On the Six-Qi Therapy and its Relationship with Tiantai Xiao Zhiguan

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Tian-tai Xiao Zhiguan (abbr. XZG) is highly valued by Buddhists in East Asia, and it is commonly called Tongmeng Zhiguan (abbr. TMZG) in China, also known as Xiuxi Zhiguan Zuochan Fayao, which is accompanied by the preface of Yuanzhao. In the 1950s, Sekiguchi Shindai discovered in Japan three copies in manuscript entitled Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen (abbr. ZGYM) with the colophons “delivered by Tian-tai Mount Master Yi” and “noted privately by Qi kingdom śramana Jingbian.” He proved it to be Tian-tai Xiao Zhiguan and nowadays widely spread in Japan. In this article, the copies of Xiao Zhiguan with the preface of Yuanzhao would be called “Yuanzhao system,” and those with notes by Jingbian would be called “Jingbian system.”

It is a great event in Buddhist academia to discover the copies of XZG marked with notes by Jingbian. There was a great shift between block-printing and handed-writing: XZG in Yuanzhao system belongs to block-printed copies, and XZG in Jingbian system belongs to handed-writing copies, which probably stands for an earlier XZG text. It suggests that there are two inheritance systems of Xiao Zhiguan in the history.

With the help of “six-Qi therapy” quoted in XZG, this article holds that the edition of Yuanzhao system, namely TMZG, had been carefully adapted, and it had been in the process of canonization since Northern Song, finally collected into Yongle Tripitaka about in 1410.

1. Two inheritance systems of Xiao Zhiguan

Based on the new discovered manuscript, Mr. Sekiguchi denied that XZG was written by Zhiyi himself to his brother. Yuanzhao said in his preface, “Xiao Zhiguan... was brought out by Master Zhiyi for his lay brother Chenzhen, actually was the outline of MHZG, the vital access to obtaining Buddhist enlightenment.” The claim that XZG was for
his lay brother began from Zhanran 隨然3, and Yuanzhao followed his saying, which was later reinforced by Zhipan 志磐 in his Fozu Tongji 佛祖統紀 as that it was written by Zhiyi himself for his lay brother.

Then did Zhiyi deliver or write XZG? It was quite different among various historical records.

| Literature resources                                      | Ways of signature     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Current edition, TMZG                                      | shu 述 (mainly means to narrate, also to write) |
| Sui Tiantai Zhizhe Dashi Biezhuhan by Guanding            | zhu著 (writing)       |
| Xu Gaoseng Zhan, vol. 17, by Daoxuan                      | zhu 著 (directly stating as a book) |
| Zhiguan Fuxing Chuan Hongjue, vol. 1. 1, by Zhanran       | out 出 (to bring out for lay brother) |
| Rutang Qiufa Zongmulu by Enchin                          | unmarked, only noted Tian-tai |
| Tiantai'zong Zhangshu by Gennichi                        | shuo 说 (speaking)    |
| Jiaoguan Mulu by Zunshi                                  | shuo 说 (speaking)    |
| Preface of Xiao Zhiguan by Yuanzhao                      | out 出 (to bring out for lay brother) |
| Xinbian Zhuzong Jiaozang Zonglu, vol. 3, by Uichon        | shuo 说 (speaking)    |
| Dongyu Chuandeng Mulu by Eichō                           | Unmarked, only noted Zhiyi |
| Fozu Tongji, vol. 6, 25, 49, by Zhipan                   | Zhu 著, Zhuan 撰, Zhi 制, Zhao 造 (writing himself) |

