

The English Translation of the Epitaph of the Wu Kingdom Transcendent Duke Ge of the  
Left Palace of the Grand Bourne by Tao Hongjing

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a translation and analysis of the “Epitaph of the Wu Kingdom Transcendent Duke Ge of the Left Palace of the Grand Bourne” (*Epitaph* below). The author was Tao Hongjing (456 CE-536 CE). The subject of this *Epitaph* inscribed on a stele was Ge Xuan (trad. 164 CE-244 CE). Ge Xuan had two titles attributed to him by later Daoists. According to the *Lingbao* scriptures, Ge was appointed by the Perfected of Grand Bourne, a heavenly title. Later, in the *Shangqing* scriptures, Ge Xuan was said to be an earthly transcendent without any heavenly appointment. This debate occurred before Tao Hongjing began to write. This stele epitaph is essential, as it records sayings from both *Lingbao* and *Shangqing* scriptures. By reading this translated epitaph, scholars can know more about different versions of Ge Xuan's legend, as well as how Ge Xuan's legend was constantly rewritten by later Daoists.

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## PREFACE

### Conventions:

Canonical Daoist primary sources are cited from the *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 (*Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Era*) recension of the *Daoist Canon* (*Daoze* 道藏), dated to 1444–1445, under the Zhengtong 正統 reign era (1435–1449), in 1120 fascicles. Shanghai: Hanfen lou 函芬樓 reprint, 1924–1926. The abbreviation CT precedes the number assigned to sources in accordance with Schipper 1975.

Terms *Shangqing* (Upper Clarity) 上清 and *Lingbao* (Numinous Treasure) 靈寶 are occasionally left untranslated in *pinyin* romanization for the brevity. In the following context, “*Shangqing*” and “*Lingbao*” always clearly denote two different groups of textual revelations, each of which is named after “*Shangqing*” or “*Lingbao*”. In this thesis, *Lingbao* or *Shangqing* does not necessarily denote any community of practitioners. For example, cotemporary scholarship often uses the transliterated term “*Shangqing*” to differentiate “*Shangqing*” texts from “*Shangqing*” churches.<sup>1</sup> However, this rule of current scholarship is not applicable in this thesis due to the absence of the discussion of the *Shangqing* communities or the *Lingbao* churches. To sum up, terminological literal translations (e.g. Upper Clarity) and the *pinyin* form of terms (e.g. *Shangqing*) refer to the same thing. Moreover, the thesis, by saying “*Shangqing*” and “*Lingbao*”, discusses textual revelations only, excluding liturgical texts.

<sup>1</sup> See Steavu 2019: xiii.

Canonical Buddhist primary sources are cited from the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (*Newly Compiled Tripiṭaka of the Taishō Era*) recension of the Buddhist Canon, in 100 vols. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, et al., Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924 – 1932.

One of the most common resources used in this translation is the *Siku Quanshu* (Wenyuan Ge version) 四庫全書 (文淵閣). In order to store the copies of *Siku Quanshu*, Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1711-1799 CE) had ordered four libraries built (1783). One of them was Wenyuan Ge (文淵閣) in the Forbidden City. A facsimile edition was published by Taipei 臺北: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan 臺灣商務印書館, 1986.

Manuscript primary sources are cited from Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts. Manuscript numbers are preceded by abbreviations designating the collection location. For example, “P.” refers to the Pelliot Collection in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### (1) Ge Xuan's multiple hagiographies

One of the main sources for studying the history of Chinese religion is hagiography. Early medieval Chinese hagiography writers, as Robert Campany has pointed out, “collected and transmitted narrative material that was already circulating among contemporaries, widely in some cases, narrowly in others, or else material that had been handed down in earlier texts.”<sup>2</sup> He further cautions us against thinking that each record in hagiographies “must actually have been as reported.”<sup>3</sup> And, finally, he states that what is useful about all these old narratives is that they attest to what some groups of people (writers) in early medieval China “believed to be the case” about one adept (the recorded character in hagiography).<sup>4</sup>

The basic kind of the hagiography in the Chinese context usually includes biographies of Monks 僧傳 and biographies of Transcendents 仙傳.<sup>5</sup> The first one, Biographies of Monks, is the production of a Buddhist to record famous monks' deeds. Similarly, Biographies of Transcendents aims to introduce famous adepts and practitioners. Not all of the practitioners in hagiographies are recognized as Daoists or Daoist monks. Sometimes, their titles are just left as divine transcendents 神仙 *shenxian*

<sup>2</sup> See Campany 2009: 11.

<sup>3</sup> See Campany 2009: 13.

<sup>4</sup> See Campany 2009: 14.

<sup>5</sup> These terms in this sentence, entitled “biographies”, are referring to genres rather than particular books.

or transcendents 仙 *xian*. Campany explains that “by 300 CE, at least, *xian* had become a term marking accomplishment”,<sup>6</sup> such as “movement upward in space or, metaphorically, in station”.<sup>7</sup> Ge Xuan 葛玄 (trad. 164-244 CE), the main character of the translated epitaph in the title, was under the *xian* category. One of Ge Xuan’s grand-nephews, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343 CE),<sup>8</sup> recorded Ge Xuan’s stories in two different books.<sup>9</sup> Ge Hong’s *Traditions of Divine Transcendents* is a masterpiece in the field of biographies of Transcendents.<sup>10</sup> In the *Traditions*, Ge Xuan is said to ascend into the heavenly station.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, Ge Xuan’s behavior corresponds to the definition of *xian* at the turn of the fourth century.

It is important to note that the *Traditions* is not entirely consonant with Daoism as a revelatory religion, even if some figures in the *Traditions* also appeared in later Daoist revelations.

<sup>6</sup> See Campany 2009: 33.

<sup>7</sup> See Campany 2009: 34.

<sup>8</sup> For their relationships, see the line “The Transcendent Duke was my paternal grand-uncle 余从祖仙公” in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>9</sup> These two books were the *Master who Embraces the Simplicity* 抱朴子 (*Baopuzi, the Master* below for the brevity), and the *Traditions of Divine Transcendents* 神仙傳 (*Shenxian Zhuan, the Traditions* below for the brevity). For Ge Xuan in *the Master*, read Bokenkamp 1983: 438; for Ge Xuan in *the Traditions*, read Campany 2002: 152 ff.

<sup>10</sup> This translation of the “*Traditions of Divine Transcendents*” derives from Campany 2002. In this thesis, I will keep Campany’s translation of the book title, but I will occasionally use “biographies” to refer to particular contents from the *Traditions*. A large part of the contents in the *Traditions* is given in the form of biographies, since the narrative is completely based on characters. The person-based feature in the *Traditions* is so apparent that I would like to keep the term “biographies” in this thesis. Of course, Campany is correct to use “traditions” rather than “biographies” to translate more closely the literal meaning of Chinese “傳”. See Campany 2009: 11, n. 33. Incidentally, the term “Biographies of Transcendents” (not *Italic*) in this sentence is referring to the genre rather than a particular book.

<sup>11</sup> See the line “without any return after his long departure 長往（往）不返” in the translation [002-007b].

After the composition of the *Traditions*, a type of Daoist revelations was announced in the corpus of Upper Clarity 上清 *Shangqing* (364 CE) scriptures. Hereafter, the status of *xian* in the cosmos was relativized in the scriptures of Upper Clarity as well as those of the slightly later Numinous Treasure 靈寶 *Lingbao*.<sup>12</sup>

Three different versions of Ge Xuan's legend can be found in the Tao Hongjing's *Epitaph*. These versions are from the *Shangqing* corpus, the *Lingbao* corpus, and the *Traditions* by Ge Hong. The author of the *Epitaph*, Tao Hongjing, as readers will see, was thoroughly familiar with *Shangqing* writing. In *Shangqing* writing, many hagiographies are written for the "reputed founders of the *Shangqing* lineage," such as Wang Bao 王褒 and his disciple Wei Huacun 魏華存 (251 - 335).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it is clear that Tao Hongjing's background knowledge about these hagiographies formed his writing style in the *Epitaph*.

The main character in the *Epitaph*, Ge Xuan, styled Xiaoxian 孝先, was the focus of questions concerning his otherworldly status. Anyone with knowledge of both Upper Clarity scripture and Numinous Treasure scripture would have had questions concerning his status. That is because these two scriptural systems portrayed him differently.

Yang Xi 楊羲 (330-386 CE), the spiritual medium who spread the *Shangqing* revelations, as well as his patron Xu Mi 許謐 (305-376 CE), discussed Ge Xuan's status

<sup>12</sup> See Company 2009: 34-5.

<sup>13</sup> See Pettit and Chang 張 N.d..



via letters.<sup>14</sup> In the opinion of the deities who reported to Yang Xi, Ge Xuan was neither a transcendent nor a deity, even if he had gotten physical immortality.<sup>15</sup>

Of course, the *Shangqing* allegation above was refuted by Numinous Treasure scriptures, in which Ge Xuan's heavenly position was directly guaranteed by "the Perfected of the Grand Bourne 太極真人."<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, according to the Numinous Treasure scriptures, Ge Xuan was also said to be the first recipient, among human beings, to receive the heavenly *Lingbao* revelations.<sup>17</sup> Only after that, could the *Lingbao* revelations in the *Lingbao* scriptures be spread to later human recipients. In order to strengthen the credibility of the revelations, the *Lingbao* scriptures needed to repeatedly emphasize the guaranteed heavenly position of Ge Xuan, the recipient. Hence, it is easily understood how Ge Xuan might become the center of the debate between Numinous Treasure and Upper Clarity proponents.

According to Daoist records, a descendent relative of Ge Hong, as well as of Ge Xuan, called Ge Chaofu (fl.402) 葛巢甫, intended to "assert the spiritual priority of the

<sup>14</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 442, n. 29 & n. 31.

<sup>15</sup> See the line: "according to the *Declarations of the Perfected* and the *Old Chronicles of Ge's Family*, the deeds were, however, inconsistent (with those in the mundane sayings) 如真誥并葛氏舊譜，則事有未符" in the translation [002-007b].

