

Zeitschrift: Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie

Herausgeber: Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft

Band: 54 (2000)

Heft: 4

Artikel: On the Shenxian Zhuan

Autor: Bumbacher, Stephan Peter

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-147509>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

Conditions d'utilisation

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

Terms of use

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

Download PDF: 23.03.2026

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>

ON THE *SHENXIAN ZHUAN*

Stephan Peter Bumbacher, University of Tübingen

for Piet van der Loon

1. Introduction¹

Students of the history of Daoism have devoted some attention to the *Shenxian zhuan*², 神仙傳 “Biographies of spiritual immortals”, one of the works attributed³ to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343)⁴, for it allows us to gain

1 This article is in part based on a study the author prepared in 1984 at Oxford University. Financial support was granted by the Swiss National Science Foundation, the “Stiftung für theologische und philosophische Studien” of the University of Basel (Prof. F. Heinemann), and by the City and State of Basel. I wish to express my gratitude to Piet van der Loon and Glen Dudbridge who have read and commented on earlier versions of this essay. For a summary of the results, cf. present author’s article “Shen-hsien chuan”, to appear in Kristofer M. Schipper, ed., *Handbook of the Taoist canon*, forthcoming. When I was about to submit the manuscript to the editor, I received Benjamin Penny’s “The text and authorship of Shenxian zhuan” which was printed in 2000. Not without satisfaction I realized that in major points we independently come to similar conclusions (cf. Benjamin Penny, “The text and authorship of Shenxian zhuan”, in: *Journal of Oriental Studies* 34, 1996:165-209).

2 Henceforth SXZ.

3 There were also critical opinions, as, e.g., Strickmann: “L’attribution traditionnelle à Ko Hong, qui fut acceptée même par T’ao Hong-king, semble très improbable. Il y eut probablement plusieurs ouvrages traitant de ce sujet, portant des titres semblables et plus ou moins contemporains” (i.e. beginning of 4th century, SPB). Cf. Michel Strickmann, *Le Taoïsme du Mao chan. Chronique d’une révélation*. Paris 1981:79. Unfortunately, Strickmann did not substantiate his statement. Similarly, William G. Boltz in his “The religious and philosophical significance of the ‘Hsiang erh’ Lao tzu 相爾老子 in the light of the *Ma-wang-tui* silk manuscript”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45, 1982:96

some insight into early Daoist traditions, especially the so-called Southern tradition that had existed before the emergence of the Maoshan 茅山 or *shangqing* 上清 lineage.⁵

Most work done so far on the *SXZ* relied on current editions which are *rifacimenti* of Ming times (see below, paragraph 9).⁶ Little attention has been paid to the transmission of the *SXZ*.⁷ No critical edition exists,

n. 5, states: “The *Shen hsien chuan*, attributed to Ko Hung ... but actually a much later text ...” without giving his reasons.

- 4 For a discussion of these dates see Nathan Sivin, “On the *Pao p’u tzu nei p’ien* and the life of Ko Hung (283-343)”, in: *ISIS* 60, 1969:388-391.
- 5 Isabelle Robinet, in her reconstruction of the heritage that subsequently found its way and was adopted into the *shangqing* tradition, extensively refers to the *SXZ*. Cf. Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l’histoire du Taoïsme*. Paris 1984, I:9-104, *passim*.
- 6 E.g. the *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華 ed. is used by Barbara Kandel, *Taiping jing. The origin and transmission of the ‘Scripture on General Welfare’—The history of an unofficial text*. Hamburg 1979: *passim*; and Ninji Ôfuchi, “The formation of the Taoist canon”, in: Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism*. New Haven and London 1979:265. Robinet relies on the *Longwei bishu* 龍威秘書 ed., cf. Robinet, op. cit.: *passim*. The *Yimen guangdu* 夷門廣牘 ed. is used by Hisayuki Miyakawa, “Local cults around Mount Lu”, in: Welch and Seidel, op. cit.: 92; and Jean Lévi refers to the *Shuoku* 說庫 ed. as well as to the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, cf. his “Les fonctionnaires et le divin: luttes de pouvoirs entre divinités et administrateurs dans les contes des Six Dynasties et des Tang”, *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 2, 1986:99 n. 45. The ed. used by Robert Ford Campany in his *Strange writings. Anomaly accounts in Early Medieval China*, New York 1996, is the *Shuoku* ed.
- 7 Important studies concerning the *SXZ* are Fukui Kôjun 福井康順, “Shinsen den kô” 神仙傳考, in: *Tôhō shûkyô* 東方宗教 1 (1951):1-20, and Sawada Mizuho’s 沢田瑞穂 introduction to his Japanese translation of the *SXZ*, “Shinsen den ni tsuite” 神仙傳について, in: Honda 本田 et al., *Chugoku koten bungaku taikai* 中國古典文學大系 8, Tokyo 1969:564-569. (Fukui presents, in addition, a short discussion under point five, “‘Shinsen den’ no seikaku” 神仙傳の性格, in: Fukui Kôjun, *Shinsen den* 神仙傳. Tokyo 1983; pp. 23-27. I am grateful to Glen Dudbridge who brought this work to my attention). I have consulted them

and research tools, such as a complete concordance, are still lacking. This study aims to discuss what remains of the *SXZ* and to bring together the scattered evidence concerning its authorship and transmission. Thus, it is hoped, a point of departure for a future critical edition will be provided.⁸

with profit. Stephen W. Durrant lists neither Fukui nor Sawada (who himself refers to Fukui), in his article “Shen-hsien chuan”, in: William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, Bloomington 1986:677f. In 1978 Liu Li submitted a type-written doctoral thesis *Légendes taoïstes du Chen-sien tchouan. Traduction et étude annotées*, a copy of which is in the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (I 5461 in 4^o). This thesis consists of an introduction presenting Ge Hong’s life (pp. 2-7), a history of the text (pp. 7-14)—where some sources of *SXZ* quotations as well as bibliographical evidence are briefly given (one page) and the different editions discussed in more detail (two and a half pages) and Fukui’s study is introduced (pp. 10-14). The bulk of the introduction (pp. 14-35) examines Ge Hong’s concept of immortality, thus continuing to a certain extent what Kaltenmark has begun for the *Liexian zhuan* (Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan. (Biographies légendaires des Immortels taoïstes de l’antiquité)*. Paris 1953:8-26). The main part of the thesis gives an annotated translation of 25 biographies (pp. 48-212). In part 2 of her dissertation, Gertrud Güntsch presents the first complete translation (into German) of the 94 biographies of the *SXZ* as published in the *Daozang jinghua* ed. Besides, she presents a typology of the immortals described in the *SXZ* (part 3). She also gives a “Textgeschichte – Textkritik” (history of the text, textual criticism, pp. 9-17) in which she lists the most important Chinese works that mentioned the *SXZ*. She summarizes Fukui’s findings as well as those of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, and gives a few hints on the various eds. Then a table is added listing the order of the biographies as to be found in a) the *Daozang jinghua* ed., b) the *Yimen guangdu* ed., c) the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世眞仙體道通鑑 (since the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* does not explicitly quote the *SXZ*, its relevant biographies ought to be dealt with as—strictly speaking—parallel texts), and d) the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記. Cf. Gertrud Güntsch, *Das Shenhsien chuan und das Erscheinungsbild eines Hsien*. Frankfurt a.M., New York, Paris 1988.

8 Present author is currently revising a critical edition of the *SXZ* with a complete concordance for publication.

2. Bibliographical Evidence

The earliest mention of the *SXZ* is to be found in the *Baopuzi waipian* 抱朴子外篇. It is Ge Hong himself who, in his autobiography, says: “I also compiled [a book on] those who are not normally listed, and made the *Shenxian zhuan* in 10 scrolls.”⁹ According to Ge Hong who “laid down (*ding* 定) [his brush] in the *jianwu* 建武 [reign period] (AD 317),”¹⁰ one could come to the conclusion that this work must have been written before AD 317/8.¹¹

Lu Xiuqing’s 陸修靜 (406-477) catalogue of Daoist works, compiled in the seventh year of the *taishi* 泰始 reign period of the Liu Song dynasty (471) upon imperial order,¹² lists a *SXZ* in one wrapper (*bu* 部) and 10 *juan* by Baopu zi Ge Hong.¹³

A work that has not come down to us as a whole but survives in more than 240 fragments, the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳¹⁴—attributed to Ma Shu 馬樞 (522-581)—lists a *SXZ* in 10 *juan*¹⁵ among Hong’s works in its Ge

9 *Baopuzi waipian*, Sun Xingyan’s 孫星衍 ed., in: *Xinbian Zhuzi jicheng* (新編) 諸子集成, Taipei 1974, 50.203; tr. James R. Ware, *Alchemy, medicine, and religion in the China of A.D. 320. The Nei P’ien of Ko Hung*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1966:17.

10 Loc. cit.

11 For an argument against the possible statement that internal evidence points to a later date, cf. *infra*, p. 748.

12 Cf. Zhen Luan’s 甄鸞 *Xiao dao lun* 笑道論 (AD 570) ap. *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 T. 2110, 52.151b. For the *Xiao dao lun* now cf. Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao. Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China*. Princeton, 1995.

13 Cf. Falin’s 法琳 *Bian zheng lun* 辯正論 (AD 626) T. 2110, 52.546b.

14 Cf. present author’s *The fragments of the Daoxue zhuan. Critical edition, translation and analysis of a medieval collection of Daoist biographies*, Frankfurt a.M., New York, 2000.

15 Cf. *Daoxue zhuan*, ap. *Xianyuan bianzhu* 仙苑編珠, by Wang Songnian 王松年 (late Tang), HY 596, 1.7af. Texts in the *Zhengtong daoang* [the Daoist canon of the *zhengtong* reign period [1436-49] and the *Xu daoang jing* [scriptures supplementary to the Daoist canon] are cited by the HY-number assigned in the *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist*

Hong biography. However, Ma Shu may not have seen the text himself—he may have taken Ge Hong's autobiography¹⁶ as (one of) his source(s) (see synopsis below.)

The *Jin shu* 晉書—officially commissioned by an edict of 642 and approved probably only two years later¹⁷—says in its official Ge Hong biography that Ge wrote, among other works, “a *Shenxian*—神仙, a *Liangshi*—良吏, a *Yinyi*—隱逸, a *Jiyi*—集異 etc. *zhuan* 傳, 10 *juan* each.”¹⁸ Again, the compilers of the *Jin shu* may not have had the *SXZ* at hand. As can be seen from a synopsis of the relevant passage the *Jin shu* account is, on the one hand, so close to that of the *Daoxue zhuan* and, on the other, sufficiently different from Ge Hong's autobiography that it is highly probable that the *Daoxue zhuan* was the source which the compilers of the *Jin shu* may have relied on.

Literature. Edited by Wang Tu-chien. Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, no. 25. Beijing: Yanjing University, 1925.

16 Cf. *Baopuzi waipian* 50.203.

17 Cf. David McMullen, *State and scholars in T'ang China*, Cambridge 1988:169, with further references.

18 *Jin shu*, ed. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 21983, 72.1913. Unless otherwise stated, the dynastic histories edited by the Zhonghua shuju will be used. It has to be said, however, that the Bona 百衲 ed. is preferable in any case. Collation often shows that the modern edition has a worse reading or even introduces mistakes not seen in earlier editions, but as at the moment I do not have the Bona edition at my disposal I have to rely on the modern one.

Synopsis of relevant passages from *Ge Hong's autobiography* (*Baopuzi waipian*), *the Daoxue zhuan* and *the Jin shu*

WP ^a		碑頌詩賦百卷，軍書檄移章	表箋記	三
DXZ ^b	著內外篇凡一百一十六篇	碑誄詩賦百卷，檄	表	三
JS ^c	其餘所著	碑誄詩賦百卷，移檄	表	三
WP	十卷又撰俗所不列者為	神仙傳十卷又撰高尚不仕者為		隱逸
DXZ	十卷	神仙傳十卷	良吏傳十卷	隱逸
JS	十卷	神仙	良吏	隱逸
WP	傳十卷	又	抄五經七史百家之言	方伎短
DXZ	傳十卷	集異	抄五經	方伎
JS	集異等	傳各十卷	抄五經	方伎
WP	雜奇要	三百一十卷		
DXZ	雜事	三百一十卷	金匱藥方百卷肘後要方	四卷
JS	雜事	三百一十卷	金匱藥方百卷肘後要方	四卷

a *Baopuzi waipian* 50.203.

b *Daoxue zhuan* ap. *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 1.7a9-7b6.

c *Jin shu* 72.1913.

No imperial bibliographies survive between the *Han shu* 漢書 and the *Sui shu* 隋書, although traces of Liang 梁 bibliographies are seen in the *Sui shu*¹⁹. In the year 656, the bibliography of the *Sui shu* was submitted to the throne together with the other monographs (the annals having already been presented in 636). According to the *Sui shu jingji zhi* 隋書經籍志 there existed a *SXZ* in 10 *juan*, attributed to Ge Hong, in the imperial library of the Sui (581-618).²⁰

Soon after 721, Wu Jing 毋暝 compiled the *Gujin shu lu* 古今書錄 in 40 *juan*, a summary of which was included (probably before 756) in the *Guo shi* 國史 by Wei Shu 韋述 (d. 757). The *Guo shi* then was copied into the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (completed in 945). This *Jiu Tang shu* lists a *SXZ* in 10 *juan* by Ge Hong.²¹

A copy of the *SXZ* then must have found its way to Japan, perhaps during the Tang, for Fujiwara Sukeyo's 藤原佐世 (d. 898) catalogue *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 lists a *SXZ* in 20 (廿) *juan* by Ge Hong.²²

Ge Hong's *SXZ* in 10 *juan* is entered in the *shenxian* section of the *Song shi* 宋史 bibliography.²³ The *Song shi* was a work written in Yuan times, completed in 1345 and printed in Hangzhou during 1346.²⁴ The bibliographical monograph belonging to the three quarters of the first edition that have not been preserved occurs in the *Bona* 百衲 edition as a reproduction of the edition Zhu Ying 朱英 had published in 1480 as viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi. For this entry the compilers of the *Song shi* probably made use of the *Zhongxing sichao guo shi* 中興四朝國史 or "History of the four reigns of our dynasty since the restoration."²⁵ The

19 Usually a sort of commentary, introduced by "the Liang [catalogue(s)] has (have)...", is appended to the entry whenever the older information differs from the Sui account.

20 *Sui shu jingji zhi* 2.979.

21 *Jiu Tang shu jingjizhi* 1.2004.

22 Cf. *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku*, ed. Guyi congshu 古逸叢書, 19b.

23 *Song shi yiwenzhi*, Bona ed., 4.12a.

24 Cf. Piet van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period. A Critical Study and Index*. London 1984:20-23.

25 Van der Loon's argument for this hypothesis is that "the fifteen fragments [of the *Zhongxing sichao guo shi*] available can all be accounted for in the *Song shi*" and

bibliographies along with the other monographs of this work were completed in 1254 and revised in 1257.²⁶ This would imply that the *SXZ* was still available during the Southern Song. Another catalogue seems to confirm this hypothesis: the revised and enlarged version of the *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志, edited by Chao Gongwu's 晁公武 pupil Yao Yingji 姚應績 and reprinted in 1249,²⁷ lists the *SXZ* in 10 *juan*, although it does not mention the author.²⁸ On the other hand, the imperial catalogue of the restored Song, the *Zhongxing guan'ge shu mu* 中興館閣書目, a descriptive catalogue in 70 *juan*, completed in 1178, amounting to 44,486 *juan*, now lost but surviving in a large number of fragments,²⁹ lists a *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 in three (*sic*) *juan* by Liu Xiang 劉向, presenting 63 (*sic*) persons; a *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 in forty *juan*, totalling 429 items (*shi*), by Du Guangting 杜光庭; a *Xu [Shen]xian zhuan* 續仙傳 in three *juan*, with 36 persons, by Shen Fen 沈汾; a *Zongxian bilu* 總仙祕錄 in 130 *juan* by Yue Shi 樂史; Wang Songnian's 王松年 *Xianyuan bianzhu* 仙苑編珠 in one (*sic*) *juan*, presenting 128 persons; and, finally, Jian Suzi's 見素子 *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳 in ten *juan* with 292 persons.³⁰ Yet it does not list a *Shenxian zhuan*. We may infer from this that a copy of the *SXZ* must have found its way back into the imperial library after the *Zhongxing guan'ge shu mu* was written.

Also during the Song an abridged version in one *juan* of the *SXZ* was compiled. In 1015 the imperial library burnt down.³¹ Losses were made good by copying the books available in the emperor's private library Taiqing lou 太清樓, and on January 8 1042, Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 *et al.* could submit the now lost descriptive catalogue *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總

they can be regarded as a random sample as these titles are found in different parts of the *shenxian* section and are not clustered in one place (van der Loon, *op. cit.*: 23).

26 Cf. van der Loon, *op. cit.* 19.

27 Cf. van der Loon, *op. cit.* 25-27.

28 *Junzhai dushu zhi*, Quzhou ed., 9.12a.

