

A World in Balance: Holistic Synthesis in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi

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Although the sovereignty of the Sung ruling house was proclaimed in 960 by T'ai-tsu, it was his brother and successor, T'ai-tsung, who presided over the consolidation of the reunification. Almost immediately after ascending the throne in 976, T'ai-tsung initiated a massive bibliographic project, the compilation of historical and literary anthologies. The first of those to be completed was the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi (Extended Accounts of the Reign of Grand Tranquillity; commissioned in 977, completed in 978). It is well-known that the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi was designed to complement the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (Imperial Digest of the Reign of Grand Tranquillity), which was not completed until 983. But beyond these facts, relatively little is known about the precise intentions that shaped the compilation of the Extended Accounts. In what follows, I hope to shed light on the nature of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi by

drawing attention to patterns that illustrate the values and goals that motivated the work's compilation. Toward that end, I shall (1) survey the overall structure and contents of the work; (2) analyze in depth one segment of the text the biography of a T'ang wonder-worker; and (3) suggest how the anthology might be interpreted in light of the personal and political concerns of the Sung emperor T'ai-tsung.

The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi in Modern Scholarship

The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi is generally noted for its stories about unusual people and strange phenomena. In addition, students of early Chinese fiction often draw upon it as a principal source. In fact, the anthology as a whole was once described by J. R. Hightower as simply a "large collection of post-Han fiction." I believe, however, that a careful analysis of the text's contents renders such a judgment fairly debatable. On one level, one must certainly raise the issue of the criteria by which a given narrative ought to be characterized as "fiction" (an issue that certainly cannot be fully aired here). Suffice it to say that the modern categories of "history" and "fiction" (in China as well as in the West) are problematic when applied to many forms of premodern Chinese prose. Indeed, since the days of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Chinese historians (like their Graeco-Roman counterparts) had been in the habit of filling out their historical accounts with colorful speeches and anecdotes, which, by modern standards, had little claim to historical authenticity. Such writers were

not, on that account, "bad historians." Rather, the conception of the nature of the historian's task was simply broader in those days than it came to be in later ages.² The evolution of the notion of "fiction" as a literary product distinct from "history" was a slow and laborious one in China; it was only really in Sung times that critics began to articulate a formal distinction between the two, and many writers continued to ignore such niceties for centuries thereafter. The issue here is whether the contents of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi are properly to be interpreted as fiction, as marginalia to "reality," and if so, in what sense. Since the work as a whole is an anthology, the fundamental issue is not so much the genre of the materials found within the collection, but rather the intentions that led to the compilation of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, particularly in relation to its sister-work, the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan. Those intentions are far from self-evident. Teng Ssu-yü and Knight Biggerstaff once said of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, "This encyclopedia was compiled to make available a large amount of useful information not generally included in orthodox writings."³ Such is assuredly the case. But key questions remain: (1) what, precisely, was the original thinking involved in the construction and use of categories like "orthodox writings," and (2) why were certain large bodies of "useful information" not "generally included" within it? The late Edward Schafer once addressed that issue as follows:

It is clear that the compilers [of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi] did not, as is widely believed, relegate excerpted texts to this collection because they regarded them as unreliable or apocryphal . . . , but rather because they believed them to be trivial, unedifying, superficial, superstitious, or conducive to unprincipled attitudes. The chief criterion of selection was morality rather than truth.⁴

Schafer's assessment would seem to clarify that of Teng and Biggerstaff, if we

were to read certain specific jumoral sentiments into their rather ambiguous term

"orthodox writings." But the term "orthodox" can also carry a quite different weight:

the term is often used to refer merely to what is sanctioned by tradition, to what is so

thoroughly ingrained in conventional practice that it is given little careful or creative

thought. What one person might define as "morally proper" might well strike another

person as "unjustifiably hidebound," especially during periods of cultural change or

transition. And I intend to argue that it is in precisely this sense that the T'ai-p'ing

kuang-chi is ultimately to be distinguished from the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan.

The T'ai-p'ing

yü-lan became the early Sung repository for those materials that were judged readily

assimilable to the traditional Chinese bibliographic categories—classics, histories,

philosophical works, and belles-lettres. The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, for its part, also

contains material found in "standard" texts (such as some of the dynastic histories).

But more often, its contents were derived from earlier collections of a different type,

from "source materials which were considered informal (yeh-shih [unofficial histories],

ch'uan-ch'i [tales], and hsiao-shuo . . .)."⁵ With all due respect to

Professor Schafer,
it seems to me that the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi was differentiated from the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan not upon the basis of judgments concerning moral propriety, but rather upon the basis of tone and orientation. The T'ai-p'ing yü-lan conforms to—and perpetuates—the conventionalized patterns of bibliography. The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, however, features a much wider range of materials, materials that ignored -- or even challenged -- those conventionalized patterns. And it is, I believe, in this fact that we can begin to perceive the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi for what it was originally intended to be an attempt on the part of its patron to recontextualize our historical and cultural consciousness, and possibly even to reshape our understanding of life itself.

Regarding its companion work, the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, John W. Haeger has said that "a careful study of what it includes and excludes could reveal a lot about the contemporary state of Chinese culture, about the priorities and values of tenth-century scholars, and even about the structure of medieval knowledge."⁶ The same can certainly be said of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi. One can, of course, seek insight into the intentions of the editors by considering three factors: (1) their selection of materials to be included in the collection; (2) their organization of those materials; and (3) their manipulation of individual entries their modification of source materials to bring them into conformance with the overriding concept of the purpose of their work.