It is also important to know that "physical immortality 不死" does not denote an eternally existing state in Medieval China. Most medieval Daoists believed in the final destruction of their world-age. After the apocalyptic destruction, according to a text written in 255 CE, only good individuals would be selected as seed people 種民 to multiply in the next world-age. See Chan 2012: 73. "Physical immortality 不死" really means bypassing death and can guarantee an eternally existing state in this world-age only.

<sup>16</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 442-3.

<sup>17</sup> For this saying in original texts in the *Lingbao* scriptures, see "*Self-Generated Scripture of Perfect Unity* 真一自然經 *Zhenyi ziran jing*" in P.2452. See also Bokenkamp 2007b: 440-1, as well as Kamitsuka 神塚 and Qin 欽 (trans.) 2007: 2.

Ge family in the Jurong Area (the southeast of modern Nanjing, Jiangsu Province).”<sup>18</sup> It is important to know that Ge Xuan 葛玄 was the paternal grand-uncle of Ge Hong 葛洪, and Ge Chaofu was the grandnephew of Ge Hong. Ge Chaofu, one of the likely authors of the Numinous Treasure scriptures, engagingly elevated Ge Xuan’s title to heaven.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the *Lingbao* texts and the *Shangqing* texts contradicted each other in terms of Ge Xuan’s title. At the turn of the fifth century CE, in which Ge Chaofu lived, “the emerging notion of Daoist scriptural identity and cohesion went hand in hand with claims of textual supremacy.”<sup>20</sup> Hence, Ge Chaofu, as well as other author(s) of Numinous Treasure scriptures, became the rival of Upper Clarity’s authors.<sup>21</sup> For example, Ge Chaofu aimed at asserting “the celestial ascendancy of his family with its own arcane tradition against the rival claims of his neighbors, when he was well aware of the extent to which Upper Clarity (*Shangqing*) texts served the interests of Yang Xi 楊羲 and the Xu 許 family, Yang’s patrons. Hereafter, Ge Chaofu was ready to let those same principles (of Upper Clarity) above operate in his own portrayal of celestial scenes.”<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 460.

<sup>19</sup> It is still unclear which *Lingbao* scriptures were actually written by Ge Chaofu. Even if some scriptures may have been composed by Ge Chaofu, they were likely edited later. As a result, it is impossible now to determine which might have been Ge Chaofu’s compositions. See Bokenkamp 2007b: 441.

For the purpose of this thesis, it is sufficient to say that Ge Chaofu, like the *Lingbao* scriptures, simply had a positive attitude toward Ge Xuan.

<sup>20</sup> See Steavu 2019: 128.

<sup>21</sup> On Ge Chaofu’s access to the Upper Clarity scriptures, see Bokenkamp 1983: 445-6.

<sup>22</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 443. Then, “this awareness of the self-aggrandizement of the *Shangqing* scriptures suffuses Ge Chaofu’s specific references to them.” See Bokenkamp 1983: 443.

The consequence was that Ge Chaofu's efforts made the debate between Upper Clarity and Numinous Treasure more heated.

Once readers know the big picture, the oppositional relationship between *Shangqing* and *Lingbao* revelations, and especially their different sayings about Ge Xuan's status, are also easy to decipher.

So, we encountered three main versions of Ge Xuan's legend: Ge Hong's records in the *Traditions*, the *Shangqing* scriptures (or Yang Xi's ideas), and the *Lingbao* scriptures (or Ge Chaofu's ideas). Nearly a century later, Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536 CE), in tribute to Ge Xuan, wrote an epitaph to rephrase Ge Xuan's famous deeds. To translate Tao's epitaph is the task of this thesis. The full name of the epitaph is “the Epitaph of Transcendent Duke Ge of the Wu Kingdom in the Left Palace of the Grand Bourne 吳太極左宮葛仙公之碑.” In the interest of brevity, this title is consistently given as the *Epitaph* below. Transcendent Duke Ge (or Duke Ge) always refers to Ge Xuan in this thesis.

## (2) Tao Hongjing and his *Shangqing* Preferences.

In the *Epitaph*, Tao Hongjing, an influential systematizer of Daoist traditions, was unable to ignore the significance of Ge Xuan's hagiography in the *Traditions*, Upper Clarity and Numinous Treasure texts.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, Tao's *Epitaph* is a continuity of the medieval debate about Ge Xuan's status.

<sup>23</sup> Tao Hongjing's words in the *Epitaph* correspond to those in the *Traditions*, see the line: “without any return after his long departure 長往（往）不返” in the translation [002-007b].

Tao Hongjing's words in *Epitaph* correspond to Upper Clarity's (*Shangqing's*) *Declarations of the Perfected*. See the line “according to the *Declarations of the Perfected* and *the Old Chronicles of Ge's Family*, the deeds were, however, inconsistent (with those in the mundane sayings) 如真誥并葛氏舊譜，則事有未符” in the translation [002-007b].

The main purpose of Tao Hongjing in the *Epitaph* was to frankly praise Ge Xuan's supernatural power. As for Ge Xuan's heavenly rank, interestingly, Tao did not express his thoughts straightforwardly.

First, we need to briefly introduce Tao Hongjing's background. The date of the *Epitaph* is assumed to be 522 CE.<sup>24</sup> In 492 CE, Tao was dedicated himself to recovering the scriptures, biographies, and revealed fragments of Upper Clarity.<sup>25</sup> Tao's earnest efforts toward preserving Upper Clarity scriptures can be found in his own book: *Declarations of the Perfected* (*Zhengao* 真誥).<sup>26</sup> *Declarations of the Perfected* recorded revelations from Yang Xi (the representative of Upper Clarity). After each line of revelation, Tao added his own annotations. As Pettit and Chang describe the situation:

According to Tao Hongjing, an influential exegete who collected Upper Clarity manuscripts at the close of the fifth century, the most common forms of texts circulated among readers were declarations (*gao* 誥). Declarations were short messages procured by a medium from Perfected beings on behalf of a sponsor. These short revelations offered divine insights to particular problems and provided admonishments to an adept on a wide range of life problems.<sup>27</sup>

Tao Hongjing's words in the *Epitaph* correspond to the scriptures called *Numinous Treasure* (*Lingbao*). See the line "the mundane classics and biographies said that 俗中經傳所談" in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>24</sup> See Campany 2002: 405.

<sup>25</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 448.

<sup>26</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 434, n. 2.

<sup>27</sup> See Pettit and Chang 張 N.d..

Undoubtedly, in Tao's *Declarations of Perfected*, he could not get rid of the issue of Ge Xuan's status, since Ge Xuan's title had been recorded in autograph textual fragments by Yang Xi and Xu Mi. The introduction of this thesis has already revealed Yang Xi's dismissive attitude towards Ge Xuan. Following Yang's words, Tao's commentary was as follows: "it is clear that [Ge Xuan] is merely an earthbound transcendent. Seen in this light, the *Lingbao* (Numinous Treasure) claims that he is the Left Transcendent Duke of the Grand Bourne is preposterous."<sup>28</sup>

After compiling the *Declarations of the Perfected* (ca. 499 CE),<sup>29</sup> Tao received a commission from Pan Hong<sup>30</sup> to write the epitaph (i.e., the *Epitaph*) and to inscribe it on the stele.<sup>31</sup> The *Epitaph* was inscribed in the Tiantai 天台 Mountains (ca.522 CE) in the

<sup>28</sup> See Campany 2002: 405.

<sup>29</sup> See Bumbacher 2000: 82.

<sup>30</sup> Pan Hong was also known as Pan Yuanwen 潘淵文 and Pan Siming 潘四明. See Bumbacher 2000: 340, n. 1143.

Pan Hong, according to the *Epitaph*, had the style name Wensheng 文盛. Pan Wensheng is referred to as "Pan Hong 潘洪" in the translation [002-006a]. Astonishingly, according to the *Records of Mountain Mao* 《茅山誌》, Pan Wensheng and Pan Yuanwen are two independent people. For original Chinese records, see 《茅山誌·卷二十·梁碑·上清真人許長史舊館壇碑陰記》 CT 304 (ZTDZ version [020-012a]), as well as "Pan Hong 潘洪" in this translation [002-006a] of the *Epitaph*. For the English translation of this part in 茅山誌, see Bumbacher 2000: 473. Bumbacher (2000: 475) also admits that Pan Yuanwen and Pan Wensheng are not the same person.

To sum up, for Bumbacher, Pan Yuanwen 潘淵文 and Pan Siming 潘四明, excluding Pan Wensheng 潘文盛, are referring to Pan Hong 潘洪 in the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳. For this *Daoxue zhuan*, read "Pan Hong 潘洪" in this translation [002-006a] of the *Epitaph*.

Interestingly, according to Wang (2009: 189, n. 3 & n. 7), Pan Wensheng, but not Pan Yuanwen, is referring to Pan Hong in the *Epitaph*. Pan Siming is not mentioned here. For Wang (2009: 90, n. 8), Pan Yuanwen, is another disciple of Tao Hongjing. Wang's explanation is scientifically detailed.

Finally, this paper finds that Pan Hong in the *Daoxue zhuan* and Pan Hong in the *Epitaph* are all the same, if we see "Pan Hong 潘洪" in this translation [002-006a] of the *Epitaph*. Therefore, Pan Hong's byname can be Pan Siming or Pan Wensheng.

<sup>31</sup> See the line "to rely on this stone to engrave (characters) on it 寓斯石而鑄之" in the translation [002-006b].

memory of Ge Xuan, after Tao accepted Pan's request. By reading the *Epitaph*, readers will notice that Tao Hongjing's tone was mild in his discussion of *Lingbao* lore. As we will see, Tao Hongjing's *Epitaph* did not criticize *Lingbao* lore, even if Ge Xuan's heavenly appointment was inaccurate in Tao's view.

In Tao's opinion, the heterogeneous voices, at different times and under different social conditions, simply spring from attempts to meet the exigencies of the times when the author wrote.<sup>32</sup> Tao Hongjing concluded that if readers considered the statements about Ge Xuan as expedient methods to spread the Dao, then they would no longer discuss the differences or the consistency of Ge Xuan's deeds.<sup>33</sup> In the *Declarations of the Perfected*, Tao Hongjing directly pointed out the errors about Ge Xuan's deeds, which were made by fallacious Numinous Treasure scriptures. On the contrary, in the *Epitaph*, Tao said that he was not focusing on the accuracy of Ge Xuan's title too much.