29 Cf. van der Loon, *op. cit.* 18.

30 [*Zhongxing guan'ge*] *shu mu* ap. *Yu hai* 玉海 58.8b.

31 For the following, cf. van der Loon, *op. cit.* 4ff.

目³². An abridged version, listing the titles and *juan*-numbers only, was published in 1144. This had Ge Hong's abridged work in one *juan* (略一傳) as missing in 1144.³³ A version consisting of one *juan* in fact is still extant: it makes up *juan* 109 of the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (preface written in 1028 or 1029) and thus represents one of the two versions available that preserve "long" texts.³⁴

After the Song the *SXZ* was lost: the *Daozang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目錄, almost certainly compiled by the editors of the Ming *Daozang* themselves³⁵, lists the *SXZ* in ten *juan* by Ge Hong as missing.³⁶ And none of the Ming catalogues lists it. It was probably lost already at the end of the Southern Song dynasty, for Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (retired as an official in 1249)—although listing the *Liexian zhuan*, *Zhen'gao* 真誥, *Xu [Shen]xian zhuan*, *Jixian zhuan* 集仙傳 and various other important Daoist works in the *shenxian* section of his private catalogue *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (latest date in the text: 1240³⁷)—has no *SXZ*.

Summarizing the bibliographical evidence it can be said that during the Liu Song dynasty the *SXZ* in ten *juan*, attributed to Ge Hong, was available at least in Daoist circles and from the Sui until the Southern Song in the imperial library as well as in at least one private library before it was lost.

3. Other Testimonies

Catalogue entries may usually provide information concerning availability, size (i.e. number of *juan* or *pian*) and author of a work in question. This is

32 In 66 *juan*, covering 30,669 *juan* of described titles, whereas 36,280 *juan* had been catalogued before the conflagration.

33 *Chongwen zongmu* 10.9a.

34 See below, paragraph 4.2.

35 Cf. van der Loon, op. cit.: 62. Robinet gives as its date AD 1275, cf. Robinet, op. cit., I:28. It is true that the year 1275 is mentioned, but it indicates the year when the tomb inscription was erected, the reproduction of which is appended to the *Daozang quejing mulu*, 2.21b-24a.

36 *Daozang quejing mulu* 1.21a.

37 Cf. van der Loon, op. cit.: 27.

clearly not enough to identify it with certainty. Additional testimonies must be sought for.

Of special interest would be any information coming from sources older than the Sui dynasty.

3.1 Pre-Tang

Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451)³⁸ in 428 was commissioned to compile a commentary to Chen Shou's 陳壽 (233-297)³⁹ "History of the Three Kingdoms", *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, and, as one of four⁴⁰ *zhongshu shilang* 中書侍郎 "Gentleman-in-Attendance of the Palace Writers"—a fifth grade official⁴¹—presented the result to the throne in 429.⁴² He described his task as follows: "[Chen Shou's *Sanguo zhi*] is rather short and sometimes there are omissions. I have the imperial decree to search into the detail and to devote my efforts to discover every source; I have looked out old traditions from the past, and at the same time I have recovered records which have been neglected."⁴³ As a consequence, he quoted from a vast bulk of texts (most of which are now lost) in his commentary. Pei, after twice citing the *Baopuzi*⁴⁴ and then quoting Ge Hong's *SXZ*, gives a personal comment, stating that what Ge Hong had recorded in recent times is deluding the people. He adds: "*His books and writings circulate quite [freely] in the world, therefore I took up and chose several items and*

38 Official biographies in *Song shu* 宋書 64.1698-1701 and, abridged but based on it, *Nan shi* 南史 33.

39 Both official biographies, *Huayangguo zhi* 華陽國志 11 and *Jin shu* 82, not only differ in his date of death, but also in a series of other details. Cf. Rafe de Crespigny, *The Records of the Three Kingdoms: A Study in the Historiography of San-kuo chih*, Occasional Paper 9, Canberra 1970:2-4.

40 Cf. *Song shu* 40.1245.

41 Cf. *Song shu* 40.1262.

42 Cf. de Crespigny, op. cit. 14-19.

43 Text given in *Sanguo zhi* Vol. 5:1471. Tr. de Crespigny, op. cit. 15.

44 Note that neither quotation can be located within the *Baopuzi neipian* nor the *waipian*.

entered them at the end of [this] chapter. ...” 其書文頗行世，故撮取數事，載之篇末也。⁴⁵

Roughly seventy years later, Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536), a very important figure for the collection, editing and annotation of early Daoist scriptures—above all, but not exclusively, of Mao Shan origin—completed his *Zhen'gao*, “Declarations of the perfected”,⁴⁶ a compilation of *shang-qing* texts accompanied by his own commentary. Tao refers on nine occasions to the SXZ in comments like “[Qing Niu 青牛] namely is Feng Junda 封君達. [His biography] comes out of the SXZ and the *Wu yue xu* 五岳序.”⁴⁷ From his evidence we know that, at the end of the fifth century, the SXZ contained at least the biographies of Feng Junda⁴⁸, Shen Xi 沈羲⁴⁹, Lü Gong 呂恭⁵⁰, Luan Ba 欒巴⁵¹, Dongling Shengmu 東陵聖母⁵², Feng Gang 鳳綱⁵³, Chen Anshi 陳安世⁵⁴, Li Shaojun 李少君⁵⁵, Liu Gang's 劉綱 wife [Fan furen 樊夫人]⁵⁶, and Li Babai 李八百⁵⁷.

Thanks to a tomb inscription by the Prince of Shaoling of the Liang dynasty—Xiao Lun 蕭綸, styled Shitiao 世調 (d. 551)⁵⁸, sixth son of the

45 *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu* 吳 *shu* 18.1428. Italics added.

46 After 499, as this year is mentioned twice in *Zhen'gao*, HY 1010, 13.8b and 15.5a, cf. Strickmann, op. cit. 244 n.10. Robinet also has “après 499”, cf. Robinet, op. cit. II:313. Strickmann (loc. cit., and op. cit. 64) gives 499 as date of its completion.

47 即封君達也。出神仙傳五嶽序。Cf. *Zhen'gao*, HY 1010, 10.23a.

48 Loc. cit.

49 Op. cit.: 10.23a.

50 Op. cit.: 10.23a.

51 Op. cit.: 10.23b.

52 Op. cit.: 10.24a.

53 Loc. cit.

54 Op. cit.: 10.24b.

55 Loc. cit.

56 Op. cit.: 10.25a.

57 Op. cit.: 13.13a.

58 Lun's official biography in the *Liang shu* says that he died, in tragic circumstances, in 551, aged 33 *sui* (cf. *Liang shu* 29.436). The problem of the date of

founder of the dynasty⁵⁹—which must date from between 536-551, we have an independent confirmation that Tao Hongjing not only obtained “Ge Hong’s *SXZ*” but that he saw “the matters of all immortals of the eight lords and [the Prince of] Huainan” therein.⁶⁰ Almost the same sentence is reproduced in the *Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan* 華陽陶隱居內傳, a work compiled by a certain Jia Song 賈嵩 of the Tang.⁶¹ Tao’s official biography in later works like the *Liang shu* 梁書⁶² and the *Nan shi* 南史⁶³ again informs us that Tao had read the *SXZ*. Tao’s nephew, Tao Yi 陶翊, composed a *Huayang yinju xiansheng benqi lu* 華陽隱居先生本起錄 (that is often quoted by Jia Song) which says that “in the cottage of his fellow-villageman, Mister Ju, [Tao] obtained the 61st⁶⁴ *juan* of Ge Hong’s *SXZ*.” Tao has not only had access to the sixth *juan*, but eventually to most probably the whole *SXZ*: of those nine persons that in *juan* 10 of the received version of his *Zhen’gao* are said to “come out *chu* 出 of the *SXZ*”⁶⁵, one (Shen Xi) can be assigned to *juan* 3 and one (Feng Junda) to *juan* 10 of the *SXZ* as it was available during the Tang⁶⁶.

his birth and, therefore, his age is discussed in Qian Daxin’s 錢大昕 (1728-1804) *Nianer shi kao yi* 廿二史考異, as quoted in *Liang shu* vol. 2:440.

59 This was Xiao Yan (464-549) who reigned as Liang Wudi from 502-549.

60 Cf. *Huayang yinju neizhuan*, HY 300, 3.2b; *Maoshan zhi*, HY 304, 21.6b.

61 Cf. *Huayang yinju neizhuan*, HY 300, 1.3a. Also cf. Strickmann, op. cit.: 142 and n. 57.

62 *Liang shu* 51.742f. As he lived 456-536 and “at the age of ten *sui* obtained Ge Hong’s *SXZ*” (*Liang shu* 51.742), he must have got hold of this book in 465.

63 *Nan shi* 76.1897-1900.

64 This must be a copyist’s error. The *Sandong zhu’nang*, referring to the *juan* number when quoting a *SXZ* biography, has the Liu An *vita* in the 6th *juan* of the *SXZ*, cf. *Sandong zhu’nang*, HY 1131, 8.5a. Note that this sentence does not occur in the abridged version of the *Huayang yinju xiansheng benqi lu*, in: *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 107.1b-11b.

65 Cf. *Zhen’gao*, HY 1010, 10.23a-25b.

66 As the *Sandong zhu’nang* often states the number of the *SXZ-juan* from which it quotes a *vita*, the order of some of the *SXZ*-biographies can be established as it must have existed during the Tang. It is reproduced below on table 5.

3.2 Tang

At the end of Guo Wen's 郭文 official biography in the *Jin shu* we find the sentence "Ge Hong [and] Yu Chan 庾闡⁶⁷ both wrote a [Guo Wen] *vita*."⁶⁸ Although it is not stated which of Ge Hong's works is implied, one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the *SXZ* was alluded to, as the *Xianyuan bianzhu* gives the *SXZ* as source of a Guo Wen biography.⁶⁹

Liang Su 梁肅 (752-793) of Mount Tiantai wrote a "Discourse on the *Shenxian zhuan*", *Shenxian zhuan lun* 神仙傳論, in which he mentions that "the *SXZ* altogether contains 190 persons."⁷⁰

About a century later, Wang Songnian 王松年, who as a *daoshi* at some time lived on Mount Tiantai⁷¹, compiled a *Xianyuan bianzhu* 仙苑編珠, "Threaded pearls [from the] park of the immortals",⁷² about "people who ... studied the *dao* and showed evidence of having achieved immortality."⁷³ Wang was born probably in the Tang but certainly lived at the beginning of the Five Dynasties.⁷⁴ The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要⁷⁵ already criticized the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考

67 Fl. 313, cf. *Jin shu* 92.2385.

68 *Jin shu* 94.2441.

69 Cf. p. 808 and note 334.

70 *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 739.14a-15a.

71 In present-day Zhejiang.

72 Also see below, p. 763.

73 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, *xu*: 1a.

74 He is not to be confused with the famous Wang Songnian who lived during the Nanbeichao (fl. 554) and whose biography is in the *Beiqi shu* 35 and in the *Beishi* 35.

75 *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 28:80. Note that the date given in *Siku tiyao*, in order to show that Wang was still alive during the later Liang, is not correct: it says that "in the book (i.e. *Xianyuan bianzhu*) there is the date 'second year of the *kaicheng* [period] of the Liang [-dynasty]'", but there was no *kaicheng* era in the Later Liang dynasty. Instead, it must be corrected into *kaiping* [period], 907-911. Cf. *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 3.23b.

for making Wang a man of Tang⁷⁶. In fact, two Liang dates do appear in the *Xianyuan bianzhu*: 1) “second month of the third year of the Liang *kai-ping* 開平[-period]”, AD 909,⁷⁷ and 2) “eleventh month of the third year of the [Liang] *tianshi* 天祐[-period]”, AD 906.⁷⁸ Both dates appear in quotations from a now lost work, called *Lingyan ji* 靈驗記.⁷⁹ This sets the *datum post quem* for the *Xianyuan bianzhu* in its present form as AD 909. Probably, the *Xianyuan bianzhu* was finished even in Song times, as it quotes the (now lost) *Shier zhenjun zhuan* 十二真君傳⁸⁰. However, it has been suspected that the *Daozang* edition of the *Xianyuan bianzhu* contains additions by a later hand.⁸¹ The question of its date of composition must be left open. The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qeshu mu* 秘書省續編到四庫闕書目 (issued 1145)⁸² and the *Song shi yiwenzhi* 宋史藝文志⁸³ list the *Xianyuan bianzhu*, with Wang Songnian as its author, in

76 This view was adopted by Schipper (cf. Kristofer M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste. Han Wou-ti nei-tchouan*. Paris 1965:81 n.3), whereas Lagerwey, relying on Chen Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考, Beijing 1960:237, has Wang “as of Five Dynasties or beginning of Song” (cf. John Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao. Somme taoïste du VI^e siècle*. Paris 1981:14 n.1).

77 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 3.23b.

78 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 3.24b. All other dates mentioned in the *Xianyuan bianzhu* are Tang or earlier.

79 The *Daozang* preserves a text composed by Du Guangting which bears the title *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記. According to Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933). Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale*. Paris 1989:206, it was compiled after 905. The received text is not complete; now as a 15 *juan* version in the *Daozang*, HY 590, it originally consisted of 20 *juan*. The loss can almost entirely be made good by the version of the *Yunji qiqian*. Cf. Verellen, *op. cit.*: 206f.

80 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 2.20b. A text of this title in two *juan*, written by Yu Bian 余卞 (biography in *Song shi* 31), is entered in the *Song shi yiwenzhi*, Bona ed., 4.17b.

81 Cf. *Siku tiyao*, loc. cit.

82 *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qeshu mu* 2.30b.

83 *Song shi yiwenzhi*, Bona ed., 4.17b.

one *juan*. The version contained within the *Daozang*, however, is arranged in three *juan*.⁸⁴

Wang explicitly indicates which examples he followed when he was compiling the *Xianyuan bianzhu*: he says that he examined the *Liexian zhuan*, *SXZ*, *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣⁸⁵, *Yuanshi shangzhen ji* 元始上真記⁸⁶, *Daoxue zhuan*, *Zhen'gao*⁸⁷, *Louguan zhuan* 樓觀傳⁸⁸, *Lingyan zhuan* 靈驗傳⁸⁹, *Bazhen zhuan* 八真傳, and the *Shier zhenjun zhuan*⁹⁰. He chose Li Han's 李瀚 (fl. c. 750-770) *Meng qiu* 蒙求 as his model of a text with rhymed two four-character stanzas and supplied each stanza with a comment.⁹¹ His comments exclusively consist of quotations from other

84 Probably due to later additions?

85 The "Concealed instructions for ascent to perfection" (Strickmann, op. cit.: 140) by Tao Hongjing. Of the original 24 *juan* (cf. *Huayang Tao yinju neizhuan*, HY 300, 2.17a), or 25 *juan* (cf. *Tang shu jingjizhi* 2.2030; *Junzhai dushu zhi*, Quzhou edition, 16.6a), or 60 *juan* (cf. *Chongwen zongmu* 9.5b), or 35 *juan* (cf. *Song shi yiwenzhi*, ed. Bona, 4.14a), only a three *juan* version survives in the *Daozang*, HY 421. Also see van der Loon, op. cit.: 143.

86 The *Daozang* preserves a *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 元始上真衆仙記, HY 166, attributed to Ge Hong.

87 Cf. *supra*, p. 739.

88 Cf. Chen Guofu, op. cit.: 235-239, and van der Loon, op. cit.: 157.

89 Probably Du Guangting's *Daojiao lingyan ji*, HY 590. Cf. *supra*, note 79.

90 In two *juan*, by Yu Bian (biography in *Song shi* 333.10717). Cf. *Song shi yiwenzhi*, ed. Bona, 4.17b.

91 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, *xu*: 1b. Concerning the *Meng qiu*, Johnson says: "The book, which was widely used in Tang and Song times, consists of rhyming couplets, with each four-character line alluding to an instructive or emblematic incident in the life of a particular figure from Chinese history ... Inclusion in *Meng qiu* guaranteed that a person would become a by-word for whatever quality or virtue the incident alluded to." (Cf. David Johnson, "The city-god cults of T'ang and Sung China", in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45 (1985):389 n.89). An English translation was published by Burton Watson in his *Meng Ch'iu: Famous Episodes From Chinese History and Legend*. Tokyo 1979.

works. Wang reports that the *SXZ* included the biographies of 117 persons.⁹²

3.3 Yuan

Deng Guangjian 鄧光薦 (d. 1297) correctly states that the “*Liexian [zhuan]* begins [with] Chisong Zi and ends [with] Xuan Su. Upwards it does not reach Huangdi.” He then goes on: “Zhichuan’s 稚川⁹³ *Shenxian [zhuan]* begins [with] Guang Cheng[-zi] 廣成 and reaches Feng Junda 封君達. Downwards it does not extend to the Jin [dynasty].” On the other hand, Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, who includes Deng’s statement in the preface to his own *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑, “Comprehensive mirror of successive generations of perfected immortals [who] embraced the *dao*,”⁹⁴ does not reveal how many persons he has himself seen entered in the *SXZ*. Instead his preface quotes a certain Master Bai Haiqiong 白海瓊先生⁹⁵ saying: “Baopu zi of the Jin made a *SXZ*. What it records are more than a thousand (*sic*) persons.”⁹⁶

The last testimonies confront us with the problem of how many biographies might have been included in the *SXZ*. Bai Haiqiong’s figure of “more than a thousand” seems surprisingly high, although not entirely impossible: according to the preface to the *SXZ*, Ruan Cang 阮倉, *dafu* during the Qin dynasty, had written the *vitae* of “several hundred persons,”⁹⁷ which in turn were used by Liu Xiang when he wrote the *Liexian zhuan*⁹⁸. Nevertheless, Bai’s number could be a mistake made by any copyist during the process of transmission of Zhao’s work and what he

92 *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 1.1a. He also reports that the *SXZ* consisted of 10 *juan* but does not say it with his own words. Instead, he quotes Ge Hong’s *vita* as taken from the *Daoxue zhuan*, cf. *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 1.7b.

