Huineng, Subhūti, and Monkey’s Religion in *Xiyou ji*

PING SHAO

Of the major Chinese novels, the ever popular sixteenth-century *Xiyou ji*1 (*The Journey to the West*) is the one that most seriously embodies religious themes. The titular journey is loosely based on the Buddhist monk Tripitaka’s (602–64) historical trip to India, but although the story narrates his numerous encounters with demonic foes, the most significant part of the novel is unquestionably Monkey’s experience as first a wide-eyed Taoist disciple and then a brash transcendent who rebels and falls from heaven. Scholars disagree on what the novel’s religious focus is. Zhang Shushen (1990, pp. 573–89) and Andrew Plaks (1987, pp. 224–42) both propose Confucian interpretations; their arguments, however, ignore the novel’s overtly Buddhist and Taoist themes. Moreover, the textual evidence they provide hangs thinly on a set of terms that neo-Confucianism borrowed from Buddhism in the first place. Glen Dudbridge (1970, pp. 167–76), Zheng Mingli (1987), and Francisca Cho Bantly (1989) represent recent critical attempts to account for the novel’s Buddhist elements.2 Given its emphasis on the importance of (Buddha) nature (*xing*), however, Buddhism gives little attention to life store (*ming*),3 to which the text alludes numerous times, even

Ping Shao (pishao@davidson.edu) is Assistant Professor of Chinese at Davidson College. My heartfelt thanks go to my advisor, Robert E. Hegel, for his guidance and valuable suggestions on various versions of this article. I am also greatly indebted to the anonymous reviewers and Ann Waltner of the *Journal of Asian Studies* for their patience and helpful comments.

1I use Hanyu pinyin. For purposes of consistency, all quotations in other forms of romanization will be converted to Hanyu pinyin.


3*Ming* and *xing* are both terms in internal alchemy. Internal alchemy (*neidan*) refers to the Taoist system of meditation developed after the ninth century. *Ming* refers to efforts to nurture one’s vital energy to transform the physical body into an immortal one. *Xing* refers to efforts to purify the mind. Taoists often discuss the latter in terms of the Buddhist concept of Buddha-nature (*foxing*). The standard form of internal alchemy must incorporate both *ming* and *xing*. Other terms relevant to this study include *ying’er* (baby) or *dan* (elixir), both of which refer to the end product of internal alchemy, which is often described as a condensed ball of energy in the body. When *ying’er* or *dan* is successfully accomplished, one is believed to become an immortal with vast miraculous powers. Internal alchemy became popular at a time when external alchemy (*waidan*) failed miserably to chemically produce a substance to lengthen one’s life span, but there are references to external alchemy as well in *Xiyou ji*. For instance, Monkey

© 2006 by the Association for Asian Studies, Inc.
after Monkey’s conversion to Buddhism. Consequently, this approach does not fully account for the systematic and persistent presence of the novel’s Taoist themes.  

*Xiyou ji* demands a critical approach that has the scope to account for both its Buddhist and Taoist elements. In their more narrow focus, neither Buddhism nor Confucianism fully satisfies the need to explicate the most critical paradigm in *Xiyou ji*: the Taoist philosophy of internal alchemy. To this end, Wang Xiangwu (fl. 1660), Chen Shiben (fl. 1690), 3 and Liu Yiming (1734–1821) unanimously insisted on reading *Xiyou ji* as a Taoist religious text. Before I discuss their theories, however, I must note that all forms of internal alchemy do not necessarily have the scope to integrate Buddhism with Taoism. For instance, Wang Guoguang and Wang Gang represent recent critical efforts to read *Xiyou ji* in the context of internal alchemy. Wang Guoguang identifies part of the novel (chaps. 32–66) as being exclusively concerned with internal alchemy (1990, pp. 71–108). If he succeeds in establishing a Taoist connection, however, what he describes is not the standard type of internal alchemy that emphasizes the “dual cultivation of nature and life store” (*xingming shuangxiu*); hence he by necessity ignores the relevance of Buddhism in these chapters in particular and throughout the novel in general. The same can be said of Wang Gang (1995). He describes three steps of spiritual cultivation that he believes are represented in the text, but they do not constitute a specific form of internal alchemy; they are actually common to all standard forms of internal alchemy. Hence, he, too, avoids altogether the issue of Monkey’s prominent conversion to Buddhism. Moreover, the procedure that he defines cannot help but appear alien to the text, for he fails to demonstrate how these steps imbue the textual evidence he produces. These two studies both recognize the extent to which the text is a religious allegory, however; most modern critics dismiss the issue of religious didacticism altogether.  

---

3For a detailed discussion of the Taoist themes, see Liu Ts’un-yen (1985).

4The exact dates for Wang and Chen are not clear. Critics agree, however, that Wang’s annotated edition of *Xiyou ji*, published in 1663, was the basis of other Qing dynasty (1644–1911) editions by critics like Chen Shiben and Liu Yiming. He also published *Lüzi quanshu* (*Complete Works of Patriarch Lü*) in 1662. See Li Shiren (1991, pp. 165–66), Huang (1993, pp. 31–32), and Rolston (1997, p. 76). Chen’s *Xiyou zhenquan* (*The True Message of The Journey to the West*) contains a preface he wrote in 1694.

5The three steps are *liang jing hua qi* (transform semen into breath), *liang qi hua shen* (transform breath into spirit), and *liang shen huan xu* (transform spirit into emptiness). See also n. 31.

6Rather than to understand the role of religion in the text, critics in the twentieth century attributed the mingling of religions to the author’s ignorance in religious matters. In particular, they found it difficult to conceive Taoism as an integral part of what was originally a Buddhist story. The issue drew the attention of Lu Xun (1881–1936), who was struck by the manner in which “Sakyamuni goes hand in hand with the Old Lord (Laojun), and Buddha-nature commingles with Primal Spirit (yuanshen).” Although he firmly believed that Chinese culture was rooted in Taoism (Lu Xun 1991a, p. 353), Lu made no effort toward understanding Taoism in *Xiyou ji*; instead he became convinced that the author knew little about Buddhism (Lu Xun 1991b, p. 166). This statement served as the first epigraph to the theory of an ignorant author that became a major theme in recent criticism. It was given impetus when Zheng Zhenduo (1891–1958) also attributed the mingling of religions to the author’s ignorance about Buddhism (1973, p. 274). It gathered momentum as other scholars uncritically followed suit. Yao Zheng, for instance, voices his support by stating that Buddhism and Taoism were randomly
The Qing period (1644–1911) interpreters Wang Xiangxu, Chen Shibin, and Liu Yiming differed in that they associated the religious elements in Xiyou ji specifically with the teachings of Zhang Boduan (984–1082) and Wang Chongyang (1123–70); both Zhang and Wang emphasized the dual cultivation of nature and life store. Wang, Chen, and Liu were not literary critics, however, and it was not their intent to explicate the Xiyou ji in light of internal alchemy. On the contrary, they represented a Taoist exegetical tradition that tried to explicate internal alchemy in light of Xiyou ji. To put it differently, they wrote for an exclusive readership that shared extensive knowledge of internal alchemy. Liu, for instance, went out of his way to catalog the fastidious preparations to be completed before the reader could even begin to attack the novel. What clearly gave away his idea of an elite readership—who could only be Taoist practitioners—was his repetitive, mantra-style warning: “Only he who knows this can read The Journey to the West” (Yu 1990, p. 301).

These interpreters’ style of presentation matched the expectations of the readership for whom they wrote. Immensely jealous of their own secrets, Taoists resorted to a highly esoteric language couched entirely in mystic symbols and numbers and in terms of external alchemy, cosmology, and sexuality. Such a language was meant to be accessible only to an initiated few. Wang and Chen both excelled in this elliptic style of writing. They presented no systematic, step-by-step argument based on consistent textual evidence. At least to the modern reader, aesthetic and literary concerns had utterly given way to religiosity.

The readership that Wang, Chen, and Liu had in mind led them to take another important issue for granted: What form of internal alchemy is represented in Xiyou ji? Although both have been assumed to have their origins in the Zhong-Lù School of internal alchemy (Zhong-Lù jindan dao), Zhang Boduan and Wang Chongyang differed in their attitudes toward Chan Buddhist philosophy. This distinction is crucial for discerning the religious focus in Xiyou ji. Monkey’s initial Taoist quest ends ostensibly in disaster as he first suffers defeat at the hands of the Buddha and then converts to Buddhism. It is precisely this conversion from Taoism to Buddhism, however, that relates the Taoist quest to the Buddhist journey and defines the text as Taoist. In a religious sense, the whole novel hinges on this single event. One can only understand its unified religious significance by addressing this conversion directly, and to do so, one must distinguish between the Taoist teachings of Zhang Boduan and Wang Chongyang. This study will resolve the issue of religion in Xiyou ji by moving beyond the Taoist exegetical tradition to define the specific theory of internal alchemy that motivates its action and characters.

The immaculate conception that results in Monkey’s birth and his subsequent discipleship, ascent to heaven, audacious rebellion, and tragic fall followed by a sequence of events that surround Tripitaka’s birth and westward journey form a narrative sequence of mounting suspense that has attracted the most scholarly attention. The issue of a unified religion, however, can only be understood through Subhūti’s (Xuputi) revelation in Chapters 1 and 2. The significance of these two chapters for the rest of the novel has largely been overlooked in Xiyou ji criticism. Here the master initiates

---

8 For a detailed discussion of the intricate symbolism in internal alchemy, see Shao (1997, pp. 12–21). For more discussions of Taoist readings, see Shao (1997, pp. 1–26).
the ape into a religion that requires him first to attain the elixir-based immortal body (ming) and then to realize his Buddha-nature (xing). The dual objectives in his directions completely transform the nature of a simple Buddhist journey story we find in the acknowledged predecessors of the Ming novel.\(^9\) Chan philosophy is a key element in Subhūtī’s Taoist vision. Ironically, Chan Buddhist philosophy becomes even more important in the Tripitaka legend through the introduction of this Taoist directive. My purpose here is to demonstrate how Chan philosophy was transformed into an integral part of Subhūtī’s Taoist vision for Monkey.\(^10\) To this end, I will demonstrate how the Taoist paradigm thus defined indeed exists as a pattern, an organizing principle behind the text, and a context in which the numerous religious references and allusions all fall into place.