The above table can reflect the change of signature ways of XZG. As a close disciple of Zhiyi, Guanding’s records of Zhiyi’s works should be most reliable. In his Sui Tiantai Zhizhe Dashi Biezhuhan 隋天台智者大师別傳, Guanding 灌頂 regarded XZG as Zhiyi’s work in the way of writing (zhu 著), not of teaching.4 However, there are contradictory understandings of “zhu” in later generations: “zhu” in the Zhiyi’s biography written by Dao Xuan 道宣, refers to “state directly as writing a book,” while being finally edited by others; in Zhipan’s work in Southern Song, “zhu” refers to “write in person,” XZG was written by Zhiyi himself. In contrast, the current TMZG is signed by “Zhiyi shu 述.” The word “shu” could avoid those contradictions, usually means narrating or stating, and sometime implies to write down. Then it is possible that Zhiyi first taught audiences XZG, and Guanding probably had seen XZG edited finally by Zhiyi himself; meanwhile it is also possible that
there were other versions of XZG in circulation, such as the extant manuscript with the colophon “noted by Jingbian.” That is to say, there may be two different inheritance systems of Xiao Zhiguan from the beginning: one is the edition written or finished by Zhiyi and the other is that “noted by Jingbian.” Within Tiantai Buddhism in Song Dynasty, the signature way of Xiao Zhiguan changed obviously: Zunshi 遵式 emphasized that XZG was delivered as a teaching, and Zhipan 志磐 claimed it was written by Zhiyi himself, even used a rare signature way “zhi”制 or “zhao”造, suggesting the text was very important, just like written by emperor or bodhisattva.

Furthermore, it is not difficult to find two versions of Xiao Zhiguan in circulation. One is usually directly called Xiao Zhiguan, while the other has a variety of similar titles, such as Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen, Zuochan Zhiguan or Zhiguan Yaomen. Sometimes, they were directly regarded as two different works.

1) Rutang Qiufa Zongmulu 入唐求法總目錄 by Enchin 圓珍: “Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen” one volume (or Xiao Zhiguan, perhaps two volumes by Tiantai).” This document implies that manuscript with Jingbian notes had been introduced into Japan by the time of Enchin.

2) Tiantai zong ZhangShu 天台宗章疏, compiled about in 914 by Gennichi 玄日, records these two editions together: “Xiao Zhiguan, 2 volumes (Said by Zhiyi),” which is listed in the section about Tiantai meditation; and “Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen, 1 volume (narrated or written by Jingbian),” which is listed at the end of the catalogue. This document clearly lists two editions of XZG together, but they were regarded as two different books, and the signature of “noted (ji 記) by Jingbian” was changed into “narrated or written (shu) by Jingbian.”

3) Jiaoguan Mulu 教觀目錄 by Zunshi, listed Xiao Zhiguan 1 volume, “said by Zhiyi, preserved currently, but still not collected in Tripitaka”; Meanwhile he also claimed that Zuochan Zhiguan 1 volume was “said by Zhiyi, but it is missing.”

4) Xinbian Zhuzong Jiaozang Zonglu 新編諸宗教藏總錄 by Uichon 義天 listed two editions together: “Xiao Zhiguan 1 volume (said by Tiantai),” “Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen 3 volumes or 1 volume (narrated or written [shu] by Tiantai).”

5) Dongyu Chuandeng Mulu 東域傳燈目錄, compiled by Eichō 東超 in 1094, listed two editions together in the same section “miscellaneous works” (Zashu lu 雜述錄): “Xiao Zhiguan 1 volume (Zhiyi)” and “Zhiguan Yaomen 1 volume (Zhiyi, Jingbian noted it as Lu-
emying Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen).” This document shows that Xiao Zhiguan and Zhiguan Yaomen were treated as two different books at that time.

Based on those documents mentioned above, it is true that there are two inheritance systems of Xiao Zhiguan in the eastern Asian Buddhism. Then the discovery of the manuscripts “noted by Jingbian” is not enough to deny the traditional view that XZG was written by Zhiyi. Because the earliest record of XZG was supported by Guanding, absolutely regarding it as “written by Zhiyi,” there are at least two possibilities, one is Zhiyi may edit his speech himself, and the other is disciples noted what Zhiyi said.