93 Ge Hong’s *zi*.

94 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (preface dated 1294), HY 296, *xu*: 5b.

95 Occurs only once more: in *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 37.16a, but no dates are available. He could have lived at any time between the second half of the eighth and the late thirteenth century.

96 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, *xu*: 1a.

97 Cf. *SXZ xu* ap. *Junzhai dushu zhi*, Yuan ed., 3B25a.

98 Cf. *Baopuzi neipian* 2.7.

may have meant was “more than a hundred”, which then cannot be much more than hundred. Alternatively, the quotation may be correct, which would then mean that Bai Haiqiong no longer had the Tang version of the *SXZ* at hand. Yet this would also imply that Zhao, too, no longer had access to the Tang (or earlier) version for he did not correct this statement.

Probably nearer to the truth come the more reliable testimonies of Liang Su and Wang Songnian, although we have no means by which to decide whether Liang’s 190 persons or Wang’s 117 persons are the correct number. Kominami, reconstructing *juan* 4 of the *SXZ* which yields 21 *vitae*, extrapolated for the whole work 10 (*juan*) times 21 or “roughly 200 biographies.”⁹⁹ However, as the size of the different *vitae* differed considerably, such a simple extrapolation cannot be anything but speculative.

4. The “long” versions

The most comprehensive versions of the *SXZ* biographies older than the Ming editions are to be found in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 and the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 to which we now have to turn. Both reproduce texts substantially longer than almost all of the *SXZ* quotations. Any reconstruction of the *SXZ* will have to start with these “long”¹⁰⁰ texts.

4.1 *Taiping guangji*

Ordered by Song Taizong (r. 960-976), work on the *Taiping guangji*, “Extensive records of the Great Peace [period]”, was begun in 977, third month, by a commission of thirteen members presided by Li Fang 李昉 (*zi* Mingyuan 明遠, 925-996). The *Taiping guangji*, a collection of stories and anecdotes arranged under 92 categories and 150 sub-categories divided in 500 *juan*, was presented to the emperor on the 13th day of the 8th month of 978—or only 17 months after its commencement. During the first month

99 Kominami Ichirô 小南一郎, “‘Shinsen den’ no fukugen” 神仙傳の復元, in: *Iriya kyôju Ogawa kyôju taiyasu kinen chûgoku bungaku gogaku ronshû* 入矢教授小川教授退休記念中國文學語學論集, Kyoto 1974:301-331, especially p. 309.

100 “Long” texts does not mean “complete” texts, as will be shown below.

of 981 it was carved and printed by imperial command, but soon afterwards the blocks were removed and eventually destroyed. None of the texts the modern editions¹⁰¹ depend upon is older than Ming.

The 60 entries indicated as being taken from the *SXZ* represent 58 biographies. They are listed in table 1 below.

Table 1: *SXZ* biographies in *Taiping guangji*

<i>Biography</i>	<i>TPGJ</i> juan: page	
Laozi 老子	1:	1
Guang Chengzi 廣成子		5
Peng Zu 彭祖	2:	8
Wei Boyang 魏伯陽		11
Feng Gang 鳳綱	4:	24
Wei Shuqing 衛叔卿		28
Mozi 墨子	5:	31
Liu Zheng 劉政		33
Sun Bo 孫博		33
Tianmen Zi 天門子		34
Yu Zi 玉子		34
Shen Xi 沈羲		36
Chen Anshi 陳安世		37
Baishi xiansheng 白石先生	7:	44
Huang Chuping 皇初平		44
Wang Yuan 王遠		45
Baishan Fu 伯山甫		48
Ma Mingsheng 馬明生 / Taizhen furen 太真夫人		48
Li Babai 李八百		49
Li A 李阿		50

101 In this study the *Zhonghua shuju* ed. in 10 vols., Beijing ³1986, is used. It is based on the printed Tan Kai 談愷 ed. of ca. 1567, collated with Chen Zhan's 陳鱣 (1753-1817) ed. and the Ming manuscript copy from the Shen Yuwen 沈與文 studio (Beijing National Library); it also consulted the Xu Zichang 許自昌 ed. (Ming) and the Huang Sheng 黃晟 ed. (Qing). Cf. Wang Shaoying, introduction *Taiping guangji*, p. 2.

<i>Biography</i>	<i>TPGJ juan: page</i>
Liu An 劉安	8: 51
Yin Changsheng 陰長生	53
Zhang Daoling 張道陵	55
Li Shaojun ¹⁰² 李少君	9: 59
Kong Yuanfang 孔元方	61
Wang Lie 王烈	61
Jiao Xian 焦先	62
Sun Deng 孫登	63
Lu Wenjing = Lu Gong 呂恭	64
Shen Jian 沈建	65
Heshang Gong 河上公	10: 66
Liu Gen 劉根	67
Li Yiqi 李意期	70
Wang Xing 王興	70
Zhao Qu 趙瞿	71
Wang Yao 王遙	72
Taishan Laofu 泰山老父	11: 73
Wu Yan 巫炎	73
Liu Ping 劉憑	74
Luan Ba 欒巴	75
Zuo Ci 左慈	76
Hu Gong 壺公	12: 80
Jizi Xun 薊子訓	82
Dong Feng 董奉	83
Li Changzai 李常在	85
Mao Jun 茅君	13: 87
Kong Anguo 孔安國	88
Yin Gui 尹軌	89
Jie Xiang 介象	89

102 Although the Ming edition of the *Taiping guangji* gives no source for Li Shaojun's biography, the *Taiping guangji* text, nevertheless, corresponds *verbatim*, apart from a few variants, with that presented in the *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 2.14a, where it is quoted as being taken from the *SXZ*. In addition, the *Zhen'gao* already assigned a Li Shaojun biography to the *SXZ* (cf. note 55).

<i>Biography</i>	<i>TPGJ</i> juan: page
Su Xiangong 蘇仙公	90
Cheng Xiangong 成仙公	92
(Guo Pu 郭璞)	94
(Yin Si 尹思)	95
Taizhen furen 太真夫人 / Ma Mingsheng 馬明生	57: 350
Ma Gu 馬姑	60: 369
Ban Meng 班孟	61: 382
Ge Xuan 葛玄	71: 441
Ge Xuan 葛玄	466: 3839
Jie Xiang 介象	3839

The *Taiping guangji*'s reliability still has to be assessed. It seems that not all sources referred to by the *Taiping guangji* are correctly indicated. Foster showed that the monk Fa Xi, whose biography is said to be drawn from the *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記,¹⁰³ lived during the Sui dynasty, centuries after the writing of the *Shiyi ji*.¹⁰⁴ An interesting point is that, according to the *Taiping guangji*, the *SXZ* also contained Guo Pu's 郭璞 biography. Guo Pu lived 276-324.¹⁰⁵ As it does not seem very likely that biographies of immortals were written during their "lifetime," the *SXZ*, accordingly, should have been completed after 324.¹⁰⁶ But relying on Zhao Daoyi, who said that the "*Shenxian [zhuan]* begins [with] Guang Cheng[zi] and reaches Feng Junda, [but] downwards it does not extend to the Jin,"¹⁰⁷ we ought to reject Guo Pu's biography as of *SXZ* origin. The last sentence of this *Taiping guangji* *vita*, saying that the "*Jin shu* has [his official] biography"¹⁰⁸ may have been added by the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* and was not necessarily part of the original *vita*. But then we also have to reject

103 *Taiping guangji* 91.603.

104 Lawrence C. Foster, *The "Shih-i chi" and its Relationship to the Genre Known as "chih-kuai hsiao-shuo."* Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1974:97.

105 He has an official biography in *Jin shu* 72.1899-1910.

106 This is one reason why Sawada thinks that Guo Pu's biography could not have been in the original *SXZ*, cf. Sawada, op. cit.: 566.

107 Cf. supra p. 744.

108 *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 13.95. Also cf. Sawada, loc. cit.

Yin Si's 尹思 biography, for it mentions the "fifth year of the *yuankang* 元康 [period] of the Jin," i.e. AD 295.¹⁰⁹ Based on this argument, at least the last part of Wang Lie's biography—beginning with *you an Shenxian jing yun* 又按神仙經云 "Additional comment: the *Shenxian jing* says ..."—has to be repudiated, for it contains the date *Jin yongning nian zhong* 晉永寧年中, i.e. AD 301. It seems to be a comment added by a later hand (by the compilers of the *Taiping guangji*?). As listed in table 1, the *Taiping guangji* has Wang Yuan's as well as Ma Gu's respective biographies, the latter in the section presenting female immortals *nü xian* 女仙.¹¹⁰ Interestingly, 90% of it is to be found *verbatim*—apart from some variants and the first and the last sentences—in Wang Yuan's *vita*, where usually the name Wang Yuan is used, whereas in Ma Gu's biography it is systematically replaced by Wang's *zi* Fangping. It does not seem very likely that the author should have included a legend that is an almost totally integral part of another one of his collection. Rather, the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* might have extracted this part from the Wang Yuan *vita* and entered it again as Ma Gu's biography amongst the female immortals.¹¹¹

4.2 *Yunji qiqian*

It is in the *Yunji qiqian*, "Book-boxes of the clouds [labeled with] seven slips of bamboo"—indicating the seven groups of collected scriptures—, (preface written in 1028 or 1029) by Zhang Junfang 張君房¹¹² that we find, after an abridged version of the *Liexian zhuan*¹¹³, a *SXZ* in one *juan*.¹¹⁴ Its contents are shown in table 2. Furthermore, *juan* 28 quotes a small passage from Zhang Daoling's biography that is not seen in the version of *juan* 109.¹¹⁵ The whole chapter 28 is a quotation of the *Ershiba zhi*

109 *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 13.95.

110 *Taiping guangji* 60 (*nu xian* 5) p. 369-370.

111 On the Wang Yuan / Cai Jing / Ma Gu-complex, cf. *infra*, paragraph 8.

112 On the origin of the *Yunji qiqian*, cf. van der Loon, *op. cit.*: 33.

113 *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 108.

114 *Yunji qiqian* 109.

115 *Yunji qiqian* 25.5a.

二十八治 which itself quotes the *Sandong zhu'nang* 三洞珠囊.¹¹⁶ The passage in question indeed is to be found on page 8b of *juan 7* of the *Sandong zhu'nang* and is identical with it yet drops the latter's reference "*juan 5* (of the *SXZ*)."¹¹⁷ Of much greater importance—and apparently overlooked by other scholars—is the fact that *juan 86* contains a quotation from the *SXZ* (Ling Shouguang's 靈壽光 biography) and explicitly indicates its *locus* as *juan 10*.

Table 2: *SXZ* biographies in *Yunji qiqian* 86 and 109

<i>Biography</i>	<i>page</i>
Ling Shouguang	86.11b
Guang Chengzi	109. 1a
Ruo Shi	1b
Shen Wentai	2b
Huang Chuping	3a
Shen Jian	4a
Hua Ziqi	4b
Wei Boyang	5a
Shen Xi	6b
Li Babai	8a
Li A	9a
Wang Yuan	10a
Cai Jing	11a
She Zheng	15a
Sun Bo	15b
Yu Zi	16b
Tianmen Zi	"
Nanji Zi	18b
Huanglu Zi	"
Zhang Daoling	19a
Luan Ba	21a
Liu An	22a

116 *Sandong zhu'nang*, HY 1131, 7.1a-15a.

117 *Yunji qiqian* 28.5a.

Whereas Cai Jing's biography in the *Yunji qiqian* is presented as a *vita* in its own right, it is to be found in the *Taiping guangji* as an integral part of Wang Yuan's *vita*. The *Yunji qiqian*-version also contains the whole of *Taiping guangji*'s Ma Gu biography.¹¹⁸

As the *Yunji qiqian* also reproduces the *Liexian zhuan* it might be interesting to take a brief look at it, also since the *Liexian zhuan* seems to have been transmitted consistently from Song-times on¹¹⁹. Covering 48 of 70 *vitae* (or 69%),¹²⁰ it not only keeps their relative order as preserved in the actual text, but also the text itself is—apart from some variants and omissions—the same.¹²¹

4.3 Are these the texts in original length?

Comparing table 2 with table 1 we find 14 *vitae* occurring in the *Taiping guangji* as well as in the *Yunji qiqian*. It may now be asked whether both versions of these *Lives* are identical. A simple count of the number of characters yields the result shown in table 3.

Table 3: Comparing the *Taiping guangji* and the *Yunji qiqian* versions¹²²

<i>Biography</i>	char. in <i>TPGJ</i>	char. in <i>YJQQ</i>	difference
Shen Xi	536	540	4
Shen Jian	212	224	12
Wang Yuan	1620	311	1309
Sun Bo	289	353	64
Zhang Daoling	1305	694	617
Liu An	1488	677	811
Luan Ba	637	209	428
Li Babai	366	373	7

118 Cf. *infra*, paragraph 8.

119 Cf. Kaltenmark, *op. cit.*: 4.

120 Omitting, e.g., the most well-known persons such as Laozi, Guanling Yin Xi, Dongfang Shuo etc.

121 Cf. Kaltenmark, *op. cit.*: 4.

122 The longer version is printed in italics.

<i>Biography</i>	char. in <i>TPGJ</i>	char. in <i>YJQQ</i>	difference
Li A	277	228	49
Huang Chuping	315	316	1
Guang Chengzi	195	193	2
Wei Boyang	370	440	70
Tianmen Zi	193	187	6
Yu Zi	339	349	10
longer	7	7	

Table 3 is revealing. Only half of the *Yunji qiqian* biographies, which we thought of as abridged versions, are shorter than the *Taiping guangji* counterparts. Severely shortened by 50% or more are only the longest *vitae* of the *Taiping guangji*, i.e. Wang Yuan, Zhang Daoling, Liu An and Luan Ba. If we disregard differences of less than two percent, we are left with four biographies that are substantially longer in their *Yunji qiqian* version.

We may now ask whether at least the longer *Taiping guangji* texts might represent their original size. Peng Zu's *SXZ vita*, besides occurring in the *Taiping guangji*¹²³, is quoted in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽¹²⁴. The latter version includes a 12 character sentence that is missing in the *Taiping guangji*.

The conclusion to be drawn from these circumstances is that neither the *Taiping guangji* nor the *Yunji qiqian* seem to be showing the texts in original length, but may be abbreviated to an unknown extent. Other evidence, too, proves that the *Taiping guangji* abridges its texts: e.g., the *Taiping guangji* version of the *Han Wudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳 has half the size of its only "quasi-complète" version in the *Daozang*.¹²⁵ The *Taiping guangji* also contains biographies of Buddhist monks copied from the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳.¹²⁶ Selecting, e.g., Kang Senghui's 康僧會

123 *Taiping guangji* 2.8.

124 *Taiping yulan* 720.7a.

125 Cf. Kristofer M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste. Han Wou-ti nei-tchouan*. Paris 1965:3.

126 E.g., in its *juan* 87, 88, and 89 (first part).

*vita*¹²⁷ and collating it with the *Gaoseng zhuan* version¹²⁸, we find that the *Taiping guangji* abridges the text by at least 176 characters, inserts 16 and changes 57.

A closer examination of the *Taiping guangji* brings forth further evidence for Dudbridge's statement "that even the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* editors took liberties with their source"¹²⁹: The excerpt of Ge Xuan's *vita*, drawn from the *SXZ*, in *Taiping guangji* 466 shows more than 15 variant and 12 omitted characters compared with the fuller version in *Taiping guangji* 71, but has in at least two sentences a better reading than the latter. At times, the *Taiping guangji* splits the original *Life* and includes the individual parts into different chapters. One example we have already come across: the part of Wang Yuan's biography dealing with Ma Gu was copied as a separate Ma Gu *vita* into the *nü xian* 女仙 section.¹³⁰ To this we can add the fact that the Jie Xiang pericope in *Taiping guangji* 466.3839 was cut off from the Jie Xiang *Life* in *Taiping guangji* 13.90 (where this pericope is no longer to be seen). However, according to the *SXZ* quotation in the commentary to *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu shu* 吳書 18.1427f. it was an integral part of the Jie Xiang *SXZ vita*.

In analogy to the way in which the *Liexuan zhuan* is treated by the compilers of the *Yunji qiqian* we are tempted to postulate, as a working hypothesis, that, for at least the shorter biographies, the *Yunji qiqian* might be the more reliable source, perhaps even preserving the original texts of the shorter *vitae* as they were available during the Song.