But I wish here to propose that we may legitimately seek insight not only

into the minds of the anthology's editors, but also into the mind of their imperial patron. Both of the T'ai-p'ing anthologies (as well as the Wen-yuan ying-hua) were compiled at the order of Sung T'ai-tsung. I propose that careful analysis of the structure and contents of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi reveals a coherent vision of the world, a vision that encompassed T'ai-tsung's own vision of his reign, and expressed the ideals that informed his hopes and expectations for the newly emerging dynasty. I intend to show that the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi expresses in form and content what it, and its sisterwork, the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, express in their titles: "the aspiration to achieve a golden age of civil peace."⁷ The fact that each collection bears within its title T'ai-tsung's chosen nien-hao is far from coincidental. In fact, I submit that a careful examination of the contents of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi discloses the contours of T'ai-tsung's own vision of his empire: a world of T'ai-p'ing -- a universal harmony in which all things find their proper place and work together, creating a holistic unity in harmony with the higher forces of the cosmos. And I propose that T'ai-tsung's intention in ordering a universal anthology like the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi was, in effect if not in intention, a revival of the ideals that had, much earlier, inspired a similar project in Han times the primal Taoist scripture, the T'ai-p'ing ching.

The Contents and Structure of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi

In 1980, Edward Schafer, to whom we owe so much of our insight into medieval

China, published a brief but informative little work entitled, "The Table of Contents of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi." 8 At first glance, Schafer's window into the world of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi reveals what we have come to expect: chapters are devoted to ghosts and spirits (chüan 280-81); omens and portents (chüan 135-45); uncanny things, both manmade and natural (chüan 368-417), and, most colorfully, perhaps, those unpredictable transdimensional beings known popularly as "foxes" (chüan 447-55). Yet, a more thorough examination of the work's contents demonstrates that its architects were actually concerned with deeper issues, with the very nature of human life and human culture. In fact, when examined closely, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi reveals subtle patterns that serve as a sophisticated model of the world not the mundane world that we usually assume ourselves to inhabit, but rather a world that is as wondrous as it is orderly, a comprehensive, multi-dimensional cosmos in which the strange is a logical and necessary complement to the familiar and the mundane.

If such a perspective on life seems reminiscent of Taoist values, it is hardly surprising that the opening chapters of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi are devoted to lives of male and female "immortals" (hsien: chüan 1-70), "Taoist" arts (chüan 71-75), and masters of unusual practices (fang-shih: chüan 76-80). And yet, as Schafer notes, the subsequent thirty-five chapters dwell primarily upon Buddhist themes: sections 99-101 present "anecdotal evidence of the truth of Buddhist teachings

and the reality of the eternal world," while sections 102–34 concern "divine (esp. Buddhist) reactions to human deeds." But still, the remainder of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi makes clear that its originators' chief interest was not in religious matters at all, at least not in any strict sense: subsequent sections treat such standard ju concerns as incorruptible officials (chüan 165), provincial and capital examinations (chüan 178–84), "scholarly behavior" (ju-hsing: chüan 202), varieties of script (chüan 206–09), and relations with friends (chüan 235). Eight chapters are even devoted to martial exploits (chüan 189–90). Thus, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi presents the wen and wu of human life as interlocking realities that complement and complete each other, just as it presents Buddhist and Taoist ideals as complementing and completing both each other and the more worldly concerns of the ju tradition. Upon careful analysis, it becomes clear that an overriding theme of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi is that one needs to be aware of the wholeness of life the strange as well as the mundane, the perverted as well as the proper, the sacred as well as the shabby, the natural and supernatural as well as the human. The moral is that we must accept and appreciate all the facets of reality, not just those with which we are familiar or comfortable. We must accept all things as they are, and seek to achieve a comprehensive perspective in which all things are properly balanced. This assessment of the import of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi emerges logically, not just from the contents and organization of the work as a whole, but also from within

specific sections of the text. I present as an example the anthology's entry on the T'ang dynasty thaumaturge Yeh Fa-shan (631-720). Holistic Synthesis in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi Biography of Yeh Fa-shan

Elsewhere, I have analyzed the life of Yeh Fa-shan as it appears in T'ang and Five Dynasties sources, from an imperial epitaph issued under the seal of T'ang Hsüan-tsung down to the "official" biography of Yeh contained in the Chiu T'ang shu.¹⁰

All of those materials even the Chiu T'ang shu account present him first and foremost as a wonder-worker. During the course of his remarkable career, Yeh reportedly controlled spirits, roamed to mythical lands, and met divine beings. But what became his actual stock-in-trade was heroic thaumaturgy: he performed countless amazing deeds to rescue others from every variety of danger -- death, disease, demonic possession, political intrigue, and the depredations of unprincipled sorcerers. The T'ang and Five Dynasties sources demonstrate that while his exploits were quite extraordinary, and in some cases truly bizarre, they were actually treasured by his contemporaries, and were commemorated for centuries by emperors, ministers, and official historians alike. As odd as it might seem to modern observers, Yeh Fa-shan was clearly an object not merely of curiosity, but truly of admiration and respect on the part of all members of society, especially the elite.

During the T'ang and Five Dynasties, there was common sentiment that, wondrous though people like Yeh were, they actually play a key role in life, for they remind us vividly of the importance of the deeper realities of our lives.

Such being the case, it is little wonder that Yeh Fa-shan attracted the attention of the editors of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi. They read and utilized tales of his deeds preserved in such earlier wonder-tale collections as the Huan-hsi chihof Chiang Fang (9th cent.) and the Hsien-chuan shih-iof Tu Kuang-t'ing (850-933). But they also drew upon more sober historical sources, as well as upon the aretalogical account issued in the name of T'ang Hsüan-tsung.¹¹ The result was a new depiction of Yeh that is remarkable for its inclusiveness: the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi not only incorporates virtually everything that had ever been written about Yeh, but it also interposes weighty moral and political concerns with stories that may, at first glance, seem intended only to stimulate the reader's wonder. What results is difficult to classify as either biography or hagiography: it is, in our terms, a hybrid, in which the ordinary and the extraordinary are interwoven as though no boundary exists -- or should be imagined to exist. I will translate and analyze the bulk of that account here for the light that it seems to shed upon some of the underlying themes of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi as a whole.¹²

The opening lines read as follows:

Yeh Fa-shan, styled Tao-yüan, originally came from the Yeh district of Nan-yang. Today [the family] resides in the Sung-yang district of Ch'u-chou. For four generations, they cultivated the Tao. They all rescued creatures and aided people through secret accomplishment (yin-kung), unseen deeds (mi-hsing), and the art of compulsion and evocation [of spirits].