The key to this reading is Monkey, the protagonist of the novel. The fact that he is the center of a religious cult,\(^11\) the patriarch of a monkey-style fighting technique,\(^12\) and the chief character of numerous cartoon comics, films, and television series all indicate that Monkey’s impact has spread far beyond the covers of the Ming novel, but his importance there has yet to be fully recognized. Recent critical attention has been singularly concerned with his origins in magical monkeys.\(^13\) Although this approach has greatly enriched our understanding of the character, it has not made any significant contribution to understanding the larger religious issues. By contrast, my approach is to look for his prototypes in religious practitioners like Huineng (638–713), the sixth patriarch of Chan Buddhism, and Subhūtī, the one disciple that the Buddha commends for his ability to intuit emptiness. Next I will explore how Subhūtī’s Buddhist name and his Taoist identity seem to have been forced together in a striking oxymoron. Monkey’s name provides a clue to his religious symbolism precisely because it is in itself an enigma that reminds us of Subhūtī’s dubious identity. Defining Monkey as a religious practitioner who is Huineng, Subhūtī, and others\(^14\) rolled into one provides us with an entirely new perspective on the issue of religion in Xiyou jì. On that basis, I will focus on the particularly Taoist way in which the author handled the religious allusions and suggest a connection with Zhang Boduan’s Taoist philosophy. Monkey’s conversion to Buddhism holds the key to recognizing Zhang’s philosophy, for Monkey is a “Buddhist” because he is primarily a Taoist—and a good one at that—in the religious scheme of Xiyou jì. The Taoist quest he undertakes and the Buddhist journey of which he seems to be only a part are closely bonded in a single religious experience, whereas Chan philosophy is the catalyst that brings the two together.

\(^9\)Namely, *Da Tang Sanzang qujing shihua* (The Poetic Tale of Tripitaka of the Great Tang Who Seeks Scriptures) and the play Xiyou jì.

\(^10\)The critical model thus defined serves as a framework for the study of a range of other issues (e.g., relationships between the pilgrims, a unified demonology, women and sexuality, and the significance of individual episodes). For more details, see Shao (1997).

\(^11\)The existence of such a cult is recorded in *Liaozhai zhiyi* (Strange Tales of Liaozhai). See Pu (1990, pp. 470–72).

\(^12\)The fighting technique is known as *houquan* (monkey boxing), whereas the school is called *Daisheng men* (The School of the Great Sage), a name derived from Monkey’s title.


\(^14\)Two other figures that loom large in Monkey’s characterization are Laozi and Devadatta (Tipo daduo), but they are not immediately relevant to this study. For a detailed discussion, see Shao (1997).
Huineng and Monkey’s Taoist Initiation

As rewritten in the novel *Xiyou ji*, the Tripitaka legend underwent a deepening of the Chan theme. This is apparent when we compare it with the Yuan period (1279–1368) play of the same title and the Song period (960–1279) *Shibua* (*The Poetic Tale*) that predates both. The last had been a clumsy failure in the execution of its theme—the tests that try Tripitaka’s spiritual perfection—that later the play was to exploit with greater success. If it is true that trial makes perfect, it is one’s Buddha-nature, the Buddhists believe, that eventually makes enlightenment possible. An overdisplay of Buddha-nature, however, may render the trial-by-ordeal theme completely ineffectual. This is exactly what happens with *Shibua* (*The Poetic Tale*). The reader would expect evil that faces its heroes to pose at least a physical or psychological challenge unbearable for the less heroic. The typical demons they confront are more of a nuisance than a threat, however, for they enter the stage only to insist forcibly on an inherent holy side rather than to highlight the intensity of the demonic. That is, they are set up as testimony to the omnipotent Buddha-nature (Li Shiren 1991, p. 87). As such, Monkey is able to take all his opponents in his stride without having to resort to outside help, which he often does in the novel.

The problem of ineffectual tests that come as a consequence was adroitly resolved in the Yuan play. There Chan philosophy becomes the cornerstone of its dramatization as the landscape turns ominously bleak and downright demonic. Now it is not in the blissfulness of the terrain but in that of the mind that Buddha-nature is to be sought. The demon-infested landscape mirrors the mind of a Buddhist pilgrim, a high monk who nevertheless remains a mundane man. This externalization was made possible by the introduction of Chan philosophy, although its effect was first of all theatrical. One example of a strong Chan presence is a bakery woman who effortlessly shows up an unabashed Monkey when she cleverly puns on phrases from *Jingang jing* (*The Diamond Sutra*) with their culinary connotations (Yang Jingxian 1961, p. 687). We will return to her witty verbal sparring with Monkey and Tripitaka; the point here is that *Jingang jing* is a major scripture for Chan Buddhism. Her Chan-inspired dictum that cankers be transformed into Bodhi provides further evidence. Tripitaka’s largely fictive life, too, is made to testify to Chan philosophy when he champions “a direct and instantaneous enlightenment” (*zhixia dunran cheng yi wu*).

Andrew Plaks has noted that the novelist “does provide for a special focus on Chan thought and imagery,” but he also believes that it “does not unequivocally favor the teachings of any particular sect” (1987, pp. 229–30).

The *Shibua* (*The Poetic Tale*) makes frequent references to tests of virtue; see Yang Jialuo (n.d., 2, 3–4, 6, 40). The theme also appears in the Yuan play. For instance, when Tripitaka complains about the difficulty of the journey, Chengji reveals that “All the demonic obstructions were illusions conjured up by the World-Honored One,” and that Tripitaka “is able to make it this far” only because he has “shown a fierce determination” (Yang Jingxian 1961, p. 692). That Guanyin insists in Chapter 99 of the novel on altogether eighty-one ordeals is also evidence of the theme.

She claims the ability to “transform the three poisons into three purified states, the six bandits into six types of superknowledge, and cankers into Bodhi” (Yang Jingxian 1961, p. 686). She is certainly paraphrasing Huineng, “With such cultivation you will certainly realize the Buddha way, transforming the three poisons into morality, concentration, and wisdom” (Hsuan 1971, p. 120). For the six bandits, see n. 54. The idea that good comes out of evil is also found in *Weimoji suo shuo jing* (*Vimalakirti Sutra*), “Hence let it be known that all cankers are the seeds of tathāgata” (Kumārajīva 1961–1978, T. 475, p. 549). This is also Zhiyi’s belief, to whom, “to meditate on cankers is Bodhi” (1961–1978, T. 1716, p. 790). This belief explains why the trial-by-ordeal motif works in the truly demonic world of the play but not in the ideal world of the *Shibua* (*The Poetic Tale*).

It is only in this context of Chan that a physical ordeal can truly become a spiritual trial. It also implies that the characters of the play often have a third dimension, a symbolic life outside the theatrical existence in which they appear. We see this in the deliberately symbolic scene in which Tripitaka and Monkey both narrowly escape rape while Piggy and Sandy are helplessly overpowered by the sex-crazed femmes fatales of the all-female Kingdom of Western Liang (Yang Jingxian 1961, pp. 676–79). To give the monk his due, Tripitaka tries, however weakly, to resist the queen’s fiercely sexual advances, but he is obviously fighting a losing battle. The fate of certain humiliation is spared him only when Weituo (Skanda), a guardian of his faith, rushes to his rescue in a timely fashion. In this play, Monkey is also evidence that human spirit, left in its natural state, is no match for the dictates of the flesh. He teeters on the verge of total surrender when the constrictive fillet he has been forced to wear asserts itself. In light of the Chan dictum of instantaneous enlightenment, the deity and the fillet both may be regarded as metaphors for the shining forth of the inherent Buddha-nature.

The novelist scarcely needed any prodding to exploit to the full the symbolic potential of Chan philosophy suggested in the play. In his novel, the bleak and demon-infested terrain is likewise a battleground where a war is being waged against spiritual pollution. Xinjing (The Heart Sutra), a major piece of the Chan canon, plays a special role in neither the Shibua (The Poetic Tale) nor the Yuan play. In the novel, however, it is quoted in full and put in Tripitaka’s mouth at the start of the journey. The Chan dimension of the journey is more fully clarified through Monkey, for he is a testament to Chan philosophy. The novel Xiyou ji highlights his special affinity to Chan when Subhūti reveals to him how “one somersault” will carry him “a hundred and eight thousand miles” (Yu 1977–83, 1:91).19 The significance of the distance cannot be circumscribed by a mere reference to the Yuan play in which it first became associated with Monkey.20 As the historical Chan master Huineng indicates, this is the distance between the sahā world where we live and Amitābha’s Pure Land known as Western Heaven (Xitian) in the novel. Huineng, however, obviously uses the allusion in a symbolic sense. For “If we discuss its mark, it is 108,000 miles away, which in near terms represents the ten evils and eight deviations within us” (Hsuan 1971, p. 170). If you achieve instantaneous enlightenment, however, “you will arrive in a finger-snap” (Hsuan 1971, p. 174).21 Now that the somersault turns out to be symbolic, we see no reason why it is evidence of the author’s ignorance when Sākyamuni introduces himself as Amitābha (Wu 1973, p. 86). On the contrary, it was a “mistake” he committed on purpose with intent to literalize Huineng’s metaphor in Tripitaka’s journey, one of many he committed to transform a Buddhist legend into a Taoist allegory.22

19For the purpose of consistency, the English citations of Xiyou ji come mostly from Yu (1977–83). All other translations are my own, except when indicated otherwise.