5. Quotations

The "long" versions of *Taiping guangji* and *Yunji qiqian* cover only 70 biographies. Yet, according to the Tang testimonies, the *SXZ* must have contained more than a hundred. We therefore have to look for more *vitae* among the extant *SXZ* fragments to be found in a series of sources.

127 *Taiping guangji* 87.567-570.

128 *Gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2059, 50.1.325a-326b.

129 Cf. Glen Dudbridge, *The Tale of Li Wa*. London 1983:2, concerning the *Taiping guangji*'s version of the *Li Wa zhuan*.

130 Cf. *infra*, paragraph 8.

Distinction must be made between sources like texts and commentaries on the one hand and *lei shu* 類書 on the other, for we must suspect that *lei shu* are not independent sources but may copy earlier ones.¹³¹

5.1 Pre-Tang

The earliest quotations appear in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* (completed in 429).¹³² His work preserves three *SXZ* quotations.¹³³ These are the oldest ones found so far. They will be discussed in more detail below in paragraph 6.

One sequence of Tao Hongjing's commentary to his *Zhen'gao* 眞告¹³⁴ seems to be a quotation from the *SXZ* for it can—although it is abridged by some 21 characters—be matched with the text in the *Taiping guangji*.¹³⁵

Four *SXZ* quotations are to be found in Li Daoyuan's 酈道元 (d. 527) commentary to the *Shui jing* 水經, "Classic of the water[-ways]", a work traditionally attributed to Sang Qin 桑欽 of the Former Han describing almost fourteen hundred rivers and streams. According to JCC¹³⁶ in Nienhauser's (in places problematic) compendium, no early edition of the *Shui jing zhu* exists.¹³⁷ The earliest seems to be the originally gigantic Ming *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典¹³⁸, compiled by Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (1369-1415) in 1408, of which only parts came down to us and from which all available editions of the *Shui jing zhu* are derived. All four *SXZ* quo-

131 Cf. *infra*, paragraph 5.5.

132 Also see p. 738 above.

133 *Sanguo zhi*, Bona ed. Li Yiqi's *vita* in *Shu shu* 2.21b; Dong Feng in *Wu shu* 4.10a; Jie Xiang in *Wu shu* 18.6b.

134 Cf. *supra*, p. 739.

135 Feng Gang's *vita*, cf. *Zhen'gao*, HY 1010, 10.24a.

136 A mistake for "JCS" which then would stand for James C. T. Shu of Tsing-hua University?

137 Cf. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*. Bloomington, 1986:710-712.

138 On which cf. Wolfgang Bauer, "The Encyclopedia in China", in: *Cahiers d'histoire Mondiale*, 9 (3), 1966:665-691, esp. 684-687.

tations¹³⁹ find—apart from omissions and variant characters—their equivalent in the *Taiping guangji* texts. For a discussion of the correspondences, see below, paragraph 6.3.

Also during the Later Wei Dynasty, sometime around 535¹⁴⁰ Jia Sixie 賈思勰 (born at the end of the fifth century in Shandong) compiled a *Qimin yao shu* 齊民要術, “Essential techniques for the common people”, apparently the earliest complete extant Chinese agricultural treatise.¹⁴¹ Roughly half of this 10-juan work that was written to instruct the youngsters of his family in all things concerning farming, consists of quotations of earlier works. The *SXZ* is quoted six times.¹⁴² For five of these six *SXZ* quotations we have corresponding passages in the respective *Taiping guangji* texts which will be discussed below in paragraph 6.4.

In AD 570, a former Daoist but later converted Buddhist monk, Zhen Luan 甄鸞, presented an anti-Daoist polemic to the emperor, entitled *Xiao dao lun* 笑道論, “Treatise on laughing at *Dao[ism]*”,¹⁴³ in which he refers to a *Shenxian xu* 神仙序 by Ge Hong.¹⁴⁴ Zhen’s statement that “Ge Hong, in the introduction to his *Shenxian [zhuan]* (...), already finds it strange [namely that “Laozi came to be teacher of the dynasty in every age,” SPB]”¹⁴⁵ can’t be found in the extant preface (on which more will

139 Feng Jun[da], *Shui jing zhu*, ed. Sibu congkan, 2.24a; Laozi, 17.13b; Wei Shuqing, 19.35a; Ling Shouguang, 23.10a.

140 Cf. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China. Vol. 6, Biology and Biological Technology, Part 2, Agriculture*, by Francesca Bray, Cambridge 1984:55.

141 Robert F. Campany who is currently translating the *SXZ* into English has kindly brought this source to my attention.

142 Dong Feng, *Qimin yao shu*, ed. Sibu congkan, 4.9af., Shen Xi, *Qimin yao shu* 10.5a, Fan furen, *Qimin yao shu* 10.6b, Jie Xiang, *Qimin yao shu* 10.7b, Hu Gong, *Qimin yao shu* 10.28b, Wang Xing, *Qimin yao shu* 10.30b.

143 Note that the extant version is no longer the original one, rather it is an “extract ... preserved in *Guang Hongming ji* 9 [144-152] after the original text had been destroyed by imperial order”, cf. Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. Leiden 1959, vol. I:296.

144 Cf. *Xiao dao lun* ap. *Guang Hongming ji*, T. 2110, 52.145a.

145 Loc. cit. Tr. Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao. Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China*. Princeton 1995:61, square brackets added.

be said below), instead, Ge Hong's own position in view of the Laozi *vita* is expressed in that biography.¹⁴⁶ Zhen also quotes Shen Yi 沈義 (*recte* Xi 羲)'s biography from the *SXZ*¹⁴⁷. Its text does not exactly match that of the *Taiping guangji* (or *Yunji qiqian*): Whereas the very first sentence is but a summary (Shen Xi's ascent to Heaven), the bulk of the quotation is rather a paraphrase of the *vita*.

5.2 Tang

Two references to the Laozi biography of "Ge Hong's *SXZ*" are to be found in Cheng Xuanying's 成玄英 (7th cent.) introduction to his *Daode jing* commentary.¹⁴⁸ As Isabelle Robinet could identify the text of a Dunhuang manuscript that can be dated to 626, namely MS P 2353, as part of Cheng's "Introduction,"¹⁴⁹ it can be deduced that his work must have been written before 626. The text furthermore refers to Ge [Hong's] *Baopuzi* which is said to quote a *Zhu tao yu zha* 朱 (*recte* 珠) 韜玉札. In fact, this *Zhu tao yu zha* reference can neither be found within the received *Baopuzi neipian* nor the *waipian*.¹⁵⁰ Yet, in the *Taiping guangji* version of the *SXZ* Laozi *vita* we see the sentence "the *Xi shen zhong tai*, and *Fu ming bao*, and *Zhu tao yu zha ji*, [and] *Jin pian neijing* all say 西昇中胎及復命苞及珠韜玉機金篇內經皆云," after which the text occurs that is quoted in Cheng's "Introduction."¹⁵¹ MS P 2353 may thus have confounded its sources.

The Buddhist monk Falin 法琳 (572-640), known for his *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (written 626), also wrote a *Bianzheng lun shi yu jiu zhen pian*

146 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 1.1. For a partial translation, cf. Kohn 1995:61 n. 18.

147 Op. cit.: 148a.

148 Reconstruction of the text published in the unpaginated "Texte chinois de l'introduction de Tch'eng Hiuan-ying à son commentaire" at the end of Isabelle Robinet's *Les commentaires du Tao to king jusqu'au VIIe siècle*. Paris 1977.

149 MS P 2353 was copied during the Tang *wude* 武德 period, i. e., between 618-626.

150 Already observed by Isabelle Robinet, op. cit.: 233 n. 1.

151 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 1.2.

辯正論十喻九箴篇 in which he quotes the SXZ.¹⁵² The last fourteen characters of the quotation are almost identical with a corresponding passage in the *Taiping guangji*.¹⁵³

Li Xian 李賢 (651-684), heir apparent under Tang Gaozong, commissioned a commentary to Fan Ye's 范曄 (398-446) *Hou Han shu* 後漢書. This contains five quotations from three SXZ biographies.¹⁵⁴ All quotations save the account concerning Zuo Ci can be matched with the corresponding *vitae* in the *Taiping guangji*, although differences such as omitted, inserted and variant characters are to be seen.

Li Shan 李善 (d. 689), member of the staff of the crown prince and auxiliary scholar of the College for Honouring Worthies, wrote a commentary (preface dated 658) to the *Wen xuan* 文選, "Selections of literature",¹⁵⁵ that he submitted to Gaozong (r. 650-683) in which he refers fourteen times to biographies from the SXZ. The quotations are listed in table 4.

Table 4: SXZ quotations in Li Shan's *Wen xuan* commentary

<i>Biography</i>	WX locus	matches TPGJ/YJQQ ¹⁵⁶
Ruo Shi	16.40a	+
"	28.32a	+
"	31.26b	+
Wang Lie	21.21a	+
Wei Shuqing	21.32a	+
"	28.13b	+

152 *Guang Hongming ji*, T. 2110, 52.179a.

153 *Taiping guangji* 1.1.

154 Laozi, *Hou Han shu*, ed. Bona, 46.10a; Luan Ba, 47.3a (3); Zuo Ci, 72B.21a.

155 Cf. David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Vol. 1*. Princeton, 1982:52-54.

156 The following symbols are used: "+" means "it matches" the "long" text, regardless whether there are variant characters etc.; "-" means "does not match", i.e., the text cannot be found in the *Taiping guangji* or *Yunji qiqian*; "++" means "there is more text than can be seen in the *Taiping guangji* or *Yunji qiqian*."

<i>Biography</i>	WX locus	matches	<i>TPGJ/YJQQ</i>
Wei Shuqing	58.13b	+	157
Mao Jun	21.32a	++	
Guang Chengzi	22.26a	+	158
Liu An	"	+	
"	30.22a	+	
"	31.26a	+	159
Liu Gen	28.13b	+	
Heshang Gong	38.29b	++	

Only three quotations of the *SXZ* appear in the *Zhengyi* 正義 commentary (preface dated 736) to the *Shi ji* 史記, written by Zhang Shoujie 張守解.¹⁶⁰ Two *SXZ* quotations—apart from omissions and variant characters—find their equivalent in the *Taiping guangji* texts.¹⁶¹

In 668, four years after the submission of his memorial against Daoism, the Buddhist monk Daoshi 道世 finished his encyclopedic work *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, “Pearl garden of the *dharma* forest,” in 100 sections (*pian* 篇) after revising his rough draft over a long time.¹⁶² In this work he included a couple of lengthy quotations from the *SXZ*: the extract from the *Laozi-vita*¹⁶³ represents slightly more than one tenth of what the *Taiping guangji* has of it,¹⁶⁴ and its quotation of Peng Zu’s *Life*¹⁶⁵ is roughly one fourth of the *Taiping guangji* version.¹⁶⁶

157 Identical with *Wen xuan* 21.32a (quotation of *SXZ* Wei Shuqing *vita*).

158 Entirely identical with the beginning of the *Taiping guangji* version.

159 Identical with *Wen xuan* 22.21a (quotation of *SXZ* Liu An *vita*).

160 Peng Zu, *Shi ji*, ed. Bona, 40.2a; Laozi, *Shi ji* 61.1a, 61. 2a.

161 Whereas *Shi ji*, ed. Bona, 61.2a differs substantially.

162 Cf. Stephen F. Teiser, “T’ang Buddhist encyclopedias: An introduction to *Fayuan chu-lin* and *Chu-ching yao-chi*”, in: *T’ang Studies* 3 (1985):113.

163 Cf. *Fayuan zhulin* T. 2122, 53.31.520b.

164 Note that, besides several variants, the corresponding passages of both the *Fayuan zhulin* and the *Taiping guangji* match perfectly.

165 Cf. *Fayuan zhulin* T. 2122, 53.31.520bf.

166 Again, allowing for abridgements and variant characters, the degree of correspondence between the *Fayuan zhulin* and the *Taiping guangji* is remarkable.

The famous scholar, calligrapher, sometime President of the Board of Justice, author of a phonological dictionary (submitted in 777), and ritual commissioner at court, Yan Zhenqing 嚴真卿 (709-784) wrote the text for a stele, *Ma Gu shan xian tan ji* 麻姑山仙壇記, “Records of the Altar of Immortals on Mount Ma Gu,” in 771, in which he quotes at some length from the *SXZ*.¹⁶⁷

Jia Song’s 賈嵩 *Huayang Tao Yinju neizhuan* 華陽陶隱居內傳, also compiled during the Tang, quoting Ge Zhichuan’s (= Ge Hong) *SXZ*, reproduces one sentence from Zhao Guangxin’s *vita*.¹⁶⁸

5.3 Five Dynasties

In the preface to his *Zhouyi cantongqi fen zhang tongzhenyi* 周易參同契分章通真義¹⁶⁹ (epilogue dated 24 October 947)¹⁷⁰ Peng Xiao 彭曉 quotes at some length from the *SXZ*. But the text of his Wei Boyang biography is almost entirely different from that of the *Taiping guangji*. It is certainly not a direct quotation; rather it may be what he could have retrieved from memory. Note that Peng’s version is reproduced in only one other text, Zhao Daoyi’s *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. But there it is no more than an explicit quotation of Peng’s own text. Zhao also mentions that only Peng had transmitted this version of the biography.¹⁷¹

5.4 Yuan

Zhao Daoyi has obviously used a broad variety of sources for his large collection of biographies.¹⁷² Unfortunately, he does not give references for

167 Cf. *Tushu jicheng, dian 7: shan chuan*, j. 149, *yiwen*: 2a; Wang Chang’s 王昶 *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編, j. 96; Chen Yuan’s 陳垣 *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略, Beijing 1988:154f. and *Yan Lugong ji* 顏魯公集, ed. SBBY, 5.10aff.

168 Cf. *Huayang yinju neizhuan*, HY 300, 2.14b.

169 HY 999.

170 The epilogue is not reproduced in the *Daozang* edition but can be found in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 p. 1890.

171 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, HY 296, 13.14b.

172 Zhao Daoyi, op. cit.

the individual *vitae*.¹⁷³ Not knowing whether Zhao had a *SXZ* at hand or copied the respective biographies from secondary sources, we refrain from discussing his potential *SXZ* fragments.¹⁷⁴

5.5 Quotations in *lei shu*

Lei shu 類書, “writings [arranged according to] categories,” often *faute-de-mieux* translated as “encyclopedias,” consist to a respectable extent (if not for the greatest part) of quotations drawn from earlier writings. Yet, quotations—especially from non-canonical works—are rarely made exactly word for word.¹⁷⁵ Rather, they are abridged in order to present just the essential point, or they can even be paraphrased. *Lei shu* are, nevertheless, important as sources of additional information, particularly on lost works, but they are obviously only of restricted value for purposes of textual criticism.¹⁷⁶

As the preconditions for the compilers of the various *lei shu* were not the same, the reliability has to be assessed for each *lei shu* to be used.¹⁷⁷ In particular it has to be established which *lei shu* copied which quotation from which other *lei shu*. The core of “independent” quotations then has to be collated with the best texts of what remains of the “originals,” in the case of the *SXZ* the so-called “long” versions, which may give additional hints whether the latter are complete or not.¹⁷⁸

173 Although in his appended comments he does mention sources that have a different version of the just presented biography.

174 Note that Gertrud Güntsch lists 66 *vitae* that might be of *SXZ* origin. Cf. Güntsch, op. cit.: 13-17.

175 Already observed by Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*. Cambridge (Mass.), 31971:83.

176 But also cf. Bumbacher, op. cit.: 100-115.

177 In general, the “limits of fidelity” can be estimated when the quotations of a well transmitted text are compared with its best available edition. By analogy one then can *cum grano salis* assume that the text in question was treated with similar fidelity by the compilers of the *lei shu*. An example is given in Bumbacher, op. cit.: 59-70.

178 Systematic application of this procedure to the fragments of the *SXZ* is still a task for the future.

Although quite a small work—160 *juan* only¹⁷⁹ —, Yu Shinan's 虞世南 (558-638) *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔, "Excerpts from books in the northern hall," is a very important source since all the texts it quotes are of pre-Tang origin. The *Beitang shuchao* refers 27 times to the SXZ. However, one reference is mistaken: An Qisheng's biography¹⁸⁰ belongs to the *Liexian zhuan*, where indeed the quoted passage can be found.¹⁸¹ It also contains a fragment of Dong Weinian's 董威輦 *vita*. As Dong was a contemporary of Jin Wudi (r. 265-290) we have reason to doubt whether his *Life* was indeed in the SXZ.¹⁸²

A comparison between these quotations and the "long" versions shows that, apart from the excerpts from Jie Xiang's, Liu An's and Dong Weinian's biographies, all fragments can be matched with the "long" versions. However, six fragments have one or two more sentences that cannot be found in the "long" versions.¹⁸³ It is worth noting that three quotations are closer to the corresponding texts in the *Yunji qiqian* than in the *Taiping guangji*.¹⁸⁴

Not long after, in 622, Tang Gaozu ordered the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, "Literary [material] assembled by category," to be compiled by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641), Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 and others, which was finished in 624.¹⁸⁵ It quotes the SXZ 51 times. Of these, one is mis-

179 Until Song times, a 173 *juan* edition coexisted with the 160 *juan* version.

180 Cf. *Beitang shuchao*; collated, annotated and published by Kong Guangtao 孔廣陶 in a block-print ed. recut from a traced Song ed. in 1888 (photographic repr. Tianjin 1988):128.10b.