Tao Hongjing's seemingly eclectic attitude, however, should not be emphasized too much. This thesis will reveal that Tao Hongjing was actually given to citing *Shangqing* knowledge to rephrase Ge Xuan's deeds in *Epitaph*.<sup>34</sup> Even if Tao Hongjing switched his

<sup>32</sup> See the line "(other authors) attempted to meet the exigencies of the times when the author wrote 適時立說" in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>33</sup> See the line "there was no longer a discussion on its consistency or inconsistency 無所復論其同異矣" in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>34</sup> To summarize, Tao Hongjing adopted three features of in *Shangqing* lore: 1) In the *Epitaph*, Pan Hong was a person who establish the temple for Ge Xuan and commissioned Tao Hongjing to write the epitaph (i.e. *Epitaph* in the translation). Pan Hong was recorded in *Declarations of Perfected*. See the line "Pan Hong 潘洪" in the translation [002-006a]. 2) In both *Declarations of Perfected* and *Epitaph*, Guo Shengzi 郭聲子 was listed as one of Ge Xuan's attendants. See the line "Guo Shengzi 郭聲子" in the translation [002-007b]. 3) Ge Xuan's ability to control terrestrial ghosts was mentioned in both the *Declarations of Perfected* and the *Epitaph*. See the line "to handle with deity and to control ghosts 接神役鬼" in the translation [002-007b]. By the way, Ge Xuan's ability to control ghosts was also mentioned in the received the *Traditions* (SKQS version [008-2a]): "He was especially adept at curing illnesses. Ghosts

audiences' attention from the incompatibility between Numinous Treasure and Upper Clarity to Ge Xuan's contribution, Tao clearly defined the *Lingbao* scriptures as profane.<sup>35</sup> After taking Tao Hongjing's intimacy with the *Shangqing* revelations into consideration, it is justified to say that Tao Hongjing, in the *Epitaph*, was still a devoted proponent of *Shangqing* after he finished his annotations in *Declarations of Perfected*.

### (3) The Transcendent Duke and an Earthly Transcendent: Tao Hongjing's Words in Praise of Ge Xuan

Even if Tao Hongjing's preference for the *Shangqing* scriptures is evident, his attitude towards Ge Xuan is still worth deliberation. It seems that Tao Hongjing adored Ge Xuan as a transcendent. Firstly, Tao Hongjing, in *Declarations of Perfected*, added a new piece of story<sup>36</sup> to make Ge Xuan's title (Transcendent Duke 仙公) convincing. That is to say, Tao Hongjing, in the annotation part, told a whole new story<sup>37</sup> that had never been mentioned by Yang Xi or Xu Mi.<sup>38</sup> This new story about the divine island is

and demons would all manifest their forms before him; some of these he would send off, others he would execute 尤長於治病收効鬼魅之術". However, this saying from the *Traditions* may not be originally written by Ge Hong. See Campany 2002: 152.

<sup>35</sup> See the line "The mundane classics and biographies said that 俗中經傳所談" in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>36</sup> The *Declarations of Perfected* and the *Epitaph* are consistent with each other on how Ge Xuan earned his title "Transcendent Duke". See the line "(Ge Xuan) was called Transcendent Duke 號為仙公" in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>37</sup> See the line "came across a divine island suddenly 忽值神島" in the translation [002-007a]

<sup>38</sup> The anecdote about the "divine island" can be found in the *Declarations of the Perfected* (CT 1016). The full text of Tao's annotations reads: "The *Traditions* said that a transcendent of the Eastern Sea sent Ge Xuan a letter, in which Ge Xuan was called Transcendent Duke. Therefore, Master *Baopu* also wrote the same thing to agree with the legend. 傳言東海中仙人,寄書呼為仙公.故抱朴亦同然之 (*SKQS* version [012-003b]). This piece of story can be found in Tao's annotations but not in Yang's words.

probably from the *Traditions*.<sup>39</sup> In Tao's annotations to the *Declarations of the Perfected*, Tao Hongjing seems to have cited the *Traditions* rather than totally relying on Yang Xi's *Shangqing* knowledge. Secondly, Tao Hongjing even corrected Yang Xi's words in order to keep Ge Xuan's title of Transcendent. It is interesting to see that, in the *Declarations of Perfected*, there is a nuanced difference between Yang Xi's words and Tao Hongjing's commentaries.<sup>40</sup> For Yang Xi, (Ge Xuan) had only just achieved immortality, but Ge was not a Transcendent 得不死而已,非僊(仙)人也 (See the *Declarations of the Perfected*, *Siku Quanshu* version [012-003a]). For Tao Hongjing, Ge Xuan was an earthly transcendent 地仙 *dixian* (See the *Declarations of the Perfected*, *Siku Quanshu* version [012-003a]). To sum up, in the *Epitaph*, Tao Hongjing adopted his own judgement about Ge Xuan's transcendent identity rather than Yang's knowledge from the *Declarations of the Perfected*. This thesis also finds some hints concerning Tao Hongjing's corrections. In the *Epitaph*, Tao Hongjing mentioned Ge Xuan's moving upwardly to become a transcendent 昇仙.<sup>41</sup> Tao's explanation about transcendent is astonishingly consistent with *xian*'s definition in the *Traditions*. To elaborate, to become a *xian* in the *Traditions*, an adept should be able to move upwardly into heaven after his (her) final stage (maybe, but not necessarily, through an apparent death) in this recorded life. This notion of

<sup>39</sup> Tao Hongjing clarified the source of the story, in the previous footnote, by saying “traditions said 傳言”. Despite this “traditions” does not necessarily refer to the “*Traditions (of Divine Transcendents)*”, Ge Hong, the Master *Baopu*, agreed with this saying (“然之”), according to Tao's writing. Accordingly, this “traditions” should be no later than Ge Hong (the Master *Baopu*). Hence, it is possible that Tao's source is *Traditions*, although this “divine island” is unavailable in the received *Traditions*.

<sup>40</sup> Details can also be found in my paraphrase after the line “there was no longer a discussion on its consistency or inconsistency 無所復論其同異矣” in the translation [002-007b].

<sup>41</sup> See the line “(to) move upwardly to become a transcendent 昇仙” in the translation [002-007b].



“ascending transcendent” became valid no later than 300 CE.<sup>42</sup> In Yang Xi’s *Shangqing* revelation (364 CE), Ge Xuan’s ascent was not mentioned at all. However, surprisingly, Tao Hongjing, in the *Epitaph* (ca. 522 CE), introduced this aspect of Ge Xuan’s career in a tone similar to that of the *Traditions*. Of course, we do not have any evidence that allow us to say that Tao Hongjing was actually citing the *Traditions*. If Tao Hongjing was indeed doing so, then, for Tao Hongjing, it can be more reasonable to say that Ge Xuan was an earthly transcendent rather than someone merely immortal.<sup>43</sup> To conclude, Yang Xi saw immortality as the highest achievement of Ge Xuan, which was lower than transcendence, while Tao Hongjing changed Ge Xuan’s status into a qualified (earthly) transcendent. Tao Hongjing, in the *Epitaph*, also described Ge Xuan’s title as a carefree position 散職,<sup>44</sup> which was definitely inconsistent with Yang Xi’s saying that (Ge Xuan) almost did not achieve any rank at all 幾於未得受職 (See the *Declarations of the Perfected*, *Siku Quanshu* version [012-003b]). It can be inferred that, in the *Epitaph*, the carefree position 散職 refers to Ge Xuan’s title “earthly transcendent”.

Incidentally, “earthly transcendent” has more meanings in the *Shangqing* writing earlier than Yang Xi. For example, for an earlier spiritual medium called Hua Qiao 華僑, “upon reaching the status of either an earthly transcendent (*dixian* 地仙) or a marchmount Transcendent (*yuexian* 嶽仙), these beings could control the spirits and

<sup>42</sup> See Campany 2009: 33.

<sup>43</sup> It is important to know that immortality, no matter whether in Ge Xuan’s hagiography in the *Traditions* or in Yang Xi’s saying about Ge Xuan, was not the decisive feature of a transcendent. The observation above is but one feature of the *xian*’s cultural repertoire. For the big picture, see Campany 2009: 34.

<sup>44</sup> See the line “carefree position 散職” in the translation [002-007b].

ghosts of their territory.”<sup>45</sup> An earthly transcendent, in Hua Qiao’s *Shangqing* lore, should be accomplished through Hua Qiao’s *Shangqing* revelations. Actually, it could be an accident that, in terms of “earthly transcendents”, the *Traditions*,<sup>46</sup> Yang Xi’s ideas, and Tao Hongjing’s saying seem compatible. Strictly speaking, it is inappropriate to investigate *xian* via the lens of the *Shangqing* corpus only, as the *Shangqing* corpus has rewritten too much about *xian* from the *Traditions* and from other earlier works (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE - 4<sup>th</sup> century CE).<sup>47</sup>

Although chronological changes in the *Shangqing* corpus made by someone like Hua Qiao, Yang Xi, and Tao Hongjing are beyond the scope of this thesis, it is interesting to note that Ge Hong (in the *Traditions*), Yang Xi, and Tao Hongjing were using the same standard (i.e., ascending rather than immortality) to define Ge Xuan as an earthly transcendent. More importantly, it is meaningful to observe that, Tao Hongjing gave Ge Xuan a qualified *dixian* title in *Declarations of the Perfected*, with the definition of *xian* as someone ascending, and hereafter, Tao seemed to record Ge Xuan’s ascent in the *Epitaph* to substantiate Tao’s previous words in *Declarations of Perfected*.

Tao Hongjing’s *Shangqing* priority was apparent when he was rewriting the hagiographies for Ge Xuan. However, it is incorrect to overlook Tao Hongjing’s special

<sup>45</sup> See Pettit and Chang 張超然 N.d..