21In Fashiwo Amituo jing (The Sutra of the Buddha on Amitābha), Amitābha’s Western Heaven is said to lie to the west of this world, separated by ten thousand billion Buddhist worlds (Kumārajīva 1961–1978, T. 366, p. 346; cf. Muller 1894, p. 90). Certainly Huineng is not being literal; his is a symbolic distance that the mind travels. His reading belongs to the school of thought known as weixin jingtu (the mind-only Pure Land Buddhism). According to this school, one’s own Buddha-nature is the Amitābha Buddha (sizing ji mituo) and the Western Heaven exists in a mind cleansed of all its pollution. Tanjing (The Platform Sutra) and Weimoji suo shuo jing (The Vimalakirti Sutra) both express this idea. See Lai (1988, pp. 257–65).

22Harold Bloom believes that “Poetic Influence . . . always proceeds by a misreading of the prior poet, an act of creative correction that is actually and necessarily a misinterpretation” (1973, p. 30). The novel Xiyou ji certainly can be regarded as the novelist’s creative misreading of the Tripitaka legend.
That Huineng’s symbolic journey takes Tripitaka years, but Monkey only one somersault, to complete not only underscores the spiritual dimension of the novel but also identifies Monkey with that spiritual dimension. That is, the demons who abduct Tripitaka all represent the “ten evils and eight deviations” generated by the “monkey of the mind” but capably fleshed out by the author’s fertile imagination. By the same token, the conflicts between the pilgrims and the demons that constitute most of the novel’s action merely externalize Tripitaka’s spiritual world, of which Monkey is a key part, and the role of the somersault is to enable Monkey to triumph over the demons in that world to illustrate Huineng’s conception of “instantaneous enlightenment of the birthless.”

Monkey’s spiritual capacity provides further evidence that the novelist brought into full bloom the seedling ideas of Chan philosophy he had found in the Yuan play by borrowing further from Huineng’s Tanjing (The Platform Sutra). The Chan aspect of Subhūti’s revelation—later the motivation of the pilgrimage—is primarily embodied in Huineng, who serves as model for Monkey’s characterization. Surely Monkey’s life history—his birth, quest for eternal life, and ascent—may be Taoist, but he is possessed of spiritual qualities that belong definitively to Huineng, particularly those that Subhūti deems crucial and indispensable for the successful completion of the esoteric internal alchemy. He sets the stage for a striking display of his unusually profound insight when he announces his intentions to become an immortal. This provokes Subhūti to issue him a challenge by refusing to teach him, for he is “somewhat different from other people.” Monkey may not realize that the master is trying to gauge his spiritual power, but he rises to the occasion with a genuine clarity of vision: “I have a round head pointing to Heaven, and square feet walking on Earth. Similarly, I have nine apertures and four limbs, entrails and cavities. In what way am I different from other people?” (Yu 1977–83, 1:90).

His allusion to “nine apertures” anticipates a familiar reference in later chapters. For instance, the Gold Star (Taibai jinxing) pleads for mercy on behalf of the godlessly

---


24 In a sense, Monkey is the only character in Xiyou ji. He attains the status of heavenly immortal (tianxian) when Subhūti initiates him into internal alchemy, but he fails to transcend death, symbolized by the Five Phases Mountain (Wuxing shan) under which the Buddha imprisons him. Tripitaka is his reincarnation: he accomplishes internal alchemy when he acquires Monkey at the start of the Buddhist journey. The triumph of faith over Tripitaka’s mundane instincts is portrayed as an ongoing war that often ends first with the monk’s abduction and then his rescue. The ape that joins him is mainly the name Wukong (awaken to emptiness) in action: Tripitaka awakens to emptiness each time Monkey comes to his rescue. For a detailed discussion, see Shao (1997, chap. 5).

25 These remarks represent a slight rephrasing of a comment in Huainanzi (Book of the Master of Huainan): “Hence the head is round to mirror heaven, and the feet are square to mirror earth. There are four seasons, five agents, nine luminaries, and 366 days; accordingly, there are four limbs, five organs, nine openings and 366 joints” (Xu Shen 1977, p. 37512). On the authority of the allusion, Monkey is making the point that he is as human as anyone else.

26 Allusions to “nine apertures” are commonplace in the Taoist canon. Zhuangzi mentions “the hundred joints, the nine openings, the six organs” that “come together” as the body (Watson 1968, p. 38). Yinfu jing (The Scripture of Dark Signs) refers to the “deviation owing to the nine apertures” (jiu qiao zhi xie; Li Quan 1977, p. 2469). Monkey’s remarks, however, are more closely related to what Lao Dan tells Confucius in Zhuangzi: “Therefore those with nine openings in the body are born from the womb; those with eight openings are born from eggs” (Watson 1968, pp. 238–39). This is perhaps why Subhūti singles Monkey out as being
ambitious ape because "all creatures endowed with the nine apertures can, through exercise, become immortals" (Yu 1977–83, 1:114). Monkey himself later falls back on the idea. When he finds his match in a black bear spirit, a bewildered Tripitaka wonders aloud how a bear can have acquired these miraculous powers. His response is that "all the creatures of this world who possess the nine apertures can become immortals through the cultivation of the Great Art" (Yu 1977–83, 1:359). Clearly, Monkey's religious career gets off to a good start when he testifies to a major theme underlying *Xiyou ji*: that of universal salvation on the basis of common human potential.27 This argument certainly scores a crucial point in the challenge, for Subhûti immediately reveals to him the secret of internal alchemy.

The repartee has opened doors for him; more importantly, the profound simplicity of the reply points only to the sophistication of the most highly realized Chan masters.28 It is exactly in his being a surprise, a religious prodigy, and an exception to the rule, however, that we see how he is meant to fill Huineng's shoes, although not exactly in a Buddhist context. Here, again, we may look to Huineng's story from which Monkey garners meaning. No doubt, Monkey's inspired cleverness is modeled on Huineng's reply to Hongen, the fifth patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism, in *Tanjing (The Platform Sutra).*29 When Huineng announces his intentions to become a Buddha, Hongen pounces upon him with a poignant reminder that he is "from Lingnan," a "barbarian," and therefore cannot become a Buddha. Huineng refuses to be intimidated, however. He holds his own with an unparalleled depth of insight about Buddha-nature: There may be "northern and southern men," but "the Buddha-nature fundamentally has no north or south" (Hsuan 1971, p. 52). Surely Monkey's phrasing, his unusual insightfulness, and the quickness and aplomb with which he rises to the challenge are reminiscent of Huineng, but it is certainly not a Buddhist belief that he expresses. Huineng justifies his seemingly audacious claim to Buddhahood with the most basic of Mahayana belief: that everybody is able to attain Buddhahood because everybody has Buddha-nature.30 What Monkey has in mind, however, is the Taoist idea of immortality, and, for the Taoists, it is not the Buddha-nature, but *qi* or the *Tao, that provides the basis for their belief. More relevantly, it is what Subhûti calls "the semen, the breath, and the spirit"31 (Yu 1977–83, 1:88) that constitute his disciple's affinity to heaven.

---

27 Despite Monkey's insistence on "nine apertures," immortality may be within reach of beings with decidedly fewer. One example is a worm turned celestial general called Axeltree the Water Earthworm (*zhen shui yin*). It seems that the idea of nine-aperture-based immortality is somewhat compromised by another belief, exemplified in *zhiguai* (chronicles of the marvelous), that all things have a spirit and may all become human or divine.

28 Chan masters often use very simple yet intensely evocative language to express their grasp of reality. For examples, see Puji (1971), Cleary (1977), and Aitken (1990).

29 Hu Shi has noted that the episode of transmission in Chapters 1 and 2 of *Xiyou ji* is modeled upon a scene between Hongen (602–75) and Huineng in *Tanjing (The Platform Sutra)*; see Hu (1986b, p. 67). There is more to this connection than Hu has realized, however.

30 This notion is the main topic of *Dahai niepan jing (Sutra of the Great Decease)*; see Huiyan (T. 575). For a summary of Huineng's idea of Buddha-nature, see Lou (1990, pp. 84–102), Lai (1988), and Qian (1979, 4:1330–31).

31 The Chinese terms for "semen," "breath," and "spirit" are *jing,* *qi,* and *shen.* Internal alchemy, as Zhang Boduan indicates, involves efforts to "transform semen into breath, breath into spirit, and spirit into emptiness" (1977a, p. 2889). Shi Jianwu (fl. 820) describes a similar
Not only is Monkey’s precocious insightfulness borrowed from Huineng, so is his heightened intuition prized above everything else in the transmission of Chan. The novel attests to his intuitive power. When, one by one, Monkey turns down the Taoist arts Subhūti offers to teach him, Subhūti appears visibly annoyed. He “moved over, hit Wukong three times on the head. Then he folded his arms behind his back and walked inside, closing the main doors behind him.” Monkey’s “insolence” kindles passionate emotions as his fellow disciples hurl curses at him, but he remains happy in his heart of hearts. He alone has read the riddle: The master has told him to see him by the third watch, and then only through the back door. When he indeed acts out his intuition, Subhūti is only too pleased. Now he knows for a fact that “This fellow is indeed an offspring of Heaven and Earth” (Yu 1977–83, 1:86).

This scene may be traced to two probable sources, both of which involve Huineng. One is Tanjing (The Platform Sutra). It recounts how Huineng was pounding grain when Hongren walked in and, without saying a word, “rapped the pestle three times with his staff and left.” The hidden message struck him in a nonverbal fashion, and the intuitive recognition thus enacted identifies him as a model of unsurpassed spirituality. By the third watch, he came to the master’s chamber where Hongren divulged the secret Dharma behind a raised cassock shielding them from the intrusion of prying eyes (Hsuan 1971, pp. 75–77). The second probable source is Caoxi dashi biezhuian (An Alternative Biography of the Great Master of Caoxi). This particular life of Huineng may not have been well known to the general reading public, but it must have been to the novelist, judging from a general familiarity with the Buddhist scriptural tradition he displays. It tells of an “infuriated” Huineng who clubbed Shenhui (ca. 670–762) a few times for his clever repartee. This led to a dramatic scene not unlike that in Xiyou ji, with emotions rising and curses flying. Yet under the cloak of darkness, it was to none other than Shenhui that the master imparted the secret Dharma (“Caoxi” 1971, pp. 146, 485).