181 Cf. Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan. (Biographies légendaires des Immortels taoïstes de l'antiquité)*. Paris 21987:115. However, this mistake is understandable since An Qisheng occurs as An Qi xiansheng in Taizhen furen's *vita*, cf. *Taiping guangji* 57.351-354 (*passim*).

182 Cf. Zhao Daoyi's statement, above p. 13. Ge Hong also has Dong in his *Baopuzi neipian*, where he is simply called a "daoist" (*daoshi*) but not an "immortal", cf. *Baopuzi neipian*: 15.66.

183 *Beitang shuchao* 104.3a, 157.12a; 109.6a; 133.7b; 137.10b.

184 Li A, *Beitang shuchao* 123.6a; Cai Jing, 145.5b; Huang Chuping, 160.17b.

185 The *Yiwen leiju* shows traces of later interpolations: quotations of eight persons, who wrote after Ouyang's work was completed, are included. See Wang Shao-

taken: Xiao Shi has a biography in the *Liexian zhuan* and the text of this fragment is in fact to be found in the *Liexian zhuan*. Seventeen quotations contain more text than is preserved in the “long” versions, and six out of eleven fragments that match the *Yunji qiqian* texts as well as the *Taiping guangji* versions have a reading closer to the *Yunji qiqian*.

Another source, the value of which cannot be overestimated, is the *Sandong zhu'nang* 三洞珠囊, “Bag [containing the] pearls of the three grottos,”¹⁸⁶ written by Wang Xianhe 王縣河 (fl. 683) who deliberately revived the title of a book in 7 *juan* written on the order of Zhou Wudi by Wang Yan 王延 (b. before 538, d. ca. 604) in the Yuntai monastery 雲臺觀 of the Northern Zhou capital.¹⁸⁷ Although the received *Sandong zhu'nang* is certainly shorter than the original one,¹⁸⁸ it nevertheless still quotes 29 fragments of 27¹⁸⁹ biographies from the *SXZ*. But at least as important is the fact that the *Sandong zhu'nang* also mentions the *SXZ juan* in which the quoted *vita* was to be found.¹⁹⁰ Of these fragments not only can 14 be matched with the “long” versions but 7 show additional text not seen there. Again, in five instances the quotations are closer to the reading of the *Yunji qiqian* than to that of the *Taiping guangji*.

ying's preface of 1961 in: *Yiwen leiju*, ed. Shanghai gu ji chuban she, Shanghai 1985, preface p. 17.

186 HY 1131. On this work cf. Florian C. Reiter, “Das Selbstverständnis des Taoismus zur frühen T'ang-Zeit in der Darstellung Wang Hsüan-ho's”, in: *Saeculum* 33, 1982:240-257; and, more recently, Florian C. Reiter, *Der Perlenbeutel aus den drei Höhlen, (San-tung chu-nang): Arbeitsmaterialien zum Taoismus der frühen T'ang Zeit*. Wiesbaden, 1990.

187 Cf. *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 85.19b.

188 The *Bishu sheng xubiandao siku qieshu mu* 2.13a. and the *Song shi yiwenzhi*, ed. Bona, 4.14b list it in 30 *juan*. The received version in the *Daozang*, however, has 10 *juan*. For more details cf. Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *The Fragments of the Daoxue Zhuan. Critical Edition, Translation and Analysis of a Medieval Collection of Daoist Biographies*, Frankfurt a.M., New York, 2000:50-70.

189 To these has to be added a quotation wrongly attributed to the *Liexian zhuan*: *Sandong zhu'nang*, HY 1131, 3.27b, Hua Ziqi's biography.

190 Cf. table 5, below.

Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729) and other Jixian scholars completed a *lei shu* in 30 *juan* called *Chuxue ji* 初學記, “Records for initial learning,” “designed as a basic reference source for the training in belles lettres of the imperial princes,”¹⁹¹ in ca. 726. The thirty SXZ quotations represent 19 biographies. Twenty-five match the corresponding “long” versions and of the fourteen that occur in the *Taiping guangji* as well as in the *Yunji qiqian* version, eight are closer to the *Yunji qiqian*.

Of the fifteen quotations of the SXZ which Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) includes in his *Bai shi Liutie shilei ji* 白氏六帖事類集,¹⁹² “Mr. Bai’s collection of matters [arranged according to] classes [under] six labels,” five are but copies of quotations from the SXZ to be found within the *Chuxue ji*, some even under the same subject heading. Two of three quotations are identical with and one is longer than the corresponding quotations in the *Yiwen leiju*, but all are entered under the same heading as in the *Yiwen leiju*. Two are copies from the *Beitang shuchao*. Of those four identifiable quotations that are not copied from earlier *lei shu*,¹⁹³ three match the “long” versions.

Wang Songnian’s (fl. 908) *Xianyuan bianzhu*¹⁹⁴ has the second largest “collection” of SXZ quotations, namely 98. He seems to treat his sources quite fairly: an examination of the *Liexian zhuan* quotations within the *Xianyuan bianzhu*, which cover 62 of the received 70 biographies of the *Liexian zhuan* shows that the quoted text is in general the same as the *textus receptus*.¹⁹⁵

Collating Wang’s quotations with those of the previous *lei shu* one comes to the conclusion that Wang obviously did not copy other *lei shu*;

191 McMullen, op. cit.: 219.

192 Ed. Qinpu, Peiping 1933, photolithographic reproduction of a Song ed.

193 This does not necessarily mean that Bai Juyi did have an original SXZ at hand. It is quite possible that he copied all quotations from previous *lei shu*, but their received versions no longer have them, as they may have been lost during the process of transmission. Or he used *lei shu* that are now lost. In any case, Bai’s work is only of minor importance for our purposes.

194 Also see above, page 741.

195 Although details do differ: scribal errors as well as variants, inserted and omitted characters occur. However, the order of the *Liexian zhuan* biographies is different from that of the *textus receptus*.

instead he must have had access to an edition or a manuscript of the *SXZ*. We find 96 biographies quoted, 49 of these match the “long” versions, whereas 28 have additional texts not seen therein.

The *Taiping yulan*, “Mirror for the Emperor from the Great Peace [Period],” ordered by the Song emperor Taizong (r. 976-997) early in 977—the edict being issued in the 3rd month —, was probably completed (together with the *Taiping guangji*) in 982 and presented to the emperor under its initial title *Taiping zonglei* 太平總類¹⁹⁶. It is, however, not listed in the bibliographical chapters of the *Song shi* 宋史 and thus suffers the same fate as the two other compendia *Taiping guangji* and *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (ordered in the 9th month of 982, presented 987, but twice revised: in 1007 and 1009). Taizong appointed the editorial board and gave orders regarding the sources that ought to be used, e.g., *Xiuwendian yulan* 修文殿御覽, *Yiwen leiju*, *Wensi boyao* 文思博要, as well as concerning the required size: one thousand *juan*. Having read the *opus* in the 11th month 983, the emperor changed its name into the actual title¹⁹⁷. The *Taiping yulan*, as far as we know, was not printed until after 1023. The editorial board is said to have consisted of fourteen members directed by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996)¹⁹⁸, Li also being responsible for the two other collectanea. As Haeger pointed out, the remaining thirteen—five of them do not even have an official biography in any of the standard Song collections—came “primarily from the middle ranks of officialdom within the capital.”¹⁹⁹ But Haeger doubts whether the editorial board actually participated in the editorial work.²⁰⁰

196 The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 26:27 has *Taiping bianlei*.

197 “When the *Taiping zonglei* was finished, the emperor read three chapters per day; he completed it in a year’s time and gave it the name *Taiping yulan*”, cf. Song Minqiu’s (Song dynasty) *Chun ming tui chao lu* 春明退朝錄 3.14b, tr. John Winthrop Haeger, “The significance of confusion: the origins of the T’ai-p’ing yü-lan”, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88, 1968:402. The same passage is also quoted by the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, loc. cit.

198 Biography in *Song shu* 265, *Dongdu shilue* 東都事略 32, and *Wuchao mingchen yan xing lu* 五朝名臣言行錄 1.

199 Haeger, op. cit.: 403f. The editorial board consisted of Li Fang, Hu Meng, Li Mu, Tang Yue, Xu Xuan, Zhang Ji, Li Keqin, Song Bai, Xu Yongbin, Chen E, Wu Shu, Shu Ya, Lü Wenzhong and Yuan Sidao. Later on, Li Keqin, Xu Yong-

The *Taiping yulan* is of special interest to us as, 1), it provides the largest number of *SXZ* fragments, and 2), it is linked in a sense with the *Taiping guangji* which—as we have seen—reproduces “long” versions of *SXZ* biographies: all of the men who took part in its compilation except Li Keqin, Xu Yongbin and Yuan Sidao, were also members of the *Taiping guangji* commission. Since they must have had an edition of the *SXZ* at their disposal (as they had for the *Taiping guangji*), there is, therefore, hope that the *Taiping yulan* might complement the *Taiping guangji*.

However, as early as 1903 Paul Pelliot drew the scholar’s attention to a serious problem. He observed that the *Taiping yulan* cites texts that cannot be found within the works it names as its source.²⁰¹ Furthermore, it did not escape his attention that the *Taiping yulan* sometimes quotes a certain work under a different title than it is cited in other texts.²⁰² In 1959, Nie Chongqi described three different sorts of mistakes that occur in the *Taiping yulan*: 1. The *Taiping yulan* often quotes the same work giving it different titles, 2. book titles are confused with their content, e.g., chapter and section titles. 3. Quotations are attributed to wrong sources.²⁰³ This third kind of mistake is also seen in the *Taiping yulan*’s treatment of the *SXZ*: four “*SXZ* quotations” are in fact taken from the *Liexian zhuan*, six possible *SXZ* quotations are incorrectly attributed to the *Zhen’gao*, two are wrongly attributed to the *Liexian zhuan*, ten to the *Daoxue zhuan*,²⁰⁴ one fragment is not drawn from the *SXZ* but must have been copied from

bin and Yuan Sidao were transferred into a different commission. The gap they left was filled by Zhao Linji, Wang Kezhen and Dong Shun, cf. Nie Chongqi, “Zhong yin Taiping yulan qianyan”, *Taiping yulan*, ed. Zhonghua shuju chuban, Beijing 1960:1.

200 Haeger op. cit.: 404.

201 Paul Pelliot, “Le Fou-nan”, in: *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 3, 1903:266.

202 Pelliot, op. cit.: 275. Kang Tai’s *Funan zhuan*, e.g., which is often quoted in Li Daoyuan’s (d. 527) *Shui jing zhu* under the title *Funan zhuan* or, sometimes, *Funan ji*, is in *Taiping yulan* 787: *passim* called *Funan tu su*.

203 Nie Chongqi, op. cit.: 3. The editors of the 1982 edition of the *Yiwen leiju* present further examples of Nie’s third kind of mistakes, cf. *Yiwen leiju*, preface pp. 5-7.

204 Already observed by Chen Guofu, op. cit.: 491-494, *passim*.

the *Daoxue zhuan*, and one should probably be credited to the *Wang Shi Shenxian zhuan* 王氏神仙傳. Our survey yields 236 SXZ quotations.²⁰⁵ However, 48 are either copied from already existing SXZ quotes, to be found elsewhere in the *Taiping yulan*, or they are copied from earlier *lei shu*.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, the compilers of the *Taiping yulan* thus add fragments of 35 further *vitae*. We therefore have evidence of 88 biographies known to them.²⁰⁷

Thirty-two fragments are to be found in the *Shi lei fu* 事類賦, “Prose-poem on matters [arranged according to] classes,” in 30 *juan*²⁰⁸, compiled by Wu Shu 吳淑²⁰⁹, styled Zhengyi 正義 (947-1002). Wu, originally a man from Danyang, was son-in-law of Xu Xuan 徐鉉, styled Dingchen 鼎臣 (916-991), one of the scholars involved in the compilation of the *Taiping guangji*. Wu also belonged to the staff in charge of the editorial work on the *Taiping guangji* and was one of the members of the *Taiping yulan* commission²¹⁰ as well as being involved in the third major collectanea of Taizong’s reign, the *Wenyuan yinghua*. The original version of his *Shi lei fu*, written in the irregular verse form called *fu*, consisted of 20 *juan*. Wu, having presented his work to the emperor, then added a

205 It is nevertheless possible that a systematic search considering all other collections of biographies that are represented in the *Taiping yulan* could reveal additional possible SXZ fragments, by mistake attributed to other sources.

206 Even those fragments that are not obviously copied from other *lei shu* and that are to be seen within the *Taiping guangji* “long” texts show remarkably many differences with the latter.

207 Not 93, because the fragments of five biographies are nothing but copies from other *lei shu*. Nevertheless, the compilers of the *Taiping yulan*, for those SXZ fragments that cannot be traced to the *Yiwen leiju*, *Chuxue ji* or other *lei shu*, need not necessarily have relied on the SXZ itself. It is quite possible that they also copied possible SXZ fragments then to be found in the *Xiuwendian yulan* and the *Wensi boyao*. Yet as both works are lost we cannot compare the texts. However, there exist at least two collections of remnants of the *Xiuwen[dian] yulan*, but I have not seen them.

208 Not 100 *juan* as is maintained in Nienhauser, op. cit.: 744.

209 Biography in *Song shi* 183.4746.

210 See note 199.

commentary at the latter's suggestion. The revised version was divided into 30 *juan*.²¹¹ Unfortunately, the *Shi lei fu* is only of minor interest as far as the *SXZ* is concerned: all but two *SXZ* quotations are just copied from the *Taiping yulan*, although six are slightly abridged. One quotation is, slightly shortened, cribbed from the *Chuxue ji*,²¹² whereas the excerpt from Li Yiqi's biography in *Shi lei fu* 15.8b cannot be found in any of the extant earlier *lei shu*.

Zeng Zao 曾慥 compiled a work called *Leishuo* 類說, "Sayings [arranged according to] categories," (preface dated 1136)²¹³ which, unfortunately, is notorious for its abbreviations and textual changes.²¹⁴ As it not only contains 44 entries in the section called *SXZ* but also 17 in the section *Liexian zhuan*,²¹⁵ it is tempting to test its reliability *versus* the latter. We would expect for the *Liexian zhuan*-quotations, a), the same order of the biographies as in the *textus receptus*, and b), only biographies that can be found in the *Liexian zhuan*. The result can be summarized as follows: not only is the order of the biographies different, but of the 17 entries only 10 can be found in the *Liexian zhuan*. Of the rest, the fragment of Xu Jue's biography²¹⁶ is part of Xue Jue's *vita* to be found in the *Taiping guangji*, where it is said to be taken from the *Xu shenxian zhuan* 續神仙傳.²¹⁷ It does not occur in the Song *Liexian zhuan*. The same can be said about the three quotations *sub Jin chuang yu ji* 金床玉几,²¹⁸ *sub Yu nü xi tou* 玉女洗頭,²¹⁹ and *sub Yu cheng yao que* 玉城瑤闕.²²⁰ The

211 Cf. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 26.2790.

212 Ban Meng's *vita*, *Shi lei fu* 15.10b. Cf. *Chuxue ji* 21.9.

213 For the problems of the history and transmission of the text as well as for the available editions, cf. Glen Dudbridge, *op. cit.*: 4-6.

214 Cf. Dudbridge, *loc. cit.*

215 Both are in the third *juan* of the printed ed. in sixty *juan* (preface dated 1626) by Ma Zhiqi 馬之騏 and Yue Zhongxiu 岳鍾秀, repr. Peking 1955, Wenxue guji kanxingshe.

216 *Leishuo* 3.180.

217 *Taiping guangji* 40.255. The *Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞羣仙錄, HY 1238, 7.16b quotes the same paragraph but attributes it—like the *Leishuo*—to the *Liexian zhuan*.

218 *Leishuo* 3.181.

219 *Loc. cit.*

cited sentences of Taixuan Nü's biography²²¹ belong to the *Nüxian zhuan* 女仙傳,²²² and the quotations of Xu zhenjun's²²³ and Wu zhenjun's²²⁴ *vitae* find their counterparts in the respective biographies in the *Taiping guangji*, which gives as reference for both the *Shier zhenjun zhuan*.²²⁵ Thus, neither of our above expectations are met.

Let us now turn to the *SXZ* as dealt with by the *Leishuo*. Only 31 of the 44 entries said to be taken from the *SXZ* are traceable *SXZ* quotations. Of the remaining 13 entries 3 belong to other sources, like the *Liexian zhuan*²²⁶ or Du Guangting's (850-933) *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺²²⁷, or their sources cannot be identified, or the described persons lived after Ge Hong—like Tao Hongjing (456-536) or Liu Shang (*fl.* during the Tang). The quotations of *SXZ* biographies presented by the *Leishuo* that also occur as “long” versions in the *Taiping guangji* and *Yunji qiqian*—and that are correctly assigned by the *Leishuo*—are, as a general rule, very heavily abridged, with unseen insertions here and there.