<sup>46</sup> The notion of *dixian* also shows up in the *Traditions*, although *dixian* never became Ge Xuan’s title in the *Traditions*. In the cultural repertoire of *xian*, as elaborated in the *Traditions*, *dixian* is not necessarily inferior to someone who “leaves as transcendents” (仙去 *xianqu*). Both of these two consequences are sufficient to signify one’s transcendent identity. As a result, in the *Traditions*, Ge Xuan’s final ascent (*xianqu*) indicates that Ge Xuan’s identity should be consistent with *dixian* status. Broadly speaking, the *Traditions* also sees Ge Xuan as an earthly transcendent, since the definition of transcendents can cover both *xianqu* and *dixian*. See Company 2009: 57.

<sup>47</sup> See Company 2009: 34.

commendation of Ge Xuan. Tao Hongjing's remarks on the Transcendent Duke and Earthly Transcendence do not completely agree with those of Yang Xi. Tao Hongjing's special respect towards Ge Xuan was also obvious in the *Epitaph*, especially in the last paragraph of eulogy. Apparently, Tao Hongjing, based on the *Shangqing* lore, added his ideas into the original *Shangqing* hagiography of Ge Xuan, and this was how *Epitaph* came into being.

(4) Concluding remarks:

The translated *Epitaph* below is primarily intended to explore Tao Hongjing's background knowledge and textual resources as they appeared in the *Epitaph*. Further, we have probed the central conflict displayed in the *Epitaph*: the rewriting of the transcendent world by *Shangqing* texts and *Lingbao* texts. The hagiographies of transcendents reflect the competition between proponents of the *Lingbao* texts and the *Shangqing* texts in Medieval Daoism. In conclusion, it is fair to say that the *Epitaph* is significant for scholarship, because it documented some massive shifts in revelations and textual systems that occurred in Southern China over a period of two hundred years, from 300 CE to 500 CE.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE TRANSLATION

Notes about the issue of versions:

The whole translation below is based on the Epitaph of the Wu Kingdom Transcendent Duke Ge of the Left Palace of the Grand Bourne 吳太極左宮葛仙公之碑 in the *Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period* 正統道藏 (*ZTDZ* below). The particular source of the transcription is the 2<sup>nd</sup> volume of *Literary Works of Tao, the Recluse of Huayang* 《華陽陶隱居集·卷下》 (CT<sup>48</sup> 1050). The page numbers in *ZTDZ* are also given in the translation.

For the *Epitaph* below, a version of annotated transcription has been published in Chinese<sup>49</sup>. The author Wang Jingzhou 王京州 based his annotated transcription mainly on *Anthology of Master of Perfected Purity, Reclusive Tao* 《貞白先生陶隱居集》, availability of which is on the page 309 in Wang's book. In the *Anthology* used by Wang, the *Epitaph* has a name different from its counterpart in *ZTDZ*: The Epitaph of the Left Transcendent Duke Ge of Wu Kingdom of the Grand Bourne 吳太極左仙公葛公之碑 (on the page 158). The initial owner of the *Anthology* was Feng Zhishi 馮知十 (? - 1645CE).

<sup>48</sup> Here, CT means the number from the catalog in Schipper 1975.

<sup>49</sup> See Wang 2009.

Wang Jingzhou also listed other “collated versions” 校本 in addition to the *ZTDZ* on page 158. Readers can refer them to the List of Reviewed Editions 經眼錄 by Wang Jingzhou on the page 309.

To sum up, Wang’s version is based on Feng Zhishi’s collection, while the translation in the whole thesis is rooted in *ZTDZ* version unless explicitly indicated otherwise in the footnotes.

The Translation of the full text:

[002-005a] 吳太極左宮葛仙公之碑

The Epitaph of the Wu Kingdom Transcendent Duke Ge of the Left Palace of the Grand Bourne

道冠兩儀之先, 名絕萬物之始者, 固言語所[002-005b] 不得辯, 稱謂所莫能筌焉。

That the Dao rests before the two insignia and its name lies before the birth of the ten thousand things is assuredly a matter that language cannot dispute and a matter over which no name can cast a trap<sup>50</sup>.

可以文字述云, 何以金石傳古?

If we could describe something in writing, why could metals and stones transmit antiquity?

Paraphrase (1):

<sup>50</sup> In *Zhuangzi*, fish trap “筌” exists for fish. Once the fish is captured, the fish trap can be forgotten about. It seems like the words exist temporarily for their meaning. Briefly speaking, 筌 the fish trap means words metaphorically. See Watson 2013: 233. Here, Tao Hongjing used the fish trap as a verb (to capture) that extended from “fish trap”.

The *Dao* or the Way, to Tao Hongjing, was so transcendental that no appropriate words can completely describe the *Dao*. Tao also quoted the saying from *Zhuangzi* to talk about the gap between meaning and words. After keeping the limitedness of words in the mind, Tao then reexamine why the stele, “to describe something in writing 以文字述云”, can survive for a long time period “to transmit antiquities 傳古”, since characters on “metals and stones” 金石 (as epitaph) cannot touch the *Dao* directly. Then Tao will show the importance of the stele, which was written in the form characters, to answer his question above.

其遂休也,則日月空照.遂默也,則生人長昏.

Once they (written characters) finally ceased to exist, the sunshine and the moonlight would shine in vain.

Once they (written characters) finally was unknown, the living human beings will be confused for a long while.

是故出關<sup>51</sup>導以兩卷,

Therefore, (Laozi) taught to produce two volumes (the upper classic and the lower classics of *Daode Jing*), before he departed from (Hangu) Pass.

將昇犒其五文<sup>52</sup>,

<sup>51</sup> Here, the “關” particularly denotes Hangu Pass 函谷關. In front of the Hangu, Laozi spoke out 5000 words that were recognized as the contents of *Daode Jing* later. After Laozi left Hangu, he was on his way to leave the territories of the Zhou Dynasty. See Kohn 2007: 613.

<sup>52</sup> Here, the quotation is talking about Laozi’s contribution. In “the biographies of Laozi and Han Fei” in *Shiji* 《史記·老子韓非列傳》, “At that time, Laozi, therefore, wrote books, in the form of upper and lower passages, to point out the meaning of both the Way and its Virtues, in the form of more than 5000 characters. After that, he left 於是老子迺著書上下篇, 言道德之意五千餘言而去”. See Sima Qian 司馬

Laozi also raised and spread his five (thousands of) characters.

令懷靈抱識之士.知杳冥之有精<sup>53</sup>焉.

So that Laozi would have the literati who embrace the numinosity and possess the knowledge know that the distant and dim have the essence (within the *Dao*).

Paraphrase (2):

In this section, Tao Hongjing answered his question in Paraphrase (1). Are written characters (inscribed characters) worth humans' emphasis, when characters cannot express the Way directly? Tao Hongjing insisted that humans should trust words, since Laozi also talked about the *Dao* in the form of writing at Hangu Pass. After Laozi's instruction, as Tao Hongjing showed, more and more people, who intended to learn, can know the qualities of the *Dao* via Laozi's words. By saying so, Tao planned to prove that inscribed characters on the stele were meaningful and significant.

自時厥後,奕代間出.

Hereafter, Laozi occasionally appeared in many generations.

雲篆龍章之牒,炳發於林岫.

Documents, with nebular seal-script and dragon seals, glamorously flourished in the wooded mountains,

遷, *Shiji* 史記, *juan* 63, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1973, vol. 7: pp.2139-2156. Also see Wang 2009: 159, n. 4.

<sup>53</sup> In the chapter 21 of *Daode Jing* 道德經, a famous description about the Way goes below: "All hidden and impossibly dark it harbors the subtle essence 杳兮冥兮,其中有精". See Hinton 2015: 54.

壤辭麗氣之旨,藻蔚於庭筵.

The instructions, with magnificent dictions and glamorous energy, resonate splendidly during the court banquets.

其可以垂軌範,著謠誦者,迄于茲辰.

Those, which could set standard examples and be prominent in later chants, survived until now.

Paraphrase (3):

This section is talking about the significance of Laozi's words in his afterlife. Laozi, as a mythical figure in early Daoist scriptures, left his presence in different time periods to teach the Dao, which influenced many generations. Tao Hongjing, in this section, especially attached importance to Laozi's left words in his teaching. By doing so, Tao's readers could find inscribed words in the *Epitaph* as eminent as Laozi's words as a surviving heritage.

昔在中葉,甘左<sup>54</sup>見駭於魏王,象奉<sup>55</sup>擅奇於吳主.

<sup>54</sup> Here, Ge Hong also wrote independent hagiography Gan Shi 甘始 and Zuo Ci 左慈. For Gan Shi, see the *Traditions of Divine Transcendent* 神仙傳 (*Siku Quanshu* version [010-9a]) and its English version in *Campany 2002*: 150-2. For Zuo Ci, see the *Traditions of Divine Transcendent* 神仙傳 (*Siku Quanshu* version [008-2b~008-6a]) and its English version in *Campany 2002*: 279-82.

<sup>55</sup> Here, Ge Hong also wrote independent hagiography for Jie Xiang 介象 and Dong Feng 董奉. For Jie Xiang, see the *Traditions of Divine Transcendent* 神仙傳 (*Siku Quanshu* version [009-6b~009-9b]) and its English version in *Campany 2002*: 189-92. For Dong Feng, see the *Traditions of Divine Transcendent* 神仙傳 (*Siku Quanshu* version [010-1a~010-4b]) and its English version in *Campany 2002*: 141-5.



In the middle period of history<sup>56</sup>, Gan (Shi) and Zuo (Ci) was feared by the King of Wei. (Jie) Xiang and (Dong) Feng showed off their marvelous skills before the King of Wu.

至如葛仙公之才英俊邁,蓋其尤彰彰者矣.

As for the kind of the brilliant talents and outstanding qualities of the Transcendent Duke Ge, it should be even more luminous than these figures' above.

Paraphrase (4):

This section talks about several famous immortals or transcendants. Their presence paves the way for the Ge Xuan. If those immortals or transcendants have been famous enough, Ge Xuan will be exceedingly great, compared with those immortals or transcendants.