These remarks go back to a comment in T'ang Hsüan-tsung's epitaph, in which

the emperor remarked that Yeh's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all been "practiced in my Tao." Tu Kuang-t'ing had elaborated, crediting Yeh's forefathers with "divine skills (shen-shu), cultivation (she-yang), and ascent to Perfection (teng-chen)."¹³ But the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi passage is the first to claim that Yeh's forebears had practiced theurgy (the art of compelling spirits), though Yeh himself had frequently been represented in such terms in earlier accounts. What is most distinctive about this passage is the statement that the Yeh clan had "all rescued creatures and aided people through secret accomplishment and unseen deeds."

Though it is not yet generally recognized, that ideal of aiding others without anyone's knowledge was highly valued in medieval Taoism.¹⁴ The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi here clearly embraces the idea that our lives actually extend into the unseen, and that we must live in full awareness of that fact.

Yeh's paternity having been addressed, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi balances the picture by turning to his maternal heritage (the first account of Yeh's life to do so):

"[Yeh's] mother, née Liu, was napping during the daytime when she dreamt that a

shooting star entered her mouth. She swallowed it and became pregnant, and after fifteen months she gave birth to [him]." The motif of impregnation through swallowing is an ancient and enduring one in Chinese culture.¹⁵ The report of the fifteen-month gestation period clearly implies that both Yeh and his mother were quite extraordinary, and induces the reader to associate him with other great figures (like "Lao-tzu"), for whom such wondrous births had traditionally been reported.

A rather unusual feature of the traditions about Yeh is that they include childhood events. For instance, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi reproduces the following

story verbatim from Chiang Fang's Huan-hsi chih:

At age seven, [Yeh] sank into the [Yangtze] river, and did not return for three years. When his father and mother asked him why, he said, "The Blue Lad [a great deity who dwelt in the Eastern Sea] took me to drink of a nebulous broth, so I stayed a short while, that's all."¹⁶ He also said that the Blue Lad had led him into an audience with the Most High. The Most High had nodded, and retained him.

The first two lines derive ultimately from Hsüan-tsung's epitaph for Yeh. It is

clear from this passage that Yeh, while not a divinity himself, was conceived as having been naturally adept at making his way to the realms where such beings dwell. Moreover, as in most analogous ch'uan-ch'itaies, the divinities are said to have treated their visitor as an honored guest. The implication of such tales is that such realms are easily accessible, at least to certain special people. While the reader himself may or may not ever undergo such a remarkable journey, he learns here, at least, that the boundary between the divine and human spheres is actually quite

permeable, and that people who manage to gain entrance to the divine realm may

expect divine approval. The importance of these facts for our appreciation of the

T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi should eventually become more clear.

The next passage in Yeh's biography provides us (again, for the first time) with

a profile of Yeh as a person—his appearance, temperament, and lifestyle:

As a young man, his body grew to [a height of] nine feet, and there were [marks of] yin-yang and the five forces (wu-hsing) on his brow. His temperament was affable and pure. He did not consume meat or acrid foods. He always dwelt in solitude in dark chambers. Sometimes he wandered among forests and marshes; sometimes he visited clouds and springs.

Obviously, all of these clichéd idealizations are intended to evoke a certain

image, rather than to provide an accurate depiction of Yeh as a historical person.

But then again, such features were actually quite typical of Chinese historical

biography, and had been so ever since the days of Ssu-ma Ch'ien.¹⁷

The subsequent passages extend the image of Yeh as a very special person,

who transcended "normal" human limitations:

After he returned from the offices of the immortals, he already possessed the skill of putting [spirits] to work. Thereafter, he entered the Mao-yu mountains to dwell there. His gate was near the mountain. [There happened to be] a great boulder in the roadway, and everyone

made a circuitous detour in order to pass it. The Master cast a talisman to raise the stone, and in an instant it had flown away. The road was thereupon level and smooth, and everyone was amazed.

He regularly roamed to Mt. Po-ma in Kua-tstang. There, within a stone chamber, he [once] met three divinities, all [bedecked] in embroidered robes and jeweled headpieces. They bespoke the Master, saying, "We have received from the Most High a mandate to impart to

you secret instructions. You were originally the Great Ultimate Purple-Rarity Immortal Minister of the Left (t'ai-chi tzu-wei tso-hsien-ch'ing).¹⁸

Because you were not diligent in copying the registers, you were banished to the mortal world. You must perform acts of merit, help others, and assist the nation. When your merit is fulfilled, you should return to your former duties. [We therefore] direct that the formulae of the Orthodox Unity and the Triad and Pentad (cheng-i san-wu) be imparted to you. Moreover, you should apply yourself diligently to the task of transformation by rendering aid." Having completed their address, they departed.

From this point, [Yeh] eradicated strange goblins and exterminated ominous sprites wherever he went. He made it his intention to save people.

Save for a few new lines, this entire passage is reproduced from the Huan-hsi

chih.¹⁹The most important element is the annunciation at Mt. Po-ma, in which Yeh

learns that he is a "banished immortal" (che-hsien), sent to earth to redeem himself

by acts of selfless altruism.²⁰This concept which recurs throughout the biography of

Yeh later becomes a central theme of a later depiction of Yeh, in Chang Tao-t'ung's

T'ang Yeh chen jen chuan (comp. by 1240).²¹We shall later see the importance that

the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi biography of Yeh places upon the ideal of "assisting the nation."

The subsequent passage interpolates a biographical note about another character, whose life has much in common with that of our protagonist: [Fa-shan's] great-uncle [Yeh] Ching-neng possessed great divine skills. During the period of [T'ang] Kao-tsung, he entered the Han-lin [Academy], and became Rector for Sons of the Officers of State (kuo-

tzu chi-chiu). When Empress Wu administered the state, he traveled south and died.

Yeh Ching-neng himself, though never mentioned in any of the earlier accounts

of Fa-shan's life, becomes a major figure in other texts and seems at times to have been confused with Fa-shan.²² Suffice it here to note that the contents and tone of this passage are decidedly consistent with those of the standard Chinese historical biography: we find the subject being commended to us for reasons that are ultimately political, not thaumaturgical. The same can be said for the following passage about Fa-shan himself: Previously, Kao-tsung summoned the Master to come to the capital and pay respects to the high officials. [Yeh, however,] did not

go. [Rather, he] begged leave to be ordained as a Taoist priest, and came and went within the palace.