These parallels suggest that Monkey is Huineng reincarnate in terms of his enhanced spiritual nature. If this is the case, however, why does Monkey not experience instantaneous enlightenment like his model? Enlightenment struck Huineng during that secret meeting. When Hongren later offered to row him across a river, he testified to the event by saying, “When one is deluded, one’s master takes one across; but when one is enlightened, one takes oneself across” (Hsuan 1971, p. 90). Surely Monkey does undergo the same kind of spiritual transformation; the fact that he attains Buddhahood in the end provides the unmistakable evidence. What strikes us as odd is that it is not an instantaneous one. The truth is that Subhūti has rescheduled it. To be more exact, although properly redrawn as part of Monkey’s religious experience, Huineng’s type of enlightenment is postponed until he completes the quest for the elixir, thus giving priority to the Taoist objective.

process (1977, pp. 5158–61). Chen Tuan (871–989) incorporates the idea in his Xiantian tu (Diagram of the Anterior Heaven); see Li Yangzheng (1989, p. 154) and Zhang Sanfeng (1990, p. 10).

Zhang Boduan and Subhūti both specify three elements, “semen, breath, and spirit,” but the process is often described in the Taoist canon with reference only to qi. Hunrnnzhi believes that “Life is but breath” (1977, p. 2688). His notion may be traced to the remarks in Zhuangzi that “Man’s life is a coming-together of breath” (Watson 1968, p. 235). Qi is to immortal life what Buddha-nature is to Buddhahood. “Breath” used in this sense is also known as “Tao”; see Chen (1988, pp. 45–61).

32The similarity of the two anecdotes suggests some kind of connection between them. Lou Yulie speculates that the biography may have been a major source of Tanjing (The Platform Sutra); see Lou (1990, p. 93).
Subhūti and Monkey’s Name

No doubt, the rescheduling of Monkey’s enlightenment is prompted by the Taoist vision that Subhūti imparts to his disciple. Only from this vision—and as part of it—do Monkey’s Huineng-like spiritual endowments draw purpose and significance. Subhūti may be a Taoist immortal in Xiyou ji, but he has always been one of Sākyamuni’s disciples anywhere else. The question is why the novelist chose such a familiar Buddhist figure to play the role of a Taoist?

Before we begin to answer the question, we must note that, although he boasts a provocatively Buddhist name, there are reasons why Subhūti’s Taoist identity in Xiyou ji has remained critically unchallenged. One of these is his role as the immortal teacher in the decisively Taoist tradition of gold elixir alchemy (jindan) that stretches back at least to Zhoubi cantong qi (Treatise on the Book of Changes and Triple Affinity) by Wei Boyang (b. 107). From the very start, this tradition highlights the agency of the realized that Subhūti fulfills by urging upon Monkey the supreme importance of obtaining “secret formulae”33 from a “perfected man.”34 All details in Chapters 1 and

33 This tradition stresses the importance of secret, oral instructions. To Wei Boyang, “sages alone know” the truth (Wumingshi 1977, p. 2675). Ge Hong (284–364) reveals that “Oral instructions are required to read the texts” (1977, 46:37705). Laozi is said to observe that “The supreme way to immortality is passed from one immortal to another as oral instructions,” and “It is never written down” (“Laojun,” 1977, p. 24229). Zhongli Quan warns people not to “take the plunge” unless they “have an immortal teacher” (1977, p. 5875), whereas Lü Yan (798–?) wonders that “Without instructions from a master, how can you know” the way to immortality (1977, p. 2696). Zhang Boduan is of the same opinion. “If you want to know the orally transmitted teachings and penetrate the arcane,” he exhorts, “this requires careful discussion with the spiritual immortals” (Cleary 1987, 86).

The impact of Taoism on Chan Buddhism is generally acknowledged. I rather suspect that all the secrecy surrounding Huineng’s transmission also shows traces of Taoist influence. There is nothing secret about transmission in early Buddhism. In Dafan tianwang wenfo jueyi jing (The Scripture of the King of the Brāhma Heaven Who Consults the Buddha to Clarify His Doubts), the Buddha picks up a flower and shows it to his audience without a word. Mahākāśyapa (Mohe jiaye) responds to a knowing smile and is given the Dharma (Dafan, 1971, p. 326b). When Bodhidharma (Puti damo, fl. 470–516) asks his disciples to explain what they each understand, Huîke (487–593) replies by way of a silent bow. He is given the Dharma, too (Puji 1971, p. 16a). In either case, emphasis is on an intuitive grasp of the inexpressible rather than on secrecy.

34 I do not agree with Anthony Yu’s translation for hu yu zbiren chuan miaojue (Wu 1990, p. 11). As he understands it, zbiren refers to a perfect student; hence his rendering of the line into “He who imparts dark mysteries not to a perfect man” (Yu 1977–83, 1:87). It is true that for Wei Boyang, the elixir “should be imparted in secret to the worthy” (Wumingshi 1977, p. 26752). Zhang Boduan claims even to have been punished by heaven for having revealed the secret to the unworthy; hence his conclusion that “The art of the great elixir is extremely simple and easy. Even the stupid and the unworthy can achieve instantaneous enlightenment when they learn and practice the art. For this reason, heaven holds it secret, and forbids its transmission to the wrong man” (Zhang Boduan 1977a, 2890).

But I believe zbiren has nothing to do with a perfect student. It refers to a “realized” or “perfected” man in Taoist literature. For instance, Zhuangzi claims, “The Perfect man is godlike. Though the great swamps blaze, they cannot burn him; though the great rivers freeze, they cannot chill him; though swift lightning splits the hills and howling gales shake the sea, they cannot frighten him” (1966, p. 46). In Huangdi neiijing suwen (The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Internal Medicine), zbiren refers to the realized beings placed below zbiren (true man) but above zhiren (sage) and xianren (worthy man); compare Veith (1966, p. 101). The title refers likewise to the realized in Dongxuan lingbao dingguan jing (Scripture of Cessation and Insight): “He whose spirit becomes one with the Tao through cultivation is called a perfected man” (“Dongxuan” 1977, p. 29330). Zhang Boduan uses the phrase the same way. There was a time
2, where Subhūti holds court, likewise build toward a festive celebration of his Taoist identity. His song that extols the superior life of a Taoist—"Without vainglory or attain / My life's prolonged in simplicity / Those I meet, / If not immortals, would be Taoists / Seated quietly to expound the Yellow Court" (Yu 1977–83, 1:77)—particularly confirms his Taoist identity. When Monkey hears it from the lips of a simple woodcutter, it immediately alerts him to the whereabouts of an immortal that he has been seeking in vain. The "three hundred and sixty side gates" (pangmen) Subhūti initially offers to teach him also identify him as a Taoist, for they mostly fall under the category of Taoist practices.

The fact that Monkey's bold attempt at immortal life follows the model set by the biographies of immortals further confirms Subhūti's Taoist identity. With minor variations, the biographies of immortals contain a few common elements, such as the place where the subject is from, the motivation, the specific practice (or the specific magic food the subject eats), and a display of miraculous power to attest to the subject's success. This is usually followed by his or her mysterious disappearance from earth, presence in paradise, or ascent to heaven.55 Surely, this pattern informs Monkey's quest—up to the point of his fall from heavenly grace. No sooner has he left Subhūti than summons comes for him to become part of a pantheon that represents a largely orthodox Taoist vision of heaven.56 The fact that his disciple becomes a Taoist transcendent places Subhūti unquestionably in the ranks of Taoists.

If Subhūti is a true Taoist, however, why should he retain a name that forcibly reminds the reader of his original Buddhist associations? To rephrase the question, what kind of new significance does the name lend to the Monkey story? Indeed, if Huineng finds resurrection in Monkey, why is it not Hongren—Huineng's master—but Subhūti who operates behind the mentor's mask? The name was used, I think, to evoke a scriptural tradition that identifies Subhūti as the Buddhist at his best, one having the spiritual and intuitive approximation to "emptiness" (śūnyatā) that the Chan Buddhists value tremendously. As the stories indicate, at the time of his birth, barns, baskets, and all other utensils in the household became empty; hence the name Subhūti, which literally means "birth in emptiness" (kongseng).37

The prophetic potency of these signs was later fulfilled when "emptiness" became the hallmark of Subhūti's religious practice and distinguished him from everyone else. On one occasion, the Buddha commends him for his ability to "enjoy constant meditation on emptiness and differentiate the various shades of its meaning."38 On another, the Buddha ranks him as "the first in understanding emptiness."39 Subhūti also com-

---

31I refer in particular to Liu Xiang's (77–6 BCE) Liexian zhuan (Biographies of Immortals), and Ge Hong's (283–363) Shenxian zhuan (Biographies of Divine Immortals). For samples in English, see Kohn (1993, pt. 4) and Campany (2002).


33See Zhiyi (T. 1718, p. 18).

34Sanghadeva (T. 125, p. 558).