There is a common context that makes it possible to compare those immortals or transcendants with one another. That is their relationships with kings: kings of different kingdoms intentionally impeded those transcendants<sup>57</sup> due to their potential to create chaos among the ordinary people. The abilities of these five transcendants above to create

<sup>56</sup> Here, Tao Hongjing (456-536 CE) is describing the events in the period of Three Kingdoms (220-280 CE). Following events was thought to happen “in the middle periods of history 在中葉” from the perspective of Tao Hongjing.

<sup>57</sup> For example, according to the *Traditions*, Zuo ci was put into the prison by Cao Cao 曹操 (the king of Wei), and Sun Quan 孫權 (the King of Wu) planned an assassination for Zuo Ci. Meanwhile, according to the *Traditions*, Jie Xiang's request of departure was also rejected by Sun Quan. All of those cases above can be found in the *Traditions*. For Gan Shi, we can read Cao Zhi 曹植 (Cao Cao's son)'s treatise for Cao Cao's attitude. The original saying by Cao Zhi goes as below: “(Cao Cao) was indeed afraid of someone like him (Gan Shi) who would act deception to cheat the people or would perform a wrong witchcraft to confuse citizens. 誠恐此人之徒接姦詭以欺衆,行妖惡以惑民 ( *Encyclopedia of Arts and Letters* 藝文類聚, SKQS version [078-35a]) ”. For Dong Feng, his hagiography oddly contains nothing about his relationship with kings.

Finally, for Ge Xuan, even if Ge was respected by Sun Quan (see also this *Epitaph* below), “Su Quan denied it, when Ge asked permission to leave (玄)求去不得” (the *Traditions*, SKQS version [008-2a]). Even if this “denial by Sun Quan” may not be originally recorded by Ge Hong when we read Campany (2002: 155), it is indeed existing in the received *Traditions* and, more importantly, is representing common tension between kings and transcendants.

chaos, on the other hand, is a piece of proof of their supernatural power. Ge Xuan, in Tao Hongjing's opinion, ranked first among these five transcendents.

To sum up, this section is used to praise Ge Xuan in an indirect way.

公於時雖歷遊名岳,多居此嶺.

At that time, Duke Ge, although he toured and visited famous marchmounts, mainly resided in this peak (Tiantai)<sup>58</sup>.

此嶺乃非洞府,而跨據中川<sup>59</sup>.

This peak was not Grotto Palace, but it was still the center of (lit. covering and owning) the Central River area.

東[002-006a]視則連峰入海,南眺則重嶂切雲.

Look east, (we find) the endless peaks lining up to enter the sea. Gaze south, (we find) layers of alps cutting through the clouds.

西臨江澗,北旁郊邑,

Westwards, it is next to the bank of (Yangtze) River, and, northwards, it is adjacent to rural counties.

斯潛顯之奧區,出處之關津.

This is the mysterious area for both reclusion and official appointment. Meanwhile, it is the key pathway to both departure and residence.

<sup>58</sup> For the reason to consider “these mountains” as Tiantai, See Wang 2009: 161, n. 3

<sup>59</sup> Here, “中川” is an unclear geographical notion. However, it also appeared in a poetry by Wang Sengru 王僧孺. The poetry, “To Gaze Afar for Central River 中川長望” (*Encyclopedia of Arts and Letters 藝文類聚*, SKQS [027-11a]), may be relevant to the 中川 in the *Epitaph*, as Wang Sengru should be acquainted with Tao Hongjing.

半尋石井,日汲莫測其源.

(As for) the stone well of half *xun* there, even if we draw water from it, no one can fathom its source.

三足白鹿,百齡不異其質.

The three-legged white deer there does not change its quality even at hundreds of years of age.

精靈之所弗渝,神祇之所司衛.

The stone well and the white deer are not changed by the numinous spirits and are protected by deities.

麻衣史宗<sup>60</sup>之儔,相繼棲託.

The companions of (Shi Zong in) Hemp Robe have resided here one after another.

後有孫慰祖,亦嗣居彌歲山陰.

Later, his descendants, to console their ancestor's (Shi Zong) spirit, also lived there for so many years generation after generation on the Yin (North) Side of the mountain.

Paraphrase (5):

This part of content is mainly about how Tiantai Mountains could become Ge Xuan's residence. We can see that such mountains for reclusion are generally full of deities. Skip to the following texts in the *Epitaph*, we know that the original temple for Ge Xuan was originally in Yuyao. However, it was later moved to Tiantai Mountains. In the next part, Tao Hongjing will record this process of relocation.

<sup>60</sup> Here, Shi Zong 史宗 is a high-minded gentlemen, recorded in Volume Ten in *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 《高僧傳·卷十》 by Shi Huijiao 释慧皎 (497-554 CE). Shi Zong's story starts from T2059\_50.0390a05 (*Taishō Shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 Book 2059, Volume 50, Page 390, Upper Section, Line 5).

潘洪<sup>61</sup>字文盛,少秉道性.志力剛明.

Pan Hong, with his style name Wensheng, acquired the Dao-nature in his early age, and his will power was strong and bright.

前往餘姚四明<sup>62</sup>隩國<sup>63</sup>,

(Pan) once lived in a mysterious place in Mountain Siming, Yu Yao County.

爲立觀,直上百里,榛途險絕.

Pan built a palace for (Ge Xuan), which was located at 100 *li* straight up in the mountain. The weedy way (to the palace) was peerlessly dangerous.

既術識有用,爲物情所懷.

<sup>61</sup> Pan Hong has been recorded in the “Epitaph on the Back Side of the Stele next to the Altar of Senior Aide Xu (*Shangqing* Perfected)’s Old House” in *Records of Mountain Mao* 《茅山誌·卷二十·梁碑·上清真人許長史舊館壇碑陰記》 CT 304 (*ZTDZ* version [020-012a]). The “Epitaphs (on the front side) of the Stele next to the Altar of Senior Aide Xu (*Shangqing* Perfected)’s Old House 上清真人許長史舊館壇碑” above, was attributed to Tao Hongjing (CT 304, *ZTDZ* version [020-007a]). The “Epitaph on the Back Side” (碑陰記) was anonymous and dated to 522 CE. For both the front side and the back side, see also Wang 2009: 171&186.

In addition to the “Epitaph on the Back Side of the Stele” above, *Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era* 太平御覽 *Taiping yulan* (*TPYL* below) also writes something about Pan Hong, especially as Tao’s disciple [409-4a] (*SKQS* version) . The source in *TPYL* is said to be *Biographies of Way’s Learner* 道學傳 *Daoxue zhuan*. This *Biographies of Way’s Learner* also appears in *Pear Satchel of the Three Caverns* 三洞珠囊 *Sandong zhunang* (*SDZN* below) to records Pan Hong’s deeds. Interestingly, in *SDZN*, nothing is mentioned about Pan as Tao’s disciple, but Pan’s biography just follows Tao’s biography. See CT 1139 (*ZTDZ* version [001-002b]). For the English translation of two pieces above from *Biographies of Way’s Learner*, read Bumbacher 2000: 233-234.

In the *Declarations of Perfected*, Tao himself also praised Pan Wensheng’s talents. See CT 1016 (*SKQS* version [020-001b]).

<sup>62</sup> Pan used to worship Ge Xuan by building a temple in Siming Mountain, Yuyao County (modern Zhejiang Province). Interestingly, Pan Hong became the head of the Simingshan Monastery 四明山館. See Bumbacher 2000: 473. This paper assumes that Pan Hong’s byname Pan Siming 潘四明 was given due to his residence in Siming Monastery or, in general, Siming Mountain .

<sup>63</sup> No more information is found about this “隩國”. However, we assume it is a mysterious place in the Siming Mountain, according to the order of the geographical hierarchy (Yuyao, Siming, Aoguo).

Pan's skills and knowledge were already useful, and they could be accommodated by the situation of items.

Paraphrase (6):

The temple for Ge Xuan was originally built by Pan Hong, Tao Hongjing's disciple. That is also a part of the reason why Tao Hongjing could know the initial location of the temple in Yuyao. The last couplet is a metaphorical expression about Pan Hong's contribution. That is to say, Pan's techniques and knowledge were so useful that they could be even used in a new situation (i.e., the establishment of the Temple). Pan's techniques and knowledge were accommodated by and, therefore, surviving in the Temple.

天監七年,郡邑豪舊遂相率輿出,制不由己。

In the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Tianjian Period (502-519 CE), squires and elders in the (Yuyao) county then all rode carriages one after another (to travel to the palace). The continuing influx of carriages could not be controlled at will.

以此山在五縣衝要,舍而留止于茲。

It was due to the fact that these mountains (Tiantai) was located at the strategically essential crossing in the midst of five counties that (Pan Hong) settled and stayed here (in Tiantai).

十有五載,將欲移憩壇上,先[002-006b] 有一空碑,久已摧倒。

Fifteen years later, (Pan Hong) would like to move (his residence) to rest above the altar. Pan Hong found there was a blank stele, which had been destroyed to fall for a long time.

洪意以爲：“蔭其樹者,尚愛其枝”。况仙公眞聖之遺蹤（“踪”）,而可遂淪乎?迺復建新碑於其所,願勒名迹以永傳。

(Pan) Hong, in his mind, thought:

“Those who rest under (lit. make use of) trees’ shadow still cherish the trees’ branches. Given that Transcendent Duke’s left deeds were authentic and sacred, could they (be left to) decline? I would build a new stele at its location, wishing to keep the eternal circulation of (Duke’s) name and deeds”.

隱居不遠千里,寓斯石而鐫之。

The Recluse (Tao Hongjing, the author), not minding a thousand of *li*, (came to) rely on this stone to engrave (characters) on it.

Paraphrase (7):

After the establishment of Ge Xuan’s Temple, Pan Hong moved to Tiantai (these mountains 此山) to reside for the convenient transportation, since it was located at the strategically essential crossing in the midst of five counties 在五縣衝要. Afterwards, Pan Hong found a plain stele accidentally. Pan Hong, taking Ge Xuan’s precious contribution into his consideration, finally planned to inscribe Ge Xuan’s deeds on the stele to keep Ge Xuan’s fame. When Pan’s new idea became known for Tao Hongjing, Tao Hongjing decided to go to Tiantai to finish the inscription requested by Pan Hong. This section is introducing the reason why Tao wrote this *Epitaph*. In the next section, readers will see Ge Xuan’s particular hagiography on the stele rather than the general introduction to the stele.