2. **Xiao Zhiguan in Jingbian system is not original**

It is quite interesting that XZG in Jingbian system was often cited by monks in Huayan Buddhism, while the other edition in Yuanzhao system was mainly spread in Tiantai Buddhism. For example, Wonhyo 元曉, Fazang 法藏, Zongmi 宗密 and Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿, quoted lots of paragraphs from XZG. In particular, Zongmi’s quotation in Yuanjuejing Daochang Xiuzhengyi 圓覺經道場修證儀 almost preserved the full text of XZG in Tang dynasty.

Comparing the quotation of Zongmi’s Xiuzhengyi with XZG both in Yuanzhao system and Jingbian system, it is quite obvious that there are great differences not only between Yuanzhao and Jingbian system, but also between the quotations of Xiuzhengyi and Xiao Zhiguan in Jingbian system. The original text which Zongmi quoted from must be larger and earlier than the manuscripts founded in 1950s in Japan.

There is a quotation from Qixin Lun 起信論 in the current TMZG, which is located in the sixth chapter named “real practice.” This passage quoted from Qixin Lun talks about the notion of “consciousness only without realm,” and does not appear in Zhiguan Yaomen in Jingbian system. To compare the parallel paragraphs in chapter 6, there are great differences among TMZG and ZGYM, and Zongmi’s quotation. The paragraph in TMZG has 236 Chinese characters from “practitioners in the beginning of meditation” to “like learning shooting, long practice would result in hitting target.” The paragraph in ZGYM has 288 Chinese characters from “when practitioners first learn meditation” to “it claims that people must obtain nirvana, and will be named great śramana.” But the same paragraph in the Zongmi’s quotation has 386 Chinese characters!

Then it suggests the original text which Zongmi depended on must be in the larger length, and some passages had been deleted in the extant manuscript of ZGYM, perhaps it
is the reason why its title was called Lumin 略明, interpreting in brief. But these two versions belong to the same inheritance system, meanwhile TMZG belongs to another inheritance system, not only it has the shortest length, but also Buddhist scriptures quoted had been changed. For example, Shidi Jing 十地經 quoted in two former versions had been changed into Qixin Lun in TMZG. In the age of Zongmi, there were many Japanese monks to China, such as Saichō 最澄, Ennin 圓仁, and it was possible for them to read the original text which Zongmi quoted from. Therefore, the text changes from Zongmi’s quotation to the current manuscript ZGYM, should take place at that time, and perhaps was due to the transcribing process in Japan.

Indeed it is difficult for us to verify the time of the textual modification of ZGYM, but it could be verified that TMZG was revised in Northern Song, based on the changes of six-Qi therapy.

3. The change of six-Qi therapy from late Tang to Northern Song

The six Qi 氣 treatments originated from the Chinese folk, was later absorbed into Yangxìng yanming lu 養性延命録 by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, and was often quoted by Zhiyi in his meditation works. Those methods in MHZG and Shi Chan Boromi Cidi Famen (abbr. CDCM) 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門 are basically in the same system, but in TMZG the six-Qi therapy belongs to another completely different system. In fact, the six Qi treatments in Yuanzhao system was widely popular after Northern Song, while this method in Jingbian system remained its form in the age of Zhiyi.

Six Qi 氣 treatments require the patient to concentrate his/her mind in quiet mood, and to take various kinds of breathes with consciousness, blowing breathes with the sound like chui 吹, exhaling breathes with the sound like hu 呼, breathing out lightly with the sound like xi 嘘 or xi 嘘, breathing out lightly with the sound like he 呵, breathing out with the sound like xu 嘬, breathing out with the sound like si 嘬 or shi 嘬. These different kinds of breathing can cure different diseases of the inner organs. The treatment with six kinds of Qi 氣 is still used by the practitioners of traditional martial arts in present-day China. Zhiyi said: "he cures liver disease, hu and chui cure heart disease, xu cures lung disease, xi cures kidney disease, si cures spleen disease." To compare the six Qi treatments in MHZG, CDCM and two different inheritance systems of XZG, there are lots of differences and similarities as follows.
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The above table shows six Qi treatments mentioned in MHZG, CDCM and XZG in both Jingbian and Yuanzhao system, but on the whole, there is little difference between MHZG and CDCM, and six Qi treatments in CDCM and ZGYM are completely consistent. Six-Qi therapy in TMZG is quite different from them: The corresponding relationship between six Qi and various diseases is significantly different, and it adds a kind of diseases to be cured by the therapy, diseases of triple burner (sanjiao 三焦, an organ having the functions of digestion, absorption and excretion).