35Faxian (T. 126, p. 831).
pares favorably to his fellow disciples. Upalavarnā (Youbo lianhuase) was the most famous for her miraculous powers among the Buddha’s female disciples. When the Buddha is returning from heaven, where he has just given a sermon to his mother, she assumes the shape of a Wheel-Turning Noble King (zhuanlan shengwang, cakravarti-rāja) so that she can get ahead of her seniors to meet her master. To her chagrin, however, the Buddha reprimands her for having seen only “my physical body” but “missed my dharma-body” (fashen, dharma-kāya). At the same time, he commends Subhūti for having “seen my dharma-body while sitting in the cave” (Puji 1971, p. 2a). It was probably this story that prompted Zhiyi to assert that Subhūti was so “comprehensive in his wisdom of emptiness” that he was able to “see the Buddha’s dharma-body even in a grotto” (Zhiyi T. 1911, p. 73). In Jìngáng jìng (The Diamond Sutra), too, it is mainly to Subhūti that the Buddha elucidates his vision of the fundamentally “empty” nature of the universe.

As part of this characterization, Subhūti often remains silent, when an oral response is expected, to testify to the limits of language at the level of his realization. For instance, the King of the Brahma Heaven (Dafan tianwang) once questions him about emptiness. Subhūti, however, responds with complete silence. This prompts the king, who obviously understands the pregnant silence, to exclaim that “Nothing is said and nothing is heard—this is truly saying something about prajñā” (Puji 1971, p. 38b). Seng Zhao (374–414) echoes the celestial king when he marvels that Subhūti had access to “the path where language is completely abandoned” so that he was able to “talk all day about prajñā yet claims to have said nothing” (T. 1858, p. 156).

Is it then possible that what the novelist tried to highlight with Subhūti’s name was his reputation as the epitome of emptiness? We can certainly find ample textual evidence to support this line of thinking. Although Monkey’s Taoist realization is worthy of heaven, his Buddhist given name Wukong, or Awaken to Emptiness, obviously represents Subhūti’s Buddhist heritage, for the name is exactly what distinguishes Subhūti in the Buddhist tradition. What gives proof of the power and vitality of this bequest is the fact that “emptiness” constitutes the core of Monkey’s religious

---

40The story is also recorded elsewhere. In Za aban jing (Sutra of Miscellaneous Records), the Buddha criticizes Pindola (Bintoulu) rather than the nun (Gunabhadra T. 99, p. 169). In Zengyi aban jing (Sutra of Additional Sayings), however, he reproaches no one in particular (Sanghadeva T. 125, p. 708). Subhūti became part of the story at a much later date, probably not until the Chan Buddhists got involved.

41Banruo (prajñā) and zhīhūi (wisdom) both refer to that penetrating quality of the mind that comprehends the nature of reality: emptiness. They are often used synonymously. As Fayun (1088–1158) indicates, however, the former sounds more profound (T. 2131, p. 105), despite their common origins in Sanskrit; hence my translation.

42In Weimoji suo shuo jing (The Vimalakīrti Sutra), a scene occurs in which everyone talks eloquently about “entering the Dharma gate of nonduality” (ru bu'er famen). Only Vimalakīrti remains silent. This prompts Mañjuśrī (Wenshu shili) to exclaim: “This is wonderful, indeed! There are no utterances involved. This is truly what we call ‘entering the Dharma gate of nonduality’” (Kumārajīva T. 475, p. 551).

43Two other possible sources for the name may also exist. A historical monk named Wukong went to India during the early Tang period (Zan Ning T. 2061, p. 722); see also Yuanzhao (T. 2089, pp. 978–81). The only relevance he seems to bear to Monkey is the name, however, and the rather obscure historical journey. The second is a story recorded by the eleventh-century writer Peng Cheng. As it goes, an archer shot a mother gibbon and was stricken by what he saw: the dying mother entrusted her baby to her mate. This caused the archer to vow never to kill again. A Buddhist monk by the name of Wukong witnessed the whole thing. This monk is certainly related to a monkey story, but not directly to Monkey in Xiyou ji. See Tao (1963, juan 24, p. 15) and Gulik (1967, pp. 49–50).
being. The significance of this new identity is clarified when Monkey’s christening ends on a pun on the name: “When the world was first created, there was no name; / To break the stubborn emptiness one must awaken to emptiness” (Wu 1973, p. 14). This stress on emptiness is soon magnified. As soon as he triumphs over the rebellious Monkey, the Buddha addresses the issue of “subduing the devious monkey” by first telling his audience that “The fundamental nature of all things / Is empty after all / Like the empty sky / That has no form” (Wu 1973, p. 93). It is not without reason that he brings the subject of “emptiness” into relation with “subduing the devious monkey.” He is alluding at once to the monkey he has just successfully subdued and, more broadly, to the devious “monkey of the mind” that Monkey symbolizes.

When the “monkey of the mind” is tamed and the mind restored to its original pristine state, the Buddha-nature will shine forth; this in turn will bring to fruition one’s potential for the six types of superknowledge. Hence, at his most miraculous, Monkey is portrayed as “a spiritual light set eternally on emptiness,” untrammeled in any way by the “karma-driven kalpas” (Wu 1973, p. 478). Moreover, Monkey is the one pilgrim with access to Subhūti’s kind of pregnant silence. To everyone’s amazement, he virtually becomes Subhūti when he uses silence by way of interpreting Xinjing (The Heart Sutra). Tripitaka sings his praises, as the Great Brahma King does Subhūti, when he feels called upon to explain to a puzzled Piggy and Sandy that “Wukong’s interpretation transcends language” and that “that’s true interpretation” (Wu 1973, p. 1267). As C. T. Hsia correctly points out, it is Monkey, the most Taoist of them all, who is possessed of a “superior understanding” (1968b, pp. 128–29) in terms of Buddhist realization.

Not that Monkey is the only one who must live up to his own Buddhist given name; his fellow travelers, too, must fulfill its significance. This means that the role they each play must be defined only in relation to the arch-Taoist among them. For instance, it turns out to be the goal of Tripitaka’s pilgrimage, which is to “awaken to great emptiness” (Wu 1973, p. 169). Piggy’s legendary appetites may often appear to be a cheap joke, but they testify to the power of Monkey’s name as well when the goal of his pilgrimage turns out to be to “keep a vegetarian diet to awaken to true emptiness” (Wu 1973, p. 268). As if further to drive home its implications for the journey, the name is part of a couplet that brings Chapter 95 to a close: “Washed by the gracious waves their nature is restored; / Leaving the sea of metal they awakened to true emptiness” (Wu 1973, p. 1301). Moreover, implied in the name’s incantatory power is Huineng’s dictum of instantaneous enlightenment: “If one awakens fully to the mystery of emptiness and form, / Who needs to burn and refine cinnabar?” (Wu 1973, p. 975).

Accordingly, it is definitely not Tripitaka the master, but Monkey the disciple, who is the spiritual leader of the team. The Crow’s Nest Master (Wuchao chanshi) confirms as much when Tripitaka asks him for directions to the Western Heaven. The reply he gives the monk is to “Just ask that acquaintance of yours; / Well he knows the way to the West” (Yu 1977–83, 1:395). The Bodhisattva Guanyin likewise identifies Monkey as the leader of the group when she questions Monkey why he is not “leading Master Gold Cicada to the West to seek scriptures?” (Yu 1977–83,

44The six types of superknowledge include the celestial eye, celestial ear, the ability to know other people’s minds, the ability to know anyone’s past lives, the divine foot (ability to manifest oneself anywhere in no time, to assume any shape, etc.), and the ability to have stopped the leaking (of the six sense organs).

45Appetite is also the theme of several demonic characters. This means we cannot fully appreciate the pig unless we understand these other characters as well. For detailed discussions, see Shao (1997, chaps. 6 and 9).
2:270). Monkey’s leadership remains unchallenged among his fellow pilgrims, too. Sandy openly acknowledges it. For instance, he urges Piggy to “just follow Big Brother” (Yu 1977–83, 4:72) when the latter starts to splutter about the journey that never seems to come to an end.

This emphasis on Monkey’s spiritual advancement defines the role he plays: The owner of the name is no less than that name in action. If it is no secret that Tripitaka’s mundane mind often compels him to act against the Buddha’s teachings, it is equally obvious that Monkey is the one to lecture him and to awaken him to emptiness. Monkey compounds the irony of the master-disciple relationship when a strong yearning for “true leisure” assails the master, much as it does Piggy later on the journey. Donning the mask of a spiritual mentor, Monkey promises him that, but at the same time he pushes him: It will happen only if “all nidanas will cease and all forms will be but emptiness” (Yu 1977–83, 2:99). We further recognize Monkey’s authority when he sternly castigates Tripitaka for “attracting the six bandits in a never-ending succession” because of his inability to follow the teachings of Xinjing (The Heart Sutra) on there being “no eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind” (Wu 1973, p. 595).

Monkey’s leadership role becomes all the more pronounced when we compare the novel Xiyouji to the Yuan period (1279–1368) play Xiyouji, in which Monkey is a swaggering, foulmouthed, and uncontrollably horny demon of a monk yet to slough his unruly behavior. At the Mountain of Flames (Huoyuan shan), he shows a glaring lack of spiritual refinement when he tries to cajole a bakery woman into selling him “a hundred coins worth of cakes first” to “stifle my hunger,” with the promise that he will then lecture her on Buddhist scriptures. The woman may appear simple, but no sooner has he thus trifled with her than she takes the wind out of his sails with a pun: “Is it your past mind, current mind, or future mind that you’re going to point at?” (Yang 1961, p. 687). She is cleverly playing on the Chinese term dianxin that can either mean “to stifle the hunger” or “to point at the mind.” Although her quick wit instantly throws Monkey off balance, it boosts Tripitaka’s image as one of equal, if not greater, spiritual caliber when he matches her sophistication with his own: “The mind dwells upon nothing. How can you point at it?” (Yang 1961, p. 687). Here, as a pathetic failure in spiritual matters, Monkey is nothing more than a cheap foil to the master’s spiritual brilliance. This is certainly not the case in the novel, however, where Monkey, who is Huineng and Subhūti rolled into one, is able to beat Tripitaka at his own game.48

46Her remarks are clearly derived from the Buddha’s observations in Jingang jing (The Diamond Sutra): “Subhūti, neither is the mind of the past, nor that of the present, nor that of the future available” (Kumārajīva T. 235, p. 751). This dramatic scene is based on an anecdote about the Chan master Deshan Xuanjian (d. 865). The bakery woman is the same, and her repartee, too, to the very letter, but Monkey replaces Deshan as the deflated Buddhist monk. For the story of Deshan, see Puji (1971, pp. 115–16).

