [Commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*]. Anonymous, ca. 700. *Daozang* 道藏, CT 1004.

SOURCES IN THE TAOIST CANON (DAOZANG 道藏)

- Cantong qi wu xianglei biyao* 參同契五相類祕要 [Secret Essentials on the Five Categories According to the *Cantong qi*]. Prob. eighth century, with a commentary by Lu Tianji 盧天驥 written between 1111 and 1117. *Daozang*, CT 905.
- Danlun juezhi xinjian* 丹論訣旨心鑒 [Insights on the Purport of the Alchemical Treatises]. Zhang Xuande 張玄德, ca. 900. *Daozang*, CT 935. Also in *Yunji qiqian* (CT 1032), j. 66.
- Daomen tongjiao biyong ji* 道門通教必用集 [Requisite Anthology of Taoist Teachings]. Lü Taigu 呂太古, 1201; edited by Ma Daoyi 馬道逸, 1295. *Daozang*, CT 1226.
- Daoshu* 道樞 [Pivot of the Dao]. Zeng Zao 曾慥, ca. 1150. *Daozang*, CT 1017.
- Daozang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目錄 [Catalogue of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon]. 1445. *Daozang*, CT 1430.
- Huandan zhouhou jue* 還丹肘後訣 [A Primer on the Reverted Elixir]. Tenth or eleventh century. *Daozang*, CT 915.
- Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣 [Instructions on the Scripture of the Nine Elixirs of the Nine Tripods of the Yellow Emperor]. Ca. 650. *Daozang*, CT 885.
- Huangdi yinfu jing zhu* 黃帝陰符經注 [Commentary to the Scripture of the Hidden Response, by the Yellow Emperor]. Yu Yan 俞琰, ca. 1300. *Daozang*, CT 125.
- Huanjin shu* 還金述 [On the Return to Gold]. Tao Zhi 陶植 (or 陶埴), ca. 800. *Daozang*, CT 922.
- Jindan dayao* and *Jindan dayao tu*. See *Shangyang zi jindan dayao* and

- Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu* in this section.
- Jinhua Chisong shanzhi* 金華赤松山志 [Monograph on Mount Jinhua]. Ni Shouyue 倪守約, Late thirteenth century. *Daozang*, CT 601.
- Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror of True Immortals Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages]. Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, ca. 1294. *Daozang*, CT 296.
- Longhu huandan jue* 龍虎還丹訣 [Instructions on the Reverted Elixir of the Dragon and the Tiger]. Attr. Jinling zi 金陵子, tenth century. *Daozang*, CT 909.
- Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞群仙錄 [Records of Immortals from the Three Caverns]. Chen Baoguang 陳葆光, 1154. *Daozang*, CT 1248.
- Shangyang zi jindan dayao* 上陽子金丹大要 [Great Essentials of the Golden Elixir, by the Master of Higher Yang]. Chen Zhixu 陳致虛, ca. 1335. *Daozang*, CT 1067.
- Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu* 上陽子金丹大要 [Great Essentials of the Golden Elixir, by the Master of Higher Yang: Charts]. Chen Zhixu 陳致虛, ca. 1335. *Daozang*, CT 1068.
- Shiyao erya* 石藥爾雅 [Dictionary of Synonyms of the Alchemical Materia Medica]. Mei Biao 梅彪, 806. *Daozang*, CT 901.
- Taidan pian* 太丹篇 [Essay on the Great Elixir]. A tenth-century anonymous collection of passages from Tang and Five Dynasties sources. *Daozang*, CT 938.
- Taiqing yu beizi* 太清玉碑子 [Jade Stele of the Great Clarity]. Prob. ca. 800. *Daozang*, CT 927.
- Tao zhenren neidan fu* 陶真人內丹賦 [Rhapsody on the Inner Elixir, by the True Man Tao Zhi]. Anonymous commentary dating from ca. 900 on a poem attributed to Tao Zhi 陶植 (or 陶埴, ?–826). *Daozang*, CT 259. Also in *Yunji qiqian* (CT 1032), 70.14a–20a.
- Tongyou jue* 通幽訣 [Instructions for Penetrating the Obscurity]. Prob. ca. 800. *Daozang*, CT 913.
- Yixiang tushuo neipian* 易象圖說內篇 [Illustrations and Discussions of the Emblems of the *Book of Changes*: Inner Book]. Zhang Li 張理, 1357. *Daozang*, CT 161.
- Yuanyang zi jinye ji* 元陽子金液集 [The Golden Liquor, a Collection by the Master of Original Yang]. Ninth century. *Daozang*, CT 238.
- Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Seven Lots from the Bookcase of the Clouds]. Zhang Junfang 張君房, ca. 1025. *Daozang*, CT 1032.
- Yuqing neishu* 玉清內書 [Inner Writ of Jade Clarity]. Prob. ca. 800. *Daozang*, CT 947.
- Zhang zhenren jinshi lingsha lun* 張真人金石靈砂論 [Treatise on Metals, Stones and Cinnabar, by the True Man Zhang]. Zhang Jiugai 張九垓, between 742 and 770. *Daozang*, CT 887.

Ziyang zhenren wuzhen pian zhushu 紫陽真人悟真篇注疏 [Commentary and Sub-Commentary to *Awakening to Reality*, by the True Man of Purple Yang]. Weng Baoguang 翁葆光, 1173; edited by Dai Qizong 戴起宗, 1335. *Daozang*, CT 141.

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