At first glance, this pericope resembles the many sober biographies of Taoistic

T'ang figures who were summoned to court to bestow luster upon the throne.²³ The report that Yeh petitioned for permission to take ordination seems plausible: contemporaries like the poet Wu Yün and the statesman Ho Chih-chang did likewise.²⁴ But one is still at a loss to comprehend why T'ang Kao-tsung should have given Yeh the run of the palace: to this point in the story, Yeh had performed no service that might seem to justify such an indulgence. This passage is,

doubtless, a clumsy abridgment of a parallel passage in Tu Kuang-t'ing's Tao-chiao ling-yen chi.²⁵

The following passage does depict Yeh as rendering yeoman service to the ruler

and his court: "When [the emperor] wished to proclaim his accomplishments at the

Central Marchmount [i.e., Mt. Sung], many among his retinue became ill. [Yeh]

healed all the illnesses with one comprehensive incantation." This passage seems odd,

because it seems to be a condensation of a more striking anecdote in Tu's Tao-chiao

ling-yen chi, subsequently incorporated into the Chiu T'ang shubiography of Yeh:

At the time, there was an imperial procession to the Eastern Capital [657].²⁶ Fa-shan constructed a fiery altar at the Ling-k'ung abbey, and initiated a great chiaoritual. The gentlemen and ladies in the city all went and observed it. Suddenly, several tens of persons rushed to throw themselves into the fire. The crowd was greatly alarmed, and rescued them, then released them. Moreover, they were unharmed. Fa-shan said, "These people all have a demonic illness, which will be put to rest by my formulae (fa)." When it was investigated, it was actually so. [Yeh] strove assiduously on their behalf, and their illnesses were all healed.

Perhaps it should be noted that such events are hardly representative of

mainstream T'ang Taoism. But in any event, as in the case of the preceding

passage, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi's laconic version of the episode loses much of the

impact of the original report. The editor seems less interested here in either

transmitting history or inspiring awe than in preserving some reference (however

vague) to all of Yeh's diverse activities. The overriding concern of the T'ai-p'ing

kuang-chi was comprehensiveness, not comprehensibility (a point to

which I shall
later return).

The subsequent passage is more focused, and gives crystalline expression to

the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi's emphasis upon depicting a world in universal balance:

Those in the two capitals who received the registers of the Tao [from Yeh]--civilian and military, Han and foreign, male and female, children and youths--numbered more than a thousand persons. All the gold and silk that he received [was used] to restore temples and abbeys. He sympathized ungrudgingly with orphans and the poor. After a while, he took his leave to return to Sung-yang, rescuing innumerable persons in the places through which he passed.

It is this key passage unprecedented in any of the earlier accounts of Yeh's life

that seems to epitomize the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi's ideal of comprehensive synthesis.

The essential goal of the passage seems neither historical nor hagiographic. Rather,

it seems to advance a fundamental human ideal: all people regardless of age, gender,

vocation, or even ethnicity -- were accepted into Yeh's religious world.

Moreover, the

underlying motive in all his deeds is revealed to have been altruistic: his humanitarian

sentiments were concretized in philanthropic activities that blessed not only religious

institutions (and thus society as a whole), but also the lives of individuals in need, as

the following passages further demonstrate:

The wife of Chang Wei of Shu-ch'uan died and came to life again, and they once more became husband and wife.²⁷ The Master realized [what had happened], and said, "This is the affliction of 'seduction by a corpse.' If it is not dispelled, Chang will die!" [So] the Master cast a talisman, and [the revived corpse] changed into a black wraith.

The daughter of Grand Secretary Yao Ch'ung was already dead.²⁸

His affectionate remembrance was very profound. Casting a talisman, [Yeh] raised her.

There was often a great monster in the Ch'ien-t'ang River.²⁹ At times it would injure people and sink boats, and travelers were distressed. [Yeh] cast a talisman into the river, caused a spirit to behead [the creature], and eradicated the menace.

The extent of his arcane accomplishments is fully particularized in his basic biography.

The first two stories are derived from the Huan-hsi chih. The final line,

however, seems to reflect a passage in Tu Kuang-t'ing's Hsien-chuan shih-i. In

neither text, however, could it refer to Yeh's biography in the Chiu T'ang shu, for the

latter did not yet exist in Tu's day, and it certainly does not catalogue Yeh's "arcane

accomplishments" in the way that Chiang Fang, Tu Kuang-t'ing, and the T'ai-p'ing

kuang-chi itself do.³⁰ More pertinent, perhaps, is the observation that the T'ai-p'ing

kuang-chi biography of Yeh is hardly a digest of selected exploits: on the contrary,

every account of Yeh's wondrous deeds ever recorded in any previous text is

incorporated into the T'ai-p'ing account in some form. The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi's

perspective on Yeh and on the world -- may be unfocused, but it is never selective or

partial: it presents, without any discrimination, a comprehensive picture of a world in

perfect balance, a world in which all elements are not only significant, but somehow

profoundly interrelated.

The biography of Yeh confirms this understanding repeatedly, as in the next

passage, in which Yeh is said to have "traversed the four seas and the six directions,

the famous mountains and the crypt-heavens (tung-t'ien)." Here we see Yeh as

someone who traverses and symbolically links the entire earthly world,

as well as the heavenly domains beneath the sacred mountains.³¹ Taking this line in conjunction with the earlier revelation that Yeh was really a heavenly official doing penance here in the mortal realm, it becomes clear that the compilers of this account wish their readers to understand Yeh as someone who somehow unites the entire cosmos--the world above, the world below, and every corner of the world of men, from imperial

court to the most distant bourne of the empire. Subsequent passages the tone and contents of which are otherwise quite disparate--continue to relate Yeh's travels from one sacred mountain to another, and even to the legendary isle of P'eng-lai.