What’s the reason for this difference? In the age of Zhiyi, the six Qi treatments in Daoism could be represented by two Daoist doctors: Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao. The relationship between six Qi and five internal organs in Tao Hongjing, still remained stable in Sun Simiao’s Beiji qianjin yaofang 健急千金要方 in early Tang. They said that heart disease could be cured by exhaling and blowing breathes, exhaling breathes to cure cold and blowing breathes to cure heat; lungs disease could be cured by breathes xu; liver disease could be cured by breathes he; spleen disease could be cured by breathes xi; and kidneys disease could be cured by breathes si. Various treatments of six Qi in Daoist system including later “hygiene song” 卫生歌 originated after Song dynasty are as follows:

| Table 2 | comparison of six-Qi therapy in 4 literatures |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
|         | Mohe zhiguan | Cidi chanmen | Zhiguan Yaomen, Jingbian system | Tongmeng zhiguan, Yuanzhao system |
| chui    | heart disease | heart disease | heart disease | kidneys disease |
| hu      | heart disease | heart disease | heart disease | spleen disease |
| xi      | kidneys disease | spleen disease | spleen disease | triple burner disease |
| he      | liver disease | lungs disease | lungs disease | heart disease |
| xu      | lungs disease | liver disease | liver disease | liver disease |
| si      | spleen disease | kidneys disease | kidneys disease | lungs disease |

| Table 3 | comparison of six-Qi therapy in Daoism |
|---------|----------------------------------------|
|         | Tao Hongjing | Sun simiao | hygiene song |
| chui    | heart disease | heart disease | kidneys disease |
| hu      | heart disease | heart disease | spleen disease |
| xi      | spleen disease | spleen disease | triple burner disease |
| he      | liver disease | liver disease | heart disease |
| xu      | lungs disease | lungs disease | liver disease |
| si      | kidneys disease | kidneys disease | lungs disease |
Based on the above materials, it suggests that six-Qi therapies in both ZGYM and CDCM are very close to that in Taoism system at the time of Zhiyi, and that in MHZG is slightly different; Six-Qi therapy in TMZG has significant changes, which is quite different from Tao’s and Sun’s methods, and it must belong to different system away from Tao and Sun. In the history of traditional Chinese medicine, the methods of six-Qi therapy are quite stable in the period around Zhiyi, and the six-Qi therapy in the current edition of TMZG is the result of later emendation of TMZG after Northern Song.

Actually the corresponding relationship between six Qi and five internal organs 五臟 or six hollow organs 六腑 has gradually changed since late Tang. Huyin 胡愔, a female Daoist doctor in the late Tang Dynasty, had made obvious changes in her book Chart of Reinforcing and Reducing the Five Internal organs and Six Hollow Organs in Huangting Neijing 黃庭內景五臟六腑補瀉圖. By the Song dynasty, six-Qi therapy became further complicated, and there appeared “Song of Immortal Sun’s four seasons walking for health preservation”孫真人四季行工養生歌. In this medicine song, six-Qi therapy was matched methods of health preservation in four seasons, it is not consistent with the viewpoint of Zhiyi’s time. Breathes xi could be used to treat the disease of triple burner, is exactly the same as what the current TMZG said, but it is absolutely different from what Zhiyi said.