47Tripitaka’s response here is an echo to the Buddha’s in Jingang jing, “A Bodhisattva . . . should give rise to a mind in unconditioned detachment” (Kumārajīva T. 235, p. 749; cf. Conze 1957, p. 73). This particular comment played an important role in Huineng’s life. He achieved enlightenment right away when Hongren brought it up (Zongbao T. 2008, p. 349).

48In his commentary on Chapter 100 of the Xiyou ji, Chen Shibin asserts: “When he finally casts off his shell, Tripitaka has completed the transition from realizing his Buddha-nature to realizing his life-store” (Wu 1968, p. 1015). To this comment, Liu Yiming echoes: “The remaining ninety-three chapters proceed from nature to life-store and return from nonactivity to activity” (Yu 1990, p. 310). Both seem to suggest that Tripitaka has already realized his Buddha-nature when he sets out on the journey. In other words, they both believe that Tripitaka embodies Wang Chongyang’s philosophy. The master’s lack of spiritual eminence and the demons that he attracts, however, constitute an inevitable denial of these claims. Compare C. T. Hsia’s comment on Tripitaka as the “embodiment of fearful self-consciousness forever enslaved by phenomenon” (1968b, 127).
Monkey’s inheritance from Subhūti, I believe, explains his not-so-instantaneous enlightenment. It is his spontaneous, spiritual quick-footedness that distinguishes Huineng, especially from the standpoint of Chan Buddhism. He instantly plumbs the depths of emptiness when Hongren comes to “give rise to a mind in unconditioned detachment” from Jingang jing (The Diamond Sutra). By contrast, Subhūti illustrates emptiness as the goal that focuses the efforts of a lifetime. It is in this context that we see how he re-creates Monkey in his own image: Once Monkey displays Huineng’s intuitive power, Subhūti decides to redirect it, reshape it, and rally it toward a pro-longed experience through a given name that reminds us of his own reputation in the Buddhist tradition. That is, although Huineng’s intuition is properly redrawn as part of Monkey’s religious experience, it is not allowed to produce the kind of full, in-stantaneous enlightenment that distinguishes Huineng. If the novelist seemed to have put shackles on Monkey’s feet to slow him down, he did it for a good reason: to allow him to achieve a Taoist goal first.

Now it seems that Subhūti’s Buddhist background forms a context that serves solely to illuminate the significance of Monkey’s religion. With this context in view, the linking of his disciple’s cloud-somersault to internal alchemy becomes meaningful. The success of the journey depends on a large part on the somersault. That is, Tripitaka awakens to emptiness every time Monkey comes to his rescue in a timely fashion through the somersault. We do not want to overlook the fact, however, that Monkey derives this power—despite its Buddhist origins—from the secret of internal alchemy that Subhūti reveals to him. This does much to confirm our premise that the Buddhist journey undertaken collectively is a continuation of the Taoist quest that Monkey undertakes on his own. Now only in this context can we appreciate the particularly Taoist way in which Subhūti handles his disciple’s heritage from Huineng.

The chain of events leading to the monkey king’s Taoist initiation illustrates Subhūti’s bias most clearly. Although we know that the religious practitioner in Monkey is cast in Huineng’s image, Subhūti thinks otherwise. True to his Taoist character, he interprets his disciple’s heightened intuition from Huineng as proof of a Taoist immaculate conception. As we have noted, Subhūti takes it as a sign—a birthmark of a sort—that confirms decisively Monkey’s birth from heaven and earth. His attribution of what is originally Buddhist to Taoism is crucial not only to the making of the Taoist hero but also to the adaptation of the Buddhist theme to a Taoist theology. Huineng is implicitly evoked in Monkey’s image only to derive purpose and significance from the Taoist notion of divine birth such as described in Taishang Laojun kaitian jing (Scripture of How the Highest Venerable Lord Opens the Cosmos). This particular scripture describes how Laozi first creates heaven, earth, the sun, and the moon before setting about creating mankind: “Above he took the essence of heaven. Below he took the essence of earth. He joined them in the middle and made a spirit called human” (Kohn 1993, p. 37).

The novel Xiyou ji basically repeats this creation myth—which in turn is based on Daode jing49—in terms of the divine union that produces Monkey and in the divine

49The scripture expands on a line from Chapter 42 of Daode jing that often has been regarded as the Taoist creation theory: “The way begets one; one begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad creatures” (Lau 1989, p. 103). According to Heshang gong, “two” represents yin and yang. The yin and yang then beget three kinds of energies: the Pure, Impure, and Harmonized, which then turned into heaven, earth, and man (Heshang gong 1977, p. 15662). It is significant that what Heshang gong refers to as “man” has been understood as shen, a “spirit” or “god” in this particular scripture. Beyond doubt, the divine signs Monkey exhibits at birth are closely related to this line of reading. For a general discussion of Taoist creation theories, see Xiao (1989, pp. 241–66).

HUINENG, SUBHŪTI, AND MONKEY’S RELIGION IN XIYOU JI 727
signs the newborn ape exhibits.\textsuperscript{50} He was born from “an immortal stone” that “had been nourished for a long period by the seeds of Heaven and Earth, and by the essences of the sun and the moon” (Yu 1977–83, 1:67). The fact that the immortal stone was placed on top of a mountain—the middle realm between heaven and earth—is sure evidence of the myth. As the product of this divine pregnancy, he proved no mortal at birth, but a “spirit” or “god” (\textit{shen}), a supernatural being with “two beams of golden light” that “flashed from his eyes to reach even the Palace of the Polestar” (Yu 1977–83, 1:67–68). Monkey’s divine light was extinguished only when the clock of mortality began to tick away after he partook of food from the mortal world: He “fed on grass and shrubs, drank from the brooks and streams” (Yu 1977–83, 1:68).\textsuperscript{51}

To Subhūti, however, it is this divine birthmark—rather than Huineng—that endows his disciple with the supremely spiritual eminence, for Monkey’s enhanced intuition confirms to him that Monkey “is indeed an offspring of Heaven and Earth” (Yu 1977–83, 1:86). It seems that what makes him tick are apparently the dictates of his Taoist instincts. Yet what constitutes the most important evidence of the Taoist nature of Subhūti’s Buddhist heritage is the priority he places on his disciple’s family name rather than his given name. When Monkey’s claim to divine origins is confirmed, Subhūti immediately initiates him into the secret of internal alchemy—without first trying to help the ape awaken to emptiness. Neglect on his part is highly unlikely, considering how Monkey’s given name keeps alive a Buddhist tradition that is the master’s own. More likely, Monkey’s initiation first into the Taoist elixir is calculated to be a forceful reminder of the Taoist identity of Subhūti’s Buddhist heritage. Why not? The Buddhist tradition evoked by the immortal teacher only can emerge as part of his Taoist legacy if only because of the threefold motives for his brief appearance in Chapters 1 and 2: to confirm the authenticity of Monkey’s Taoist birthmark, to attribute Huineng’s heritage to a Taoist immaculate conception, and, above all, to impart the oral instructions in the true fashion of a perfected man. By the same token, the primary importance Subhūti assigns the elixir casts himself in the definitive image of a Taoist perfected man, except that he requires Monkey to follow the elixir with the realization of his Buddhist given name.

The text bears powerful testimony to what we may now call a two-stage quest. The priority given the elixir coheres consistently with the order of importance Subhūti assigns to Monkey’s names. The given name Wukong or Awaken to Emptiness may be rich in Buddhist symbolism, but it is preceded by the family name, the more important of the two, for it is the family name that comes first, carries the lineage, and represents the root. Accordingly, it is Monkey’s family name that announces the religious family to which he belongs and determines the nature of his religion. To clarify this point, Subhūti explains to Monkey that “\textit{zi} means a boy, whereas \textit{xi} means a baby” and that the compound of the two that constitutes Monkey’s family name—Sun—“conforms to the theory of the baby” (Wu 1973, p. 14). Original readers would recognize that \textit{baby} is simply another name for the Taoist elixir and the “theory of the baby” therefore refers to internal alchemy aimed at producing the elixir. Together

\textsuperscript{50}The divine signs Monkey exhibits at birth are not the only evidence of the scripture. In Chapter 86, Monkey alludes to Laozi’s creation of heaven and earth. “How many years have you lived that you dare assume the title, South Mountain?” he challenges a presumptive demon with that title. “Old Ruler Li happens to be the patriarch of creation, but he still sits to the right of Supreme Purity” (Yu 1977–83, 4:179).

\textsuperscript{51}I think Monkey’s mortalization is based on the Buddhist idea of human origination. As scriptures indicate, certain celestial beings come down to earth, driven by karma, when a new universe forms, and their bodies become gross after they eat and drink down here; they are the first humans (cf. Daoshi T. 2122, pp. 276–77; Jñānagupta T. 24, p. 358).
with Monkey’s given name, Subhūti combines the Taoist elixir and Buddha-nature into a single, unified religious experience, one of a Taoist nature but not exclusively Taoist in terms of the goal he has for Monkey. By immediately initiating Monkey into the elixir, he propels his disciple toward first fulfilling the significance of the Taoist family name, the first both in order and in importance.