Summarizing these results we can postulate that Zeng Zao did not have a copy of the *SXZ* version that was available until the Song on his desk as it were but either relied on a different and later (?), already corrupt, edition or quoted from memory and thus mixed up several texts such as *Liexian zhuan*, *Xu shenxian zhuan*, *Xian zhuan shiyi*, or copied from secondary sources which were already faulty. The thirteenth century criticism, blaming the *Leishuo* for faultiness of its text²²⁸, is thus confirmed.

220 *Leishuo* 3.182.

221 *Loc. cit.*

222 According to *Taiping guangji* 59.363.

223 *Leishuo* 3.182.

224 *Leishuo* 3.183.

225 *Taiping guangji* 14.100.

226 The relevant *vita* is that of Qin Gao, *Leishuo* 3.186, cf. Kaltenmark, *op. cit.*: 104.

227 On which see Verellen, *op. cit.*: 179f. The biographies in question are: Zhou Mu Wang, *Leishuo* 3.186, cf. *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 *ap. Taiping guangji* 2.7; Wang Cizhong, *Leishuo* 3.197, cf. *Xianzhuan shiyi* *ap. Taiping guangji* 5.31.

228 Cf. Dudbridge, *op. cit.*: 4.

The *Sandong qunxian lu* 三洞羣仙錄, or “Records of all immortals of the [Heaven of the] Three Caverns,”²²⁹ is the source of 92 *SXZ* fragments, scattered within its twenty *juan*. It was written by a certain Chen Baoguang 陳葆光, a *daoshi* of the *zhengyi*-tradition,²³⁰ who lived at the beginning of the Southern Song. Its preface is dated 1154.²³¹ This *Sandong qunxian lu* is in a sense connected with the *Xianyuan bianzhu*: the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* says: “... This book picks up and collects the facts of ancient immortals. It assembles paired sayings of four characters and itself explains them. It covers the continuation of Wang Songnian’s *Xianyuan bianzhu*.”²³²

The quotations attributed to the *SXZ* can be divided into five different categories: a) traceable, b) not traceable *SXZ* quotations, c) *vitae* of persons who lived in an epoch later than the Jin, d) biographies that obviously belong to works other than the *SXZ*, e) unidentifiable fragments. Only 45 of the 92 citations, or roughly 49 %, are attested *SXZ* quotations. It should also be noted that the *Sandong qunxian lu*, when quoting from Feng Gang’s *vita*,²³³ explicitly refers to the *Taiping guangji* as its source. The *Taiping guangji*, on the other hand, attributes this biography to the *SXZ*.²³⁴ At least in this case, the *Sandong qunxian lu* could not do without obviously relying on secondary sources. Furthermore, the *Sandong qunxian lu* copies four *SXZ* quotations apparently directly from the *Leishuo*.²³⁵

The conclusion to be drawn from these observations is the same as in the case of the *Leishuo*: Chen Baoguang, like Zeng Zao, did no longer have access to the *SXZ* version that was available until the Song.

229 HY 1238. Boltz translates the title by “On the concourse of transcendents in the three caverns”, cf. Judith Magee Boltz, “Taoist literature. Part 2: Five Dynasties to the Ming”, in: Nienhauser, op. cit.: 157.

230 Op. cit., preface *xu*: 1a.

231 Op. cit., *xu*: 5a.

232 *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 28:83.

233 *Sandong qunxian lu*, HY 1238, 3.13a.

234 *Taiping guangji* 4.24.

235 The respective biographies are: Wang Yao, Ruo Shi, Liu Zheng, and Zhou Muwang.

This is not the right place to enter into a discussion concerning the problems of the transmission of the *Shuofu* 說郛, “The environs of sayings,” a *congshu* credited to Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, styled Jiucheng 九成 (c.1316-c.1402), of which several manuscripts are extant but none of the available printed editions are satisfactory.²³⁶

Its 7th *juan* gives three quotations from the *SXZ*²³⁷, but all of them are—apart from a few variants—copied from the *Leishuo*. Furthermore, *juan* 43 reproduces a *SXZ* comprising its preface and 83 or 84²³⁸ “biographies.” The biographies in most cases consist of the person’s name and his or her native place. In a few instances additional information is given, like the summons by a king which were subsequently declined by the protagonist. Only six items are slightly longer.²³⁹ It is evident that the *Shuofu* can barely be called in for questions of textual criticism. The *Shuofu* seems not to have had access to the original *SXZ* since it does not mention the Taizhen furen *vita* at all.²⁴⁰ On the other hand, it provides the earliest complete version of the preface available to date.²⁴¹

236 On the transmission of this work, cf. P. Pelliot, “Quelques remarques sur le Chouo Fou”, in: *T'oung Pao* 23, 1924:163-220; Chang Bide, “Shuofu kao”, in: *Bulletin, China Council for East Asian Studies*, 1962:1-276, repr. Taipei 1979; Peter Zhang and Zhaoying Fang, in: Goodrich and Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644*, New York 1976:1270f. Ed. used: *Shuofu*, comp. Tao Zongyi, ed. Zhang Zongxiang, in 100 *juan*, Shanghai 1927.

237 Apparently overlooked by previous scholars.

238 Depending on whether one accepts (like Kominami, op. cit.: 306) Shi Yang’s pericope as a remnant of a Shi Yang *vita* in its own right, or whether one takes it as part of the foregoing Xu You *vita*. Unfortunately, what remains of an eventual Xu You / Chao Fu *vita* are only two sentences, cf. *Yiwen leiju* 89.1537, *Taiping yulan* 957.5b and 987.3b, *Shuofu* 43.20a. None of these fragments mentions a Shi Yang. So far, Shi Yang could only be found in the *Shuofu*, loc. cit.

239 I.e., Peng Zu, Baishi xiansheng, Mao Jun, Dongling shengmu, Rong Chenggong, Ge Xuan.

240 Nevertheless, it has been made use of for the reconstruction of the order of the biographies within the *SXZ*, cf. Kominami, op. cit.

241 Note that the *Junzhai dushu zhi* only quotes beginning and end of the preface.

6. The relationship between the earliest quotations and the “long” versions

Although we have not found any bibliographical evidence that the transmission of the *SXZ* was interrupted between the fourth and the late tenth century when the *Taiping guangji* was compiled, we may nevertheless ask about the relationship between the earliest quotations and the respective *vitae* as they appear in the latter.

Before collating the *SXZ* quotations of Pei Songzhi’s commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* with the *Taiping guangji*, let us collate Pei Songzhi’s *Baopuzi* quotations with the received *Baopuzi neipian*. This may already give us an idea of how Pei Songzhi treated his sources and what we might expect when collating his *SXZ* quotations with the “long” *SXZ* texts of the *Taiping guangji* or *Yunji qiqian*.

6.1 The relationship between the *Baopuzi* quotations in the *Sanguo zhi* and the received text

Pei Songzhi quotes the *Baopuzi* three times: in his commentary to *Wu shu* 3.1162, to *Wu shu* 15.1379, and to *Wu shu* 18.1427. Whereas the first and the last cannot be found neither in the received *Baopuzi neipian* nor in the *waipian*, the second in fact occurs in *Baopuzi neipian* 5.24:15. The quotation and the corresponding part of the *Baopuzi neipian* are presented in a synopsis.

As can be immediately verified, the quotation is—apart from minor variations—remarkably precise. We would, therefore, expect that a collation of Pei Songzhi’s *SXZ* quotations with their *Taiping guangji* counterparts (none of the three relevant biographies are reproduced in *Yunji qiqian*’s one-juan “edition” of the *SXZ*) should reveal a similar result, if the latter indeed go back to the original text and are not later forgeries.

Synopsis of Ge Hong's Baopuzi neipian and its quotation in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the Sanguo zhi

BPZ	昔吳遣賀將軍討山賊賊中有善禁者每當交戰官軍刀劍皆	不得拔弓弩射矢
SGZc	昔吳遣賀將軍討山賊賊中有善禁者每當交戰官軍刀劍	不得拔弓弩射矢
BPZ	皆還	思乃曰吾聞金有刃者可禁蟲有毒者可
SGZc	皆還自	向輒致不利賀將軍長智有才
BPZ	禁其無刃之物無毒之蟲則不可禁彼	能禁吾兵者
SGZc	禁其無刃之物無毒之蟲則不可禁彼必是	思乃曰吾聞金有刃者可禁蟲有毒者可
BPZ	矣乃多作勁木白棒選異力精卒五千人爲先登盡捉倍彼山賊賊	侍其
SGZc	矣乃多作勁木白棒選異力精卒五千人爲先登盡捉倍彼山賊賊	侍其有
BPZ	者了不能備於是官軍以白棒擊之大破	彼賊
SGZc	者了不嚴備於是官軍以白棒擊之	彼賊
BPZ	有	萬計
SGZc		萬計

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Li Yiqi vita in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the Sanguo zhi and the corresponding part in the Taiping guangji's SXZ text

TPGJ	李意期者本	蜀人	傳世見之	漢文帝時人也 ... (115 char.)
SGZc	仙人 李意其	蜀人也	傳世見之云是	漢文帝時人
TPGJ	劉玄德	欲伐吳報關羽之死	使 迎意期意期到	甚敬之問其伐吳
SGZc	先主	欲伐吳	遣人 迎意其意其到先主	禮敬之問以
TPGJ	吉凶意期不答而求紙	畫作兵馬器仗十數萬	乃一一	裂壞之曰咄
SGZc	吉凶意其不答而求紙筆	畫作兵馬器仗數十紙已	便一一以手	裂壞之
TPGJ	又畫作一大人掘地埋之，乃徑還	去備	不悅	果爲吳
SGZc	又畫作一大人掘地埋之，便徑	去先主大	不喜而自出軍征吳大	
TPGJ	軍所敗十餘萬衆纔數百人得	還甲器軍資略盡玄德	忿怒	遂
SGZc	敗	還	忿恥發病	
TPGJ	卒於永安宮			... (51 char.)
SGZc	死	衆人乃知其意其畫作大人而埋之者即是言先主死意		

6.2 The relationship between the *SXZ* quotations in the *Sanguo zhi* and the “long” versions

The first *SXZ*-quotation included in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* is that of Li Yiqi 李意期.²⁴² The synopsis of the quotation and the corresponding part of the “long” version in the *Taiping guangji*²⁴³ reads as follows (see preceding page).

This synopsis reveals four things. Firstly, Pei Songzhi selected only one single pericope of Li Yiqi's *Life*. Secondly, both versions match *verbatim* for the main part, both thus rely on the same textual tradition. However, both abridge their source text, although at different places. Thirdly, Pei Songzhi did not copy the sentence that Liu Pei 劉備 (Liu Xuande 劉玄德) was taking revenge for Guan Yu's 關羽 death nor did he include the information that Liu lost most of his troops as well as all his equipment. Finally, the *Sanguo zhi* commentary preserves the sentences saying that when Liu, due to anger and shame, fell ill and died, “everyone then knew his (*sc.* Li's) intention: As to when he had painted a big man and buried it (*sc.* the painting), this expressed the idea of Xianzhu's 先主 (*sc.* Liu's) death.” This is a fine additional piece of evidence that the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* did not reproduce their sources completely.

The second of Pei Songzhi's *SXZ*-quotations is taken from the Dong Feng 董奉 *vita*.²⁴⁴ The following synopsis presents it along with the corresponding part of the *Taiping guangji*²⁴⁵ text:

242 Cf. *Sanguo zhi*, *Shu shu* 蜀書 2.891.

243 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 10.70.

244 Cf. *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu shu* 4.1192.

245 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 12.83f.

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Dong Feng vita in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the Sanguo zhi and the corresponding part in the Taiping guangji's SXZ text

TPGJ	董	奉者	字君異候官人也 ... (80 characters) ...	又
SGZc		<	奉 字君異候官人也> d	
TPGJ	杜	燮爲交州刺史	得毒病死	與
SGZc		燮	嘗 病死	以
TPGJ	藥	三丸	內在口中	使人
SGZc		一丸 藥與	服 以水含之	捧舉 其頭搖而 捧 其頭搖
TPGJ	消之	須臾手足似	動	能起坐後
SGZc	消之食	頃即開目	動手	能起坐
TPGJ	四日乃能語云 (845 characters) ...			
SGZc	四日復能語遂復常			

d This sentence occurs at the end of the quote.

Again, Pei Songzhi confines himself to quote but a single episode of the biography. His text clearly belongs to the same textual tradition as the *Taiping guangji* version, as is evidenced by the close match, but it is further abridged. However, both texts complement each other. One might suggest an emendation of the phrases 與藥三丸，內在口中 (“he gave [him] three pills of medicine and put [them] into [his] mouth,” *Taiping guangji*) and 以一丸藥，與服 (“he took medicine in one pill and gave [it to him to] eat,” commentary to the *Sanguo zhi*) to 以一丸藥，與服，內口中 (“he took medicine in one pill, gave [it to him to] eat and put [it] into his mouth”). Pei Songzhi’s quotation also may have the better reading 食頃即開目 (“during the space of a meal he then opened his eyes”) which is “substituted” by 須臾 (“after a little while”) in the *Taiping guangji*.

The third and last *SXZ*-quotation included within Pei Songzhi’s commentary is derived from the Jie Xiang 介象 *vita*.²⁴⁶ In the *Taiping guangji* it is, as we have already seen, split into two parts, the longer occurring in chapter thirteen,²⁴⁷ the shorter in chapter 466.²⁴⁸ Note that the latter can no longer be seen in the former—which again is evidence for the fact that the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* shortened their source texts. The relevant parts of all three are now reproduced in a synopsis:

246 Cf. *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu shu* 18.1427.

247 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 13.89f.

248 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 466.3839.

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Jie Xiang vita in Pei Songzhi's commentary to the Sanguo zhi and the corresponding parts in the Taiping guangji's SXZ texts

TPGJ 1	介象者	字元則會稽人也學通五經博覽（一）〔百〕家之言能屬文
TPGJ 2	介象	
SGZc	仙人介象	字元則會稽人
TPGJ 1	後學道入東山善度世禁氣之	術 ... (309 characters)
TPGJ 2		
SGZc		有諸方 術
TPGJ 1	常人密表薦於	吳主象知之欲去曰恐官事拘束我耳廷雅固留吳王
TPGJ 2		
SGZc		吳主
TPGJ 1	徵	至武昌甚尊敬之稱爲介君詔令 立宅 供 帳皆是
TPGJ 2		
SGZc	聞之徵象	到武昌甚敬貴之稱爲介君 爲 起宅 以御帳給之
TPGJ 1	綺繡遺	黃 金千鎰 從象學隱形之術試還後宮 出入閨闈
TPGJ 2		
SGZc	賜 遺	前後累 千 金 從象學蔽形之術試還後宮及 出殿門

continued:

TPGJ 1 莫有見者 ... (113 characters) ...

TPGJ 2

SGZc 莫有見者

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc 又使象作變化種瓜百果皆立生可食

介象與

吳主共論鱸魚

之美

吳主共論鱸魚何者最

美象

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

曰鯪魚爲上吳主曰論近道魚耳此出海中安可得邪象曰可得耳

乃

於殿

乃令人

於殿

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

庭作坎汲水滿之求鉤象起餌之

得鯪魚

庭中作方埴汲水滿之求鉤象起餌之垂綸於埴中

須臾

得鯪魚

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

帝 驚喜

吳主 驚喜問象曰故爲陛下取以作生可食不象曰故爲陛下取以作生鱸安

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

乃使廚人切食之

敢取不可食之物 乃使廚下切之吳主曰聞蜀使來得蜀薑作齋甚好恨

continued:

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

爾時無此象曰蜀薑豈不易得願差所使者并付直吳主指左右一人以錢五十付

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

之象書一符以著青竹杖中使行人閉目騎杖杖止便買薑訖復閉目此人承其言

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

騎杖須臾止已至成都不知是何處問人人言是蜀市中乃買薑于時吳使張溫先

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

在蜀既於市中相識甚驚便作書寄其家此人買薑畢捉書負薑騎杖閉目須臾已

TPGJ 1

TPGJ 2

SGZc

還到吳廚下切鱠適了

As can be seen immediately, all three texts, matching each other so closely, must belong to the same textual tradition. An analysis of this synopsis yields the perhaps most important result that Pei Songzhi's quotation matches parts of both *Taiping guangji* fragments of the *SXZ*, thus confirming that, firstly, both indeed belong to the same *SXZ Life*. Secondly, this too is clear evidence for the liberty the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* took to abridge the texts they were including. Furthermore, the *Sanguo zhi* commentary presents us with 151 characters of additional text which is not seen in the "long" version of the *Taiping guangji*.