Although six Qi treatments preserved in Zongmi’s quotation is incomplete, the extant four Qi treatments preserved are completely consistent with ZGYM. Therefore, six Qi therapies in CDCM, ZGYM and Zongmi’s quotation are the same; the adaptation of TMZG is not earlier than late Tang and should be in Song dynasty. With the help of medical history, this article could confirm the other textual changes in TMZG. The newly discovered manuscript is valuable in the field of Zhiyi Studies, but for the history of Tiantai or Chinese Buddhism, to study the textual adaptation of TMZG would be more meaningful.

4. Conclusion

There are two inheritance systems of Xiao Zhiguan, and the appearance of the manuscript called Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen made the academy to investigate the original form of Xiao Zhiguan.

The block-printed edition of XZG in Northern Song could end various possible errors for manuscript copy, and then it supplied the Tiantai literature with new vitality. It is very important the printed edition improved the importance of XZG: Yuanzhao claimed that it is
an excerpt of \textit{MHZG}, as a result, it became a fundamental literature in Tiantai Buddhism. Indeed \textit{XZG} is more like an excerpt of \textit{CDCM}, interpreting the external and internal conveniences of meditation practice. The adapted \textit{TMZG} is concise, and caters to the Buddhist thoughts in Northern Song, such as Huayan and Chan Buddhism. This also makes \textit{TMZG} have the power and influence beyond Tiantai Buddhism.

In the case of \textit{XZG}, which one is better, the written version or the engraved version? I'm afraid it's hard to decide. It will be not right that the older is the better, and any sacred book has always been in the process of mass creation. Continuous textual adaptation may be an important way for religious literature to be classics.

\section*{Notes}
1) Mr. Sekiguchi recorded 3 copies of the manuscript edition: (1) transcribed in 1609, 日光輪王寺藏慶長十四年鈔寫本; (2) transcribed in 1899, 上野寛永寺藏五治三十二年鈔寫本; (3) transcribed in 1273, 金澤文庫藏文永十年鈔寫本簡. See Sekiguchi 1974, 23–26.
2) The extant engraved edition was originally printed in 1095, and the earliest printing copy was believed to be printed in 1092. See Zhipan, \textit{Fozu Tongji}, vol. 49. Although the newly found manuscript was transcribed in 1609, far later than the engraved copy, it is proved that this manuscript stands for another edition of early text.
3) See Zhanran, \textit{Zhiguan Fuxing Chuan Hongjue}, vol. 1, in T46, 142a.
4) See Guanding, \textit{Sui Tiantai Zhizhe Dashi Biezhuan}, T50, 197b.
5) See Sekiguchi 1974, 29.
6) See Li 2019.
7) See Zhiyi, \textit{Mohe Zhiguan}, T46, 106b–c.
8) See Sun 2016, vol. 27, 492.
9) See Gai 1999.
10) See \textit{XiuZhen Shishu}, 修真十書, in \textit{Daozang} 道藏, vol. 4, p. 695a. The author of this health preservation song must be not Sun Simiao, and in some medical books it was often signed with a famous Confucian scholar Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, entitled "Health Song of Immortal Sun."

\section*{Abbreviations and Primary Sources}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{CDCM} & \textit{Shi Chan Boromi Cidi Famen}. T46. \\
\textbf{MHZG} & \textit{Mohe Zhiguan}. T46. \\
\textbf{TMZG} & \textit{Tongmeng Zhiguan}. See Li 1988. \\
\textbf{XZG} & \textit{Xiao Zhiguan}. \\
\textbf{ZGYM} & \textit{Lueming Kaimeng Chuxue Zuochan Zhiguan Yaomen}. \\
\textit{Fozu Tongji} & 萬祖統紀, Zhipan 志磐. T49. \\
\textit{Yuanjuejing Daochang Xiuchengyi} & 圓覺經道場修證義, Zongmi 宗密. X74, no. 1475. \\
\textit{Xiuchen Shishu} & 修真十書, Daozang 道藏, vol. 4. \\
\textit{Zhiguan Fuxing Chuan Hongjue} & 止觀補行傳弘決, Zhanran 湍然. T46. \\
\textit{Mohe Zhiguan} & 摩訶止觀, Zhiyi 智頌. T46. \\
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