仙公姓葛諱玄字孝先,丹陽句容,都鄉吉陽里人也。

Transcendent Duke's surname is Ge with the posthumous name Xuan, styled Xiaoxian. He is a person from Jiyang Lane of Du Village in Jurong County of Danyang City.

本屬琅耶<sup>64</sup>.

(His clan) was originally in Langye.

後漢驃騎僮侯廬,讓國於弟,來居此土。

(Ge) Lu, appointed as Cavalry General and Tong Marquis in the Later Han (Eastern Han), gave up his territory, which was coming from the investiture, to his younger brother. Afterwards, Ge Lu came to reside in this (Langye) land.

七代祖艾<sup>65</sup>,即驃騎之弟,襲封僮侯。

(Ge) Ai, the seventh-generation ancestor (of the Duke), was Cavalry's younger brother and the person who inherited Tong Marquisate (from his elder brother).

祖矩,安平太守,黃門郎。

(Ge Xuan's) grandfather Ge (Ju) was the governor of Anping City and the Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate.

從祖彌,豫章等五郡太守。

<sup>64</sup> Here, according to the context, the subject matter omitted in the sentence should be Ge's Clan rather than Danyang Jurong.

<sup>65</sup> The genealogy of Ge's family in this *Epitaph* is parallel to "the self-narrative in Outer Chapters" of *Master* 《抱朴子·內篇·自敘》. However, astonishingly, Ge Ai 葛艾 has only the given name Wen 文 in *the self-narrative in Outer Chapters of Master* (juan 52, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 2013, vol. 2: pp.1100-1101). The reason for the inconsistency is temporarily unclear.

(Ge Xuan's) paternal grand-uncle was Ge Mi, who was the Governor of five cities including Yuzhang.

父焉,字德儒,山陰令,散騎常侍<sup>66</sup>,大尚書,州主簿.

(Transcendent Duke's) father (Ge) Yan, styled Deru, was appointed as Assistant Magistrate of a province, District Magistrate of Shanyin County, a senior recorder and, finally, senior officials of the Department of State Affairs.

代載英哲,族冠吳史<sup>67</sup>.

Astute brilliance is recorded generation after generation, the family was worthy of entitlement in the history of Wu.

Paraphrase (8):

This section above rephrases Ge Xuan's family tree (from Ge Lu to Ge Xuan himself). This part is also the history of Ge families' residence in Jurong.

<sup>66</sup> This title “散騎常侍” has two optional meanings. It is probably due to the difference between the Southern and Northern Dynasties. See Hucker 1985: 395-6. The original instructions are listed below: “(1) N-S DIV: Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, common in the 300s, both in Chin 晉 and in the Sixteen Kingdoms of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 tribes. P19. (2) N-S DIV: Senior Recorder, a regular official post no doubt growing out of that described in (1) above, having some responsibility (perhaps as early as Chin and certainly not later than 480 in S. Ch'I 南齊) for compilation of the Imperial Diary (ch'i-chū chu 起居註) and considered a member of the group called Historiographers (shih-kuan 史官).”

In Xiong's dictionary, “散騎常侍” means mounted regular attendants, which is similar to meaning (2) above. See Xiong 2017: 521. As a result, to describe Ge Hong's father, this translation uses explanation (2) presumably.

Other official titles of Ge Hong' family members are translated, also based on Hucker's dictionary.

<sup>67</sup> Just to add more information about Ge's family. We have translated Ge Xuan's lineage and will move to Ge Hong's. In *the History of Jin* 晉書, Ge Hong's grandfather has the given name Xi 系 (*juan* 72, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1974, pp.1910-1914). Ge Hong's grandfather was recorded in “the self-narrative in Outer Chapters” of *Master* 《抱朴子·外篇·自敘》 without any references to the given name of Ge Hong's grandfather. Again, in *the History of Jin* 晉書, Ge Hong's father has the given name Ti 悌 (*juan* 72, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1974, pp.1910-1914). Ge Hong's father was recorded in “the self-narrative in Outer Chapters” of *Master* 《抱朴子·外篇·自敘》 without any references to the given name of Ge Hong's father.



公幼負奇操,超絕倫黨.神挺標峻,[002-007a] 精暉卓逸.

The Duke was endowed marvelous character since his childhood, which exceeded his contemporary peers'. His vigor was outstanding, with high standard. His spirits were brilliant, with elegant excellence.

墳典<sup>68</sup>不學而知,道術纔(才)聞已了.

Without having learned any classical texts, Duke Ge was very knowledgeable. Right after he learned about the Way and its techniques, he quickly mastered them.

非復軌儀所範,思識所該.

The Duke no longer modeled with the rules and rituals, but he was equipped with contemplation and consciousness.

特以域之情理之外,置之言象之表而已.

Duke Ge just put (something) that were beyond the reason on the land into the surface of words and items. The Duke merely went beyond emotions and reasoning (for the Way), and he placed it (the Way) on the surface of words and images.

Paraphrase (9):

This part is the general introduction in this inscribed hagiography. Ge Xuan's unparalleled intelligence is the major quality praised by Tao Hongjing. To substantiate Duke Ge's intelligence, Tao used the metaphor of words in the section (1). To elaborate, Ge manipulated the untouched field of the Way(something beyond the reason on the realm 域之情理之外), but he simply expressed its principle in ordinary language (the surface of words and images 言象之表), which is easily understood for his followers.

<sup>68</sup> Here, “墳典” means classical texts. See Wang 2009: 164, n. 1.

This sort of intelligence, in the narrative of the *Epitaph*, was the basement of Duke's manipulation of supernatural techniques in the next part.

吳初,左元放<sup>69</sup>自洛而來.授公白虎七變<sup>70</sup>,爐火九丹<sup>71</sup>.

In the early Wu period (222-280 CE), Zuo Yuanfang came (to visit the Duke) from the Luoyang and taught the Duke the method of Seven Transformations of the White Tigers and Nine Kinds of Elixirs in Cauldron Fire.

於是五通<sup>72</sup>具足,化道<sup>73</sup>無方.

For this reason, the Duke mastered Five Penetrating Wisdom completely and his way of Transformations had no boundaries.

<sup>69</sup> This Zuo Yuanfang refers to Zuo Ci above. Zuo Ci, who worked as Ge Xuan's teacher, was noticed by Tao Hongjing. The teaching lineage between Zuo and Ge is recorded in *the Declarations of the Perfected* (SKQS version [012-003b]: Zuo Ci, styled Yuanfang, is the student of Li Zhongfu. And all the while, Zuo is the teacher of Ge Xuan. 左慈字元放,李仲甫弟子,即葛玄之師也).

<sup>70</sup> These Transformations can be found in "Looking Farther of the Inner Chapter" of *Baopuzi* 《抱朴子·內篇·遐覽》 (juan 19, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1985, p.337). To summarize, the Seven Transformations were to disguise oneself. To achieve this technique, one should kill a white tiger to irrigate duckweeds with the blood from the white tiger.

<sup>71</sup> These Nine Elixirs can be found in "the Golden Elixir of the Inner Chapter" of *Baopuzi* 《抱朴子·內篇·金丹》 (juan 4, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1985, p.71). The original texts were "my paternal grand-uncle Transcendent Duke, then, got it (the book series) from Yuanfang (Zuo Ci). The Duke received three volumes of *Elixir Books of Great Purity*, one volume of *Elixir Book of Nine Cauldrons* and one volume of *Elixir Book of Golden Liquid* 余從祖仙公,又從元放受之。凡受太清丹經三卷,及九鼎丹經一卷,金液丹經一卷." Furthermore, for particular names of Nine Elixirs, see Wang 2009: 165, n. 4. Meanwhile, for English translation of Nine Elixirs, see Campamy 2002: 43-4.

<sup>72</sup> This saying "五通" is coming from Six Penetrating Wisdom 六通, a Buddhist term. These six kinds of wisdom include (1) instantaneous view of any thing anywhere in the form-realm, (2) ability to hear any sound anywhere, (3) ability to know the thoughts of all other minds, (4) knowledge of all former existences of self and others, (5) power to be anywhere or do anything at will and (6) super natural consciousness of the waning of vicious propensities. See Hodous 2004: 123 & 138.

Then go back the Ge Xuan's case, readers can find that Ge Xuan was famous for manipulating one of Five Kinds of Penetrating Wisdom, i.e., to know the former existence in (4) above. The records about this anecdote come from *Basic Annals of the Deeds and Their Predestined Reasons in Grand Supreme Numinous Treasure* 靈寶本行因緣經 (CT 1115). For its English translation, see Bokenkamp 2009: 159.

<sup>73</sup> Here, Wang's version wrote "道" as "遁". See Wang 2009: 164.

孫權雖愛賞仙異,而內懷猜害.翻琰<sup>74</sup>之徒皆被挫斥.敬憚仙公,動相諮稟.

Although Sun Quan was fond of appreciating transcendents and magicians, he was still suspicious and harmful towards (transcendents). Both (Yu) Fan and (Jie) Yan, as well as their peers, were suppressed and scolded. However, (Sun Quan) held respect and fear to the Duke, and (Sun Quan) sought pieces of advice from the Duke voluntarily and frequently.

Paraphrase (10):

Ge Xuan learned supernatural techniques from Zuo Ci. With a famous mentor, Ge Xuan accordingly became more mysterious and more famous. Then referring back to “(Jie) Xiang and (Dong) Feng were skilled at marvelous (techniques) before the King of Wu Kingdom 象奉擅奇於吳主” above, readers will easily find that Sun Quan, the king of the Wu kingdom, did not allow any potentially dangerous transcendents to live around him. However, in this *Epitaph*, Ge Xuan earned more respect from the same king than Yu Fan or Jie Yan<sup>75</sup>. In this section, Tao Hongjing conveyed more about how good Duke Ge was, when Duke Ge was compared with Zuo Ci, Yu Fan, and Jie Yan.