In conclusion it can be said that, when collated with the *Taiping guangji*, the texts of all three quotations are for the greater part to be found in the latter, although—as expected—abridged and with variants. Only the last 22 characters of Li Yiqi's *vita* and the last 151 characters of Jie Xiang's are lacking in the *Taiping guangji*.²⁴⁹ In general, the differences between Pei Songzhi's quotations and the "long" versions of the *Taiping guangji* are of a comparable kind as between Pei Songzhi's quotation of *Baopuzi* and the received *Baopuzi neipian*.²⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the match of corresponding sentences of Pei Songzhi's *SXZ* quotations with the *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* cannot be as close as between that of the *Baopuzi neipian* and Pei Songzhi's quotation since—as we were able to show—the *Taiping guangji* itself abridges and "edits" the texts it reproduces.

6.3 The relationship between the *SXZ* quotations in the *Shui jing zhu* and the "long" versions

For three of the four *SXZ* quotations to be found in Li Daoyuan's *Shui jing zhu* we have a "long" version with which the quotations can be collated. The synopsis of the Ling Shouguang *vita* may be given as an example:

249 This is an additional hint that the *Taiping guangji* texts, too, are abbreviations of the original ones.

250 Cf. *Baopuzi [neipian]* ap. comm. *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu shu* 15.1379, corresponding to *Baopuzi neipian* 5.24:15. Note that Pei's three other *Baopuzi* quotes (ap. comm. *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu shu* 3.1162, and ap. comm. *Sanguo zhi*, *Wu shu* 18.1427) cannot be found in the received *Baopuzi neipian* and *waipian*.

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Ling Shouguang vita in the Shui jing zhu and the corresponding parts in the Yunji qiqian's SXZ text

YJQQ	靈壽光者	扶風人也	年七十餘	乃得未英丸	方合而服之	年如二
SJZ	神仙傳稱	靈壽光	扶風人			
YJQQ	十許建安元年	已年二十	歲後	死於江陵	胡罔家	殯埋
SJZ				死於江陵	胡罔家	罔殯埋之後
YJQQ	人	見之在小黃		寄書與罔	罔得書掘	視之棺中空無所有
SJZ	人有	見光於此縣		寄書與罔	罔發	視之
YJQQ	履存焉					
SJZ	履存					
						唯故
						惟有

Apart from the fact that the *Shui jing zhu* abridges the *SXZ*, both texts match remarkably well. On the other hand, the *Shui jing zhu* abridges the Wei Shuqing *Life*²⁵¹ so much that we would rather call it a paraphrase than a quotation. Nevertheless, more than half of it *verbatim* matches the *Yunji qiqian* version. The same is not true for the Laozi biography.²⁵² The *Shui jing zhu* preserves a passage that is no longer seen in the *Yunji qiqian* version (將有西遊者，遇老子彊令之著書耳。不得已爲著道德二經，謂之老子書也). The remainder, however, matches almost perfectly the corresponding *Yunji qiqian* sentences.

Summing up, it may be said that the match of corresponding sentences of the *SXZ* quotations ap. *Shui jing zhu* with the *SXZ* ap. *Yunji qiqian* is so close that both must have relied on sources that clearly belong to the same textual tradition.

6.4 The relationship between the *SXZ* quotations in the *Qimin yao shu* and the “long” versions

Jia Sixie quotes the *SXZ* six times in his *Qimin yao shu*. Five of these six biographies have a counterpart in the “long” versions. As a first example, the *SXZ* Jie Xiang *vita* ap. *Qimin yaoshu*²⁵³ shall be collated with the corresponding passages in the *Taiping guangji*²⁵⁴ (see next page).

As expected, the *Qimin yao shu* abridges its source but preserves quite well the parts it quotes: Apart from the phrase 速求去不許象 which does not occur in this form in the *Taiping guangji*, only two variant characters can be seen, 狀 is used instead of 表, and for 奩 it has 匱.

The next example is Wang Xing’s *SXZ* biography which is quoted in the *Qimin yao shu*²⁵⁵ and has its “long” version in the *Taiping guangji*²⁵⁶. The synopsis reads as follows (see overleaf):

251 Wei Shuqing, *Shui jing zhu*, 19.35a.

252 Cf. *Shui jing zhu* 17.13b

253 Cf. *Qimin yao shu*, ed. Sibu congkan, vol. 4, 10.7b.

254 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 13.89 and *Taiping guangji* 466.3839.

255 Cf. *Qimin yao shu* 10.30b.

256 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 10.70.

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Jie Xiang vita in the Qimin yao shu and the corresponding parts in the Taiping guangji's SXZ text

TPGJ	介象...(363 characters)...	吳王	徵至武昌甚尊敬之稱爲介君詔令立宅供帳
QMYS	介象	吳王所	徵在武昌
TPGJ	皆是綺繡遺黃金千鎰從象學隱形之術試還後宮出入閨闈莫有見者如此幻法		
QMYS			
TPGJ	種種變化不可勝數後告		言病帝遣左右姬侍 以美梨一奩
QMYS		速求去不許象	言病帝 以美梨一奩
TPGJ	賜象象食之	須臾便死帝	埋葬之以日中時死 哺時已 至建業
QMYS	賜象	須臾象死帝殯而	埋之以日中時死其日 哺時 到建業
TPGJ	所賜梨付	苑吏種之吏後以表聞先主	棺視之唯
QMYS	以 所賜梨付守	苑吏種之後吏以狀聞	棺 即發象 棺中有
TPGJ	一	符耳	
QMYS	一奏	符	

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Wang Xing vita in the Qimin yao shu and the corresponding parts in the Taiping guangji's SXZ text

TPGJ	王興者陽城	人也居壺谷中乃凡民也不知書無學道意	漢武	上高山
QMYS	王興者陽城越	人也	漢武帝	上高
TPGJ	登大愚石室	起道宮使董仲舒東方朔等齋潔思神至夜	忽見有	仙人長二丈
QMYS			忽見	仙人長二丈
TPGJ	耳出頭巔	垂下至	肩武	帝禮而問之仙人曰吾九疑之神也聞中岳
QMYS	耳出頭下	垂	肩	帝禮而問之仙人曰吾九疑人也聞高岳有
TPGJ	石上菖蒲一寸九節	可以服之	長生故來採耳	忽然失神人所在
QMYS	石上菖蒲一寸九節	可以	長生故來採之	忽然不見
TPGJ	彼非復學道	服食者必中岳之神	以	喻朕耳為之
QMYS	彼非	服食者	欲	以此喻朕耳
TPGJ	經二年	帝	覺悶不快	遂止時從官多服然莫能持久唯王
QMYS		帝服之	煩悶	乃止
TPGJ	武帝服菖蒲	乃採	服之	不息，遂得長生
QMYS			服	不止，遂以長生
				興聞仙人教
				興

Less abridged than the previous Jie Xiang *vita*, again the *Qimin yao shu* preserves quite well the parts it quotes. The variants include 嵩高, “[Mount] Songgao”, instead of 嵩山, “Mount Song.” Whereas both names refer to the same mountain, the former is the older name. More important is the phrase 吾九疑人也, “I am a person from Jiuyi,” for which the *Taiping guangji* reads 吾九疑之神也, “I am the spirit (or: god) of [Mount] Jiuni.” Jiuni is certainly the better reading than Jiuyu, but one would think that the *Qimin yao shu* makes better sense for the following phrase 可以服之長生故來採耳, “[if] one can eat it, one can live long; therefore I came [to] fetch [it], that’s all,” (*Taiping guangji*) is less likely to be uttered by a spirit or god 神 than by a 仙人 “transcendent” being. For 採耳 (“fetch [it], that’s all”) the *Qimin yao shu* has 採之 (“fetch it”), for 顧侍臣曰 (“he turned his head towards the officials in attendance and said”) the *Qimin yao shu* reads 謂侍臣曰 (“he told the officials in attendance:”), for 覺悶不快 (“he was aware of being melancholic and not cheerful”) the *Qimin yao shu* has 煩悶 (“he was grieving”), then 乃 is used for 遂 (*Taiping guangji*), 止 for 息 (*Taiping guangji*), and 以 for 得 (*Taiping guangji*).

A further example is Hu Gong’s *SXZ Life*²⁵⁷ (see next page). Apart from the beginning of the passage, which in the *Qimin yao shu* is paraphrased, and allowing for its abridgements, both passages clearly must derive from sources that belong to the same textual tradition. The variations are: 家人 for 親 (*Taiping guangji*), 書一青竹 for 取一青竹 (*Taiping guangji*), 可歸 for 以竹歸 (*Taiping guangji*), and 行喪 for 葬之 (*Taiping guangji*). The major difference is the phrase 家人見此竹, 是房屍 (“family members saw this [piece of] bamboo, [and] that [was] Fang’s corpse”) which in the *Taiping guangji* reads: 家人見房已死。屍在... (“family members saw that Fang was already dead. [His] corpse lay on the bed ...”). Note that the *Qimin yao shu* is a good example for 尸解, whereas the *Taiping guangji* version, which has the corpse facing the bamboo staff, seems to be less plausible.

257 Cf. *Qimin yao shu* 10.28b and *Taiping guangji* 12.80.

Synopsis of the quotation of the SXZ's Hu Gong vita in the Qimin yao shu and the corresponding parts in the Taiping guangji's SXZ text

TPGJ	...	房曰欲去之心不可	復言欲使	親	眷不
QMYS	... 壺公欲與費長房俱去長房	畏	家人		
TPGJ	覺知去當有何計	公曰易耳	乃取一青竹杖與房	戒之	曰卿以竹
QMYS	覺	公	乃書一青竹	戒	曰卿可
TPGJ	家便可	稱病以此竹杖	置卿所	臥處默然便來	言去後
QMYS	家	稱病以此竹	置卿	臥處默然便來還	言
TPGJ	房已死	屍在乃向竹杖耳乃	哭泣葬之...		
QMYS	此竹是房	屍	哭泣行喪		

家人見
家人見

When collating Dong Feng's *SXZ* biography as quoted in the *Qimin yao shu*²⁵⁸ with its *Taiping guangji* counterpart²⁵⁹ and Shen Xi's *SXZ Life* as quoted in the *Qimin yao shu*²⁶⁰ with both its *Taiping guangji*²⁶¹ and *Yunji qiqian*²⁶² counterparts we obtain similar results.

In conclusion we may say that the texts of the early *SXZ* quotations to be found in sources of the early fifth to the early sixth century not only can be seen in the "long" versions of the *Taiping guangji* of the late tenth century or *Yunji qiqian* of the early eleventh century—although abridged and with variants—but occasionally preserve passages that are no longer extant in the "long" versions. This clearly indicates that the textual tradition within this period was a continuous one.

If, then, the *SXZ* and the *Baopuzi neipian* were written by the same author, Ge Hong, we may now ask whether there are any correspondences between these two texts. A negative result would not come as a surprise as both texts belong to different *genres*—the former can be assigned to "collections of biographies" whereas the latter may be characterized as a "philosophical" treatise (although dealing with the rather "unphilosophical" topic of immortality). Collections of biographies may simply arrange a series of already existing biographies, originally written by different authors, and more or less preserving the original wording. Philosophical treatises certainly represented the author's own wording except eventual quotations (marked as such or unmarked) from other works. A positive result, on the other hand, may be considered a rather strong argument for the likelihood that both texts are indeed the product of the same author.

258 Cf. *Qimin yao shu* 4.9af.

259 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 12.83.

260 Cf. *Qimin yao shu* 10.5a.

261 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 5.36.

262 Cf. *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 109.6b.

7. The relationship between the *SXZ* and Ge Hong's *Baopuzi neipian*²⁶³

After having established a provisional critical edition of all fragments of the *SXZ* I was able to locate so far, I compiled a complete concordance and compared it with K.M. Schipper's concordance of the *Baopuzi neipian*²⁶⁴. The result was that, indeed, there are a few instances where parts of the *SXZ* correspond *verbatim* with parts to be found in the *Baopuzi neipian*.

These correspondences include a passage that appears both in the Peng Zu 彭祖 *vita* of the *SXZ* and in chapter three, 對俗 "Rejoinder to popular [conceptions]", of the *Baopuzi neipian*. They also include the *SXZ* biographies of Li A 李阿, Zhao Qu 趙瞿 and Chen Anshi 陳安世 that find their counterparts in the *Baopuzi neipian*.

The Peng Zu case may serve as the first example. The relevant passages of both his *SXZ* biography²⁶⁵ and of the third chapter of the *Baopuzi neipian*²⁶⁶ are presented in a synopsis (see next page). The correspondence is striking. Whereas the *Baopuzi* passage appears in a paragraph where Ge Hong talks about what his teacher had told him about those who had attained immortality,²⁶⁷ the *SXZ* passage is part of an answer Peng Zu gave to the female immortal Cai Nü 采女 when she asked what sort of an immortal Mister Qing Jing 青精先生 was. Peng Zu's reply is a long monologue listing various forms of immortality first and then describing his own life. The passage in question in fact is the beginning of Peng Zu's self-description.

263 An earlier version of this paragraph was presented to the *European Association of Chinese Studies*, Edinburgh Conference, September 10-13, 1998.

264 Cf. Kristofer M. Schipper, *Concordance du Pao-p'ou-tseu nei-p'ien*, Paris 1965.

265 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 2.8-11.

266 Cf. *Baopuzi neipian* 3.11.

267 Ware p. 65.

Synopsis of the relevant passages of the SXZ's Peng Zu vita and the Baopuzi neipian

BPZ	有似雀之爲蛤雉之爲蜃非人道也	失其
SXZ	有若雀化爲蛤雉化爲蜃	
BPZ	然此等雖有不死之壽去人情遠榮樂	
SXZ	本真更守異氣余之愚心未願此已	
BPZ	人道當食甘旨服輕煖通陰陽處官秩耳	寒
SXZ	人道當食甘旨服輕麗通陰陽處官秩耳	寒
BPZ	目聰明	長在世間
SXZ	骨節堅強顏色悅懌老而不衰延年久視出處任意	
BPZ	骨節堅強顏色和澤老而不衰延年久視	
BPZ	溫風濕不能傷鬼神衆精不能犯五兵百毒不能中憂喜毀譽不爲累乃爲貴耳	
SXZ	溫風濕不能傷鬼神衆精莫敢犯五兵百虫不可近嗔喜毀譽不爲累乃可貴耳	

Synopsis of the relevant passages of the SXZ's Li A vita and the Baopuzi neipian

BPZ	吳大帝時蜀中有	李阿者	穴居不食	傳世見之	號為八百歲公
SXZ		李阿者蜀人		傳世見之不老	
BPZ				人	往
SXZ	常乞於成都市所得復散賜與貧窮者夜去朝還市人莫知所止			或	往
BPZ	問事阿無所言但占阿顏色若顏色欣然則事皆吉若顏			容	慘戚則事皆
SXZ	問事阿無所言但占阿顏色若顏色欣然則事皆吉若			容貌	慘戚則事皆
BPZ	凶若阿含笑者則有大慶若			微歎者即有深憂如此候之未曾一失也後一旦	
SXZ	凶若阿含笑者則有大慶			微嘆者則有深憂如此候之未曾不審也	
BPZ	忽去不知所在				
SXZ					

Turning now to the other examples of correspondences between the *SXZ* and the *Baopuzi neipian* we will find the same phenomenon: The relevant passages match *verbatim*, as can be seen in the synopsis (see preceding page), reproducing the beginning of *SXZ*'s Li A *vita*²⁶⁸ and a passage from chapter nine, 道意 "The meaning of the *dao*," of the *Baopuzi neipian*²⁶⁹. The *Baopuzi neipian* passage is embedded in an argument for Ge Hong's conviction that ghosts have no power and therefore sumptuous sacrifices ought to be forbidden. He names the cult of a Li family as the origin of such offerings, with Li A as the person who stood at its beginning. Li A is then described, as to be seen in the synopsis above, before Ge Hong turns to a certain Li Kuang whom people mistakenly regarded as none other than Li A.²⁷⁰ As in the previous example, the result is astonishing: Where both texts match, they do so *verbatim* with only minor variants.

The next example occurs in chapter eleven of the *Baopuzi neipian*, entitled 仙藥 "The immortals' medicines," in which Ge Hong discusses various recipes and medicines and then gives examples of people who benefited from consuming them. After referring to an episode his late grandfather had witnessed that illustrates the positive effects of cinnabar, he presents the case of Zhao Qu 趙瞿.²⁷¹ Zhao Qu, on the other hand, has a biography in the *SXZ*. Again, the relevant passages are given in a synopsis (see next page). Although the *SXZ* account itself is longer (in the synopsis marked by "...") and even though the *Baopuzi neipian* narrative contains parts that are also not seen in the former, the *verbatim* match of a substantial portion of both texts is quite remarkable.

268 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 7.50.