The linking of the elixir with the Buddha-nature constructs in boldest terms the theological model that Monkey—and later the pilgrims—follows. The fidelity of the text to the model also is plainly in evidence, especially in the depiction of the Western Heaven. To everyone’s surprise, it is a Taoist immortal that first greets the Buddhist pilgrims when they finally make it to their destination. Monkey clearly hints at a symbiotic relationship that exists between the Buddha and the immortal when he introduces the Taoist as the “Great Immortal of Golden Head from the Temple of Jade Reality at the foot of the Spirit Mountain” (Wu 1973, p. 1330; italics mine). This scene is anticipated earlier, however, when the Bodhisattva Guanyin is on her way to finding a pilgrim. As she exits the Buddha-land, she must go through the Taoist temple so that she is first “greeted by the Great Immortal of Golden Head at the door of the Temple of Jade Reality” (Wu 1973, p. 98).

Tripitaka’s experience at the temple further dramatizes the bond between the Buddha and the immortal. The day after his arrival, Tripitaka is set to have an audience with the Buddha. As he is leaving the temple, however, the Taoist insists that he escort the monk so that the latter will “stick to the main road” (Yu 1977-83, 4:381). What most alarms the reader is that “it turns out that the main road did not lead to the front entrance.” Instead it “passed right through the central halls of the temple to the rear entrance. There was the Spirit Mountain right behind the temple” (Wu 1973, p. 1331). Now why is it that entrance to a Buddha-land is Taoist? Or that there is no seeing the Buddha without first seeing a Taoist immortal and going through his Taoist temple grounds? Or that it is a Taoist who makes sure that a Buddhist will “stick to the main road?” The only explanation is that these details are contrived as a strategic reminder and a thematic affirmation of the elixir—Buddha-nature combination in Monkey’s name and the sequence of its fulfillment.

**Zhang Boduan and Monkey’s Religion**

Now that details accumulate to underscore a two-stage religion, we may safely conclude that what Subhūti spells out in Chapters 1 and 2 is a distinctly Taoist philosophy that has incorporated the conception of Buddha-nature. Taoist it must be, for there is not yet an orthodox Buddhist theology that formally embraces internal alchemy. Then what kind of reality is imitated here? Is there any scriptural evidence for a theory thus defined? For an answer, we must turn to Zhang Boduan, who has a greater presence in Xiyou ji than is signified by his single personal appearance as Immortal Purple Cloud (Ziyun xian, chap. 71) or by the many poems attributed to him.\(^{32}\) Certainly, it is not by coincidence that the two-stage quest and, more broadly,
the novel’s two-part structure appear conspicuously imitative of his Wuzhen pian (Understanding Reality) that claims importance first for the elixir and then for the Chan approach to the mind.

Unlike the Taoists that came before him, Zhang’s idea of immortality was based not on the absolute primacy of elixir development but on the primacy of Buddha-nature as an absolute guarantee for the elixir. In his “Wuzhen pian xu” (Preface to Understanding Reality), Zhang voices a serious concern, after he states his intentions for writing the Taoist poems, over insufficient treatment given to the subject of Buddha-nature: hence the addition of poems in the spirit of Chan philosophy (Xue 1977, p. 2823). Thus he has virtually set a second goal—a borrowing from Buddhism—beyond the traditional vision of internal alchemy. His Wuzhen pian (Understanding Reality) is imbued with this belief. On one occasion, he excites wonder about the effect of the elixir before admitting, “If one further investigates the true meaning of nature / One is bound to attain the ineffable bliss of the birthless” (Xue 1977, p. 2886; cf. Cleary 1987, p. 148). Although he was a Taoist, Zhang’s enthusiasm for Chan philosophy was derived from a disbelief in mere elixir-based immortality. “A halo behind the head is still a phantom,” he avers, and “even when clouds rise beneath your feet you are still not an immortal” (Cleary 1987, p. 161). Thus, to him, elixir development marks merely the end of a beginning rather than the end in a process to be ultimately completed along Buddhist lines.

Apart from the elixir–Buddha-nature combination so vividly mirrored in the two quests, the two-part structure of the novel and, above all, in the presence of a Taoist temple in the Western Heaven, the Dragon King of the Eastern Ocean is further evidence of Zhang’s philosophy. An irate Monkey abandons Tripitaka in a huff after his killing of the six bandits strikes the gullible master as gratuitous cruelty. True to the image of wise dragons in the Buddhist tradition, this dragon king successfully restores him in the master’s good graces. He is obviously expressing Zhang’s conviction, however, when he tells Monkey off, warning him, “if you don’t . . . exercise diligence and follow his teachings, you’ll end up a deviant immortal” (Wu 1990, p. 104). With Zhang’s philosophy in view, what the dragon means is clearly further effort by Monkey toward fulfilling the meaning of his Buddhist given name. As a matter of fact, the dragon’s remarks strike home with the whole issue of Monkey’s

53Buddhists and Taoists both acclaim Zhang’s genuine insight into Buddhism. For instance, Zhipan (fl. 1250–69) observes that Zhang “understands Buddha-nature” (T. 2035, p. 417). Zhao Daoyi (fl.1297–1307) testifies that Zhang “spreads the Buddhist Dharma far and wide” (1977, p. 6591).

54“Six bandits” refers to a Buddhist metaphor for the six senses.

In the Buddhist tradition, dragons may not be highly placed—they belong among animals—but they often are said to be instrumental for Buddhism. The story of Nāgarjuna (Longshu) could have been an antecedent to this particular scene in which a dragon enlightens Monkey. Nāgarjuna is said to have read everything Buddhist he could find, but his thirst was unquenched. A sympathetic dragon gave him access to his rare collections under the sea. With his help, Nāgarjuna became fully realized (Kumārajiva T. 2047, pp. 184–85; Li Jung-hsi 2002, p. 24). These lines by Wang Wei (701–61)—“Vanquish the crazed elephant with white magic / And ask the ancient dragon about the arcane language” (1990, 293)—are probably an allusion to this story, though Zhao Dianchong thinks otherwise. He suggests that Laolong (literally “ancient dragon”) refers to Lao Longji in Zhuanzhi, under whom Shennong, the Magic Farmer who started Chinese agriculture, used to study (Zhao 1962, p. 127); see Watson (1968, p. 242). Shen Fen records a story about Sun Simiao (581–682), who was popularly acclaimed as King of Medicine. The story indicates, however, it was to a dragon that Sun owed the prescriptions that had made him such a success (Shen 1977, p. 6142). For an introduction to Sun and his work, see Kohn (1993, pp. 319–25).
conversion to Buddhism. Monkey is an out-and-out “deviant immortal” (yaoxian), for his portrayal is firmly based on the ten types of xian (immortals, rsi) from Shou lengyan jing (Sutra of Heroic Deeds), to whom Zhang compares those Taoists who value ming (life-store) to the neglect of xing (nature). Monkey had “a halo behind the head” and “clouds” that rose beneath his feet when he parted hands with Subhūti, but he failed to go on and fulfill the potential of his given name. Consequently, he ended up back in the cycles of reincarnation symbolized by the Five Phases Mountain. In light of this fall, his Buddhist “conversion” is not really a change of heart so much as a redirection of his energy to measure up to his Buddhist given name.

The sentiment Zhang expressed utilizing Chan language was not unfamiliar to many of his predecessors who had already come to the realization that perfection should involve the cultivation of certain spiritual qualities along with longevity techniques. Before Zhang came along, however, this emphasis on spiritual purity had never been a fully integral part of any specific practice. Zhang’s philosophy is believed to have originated in Zhong Lü chuan dao ji (An Anthology of Transmissions between Zhong and Lü), which treats the problem of mo (māra), or spiritual contamination, as a problem of faith rather than something of equal value to elixir development (cf. Shi 1988, pp. 46–49). Zhang Boduan, however, reformulated the issue in the terse, and more accurate, terms of Chan philosophy; more importantly, he increased its importance, giving it equal, if not greater, value in his brand of internal alchemy.

We must point out, however, that Zhang may have accepted Chan philosophy, but he was far from having become a Buddhist. His reliance on the Buddha-nature concept was simply the highlight of continuous efforts made by the Taoists to bring their own thinking up to date. He by no means believed that fulfilling Buddha-nature alone could bring the cycles of life and death to an end. Hence his assertion that “Even if you understand the essence of true thuness / You still cannot avoid abandoning one body just for another; / But if you include cultivation of the great medicine, / Immediately you transcend to the nonleaking state and become a perfected man” (Xue 1977, p. 2886; cf. Cleary 1987, p. 153). Understanding “true thuness” refers to the Buddhist idea of an untrammelled state of enlightenment in which desires that flow ceaselessly from the six sense organs have disappeared. The “great medicine” is another name for the Taoist elixir. Here Zhang makes the point, for the benefit of the Buddhists, that one who attains “true thuness” still would not be able to head off reincarnation, unless he practices the elixir.

Conclusion: Religion versus Literature

In this analysis, I have attempted three tasks in an effort to elucidate the religious significance of character and action in Xiyou ji. The first is to unearth important religious allusions in Chapters 1 and 2 that have so far been overlooked. These allu-
sions—to Huineng, Subhūti, the somersault, and others—prove that religion in Monkey’s portrait in, and in Xìyou jì as a whole, is too carefully contrived to be dismissed as insignificant. From such a concentration, we have gone on to define a unified religious vision in the text. The Xìyou jì is a religious allegory in which the Buddhist theme draws meaning and significance from a Taoist philosophy. In its progression from Monkey’s Taoist quest to Tripitaka’s Buddhist journey, it reflects Zhang Boduan’s vision that requires the practitioner first to cultivate the elixir and then the Buddha-nature. Chan philosophy served conveniently as a catalyst in the author’s attempt to turn the Buddhist legend in the Yuan play into a vehicle for a Taoist theology, for it was the common denominator between Zhang’s philosophy and the Tripitaka legend as the novelist had found it. The third task I have attempted is to prove how the narrative demonstrates Zhang’s philosophy. His two-stage theory is crystallized in Monkey’s names. The dual objectives reflected in these names indicate a Taoist-Buddhist combination mirrored by a series of other similar combinations, including the Taoist quest and the Buddhist journey, the Taoist temple in the Buddha-land, and, above all, Tripitaka’s Taoist practice.60 Monkey’s Buddhist given name in particular begins and ends the journey. His failure to fulfill its meaning on an overtly Taoist quest prompts the journey, whereas Tripitaka’s ability to live up to it brings the journey to a dramatic close.