公馳涉川嶽,龍虎衛從.

<sup>74</sup> For Yu Fan 虞翻, read the “Biography of Yu Fan in Wu Book” in *the Records of Three Kingdoms* 《三國志·吳書·虞翻傳》 (juan 57, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1985, pp.1317-1326) . For Jie Yan 介琰, read in *Search of the Supernatural: the Written Records* 《搜神記》 (SKQS version [001-8b]) . For English translation, read DeWoskin and Crump 1996: 11. Also, Ge Xuan also has a biography in the same book above. See DeWoskin and Crump 1996: 12.

<sup>75</sup> Even if Ge Xuan’s request of leaving was rejected by Sun Quan “求去不得” (the *Traditions*, SKQS version [008-2a] ) , Sun Quan actually rewarded Ge Xuan with good positions “欲加榮位” due to transcendent’s reputations. (the *Traditions*, SKQS version [008-2a] . Generally speaking, kings’ attitudes towards transcendent are therefore complicated.

The Duke traveled across rivers and mountains, with companionship and guardianship of the tiger and dragon.

長山蓋竹<sup>76</sup>尤多去來,天台蘭風<sup>77</sup>是焉遊憩。

He came back and forth frequently between Chang Mountain and Gaizhu (Cavern-Heaven). He also rested in and travelled around Tiantai (Mountains) or Lanfeng (Mountains).

時還京邑.視人如戲,詭譎倜儻.縱倒河山。

When the Duke returned to the capital (Jianye, modern Nanjing, Jiangsu Province) region, he viewed others as the figures in the drama<sup>78</sup> and behaved eccentrically and unlimitedly. The Duke also travelled lengthwise and sidewise among rivers and mountains.

雖投鳧履墜<sup>79</sup>,叱羊石起<sup>80</sup>,箴<sup>81</sup>以加焉。

<sup>76</sup> See Wang 2009: 166, n. 8.

<sup>77</sup> See Wang 2009: 166, n. 9.

<sup>78</sup> That is to say, Ge Xuan, skilled at transforming techniques, presented supernatural abilities to have fun. Ge Xuan is said to transform rice into bees. About Ge Xuan's transforming techniques, read *Extensive Notes Compiled in the Taiping Era* 《太平廣記》 (SKQS version [071-5a]). See also Wang 2009: 166, n. 10.

<sup>79</sup> The main character of this miracle is Holy Mother in Dongling 東陵聖母. See the *Traditions* (SKQS version [006-10b]). For the English translation, read Campamy 2002: 146-7.

<sup>80</sup> The main character of this miracle is Huang Chuping 皇初平. See the *Traditions* (SKQS version [002-1a]). For the English translation, read Campamy 2002: 309-10.

<sup>81</sup> Here, Wang's version wrote “箴” as “蔑”. In Wang's annotation, 蔑 *mie* means nothing, based on “Disorder in the Great Gracefulness” of *the Book of Poetry* 《詩經·大雅·板》. See Wang 2009: 167, n. 13.

Even if someone (like Holy Mother in Dongling and Huang Chuping, who) were famous for sending the crane into a shoe and famous for calling stones to be goats respectively, could not be superior (to the Duke).

Paraphrase (11):

This section is talking about Duke's supernatural power in general. Starting with his trail, the author introduced Dukes' transforming techniques<sup>82</sup> mainly. Huang Chuping and Holy Mother in Dongling had been famous enough, so Tao Hongjing compared them with Ge Xuan to enhance Ge Xuan's publicity. In the next section, the most debated topic about Ge's heavenly title will be given.

于時有人,漂海隨風,眇漭無垠,忽值神島.

Once upon a time, someone was travelling on the sea downwind, which was broad, ambiguous, and boundaryless, and then that person suddenly came across a divine island.

見[002-007b] 人授書一函,題曰“寄葛<sup>83</sup>公”,令歸吳達之.

He (she) saw somebody else transmitting a box of letter. In the letter, the title read as “to Duke Ge” and asked this sailor to return to the Wu Kingdom and submit it to the Duke.

由是舉代翕然<sup>84</sup>,號爲仙公<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> The transforming techniques denote a type of skill to transform an object into another kind of material. Duke Ge's technique seems like the Holy Mother's and Huang Chuping's techniques. That is to say, the practitioner does not transform himself or herself into an object.

<sup>83</sup> Here, Wang's version wrote “葛仙公” as “葛公”. See Wang 2009: 166, n. 10.

<sup>84</sup> See Wang 2009: 167, n. 14.

Hereafter, the whole generations admired (the Duke) in unison and named him “Transcendent Duke”.

故抱朴著書亦云：“余從祖仙公”<sup>86</sup>。乃抱朴<sup>87</sup>三代從祖也。

Thus, (the Master who) embraced the simplicity (Ge Hong)<sup>88</sup> wrote this in his book: “the Transcendent Duke was my paternal grand-uncle”. (Duke Ge) was the Master’s (Ge Hong’s) three-generation-elder grand uncle.

Paraphrase (12):

This part is about how Duke Ge earned his title. The legend based on one’s journey to the divine island, in Tao Hongjing’s view, is the most correct hagiographical source about Ge’s title. The reason is that this “island” saying is coming from the *Declarations of the Perfected*, a famous collection of the *Shangqing* revelations. In the next section, Tao Hongjing will announce his standard, as well as his *Shangqing* priority, in selecting textual resources about Ge Xuan.

俗中經傳<sup>89</sup>所談，云已被太極<sup>90</sup>銓授，居左仙公<sup>91</sup>之位。

<sup>85</sup> The process, in this *Epitaph*, about how Ge Xuan got his title Left Transcendent Duke is corresponding to Tao Hongjings’ own annotations in the *Declarations of the Perfected*. See the footnote on “如真誥并葛氏舊譜” below.

<sup>86</sup> In the footnote of “爐火九丹” in this translation, we can find Ge Hong clearly acknowledged Ge Xuan was his relative. However, oddly, Ge Hong did not mention their family relationship in the *Outer Chapters of Master* or the *Traditions*. For the elaborations, see Campany 2002: 157.

<sup>87</sup> Here, *Baopu* means Ge Hong rather than his book.

<sup>88</sup> Here, *Baopu* means Ge Hong rather than his book.

<sup>89</sup> This “俗中經傳” means *Lingbao* scriptures and, particularly, *Grand Supreme Numinous Treasure with Perfect Oneness to Exhort about the Wheel of Principles in the Cavern of Mystery* 太上洞玄靈寶真一勸誡法輪妙經 CT 346. See Bokenkamp 1983: 482 & 443, n. 32.

As the mundane classics and biographies<sup>92</sup> said, the Duke has been appointed by the Grand Bourne (Perfected) to take up a position as the Left Transcendent Duke.

如真誥并葛氏舊譜<sup>93</sup>,則事有未符<sup>94</sup>.恐教迹參差,適時立說.

According to the *Declarations of the Perfected* and the *Old Chronicles of Ge's Family*, the deeds were, however, inconsistent (with those in the mundane sayings). I am fearful that various traces of the teaching (about the Duke) seemed different, and (other authors) attempted to meet the exigencies of the times when the author wrote.

Paraphrase (13):

<sup>90</sup> Here, 太極 means the Perfected of Grand Bourne 太極真人, whose real name was Xu Laile 徐來勒. See CT 346 (*ZTDZ* version [2b]). See Bokenkamp 1983: 442-3.

<sup>91</sup> See CT 346 (*ZTDZ* version [1b]).

<sup>92</sup> In Tao's opinion, “俗中經傳” means scriptures that were not transmitted by the Perfected 真人. In the *Shangqing* worldview, perfected represents the highest heavenly status. See Pettit and Chang 張 N.d..

<sup>93</sup> Here, no more information can be found about the *Old Chronicles of Ge's Family*. In the *Declarations of the Perfected* (CT 1016), the full text (from Tao's annotations instead of from original texts) goes below: “Ge Xuan, styled Xiaoxian, was the paternal grand-uncle of Master *Baopu* (Ge Hong) and also the mentor of Zheng Siyuan (Zheng Yin). When Ge was young, he went into a mountain to become a transcendent. At that time, nobody could perceive the whereabouts of Ge Xuan. The *Traditions* (or other general traditions) said that a transcendent of the Eastern Sea sent Ge Xuan a letter, in which Ge Xuan was called Transcendent Duke. Therefore, Master *Baopu* also wrote the same thing to agree with the legend. Then, Senior Aide (Xu Mi) had a question based on (Ge Xuan), so I replied as follows: “Therefore, [Ge Xuan] was an earthbound transcendent. Seen in this light, the *Lingbao* (Numinous Treasure) claimed that he was the Left Transcendent Duke of the Grand Bourne was preposterous 葛玄,字孝先.是抱朴從祖,即鄭思遠之師也.少入山得仙,時人咸莫測所在.傳言東海中仙人,寄書呼爲仙公.故抱朴亦同然之.長史所以有問,今答如此,便是地仙耳.靈寶所云太極左仙公,於斯妄乎” (*SKQS* version [012-003b]). The translation above partially quoted from Campany 2002: 405.

<sup>94</sup> In the *Declarations of the Perfected*, the original records (i.e. Yang Xi's words), on which Tao Hongjing's claims were based, discussed Ge Xuan's life (*SKQS* version [012-003a-b]) as follows: “You (Xu Mi) asked about Ge Xuan. Xuan was skillfed at magical transformations, but clumsy at using his body. At present, he has just achieved immortality, not a Transcendent. Earlier, he arrived in the Chang Mountains, and recently he entered Mount Gaizhu. He was also capable of riding tigers and dispatching demons. There was nowhere that he could not reach, but he nearly could not achieve any appointment at all. 問葛玄,玄善於變幻,而拙於用身.今正得不死而已,非僊人也.初在長山,近入蓋竹.亦能乘虎使鬼,無所不至.但幾於未得受職耳”.