Finally, Yeh's spiritual mastery of the subcelestial world becomes so potent that "[the Empress Wu] Tse-t'ien summoned him to come to the holy capital, and asked him to present imperial insignia at all the famous marchmounts."³² Here Yeh is employed by the ruler as a spiritual intercessor, who links capital and throne to the holy mountains that had traditionally marked the pales of her domain. Thus, in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chibiography of Yeh, we see a man who, in humble obedience to established political authority, unifies the cosmos. He becomes the weaver of a vast web that spans every corner of the world and unites all its inhabitants-- "civilian and military, Han and foreign, male and female, children and youth" tying

them together
and linking them to heaven through the sacred pivot of the imperial throne. And the motivation for him to weave that web originates with no earthly individual neither Yeh himself nor even the reigning dynast. Rather, Yeh's web is woven in response to

the will of Heaven, as the following passage makes clear:

In the fourth year of ching-lung--a hsin-haiyear--on the ninth day of the third month [1 April 711?],³³the three divinities [that he had encountered at] Kua-ts'ang again descended, and transmitted a mandate from the Most High:

'You must assist our Jui-tsung and the Sage-Emperor of k'ai-yuan[i.e. Hsüan-tsung]. You may not neglect your charge by concealing your traces among the mountain peaks.'

Having concluded their speech, they departed. At the time, the two emperors [mentioned in the proclamation] had not yet ascended the throne, and yet [the divinities] knew in advance the temple name [of Jui-tsung] and the reign-title [of Hsüan-tsung].

In the eighth month of the same year, there was in fact a summons for [Yeh] to enter the capital. After he arrived, [the revolt of] Empress Wei was pacified, and the successor, Jui-tsung, was enthroned.³⁴When Hsüan-tsung inherited the imperial dignity and ascended the throne, the Master [i.e., Yeh] was in the Superior Capital, aiding and supporting the Sage Ruler. When Hsüan-tsung succeeded to the throne, all the fortunes and circumstances [of the day] had to be reported in a memorial. [Once,] T'u-fan [i.e., Tibet] sent an emissary to present a precious box, with a note saying, "Would your majesty please open [the box] personally, without letting others know the secret?" Everyone in the audience remained silent. Only Fa-shan said, "This is an inauspicious box. I beseech your majesty not to open it. It is fitting to have the [T'u-]fan ambassador open it himself." Hsüan-tsung followed

this [advice], and had the [T'u-] fan ambassador open it himself. Within the box was a crossbow, which went off and struck the [T'u-]fan ambassador dead. [It was] just as Fa-shan had said.

All at once, [Yeh] received [the titles of] Yin-ch'ing kuang-lu tai-fu, President of the Court of Diplomatic Relations, Duke of Yüeh, and abbot

of the Ching-lung abbey. His grandfather, [Kuo-]chung--[who had been] versed in numerology, brilliant in invocation [of spirits], and accomplished among the rivers and lakes-- was granted the title of 'The Elder Who Possesses the Tao' (Yu-tao hsien-sheng); he has his own biography. [Fa-shan's] father, Hui-ming, was enfeoffed as Prefect of Hsi-chou. The Master requested that his old home in Sung-yang be made into a [Taoist] abbey, which was granted the name of [Abbey of] Pure Harmony. The emperor ordered the preparation of a stele inscribed with a text, in order to glorify [Yeh's] native village.

These events certainly pertain to the genre of historical biography, and are in

fact summarized in the Chiu T'ang shu. Similarly, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi's necrology for Yeh is quite in line with official biographies, though rather more colorful than most:

The following year, on the twenty-seventh day of the first month [10 March 720], there were suddenly several hundred cloudy cranes. They came north in rows, and alighted at the old mountain. They flew about for three days. [Moreover,] auspicious clouds in five colors covered his residence.

Here, on the eve of Yeh's imminent translation, we encounter unusual

phenomena, as, indeed, are commonly encountered in many T'ang accounts of the passing of extraordinary Taoists.³⁵ But within the context of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, these phenomena should not be casually dismissed as clichéd topoi of Taoist hagiography. The world bodied forth in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi is a

comprehensive cosmos, in which no phenomena are insignificant, and no phenomena are unrelated. The appearance of the cloudy cranes here can be read as a token of the extension of Yeh's web of wondrous benevolence into the ranks of all living things.

Like many T'ang Taoist texts, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi does not restrict

its perspective to the human sphere: after all, it devotes seventy-seven chapters to stories of remarkable flora and fauna.³⁶ Similarly, the present passage reveals Yeh's comprehensive synthesis as having permeated all of life, so his passing was naturally marked by wondrous signs from the theriomorphic domain, as represented by that most apt of sacred beings, the crane.³⁷

Nor must we overlook the significance of the iridescent clouds that accompanied the cranes' arrival. As Yeh's translation progressed, such signs

persisted and multiplied:

In this year--keng-shen--on the chia-shenday--the third day of the sixth month [12 July 720]--[Yeh] announced his transformation at the Ching-lung abbey in the Superior Capital. His disciples Chi Ch'i wu and Yin Yin observed the descent of a Perfected Immortal, but kept it secret and said nothing.³⁸ On the twenty-first day [30 July], [the emperor] decreed that [Yeh] be granted [the rank of] Chin-tzu kuang-lu tai-fu, and [the post of, Governor General of Yüeh-chou. His age was 107 sui. [At that time,] the hall in which [Yeh] dwelt [was filled with] the intense aroma of an unusual fragrance, and the teaming strains of the music of immortals. [Then,] there was a blue mist arising directly to the heavens, [until] at last the sun was almost blocked out.