The Xìyou jì thus represents the author’s skillful manipulation of a Buddhist legend toward embodying a Taoist vision. He drew on two distinct but related literary traditions. On the one hand, it has been a standard practice for both Buddhists and Taoists to resort to storytelling as a vehicle for religious belief. Huge collections of parables, sophisticated jātaka tales, and the lives of the transcendents are all examples. The fact that the author alluded to the stories of Huineng, Subhūti, and many others constitutes clear evidence of the impact of this tradition on Xìyou jì. The Huayan jìng (The Garland Sutra), in particular, may have had a great impact on Xìyou jì, for Monkey frequently seeks help from Buddhist and Taoist divine beings in ways highly reminiscent of Sudhana’s (Shancai tongzì) journey in that sutra.61

When Buddhists and Taoists resort to storytelling to promote their faiths, too often this means that their imagination supplies what is found wanting in the dogma. We clearly can see how detail accrues as the Taoists think and rethink the biographies of the same transcendents. One example is the story of the Yellow Emperor told by Liu Xiang in only 140 characters (1977, pp. 6111–12) but retold by Zhao Daoyi in no less than thirteen pages (1977, pp. 6169–82). The transformation of Xiwangmu (Queen Mother of the West), a minor character with a high profile in Xìyou jì, is perhaps a more typical example. In Shanhai jìng (Classic of Mountains and Seas), her shape may resemble that of a human, but she is still a far cry from really being human, much less feminine in human terms, with her tiger’s fangs and a panther’s tail (Birrell 1999, pp. 24, 176). She has already become a study in classic beauty however, when she materializes before Emperor Wu in Ban Gu’s (32–92) Han Wudi nei zhuan (Inner Biography of the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty): “She appears in her thirties, with the right kind of build that makes her neither too tall nor too short. She is a paragon of celestial beauty, for she has such superb features that find no comparison in the world.”

60 For a detailed discussion of Tripitaka’s practice, and its relation to Zhang’s theory, see Shao (1997).

61 You Tong (1618–1704) admitted to a soul-cleansing collusion of shock and fascination as he read Huayan jìng (The Garland Sutra), that characterized the universe as one that existed only in the mind. His conclusion was that Xìyou jì was a mere elaboration on the Buddhist sutra (You 1968, pp. 1–2). See also Hu Shi (1986a, 1:183–86) and Shao (1997, chap. 9).
(1977, 8:6086). The novel Xiyou ji is known for its unrestrained use of imagination that characterizes this literary tradition in religion. In this sense, the novel may certainly be regarded as the culmination of this tradition, for it took its time to take shape and represents the combined imagination of many an author.

On the other hand, China has a literary tradition that thrives on religious themes. Much has already been written about the contributions to Xiyou ji from such literary genres as classical-language fiction, short vernacular stories, and drama. Here we need only mention portrayal of evil in Xiyou ji that shows how much the novel owes its success to the Six Dynasties (220–589) short narratives of the zbiguai form. The demons over whom Monkey triumphs may behave like the Buddhist idea of Mara (mô) with regard to their obstruction of Tripitaka’s spiritual perfection, but they waylay the master in the manner of spirits of old creatures that call mountains and forests home. This side of their profile is obviously derived from the descriptions of yaoguai (the deviate and strange), creatures that prosper in the zbiguai tradition. The most important contribution made to Xiyou ji, however, is the story of Tripitaka himself. The Tripitaka legend originated in the historical monk’s travels to India, but it was not always with a religious message in view when it was rewritten in the form of Shibua (The Poetic Tale), the Yuan dynasty play Xiyou ji, and a vernacular pinghua version of Xiyou ji that some critics believe to have existed before the sixteenth-century novel.

The distinction between the literary tradition in religion and religion in literature lies in the purpose: Taoists and Buddhists spin yarns to teach religion, whereas the literary writers resort to religion to spin yarns. The religious writers often express their intentions to teach religion quite clearly. For example, although the biographies of transcendents are often classified as zbiguai and regarded as literature, the intent with which Ge Hong composed Shenzixian zhuan (Biographies of Divine Immortals) is to advertise his belief that “Transformation into a transcendent is achievable, and life without death is attainable” (Zhan 1992, p. 129). By contrast, although there is no dearth of religious allusions and references in novels like Fengshen yanyi (The Canonization of Gods), San Sai pingyao zhuan (Three Suits Subdue the Demons), and Nüxian waishi (Unofficial Biography of the Female Immortal), they as a rule are neither used accurately nor organized around an orthodox theology.

The two traditions converge in the novel Xiyou ji, however. The author rewrote the Tripitaka legend, drawing upon various sources, popular and religious, but he did it with intent to teach Zhang Boduan’s Taoist philosophy. His intentions to promote religion necessarily led to better organization and greater accuracy in the use of religious allusions, which is what distinguishes his novel from its predecessors and other fiction that exploits religious themes. He recognized that Monkey alone had the potential to make his work a success. As a monkey with Taoist connections in the Yuan play, Monkey could easily be adapted to embody both the Buddhist conception of the “monkey of the mind” and the Taoist vision of the elixir—the two aspects of Zhang’s theology—hence the reversal of roles with Tripitaka, a Buddhist to the bone, who could play only a highly visible, but nevertheless secondary, role. Precisely for this reason, Monkey’s characterization as a Taoist coincided with his characterization along the lines of Buddhists like Huineng and Subhûti.

62For detailed discussions of these and various versions of the Tripitaka story that existed before the novel, see Dudbridge (1970).
63Shao (1997, chap. 9).
### List of Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banruo</td>
<td>般若</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bintoulu</td>
<td>宾头卢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu yu zhiren chuan miaojue</td>
<td>不遇至人传妙诀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Tuan</td>
<td>陈抟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengji</td>
<td>成基</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dafan tianwang</td>
<td>大梵天王</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan</td>
<td>丹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasheng men</td>
<td>大圣门</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deshan Xuanjian</td>
<td>德山宣鉴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dianxin</td>
<td>点心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fashen</td>
<td>法身</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengshen yanyi</td>
<td>封神演义</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foxing</td>
<td>佛性</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanyin</td>
<td>观音</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hongren</td>
<td>宏忍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houquan</td>
<td>布泉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huaben</td>
<td>本愿</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huayan jing</td>
<td>华严经</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangdi neijing suwen</td>
<td>黄帝内经素问</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huike</td>
<td>慧可</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huineng</td>
<td>慧能</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huoyan shan</td>
<td>火焰山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jindan</td>
<td>金丹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jing</td>
<td>精</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiuqiao zhi xie</td>
<td>九窍之邪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongsheng</td>
<td>空生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kou Qianzhi</td>
<td>耦谦之</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao jing</td>
<td>老君</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao Longji</td>
<td>老龙吉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao Tan</td>
<td>老聃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laozi</td>
<td>老子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lian jing hua qi</td>
<td>炼精化气</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lian qi hua shen</td>
<td>炼气化神</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lian shen huan xu</td>
<td>炼神还虚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoqian zhiyi</td>
<td>聊斋志异</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liexian zhan</td>
<td>列仙传</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu Yiming</td>
<td>刘一明</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longshu</td>
<td>龙树</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lü zu quanshu</td>
<td>吕祖全书</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>魔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohe jiaye</td>
<td>摩诃迦叶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neidan</td>
<td>内丹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nüxian waishi</td>
<td>女仙外史</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangmen</td>
<td>偏门</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peng Cheng</td>
<td>彭乘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puti damo</td>
<td>菩提达摩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qì</td>
<td>气</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru bu’er famen</td>
<td>入不二法门</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Sui pingyao zhuhan</td>
<td>三遂平妖传</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shancai tongzi</td>
<td>善财童子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanhai jing</td>
<td>山海经</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shen</td>
<td>神</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenhui</td>
<td>神会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shennong</td>
<td>神农</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shengren</td>
<td>圣人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Simiao</td>
<td>孙思邈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taibai jinxing</td>
<td>太白金星</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taishang Laojun kaitian jing</td>
<td>太上老君开天经</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipo daduo</td>
<td>提婆达多</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tianxian</td>
<td>天仙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waidan</td>
<td>外丹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Chongyang</td>
<td>王重阳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei Boyang</td>
<td>魏伯阳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weituo</td>
<td>卫陀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weixin jingtu</td>
<td>唯心净土</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenshu shili</td>
<td>文殊师利</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuchao chanshi</td>
<td>乌巢禅师</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuxing shan</td>
<td>五行山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xijiang yue</td>
<td>西江月</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xitian</td>
<td>西天</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiyu yuanzhi dufa</td>
<td>西游原旨读法</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiyu zhenquan</td>
<td>西游真诠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiwangmu</td>
<td>西王母</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xian</td>
<td>仙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xianren</td>
<td>贤人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiantian tu</td>
<td>先天图</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjing</td>
<td>心经</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xing</td>
<td>性</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xingming shuangxiu</td>
<td>性命双修</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuputi</td>
<td>须菩提</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaoguai</td>
<td>妖怪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaoshen</td>
<td>妖神</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaoxian</td>
<td>妖仙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ying’er</td>
<td>婴儿</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youbo lianhuase</td>
<td>优波莲花色</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuan</td>
<td>元</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Shushen</td>
<td>张书绅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhenren</td>
<td>真人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhen shui yin</td>
<td>钱水蚓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhiguai</td>
<td>志怪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhihui</td>
<td>智慧</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of References


Pu, Songling 蒲松龄. “Qitian dasheng” 齐天大圣 (The Great Sage Equal to Heaven). Xiyou ji yanjiu ziliao 西游记研究资料 (Resources for the Study of The Journey to