This section above is probably the most important part for scholarship in the *Epitaph*, since Tao Hongjing did compare the various hagiographical versions of Ge Xuan. Putting *the Old Chronicles of Ge's Family* aside, reader can still compare the *Declarations of the Perfected* with lore in *Numinous Treasures*. An anonymous letter from the divine island, in Tao's view, is the reason why Duke Ge got his title "(Transcendent) Duke"<sup>95</sup>. In *Numinous Treasures* classics, conversely, Ge was appointed by the Grand Supreme or the Most High 太上 behind the Perfected of Grand Bourne 太極真人<sup>96</sup>.

It is also important to know that Tao Hongjing was not criticizing lore in the *Lingbao* texts bluntly. Even if Tao Hongjing trusted the *Shangqing* revelations undoubtedly, he acknowledged that the *Lingbao* legends about Ge Xuan was also based on its conditions and was also springing from author's own motivation. To understand various teachings that were written at different times and under different social conditions, in Tao's opinion, was the basement to be expedient to spread the Way.

猶如執戟侍陛,豈謂三摘靈桃<sup>97</sup>?徒見接神役鬼,安知止在散職<sup>98</sup>?

<sup>95</sup> Read the footnote of "寄葛公" above, readers can find the difference between *ZTDZ* and Wang's version. However, the difference between "葛公" and "葛仙公" did not play any important role in the *Epitaph*. The core issue here should be about how the title was given to Ge Xuan.

<sup>96</sup> See Bokenkamp 1983: 442.

<sup>97</sup> A possible episode with the topic of retrieving numinous peaches should be based on Zhao Sheng 趙昇 and his master Zhang Ling 張陵. It was a fourth-century stories, so it was possible for Tao Hongjing to read it. To test Zhao Sheng, Zhang Ling ask Zhao to procure the peaches from a tree that clung to the side of the cliff on the Mountain Yuntai 雲臺. While all the disciples hesitated, Zhao Sheng obeyed his teacher's words. Zhao's obedience became the key to rise up to heaven with his teacher Zhang Ling. The episode above can be found in *TPGJ* (*SKQS* [008-011a]) and *TPYL* (*SKQS* [967-8a]). See Bokenkamp N.d..

If Tao truly cited this story, he intended to argue the hagiographies may be prepared for the different characters even if they shared similar deeds. To elaborate, it is not true that everyone who escorts the majesty will be as great as Zhao Sheng who retrieves peaches. By saying so, Tao can effectively explain



As if you cannot say that an attendant, with a halberd in the hand(s), who escorts the majesty, will necessarily retrieve numinous peaches for three times. Or, if you see someone can handle with deity and can control ghosts, you may not know he is even ranking in a carefree position.

一以權道推之,無所復論其同異矣.

Once using the expedient Way to understand them (different sayings), there was no longer a discussion on its consistency or inconsistency.

Paraphrase (14):

Tao Hongjing, in this section, showed two examples: attendants (Wang Chang and Zhao Sheng) of Celestial Master 天師 and Ge Xuan. In the first case, even if most of guards will escort their majesties, it is untrue that everyone is eligible to grab the numinous peaches for several times. In other words, to Tao Hongjing, most of guards were not as great as attendants of Celestial Master, although common guards also had deeds similar to Wang's or Zhao's. In the second case, Tao argued that, even with some common magic, a person may well also have hidden appointment in another field (lit. carefree position 散職). According to the *Shangqing* lore, Ge Xuan, with supernatural power, simply earned a title of an insignificant “earthly transcendent”<sup>99</sup>. By listing these

why Ge Xuan's story may vary from different versions in *Lingbao's* narratives and in *Shangqing's* narratives.

<sup>98</sup> Here, “接神役鬼 to handle with deity and to control ghosts” corresponds to *Declarations of the Perfected* (SKQS version [012-003a-b]). See the footnote of “事有未符” above, in which Yang Xi mentioned “(Ge Xuan) was capable of riding tigers and dispatching demons. There was nowhere that he could not reach, but he nearly could not achieve any appointment at all.能乘虎使鬼,無所不至,但幾於未得受職耳亦”.

<sup>99</sup> There is also a nuanced difference between Yang Xi's words and Tao Hongjing's. For Yang Xi, at present, Ge has only just achieved immortality, but Ge is not a Transcendent 今正得不死而已,非僊(仙)人

two cases above, Tao did not think readers could know a sage with the only help of received hagiographies, since there may be some materials unknown for readers. Therefore, Tao Hongjing concluded that if readers considered the statements about Ge Xuan as expedient methods to spread the Dao, then they would no longer discuss the differences or the consistency of Ge Xuan's deeds. Last but not least, Tao Hongjing tried to be eclectic superficially and, on the other hand, devoted to revelations from *Shangqing*.

仙公赤烏七年<sup>100</sup>,太歲甲子,八月十五日<sup>101</sup>平旦昇仙,長徃(往)<sup>102</sup>不返<sup>103</sup>.

In the seventh year of Chiwu, a great year as Jia Zi<sup>104</sup>, particularly on the morning of the 15th day in the eighth month<sup>105</sup>, the Transcendent Duke were moving upwardly to become a transcendent without any return after his long departure.

恒與郭聲子<sup>106</sup>等相隨,久當授任玄都<sup>107</sup>,祇秩天爵.

也 (See the *Declarations of the Perfected*, SKQS version [012-003a]). For Tao Hongjing, Ge Xuan was an earthly transcendent 地仙 (See the *Declarations of the Perfected*, SKQS version [012-003a]). To sum up, in the *Epitaph*, Tao Hongjing adopted his own saying rather than Yang's from the *Declarations of the Perfected*.

<sup>100</sup> The imperial year (238-251CE) used by the Wu Kingdom (222-280CE). The seventh year of Chiwu should be 244CE.

<sup>101</sup> The date for Ge Xuan to start rising up is not corresponding to the records in the *Traditions*. It should be August 13<sup>th</sup> for the start and August 16<sup>th</sup> to accomplish. See SKQS version [008-2a] and Campany 2002: 157. As for the gap between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup>, read its ritual importance in Campany 2002: 142, n. 36. To summarize, to wait for three days is required before one's rebirth but after the death.

<sup>102</sup> Here, Wang's version wrote “徃” as “往”. See Wang 2009: 167.

<sup>103</sup> The whole story about “moving upwardly to become a transcendent 昇仙” in the *Traditions* can be found in Wang 2009: 168, n. 4.

<sup>104</sup> The first year in the chronological order of [Celestial] Stems and [Earthly] Branches 干支. See Cullen 2007: 435-7.

<sup>105</sup> This date, according to the Gregorian calendar, should be October 3<sup>rd</sup> in 244 CE. For this calculated outcome, please check the website: <https://sinocal.sinica.edu.tw>.

(Duke Ge) was constantly accompanied by Guo Shengzi and some others. After a long time, he was supposed to be appointed in the Mystic Capital, respecting his rank in the heavenly nobility.

佐命四輔<sup>108</sup>,[002-008a] 理察人祇<sup>109</sup>.

With assistance to command Four Attendants, in principle, he should examine people and deities.

Paraphrase (15):

This part is to depict the rising up, the last part of Ge Xuan's life in the form of human body. In the *Epitaph*, Duke's ending is similar to his ending in the *Traditions*. However, Tao Hongjing, in the *Epitaph*, has never clearly used the *Traditions* as a quotation. Tao hongjing, hereafter, will express his admiring emotion for Duke Ge.

<sup>106</sup> Guo Shengzi 郭聲子 can be found in Yang Xi's words in *Declarations of the Perfected (SKQS version [012-003a~003b])*. The original text goes below:“(Ge Xuan) also is always accompanied by Xie Zhijian, Huang Ziyang and Guo Shengzi 亦恒與謝稚堅，黃子陽，郭聲子相隨”. The point about three attendants above has been found in Campany 2002: 548. Another short biography about Guo's divination rephrased by Yang Xi is also recorded in *Declarations of the Perfected (SKQS version [005-009a])*.

<sup>107</sup> The possible explanation about Mystic Capital is from the *Lingbao* scriptures. Mystic Capital, where the Palace of the Purple Tenuity “紫微宮” was located, got one of the most essential *Lingbao* revelation: *Perfect Script in Five Tablets* 五篇真文. See Bokenkamp 1983: 437. Here, Tao Hongjing may be simply using Mystic Capital as a general cultural image. We are not sure if Tao Hongjing was actually citing a *Lingbao* terminology.

<sup>108</sup> The optional meaning of 四輔 is “four heavenly attendants” from the *Lingbao* scriptures: “Four Attendants take their positions.....Finally, the ritual is done, and each heavenly (deity) go back to the initial place 四輔列位.....法事既畢，諸天復位”. The quotation above is from *Petitioning Scriptures of giving life about Natural Nine Heavens of Numinous Treasure* 靈寶自然九天生神章經 (CT318, ZTDZ version [007b]). It is an early fifth-century scripture, so it can theoretically be read by Tao Hongjing. See Bokenkamp 2007a: 881. Here, Tao Hongjing may be simply using Four Attendants as a general cultural image. We are not sure if Tao Hongjing was actually citing a *Lingbao* terminology.

<sup>109</sup> Here,“祇” *zhi* should be a typo. The correct character is “祇” *qi*, which means deities. See Wang 2009: 169, n. 9.

瞻望舊鄉,能無纍纍之歎?顧盼後學,庶垂汲引之慈.

If someone gazed afar to see (Duke's) original hometown, it was impossible for someone to stop the repeated compliments (for the Duke). If someone glanced at later students of the *Dao*, it should be true that Ge left his mercy on guiding (his descendants).

敢藉邦族末班<sup>110</sup>,仰述真仙遺則云爾.

I dare to rely on my lowest place in Daoist family, and look up (with respect) to narrate the principles bequeathed by the perfected transcendent (Duke Ge).

Paraphrase (16):

After describing how great Ge Xuan was, Tao Hongjing appends a rhymed encomium formed of beautiful couplets to elevate Ge Xuan's fame. This section of couplets awaits further study.

<sup>110</sup> Literally, “邦族” should mean the clan shaped by blood. Here, Tao Hongjing's metaphorical meaning may be a larger Daoist community including both Ge family and Tao Hongjing himself. However, no more evidence can be found.

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