The Master had requested [that his body] be returned to his native village for burial. It was ordered that his nephew [Yeh] Chung-jung, the Superior Administrator for Jun-chou, be ordained as a Taoist priest.³⁹ With the supervision and assistance of the Commissioner of the Palace Interior, [Yeh] was buried at Sung-yang. It was decreed that [the authorities of] Ch'ü-chou, Wu-chou, and Kua-chou should aid in the burial, providing the necessities. On the day of the departure for the place of interment, the officials, by imperial order, wore garments of plain white silk and sacrificed to the spirit of the road, sending [Yeh] beyond the gates of the nation.⁴⁰

At first blush, this passage might seem to confound biography with

hagiography: precise dating, everyday realities, and official acts are interlarded with events of a highly extraordinary nature. Here, Yeh's transformation is an event that we do not merely read of; we are led to experience it, with the fullness and immediacy of direct sensory experience: remarkable sounds, sights, and fragrances render Yeh's translation an event that involves the reader's life in its multi-sensory amplitude. Furthermore, that experience is linked here to one's respect for imperial authority, one's implicit connectedness to all persons and all other living things, one's due awareness of administrative realities, one's familial connections, one's ties with religious institutions, and even one's subtle relationships with celestial beings. In sum, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi's life of Yeh Fa-shan is almost perfectly well-rounded. After the obligatory opening formula, it touches upon Yeh's ancestry, birth, childhood, adolescence, and maturity; his appearance, lifestyle, and temperament; his relations with a series of dynasts; his performance of wonders at court, in the city, and in the provinces; and finally, his death and burial. It is difficult to think of an aspect of a person's life that is not touched upon here in some manner. It is also interesting to note that the editors did not blush to exploit both sober administrative documents and free-wheeling hagiographical accounts. Nor, in fact, did they even feel it necessary to modify the style of either type of material in an artificial effort to harmonize them. Nonetheless, the reader has no real occasion to stumble: while the

content of the account veers unexpectedly at times, the style remains oddly consistent, so the resulting presentation comes across as multifaceted, not incoherent. The magnitude of that achievement seems all the greater when one considers that the editors seem to have been concerned to incorporate virtually everything ever theretofore written about the life and exploits of Yeh Fa-shan.

Sung T'ai-tsung: The Man and His Vision

The reign of Sung T'ai-tsu was monopolized by the wars of unification, which were only in fact completed in 979, during the reign of his successor. It is true that T'ai-tsung, for his part, "continued the policies of his brother, seeking above all to unify the country."⁴¹ But the unification that T'ai-tsung sought was far more than the military and political control that had preoccupied his predecessor. T'ai-tsung's early training had emphasized literature, and his duties during T'ai-tsu's reign had been to guard the palace and govern the capital while his brother was leading the fight in the field. Hence, T'ai-tsung's primary concern was the preservation and expansion of order and stability. Even before Wu-yüeh and the Northern Han had been "pacified," T'ai-tsung had turned his mind toward the ideals and principles that informed his concept of his role as the ruler of a newly unified land. His aim, like his brother's, may have been the restoration of a state characterized by unity and order. But to T'ai-tsung, trained as he was in classical ideals, the unity and order of a nation

at peace seem to have been interpreted as resulting primarily from the presence of a sagely ruler, a ruler who unified Heaven and Earth. Such ideals were, of course, ultimately classical, but they had been constantly revitalized and reemphasized, especially during the glory days of Han and T'ang times. Rulers of those ages, and their image-makers, continually worked to present the current regime assagely-- as conforming to, and promoting, the grand and noble patterns that were inherent in Heaven and Earth, and that had been embodied by sagely rulers of earlier days. As Peter K. Bol has recently argued, Heaven and antiquity or 'heaven and man,' the natural realm in which heaven-and earth brought things into being and the historical realm in which humans created institutions, came to stand for the idea of a civilization that combined the two, a civilization based on both the models of the ancients and the manifest patterns of the natural order.⁴² There is evidence to suggest that Sung T'ai-tsung was anxious to embrace and re-express that vision, reconstituting civilization as he reconstituted the state. It is certainly true, as Bol observes, that when T'ai-tsung initiated such anthologies as the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan and the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, he "was investing in the symbolic value of the compilation projects."⁴³ It is also true that "[the] great court compilation projects . . . showed that the Sung had inherited the responsibility for the cultural tradition and had succeeded to the Han and T'ang...."⁴⁴ But I would argue that the projects reflected a much more specific concept on the part of Sung T'ai-tsung, a specific vision of what his reign represented. That is, the creation of such

works

reflected an attempt to re-create in the emerging dynasty the utopian condition

known classically as t'ai-p'ing, "Grand Tranquillity." This term denoted the ideal

state of the world that had existed in high antiquity and that could again be brought

about by a sage ruler.... [It] was not limited to human society but denoted a cosmic

harmony.... It was a state in which all the concentric spheres of the organic Chinese

universe, which contained nature as well as society, were perfectly attuned,

communicated with each other in a balanced rhythm of timeliness, and brought

maximum fulfillment to each living being.⁴⁵

T'ai-tsung's first nien-hao, t'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo, clearly demonstrates that he

saw his restoration of the nation in terms of that utopian vision. And it is indicative

that one of his first acts as emperor even before he completed the political

reunification--was to order the compilation of great anthologies "to spread civilization

throughout the empire," two of which he graced with his great utopian nien-hao.⁴⁶

Within the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, we are able to see the contours of T'ai-tsung's

vision of his reign, his concept of what the world is like when it is well and truly in

order. As Bol notes, "the Sung projects aimed at being comprehensive, providing all

the cultural tradition had to offer on everything important to know about heaven-and-

earth and, especially, human affairs."⁴⁷ But if we may judge from the title, format,

and contents of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, T'ai-tsung envisioned his new empire as a

restoration of universal harmony, a harmony in which all elements of life and all dimensions of being are meaningfully and inextricably interrelated. Perhaps T'ai-tsung fancied himself as playing the role of the T'ang dynasts in the days of Yeh Fa-shan sagely men and women who reigned over a holistically balanced universe. And if the materials in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chitruly do reflect the breadth and depth of T'ai-tsung's own vision, he would seem to have been one of the great visionaries of Chinese imperial history.

When, for instance, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chipresents the life of someone like Yeh Fa-shan, it endeavors to do much more than report the events that occurred in one individual's life. Rather, it works to remind the reader of the interconnectedness of all the facets of reality. It reminds us above all of the principle that the ultimate context of our lives transcends all mundane concerns, and all of our ordinary concepts of human limitation. After all, the opening sections of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chilimn the lives of the immortals men and women whose lives, like Yeh's, transcend the boundaries that we usually take for granted. In comparison to the lives of those transcendent beings, people who take such "boundaries" for granted actually live in an artificially circumscribed world, like Chuang-tzu's proverbial frog in the well. Like Chuang-tzu, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chisuggests that such shortsighted people essentially misconstrue the basic nature of reality: they impoverish themselves and others by persisting in narrow and restrictive understandings of reality,

which actually falsify the true reality of the world by ignoring and even obscuring the interrelatedness of things. In a sense, then, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chican be interpreted as an attempt to rectify the historiographic and cultural imbalance that had begun during the Han dynasty. In Han times, men of accomplishment began to be differentiated: those who specialized in scholarship and administration (the ju) came to be distinguished from and even in some ways opposed to--those who specialized in seeing and working with the subtler realities of life (the fang-shih, to whom the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chidevotes chüan76-80). But through its contents, style, and organization, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chisuggests that such an artificial dichotomy actually subverted and nearly destroyed a healthy and proper awareness of the underlying unity of life. It is true that, from Han times on, some officials continued to submit evidence of wondrous events, and argued for their sociopolitical importance, entreating rulers to heed the necessity for reconciling government and society with the deeper forces at work in the universe. Indeed, the Taoist religion evolved from just such an effort.⁴⁸ I propose that it is by no coincidence that the title of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chicorresponds to the generic name employed for the materials collected in that effort, the T'ai-p'ing ching.⁴⁹ The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chican be interpreted not merely as a counterpart to the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, but actually as an attempt by Sung T'ai-tsung to revivify the holistic

vision embodied in the ancient T'ai-p'ing ching, and to reunite it with the ju-ified historiographic tradition by shattering the restricted visions which had long since governed the latter. In a sense, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi (and indeed, the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan) can be seen as the emperor's attempt to return to what he perceived as the cultural unity of the early Han: in that age, the historians were "Taoistic" men like Ssu-ma T'an, and the juwere men like Tung Chung-shu, who, while serving as chief minister and establishing an imperial academy with a Confucian curriculum, also

worked to comprehend the subtle interworkings of heaven, earth, and man by

analyzing the subtle interplay of yin, yang, and the five forces.

In another sense, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi is a quintessentially Taoist work.

Like Chuang-tzu, and, indeed, most of the Taoist tradition, the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi

endeavors to expand our perceptions of reality, to subvert false and harmful

"common sense," to open our eyes to wonders and marvels. It makes that effort not

for the sake of titillation or amusement, but, like Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu alike, in

order to help readers regain the rich and unified sense of life that we all experience as

children, before we "learn" that human life is relentlessly colorless, disjointed, and

restrictive.

The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi is thus not merely a collection of fiction or the work of

eccentric personalities who were fixated upon the bizarre. Nor, in fact, were its

contents considered "trivial" or "conducive to unprincipled attitudes."

Rather, the compilers of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi were driven by the holistic vision of Sung T'ai-tsung, a ruler who sought to rekindle an ancient appreciation for the richness of the world of which we are a part, and to be seen as the Sage Ruler in whom that wondrous cosmos finds its central leadership.

NOTES

1 J. R. Hightower, *Topics in Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), 75.

2 One might note that in Europe, as well as in China, terms employed for "history" in the strict sense (*historia*, *histoire*, *Geschichte*) were traditionally used for what we would now tend to consider stories with little claim to "historicity."

3 Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 125.

4 Edward H. Schafer, "T'ai-p'ing kung-chi," in *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Yves

Hervouet (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), 341-42.

5 William H. Nienhauser, Jr., "T'ai-p'ing kung-chi," in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 744-45.

6 John Winthrop Haeger, "The Significance of Confusion: The Origins of the T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968): 401-410, at 401.

7 Wm. T. DeBary, *East Asian Civilization: A Dialogue in Five Stages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 46.

8 Edward H. Schafer, "The Table of Contents of the T'ai-p'ing kung-chi," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 2 (1980): 258-63.

9Schafer, "Table of Contents," 258.

10"Tales of Thaumaturgy: T'ang Accounts of the Wonder-Worker Yeh Fashan,"

Monumenta Serica40 (1992): 47-86.

11An editor's note informs us that the materials in the T'ai-p'ing kung-chi's life

of Yeh Fa-shan were extracted from the Chi-i chiand the Hsien-chuan shih-i.The

Chi-i chiwas a T'ang text by Hsüeh Yung-jo. See E. D. Edwards, Chinese Prose

Literature of the T'ang Period (London:Probsthain, 1937-38), 2:229-37.

Though that

work is preserved in the T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu, materials on Yeh are not present in the

existing text.

12The biography of Yeh appears in the T'ai-p'ing kung-chi(Peking: Jen-min

wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1959), 216.170-74.

13See Kirkland, "Tales of Thaumaturgy," 69-71.

14See Russell Kirkland, "The Roots of Altmism in the Taoist Tradition," Journal

of the American Academy of Religion54 (1986): 59-77; and "Huang Ling-wei: A Taoist

Priestess in T'ang China," Journal of Chinese Religions19 (1991): 47-73.

15Ssu-ma Ch'ien reports that the progenitor of the Shang dynasty was conceived when his mother swallowed the falling egg of a black bird. See

Shih chi

(Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 5.173. Many centuries later, in 1635, a

representative of the Hurka (a Tungusic people of Manchuria) reported a very similar

ancestral tradition to the Ch'ing court; see Matsumura Jun, "The Ancestral Legend of

the Manchu Imperial House," in The Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian

Altaistic

Conference (Tainan: National Ch'eng-kung University, Dept. of History, 1973), 192-

95.

16For the Blue Lad and his domain, see Edward H. Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea*

of Time: The Taoist Poetry of Ts'ao T'ang (Berkeley: University of California Press,

1985), 108-21; and Paul W. Kroll, "In the Halls of the Azure Lad," *Journal of the*

American Oriental Society 105 (1985): 75-94.

17See, for instance, Denis Twitchett, "Chinese Biographical Writing," in *Historians of China and Japan*, eds. W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (London:

Oxford University Press, 1961), 95-114; Herbert Franke, "Some Remarks on the

Interpretation of Chinese Dynastic Histories," *Oriens* 3 (1950): 113-22; and P.

Ryckmans, "A New Interpretation of the Term Lieh-chuanas used in the *Shih-chi*,"

Papers on Far Eastern History 5 (1972): 135-47.

18The term "immortal minister" was a title employed by Ling-pao writers in

their depiction of the celestial hierarchy. See, for instance, the text translated in

Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures," in *Tantric and Taoist*

Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut des

Hautes Études Chinoises, 1983), 2:439. I suspect that both this term and that

of "immortal prince" were invented by the Ling-pao founder Ko Ch'ao-fu in order to

make the byname of his ancestor Ko Hsüan (i.e., Ko hsien-kung) appear to have been

a glorious rank bestowed upon him by the Most High.

19See Kirkland, "Tales of Thaumaturgy," 60-62.

20For the concept of "banished immortals," see Kirkland, "Huang Ling wei," 68,

and Miyakawa Hisayuki, "Takusen ko," Toho shu kyo33-34 (1969): 1-15.

21For analyses of the biography of Yeh in Chang's work (HY 778), see Judith M.

Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley:

University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1987), 96-97; and Kirkland,

"Taoists of the High T'ang: An Inquiry into the Perceived Significance of Eminent

Taoists in Medieval Chinese Society" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1986), 135-39,

389-402. Chang's biography of Yeh is translated in Kirkland, "Taoists of the High

T'ang," 417-30.

22See Alfredo Cadonna, *Il Taoista di sua Maesta* (Venezia: Cafoscarina, 1984).

23These matters are the subject of my study, *Taoist and Dynast: Political Dimensions of Taoism in T'ang China* (in progress).

24See Kirkland, "From Imperial Tutor to Taoist Priest: Ho Chih-chang at the

T'ang Court," *Journal of Asian History* 23 (1989): 101-33; and the discussion of Wu in

Taoist and Dynast.

25"During the hsien-ching period [656-661], Kao-tsung summoned [Yeh] into the

Taoist precincts within the palace (nei tao-ch'ang). [The emperor's] solicitude and

deference were extraordinary."

26For more on this passage and the events described, see Kirkland, "Tales of Thawnaturgy," 70–72.

27I have located no information as to the identity of Chang Wei.

28For the career of Yao Ch'ung (651–721), see Denis C. Twitchett, ed., Cambridge History of China, III, Sui and T'ang China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 337–39, 345–48.

29This anecdote apparently alludes to the unruly draconic character in the famous ch'uan-ch'itale, "The Dragon-King's Daughter," by Li Ch'ao-wei (fl. 759); see Edwards, Chinese Prose Literature, 2:86–94.

30See "Tales of Thaumaturgy," 73–74.

31Medieval Taoist writings abound with references to "crypt-heavens" (tung-

t'ien) located beneath virtually all the sacred mountains. Schafer describes them as "microcosms, accessible normally only through the tortuous and terrifying extensions

of limestone grottoes . . ."; Edward H. Schafer, Mao Shan in T'ang Times, 2nd ed.

(Boulder, Colorado: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1989), 3. See further

Édouard Chavannes, "Le Jet des Dragons," Mémoires concernant l'Asia Orientale (Paris: L'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1919), 3:53–220.

32These ritual activities, common in T'ang times, are the subjects of Chavannes, "Le Jet des Dragons."

33The reign-title ching-lung was retained for the first six months of 710/11, but that was a keng-hsü year. Hsin-hai occurred the following year, which was officially the second year of the ching-yün reign.

34From 705-710, Empress Wei (Chung-tsung's wife) had dominated the court.

35See, for instance, the accounts of the transformation of Huang Ling-wei, in

Kirkland, "Huang Ling-wei," and those pertaining to Li Han-kuang in Kirkland, "The Last Taoist Grand Master at the T'ang Imperial Court: Li Han-kuang and T'ang Hsüan-tsung," *T'ang Studies* 4 (1986): 43-67.

36On T'ang expressions of Taoist solicitude toward non-human life, see Kirkland, "The Roots of Altruism," 72-74.

37On the crane, and its symbolic associations in Chinese culture, see the illuminating study by Edward Schafer, "The Cranes of Mao-shan," in Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, 2:372-93.

38I have located no further information pertaining to Chi Ch'i-wu. Yin Yin, son of a noted academician, became Imperial Remonstrant-Counselor and Chi-hsien

academician in 737. See Hsin T'ang shu (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975),

200.5703. See further Charles David Benn, *Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of*

Emperor Hsüan-tsung (712-755) (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), 116-18.

39This person is otherwise unknown.

40From this point, the text of the T'ai-p'ing kung-chi biography reverts to

episodes reproduced from Tu Kuang-t'ing's Hsien-chuan shih-i.

41 Sung Ch'ang-lien and Miyazaki Ichisada, "T'ai-tsung," in *Sung Biographies*, ed. Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), 2:992.

42 Peter K. Bol, "This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in Fang and Sung China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 1-2.

43 Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 153.

44 Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 152.

45 Anna Seidel, "T'ai-p'ing," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 14:250. For a further discussion of these ideas, see Timoteus

Pokora, "On the Origin of the Notions T'ai-p'ing and Ta-t'ung in Chinese Philosophy," *Archiv Orientalni* 29 (1961): 448-54.

46 The quotation is from the *Sung hui-yao*, ch'ung-ju, 5.1, cited by Haeger, "The Significance of Confusion," 401.

47 Bol, "This Culture of Ours," 152-53.

48 See, for instance, Kirkland, "The Roots of Altruism," 60-64.

49 On the T'ai-p'ing ching, see Barbara Kandel, *Taiping jing* (Hamburg:

Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1979); and Max Kaltenmark,

"The Ideology of the T'ai-p'ing ching," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press,

1979). The best edition of the T'ai-p'ing ching is Wang Ming, *T'ai-p'ing*

ching ho-
chiao(Peking:Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979).