269 Cf. *Baopuzi neipian* 9.39.

270 Cf. Ware 1966:158.

271 Cf. *Baopuzi neipian* 11.50, Ware 1966:192-194.

Synopsis of the relevant passages of the SXZ's Zhao Qu vita and the Baopuzi neipian

BPZ	余又聞上黨有	趙瞿者	病癩歷年衆治之不愈	垂死或
SXZ		趙瞿者字子榮上黨人也	得癩病	重垂死或
BPZ		云不及活流	後	子孫轉
SXZ	告其家	云當及生	棄之	子孫
			棄之若死於家則世	相注易其家
				相蛀耳家人
BPZ	齋糧將之	送置山穴	中...	有仙人...瞿...乃
SXZ	爲作一年糧	送置山	中...忽見石室前	有三人...瞿...乃自陳乞
BPZ	叩頭自陳	乞哀...可以	長生不	死
SXZ	叩頭	求哀...當	長生	瞿
			耳服半可愈	即勿廢瞿服之未盡病
BPZ	愈身體強健	乃歸家人初	謂之鬼也	甚驚愕瞿
SXZ		乃歸家人	謂是鬼	遂長服
			具說其由	乃喜
BPZ	松脂...終日	不	極年百七十歲齒不墮	髮不白
SXZ	之...更	不疲	極年百七十	夜臥忽見屋間有光
				夜臥忽見屋間光有
BPZ	大	如鏡者以問左右	皆	云不見久而漸大
SXZ		如鏡者以問左右		云不見後
			一日	一室內
				盡明如晝日
				盡明

continued:

- BPZ 又夜見面上有綵女 甚端正 二人長二 三寸
SXZ 能夜書文再 見面上有 二人長 三尺乃美女也
- BPZ 面體皆具但爲小耳 但小耳戲其鼻上如此遊戲其口鼻之間如是
SXZ 甚端正 但小耳戲其鼻上如
- BPZ 且一年 此 女漸長大 出在其側又 常聞琴瑟之
SXZ 此二女稍長大至如人不復在面上 出在前側 常聞琴瑟之
- BPZ 音欣然獨笑在人間三百許年色如小 童 乃 入抱攢 山去必地仙
SXZ 聲欣然懽樂在人間三百餘年常如 童子顏色 入 山
- BPZ 也 ...
SXZ 不知所之

Additional, but perhaps less spectacular, examples include the *SXZ vita* of Chen Anshi 陳安世²⁷² which corresponds *verbatim* with a small passage in the *Baopuzi neipian*²⁷³, as the synopsis shows (see following page). In this case, too, the match is quite close. However, all examples discussed share the fact that the *SXZ* versions are longer than the *Baopuzi neipian* parts. This is interesting and calls for a discussion: If both versions were identical, or if the *SXZ* versions were shorter than the *Baopuzi* versions, we would have to take into account the possibility that the *SXZ* versions were simply copied from the latter. Since, however, quite the opposite is true, the *Baopuzi* cannot have served as the *SXZ*'s source. On the other hand—given the *verbatim* correspondences—both texts must have relied on the same source. If Ge Hong—as his autobiography says—compiled the *SXZ* before the *Baopuzi*, he did not have to feel obliged to completely repeat the *SXZ* biographies in his *Baopuzi* as he already had given them *in extenso* in the *SXZ*.

In the *Baopuzi neipian* the following sentence is to be found: 陰君 [= 陰長生, SPB] ... 善著詩及丹經讚并序，述初學道隨師本末，列己所知識之得仙者四十餘人，甚分明也，²⁷⁴ which in Ware's translation reads:

Master Yin [Changsheng, SPB] ... composed poetry and also a eulogy on the *Taiqing dan jing*. In the preface to the latter he gives a very clear account of his early studies of the divine process under a teacher and of his forty-odd acquaintances who also attained geniehood.²⁷⁵

The extant fragments of *SXZ*'s Yin Changsheng *vita* not only corroborate his authorship of poems, as it is said 又著詩三篇，以示將來 “he also wrote three pieces of poetry in order to proclaim [his] future”,²⁷⁶ but the three poems are even quoted in full.²⁷⁷ The *Baopuzi* account that Yin also composed a “foreword” 序 to the [*Taiqing*] *dan jing* which he had received

272 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiqing guangji* 5. 37.

273 Cf. *Baopuzi neipian* 14.62.

274 Cf. *Baopuzi neipian* 4.16.

275 Ware 1966:81, Romanisation adapted to Pinyin.

276 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiqing guangji* 8.55.

277 Loc. cit., translated in Güntsch 1988:132-134.

Synopsis of the relevant passages of the SXZ's Chen Anshi vita and the Baopuzi neipian

BPZ	陳安世	者年十三歲	蓋	灌叔本之客子耳	...
SXZ	陳安世	京兆人也	為	權叔本	家傭賃
BPZ		道尊德貴			先得道者則
SXZ	夫	道尊德貴不在年齒	父母生我然非師則莫能使我長生		先聞道者即
BPZ	為師矣	吾不敢倦		執弟子之禮也	
SXZ	為師矣		乃	執弟子之禮	

from his teacher Ma Mingsheng is confirmed by a substantial quotation of this preface in the *SXZ*, introduced by 陰君自敘云 “Master Yin’s own preface states.”²⁷⁸ Güntsch, not realizing that both characters 序 (*xù*) and 敘 (*xù*) are often interchanged with each other, mistranslates the sentence as “Herr Yin selbst berichtet.”²⁷⁹

It is worth mentioning that the *Baopuzi neipian* at times gives a summary of a biography to be found in the *SXZ*. One example is *Baopuzi neipian* 11.48 where it is said that Wei Shuqing’s son together with a Han court emissary were not only able to get Wei’s casket containing the recipe for an immortality pill but also, after preparing the substance and ingesting it, ascended together as immortals. The *Baopuzi* account uses partially the same wording than the *SXZ*.²⁸⁰

Another aspect deserves to be mentioned. Into the *SXZ* Laozi *vita* are integrated several comments. The first²⁸¹ begins with

葛稚川云：洪以爲 ...

Ge Zhichuan (i.e. Ge Hong) says: Hong (i.e. Ge Hong) considers that ...,

the second²⁸² has:

洪按西昇中胎，及復命苞，及珠韜玉機金篇內經，皆云 ...

Hong (i.e. Ge Hong) holds that [the three books] *Xi sheng [jing]*, [*Laozi*] *Zhong tai [jing]*, *Zhutao yuji jinpian neijing* all say the following

Similarly, in Yin Changsheng’s 陰長生 biography we find the phrase²⁸³:

抱朴子曰：洪聞諺書有之曰：

Baopuzi says: Hong (i.e. Ge Hong) has heard that the book such-and-such says the following ...

278 Op.cit. 8.54.

279 Güntsch 1988:131.

280 The *Baopuzi* pericope is translated in Ware 1966:187. Wei Shuqing’s *vita* is to be found in *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 4.28-30, tr. Güntsch 1988:229.

281 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 1.1.

282 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 1.2.

283 Cf. *SXZ* ap. *Taiping guangji* 8.54.

In his *Baopuzi neipian* Ge Hong never uses the name Hong, for the whole work is written as a dialogue between an anonymous questioner and Master Baopu. Since the reader knows that the name 'Master Baopu' refers to the author Ge Hong, he can himself bring both in relation to each other. On the other hand, in another important work of Ge Hong's, in his *Baopuzi waipian*, the name Hong is mentioned no less than 48 times whenever the author wants to refer to himself. The self-reference used by the compiler of the *SXZ* is, therefore, the same as the one used in the *Baopuzi waipian* whose authorship is considered authentic.

8. The Wang Yuan/Cai Jing/Ma Gu-complex

One of the specific problems we are confronted with when dealing with the fragments of the *SXZ* is that of the limits as it were of individual biographies. Which *vitae* that now appear as different *Lives* in sources such as, e.g., the *Yunji qiqian* or the *Taiping guangji* were originally an integral part of another one? Are the *Lives* as they appear today but "artefacts" created by the compilers of our sources? One example shall be examined in the following.²⁸⁴

As we have already seen, the *Yunji qiqian* has both a Wang Yuan biography²⁸⁵ and a Cai Jing *vita*²⁸⁶, the latter immediately following that of Wang Yuan. The *Taiping guangji*, on the other hand, has no Cai Jing *Life* but its version of the Wang Yuan *vita*²⁸⁷ is roughly five times longer than that of the *Yunji qiqian*. How is this to be explained? The *Yunji qiqian* account of Wang Yuan's biography opens as expected: Wang's name, his style and his native place are given as well as the various posts of his civil career. Two longer pericopes follow, the first one narrating how Wang, on

284 Another very important problem is that of the Ma Mingsheng / Taizhen furen-complex, including the question whether or not the Taizhen furen *vita* was originally contained in the *SXZ*. Cf. Bumbacher, op. cit.: 369-384. As this topic deserves a detailed argument and space here is limited, I shall treat it in a separate article.

285 *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 109.10aff.

286 Cf. op. cit. 109.11af.

287 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 7.45ff.

imperial command, was brought to the capital but enraged the emperor by writing a prophecy on the palace gate. In the second we learn that a certain Chen Dan and his family took care of Wang and nourished him for more than forty years before Wang apparently underwent a “release by means of a corpse.” The narrative then goes on to say that he moved towards the east and made a halt in Cai Jing’s household at the gate of the capital of Wu. Here the account ends. No information is provided what happened in Cai Jing’s family nor how Wang’s earthly life ended, if it ended at all. Precisely at this point in the *Yunji qiqian* Cai Jing’s own biography begins. We would expect that Cai is first introduced with his style and native place and then a few things about his early life might follow. This, however, is not the case. Rather, it is said that Wang Yuan, recognizing that Cai Jing’s physiognomy was that of an immortal, utters a prophecy to the effect that Cai Jing would one day truly become an immortal. Then Wang leaves. The bulk of the remaining narrative deals with Wang’s return to the Cai family and describes the banquet prepared for him at this occasion. During this party the female immortal Ma Gu also arrives and takes part in a conversation with Wang and Cai. Thus the break the *Yunji qiqian* makes in the Wang Yuan *vita* by introducing a new heading which indicates that a different biography, that of Cai Jing, is now beginning seems to be an utterly artificial one, made by the editors of the *Yunji qiqian*, that makes neither sense as far as the overall narrative structure is concerned nor—in view of the Cai Jing “*Life*”—in terms of how a biography is usually formally introduced. This hypothesis is confirmed by textual evidence. The *Taiping guangji* which was, as we have seen, compiled roughly half a century before the *Yunji qiqian* has the Cai Jing pericopes as an integral part of the Wang Yuan biography without any interruption. No separation as between the last sentence of *Yunji qiqian*’s Wang Yuan *vita* and its following Cai Jing biography is to be seen in the *Taiping guangji*.

On the other hand, the *Taiping guangji* has both this Wang Yuan biography and—in the *nü xian* 女仙 section—a Ma Gu *Life*²⁸⁸. Güntsch in her German translation of the *SXZ* already observed that “Ma Ku’s Biographie hat grösstenteils den gleichen Wortlaut [as that of Wang Yuan, SPB].”²⁸⁹ In fact, almost ninety percent of this Ma Gu biography are to be

288 Cf. op. cit. 60.369.

289 Cf. Güntsch, op. cit.: 209 n. 2.

found *verbatim* within Wang Yuan's *Taiping guangji vita* (apart from the very first sentence, the usual variant readings and omissions). The last roughly ten percent of the *Ma Gu Life* are an adaptation of the corresponding part in Wang Yuan's *Taiping guangji* biography. From this we can conclude that the editors of the *Taiping guangji* felt obliged to copy the relevant pericopes from Wang Yuan's *vita* and to enter them again as a separate *Ma Gu* biography. One reason for this may have been that, at the time when the *Taiping guangji* was compiled, local cults for *Ma Gu* not only already existed but were probably quite well-known: The *Yi yuan* 異苑, "Garden of Oddities," attributed to Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔²⁹⁰, written after AD 437²⁹¹ but before 471, talks about a lake-side shrine in the Dan-yang district that was, as early as during the Qin (249-207 BC), dedicated to a Lady *Mei Gu* 梅姑 or *Ma Gu*.²⁹² There was even a mountain named after *Ma Gu*, as the title of Yan Zhenqing's 嚴真卿 (709-784) stele *Ma Gu shan xian tan ji* 麻姑山仙壇記, "Records on the altar of immortals on Mount *Ma Gu*", written 771²⁹³, shows, which itself quotes the relevant parts of Wang Yuan's *SXZ vita*²⁹⁴ (interestingly, the pericopes used are not precisely the same as the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* selected for their "separate" *Ma Gu SXZ*-biography). Another reason may have been that the compilers of the *Taiping guangji* wanted to enlarge their section of female immortals.

Summarizing we can say that originally the *SXZ* contained a Wang Yuan *vita* which, for unknown reasons, was later split into two: on the one hand into a Wang Yuan and a Cai Jing biography by the compilers of the *Yunji qiqian* and, on the other, the editors of the *Taiping guangji* selected a part of it and entered it as a separate *Ma Gu Life* into the *nü xian* section.

290 D. during the *Song taishi* period, i.e. 465-471. Cf. Lu Xun 魯迅, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi lue* 中國小說史略. Beijing 1973:34.

291 Date mentioned in *Yi yuan*, ed. Xuejin taoyuan, 3.7a.

292 *Yi yuan* 5.1, cf. Hisayuki Miyakawa, "Local cults around Mount Lu", in: Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, op. cit.: 86.

293 Sixth year of the [Tang] *dali* era.

294 For a French translation, cf. Edouard Chavannes, "Le jet des dragons", in: *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale* 3, 1919:53-126, especially pp. 104-108.

9. The Ming editions

While the *SXZ* was lost during the Southern Song, three editions of the *SXZ*, each in ten *juan* and each giving Ge Hong as author, suddenly appeared towards the end of the Ming dynasty within a period of less than seventy years. The first two, to be found in the *Guang Han Wei congshu* 廣漢魏叢書 and the *Yimen guandu* 夷門廣牘, were published during the *wanli* period (1573-1620). The third one was printed during the *chongzhen* period (1628-1644) by Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659) in his *Jigu ge* 汲古閣 ed.

A few preliminary words must be said about the current editions.²⁹⁵ None of them goes further back than the middle of the Ming dynasty. None of these includes more than 94 biographies. The suspicion that the “*Han Wei congshu* edition”²⁹⁶ is a *rifacimento* has been expressed by the editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*: they came to the conclusion that the *SXZ* biographies it contained were copied from the *Taiping guangji*.²⁹⁷ Our investigation has revealed that for those *SXZ* lives that are not contained in the *Taiping guangji* the Ming editors relied on other sources, such as the *Taiping yulan*²⁹⁸ or the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*²⁹⁹. They even

295 It is not my intention to discuss them in detail. As for the purpose of a critical edition one will have to rely on the “long” texts and the collected fragments. For a more detailed discussion of the editions concerned, cf. now Penny, op. cit.: 178-187.

296 The *Siku tiyao* speaks simply of the “*Han Wei congshu*.” The *congshu* bearing this title and having been published during the Ming *wanli* period did not contain the *SXZ*. Therefore, either the *Guang Han Wei congshu*, published in 1592, or the *Zengding Han Wei congshu*, published during the Qing *ganlong* period (1736-1795) must be meant, the former being the more likely one.

297 *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 28.3050.

298 This can easily be verified by comparing the extant fragments of, e.g., the biographies of Huang Ziyang 黃子陽 (note that the *SXZ*, ed. Daozang jinghua, has Dong Ziyang 董), Dongguo Yannian 東郭延年, Dai Meng 戴孟:
a) Dong Guoyan, the extant fragments identified so far are: *Sandong zhu'nang*, HY 1131, 8.5b, *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 3.11b, *Taiping yulan* 38.6a and 747.7a, *Sandong qunxian lu*, HY 1238, 3.14b. Of these, *Taiping yulan* 38.6a is identical with *SXZ*, ed. *Daozang jinghua*, 10.43b;

went so far as to include a biography that is nowhere attested as having been part of the *SXZ*.³⁰⁰

In his study on the *SXZ*, Fukui,³⁰¹ too, concluded that “today’s *SXZ*” is not the old text. His main arguments were: 1) the *juan*-numbers to which the *vitae* are assigned differ between the Tang version, as attested by the *Sandong zhu’nang*, and the “modern” edition, 2) the *Sandong zhu’nang* still has biographies that are now absent, 3) the *vitae* reproduced in *juan* 10 of the “modern” editions are extremely short and do not accord with the style in which the other biographies are written³⁰². Sawada adds the ob-

b) the fragment of Huang Ziyang’s *vita* is to be found in *Taiping yulan* 662.4b and is identical with *SXZ*, ed. Daozang jinghua, 10.43b;

c) the identified Dai Meng fragment is *Taiping yulan* 663.4a which is identical with *SXZ*, ed. Daozang jinghua, 10.43b.

299 The following examples may suffice to illustrate the point:

a) Five fragments of Gan Shi’s *SXZ* biography are extant, they are to be found in *Yiwen leiju* 81.1384, *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 2.18b, *Taiping yulan* 40.1b and 989.1a, and *Shuofu* 43.21a. Yet none of these is used by the Ming editors of the *SXZ*, instead they *verbatim* copied Gan Shi’s *vita* from *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, HY 296, 12.12b, where no source is mentioned.

b) Similarly, Li Shouguang’s account (*SXZ* ed. *Daozang jinghua* 10.42a) is copied from *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, HY 296, 12.9bf., whereas the attested *SXZ* fragments, namely *Shui jing zhu* 23.10a, *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 3.11a, *Taiping yulan* 669.6a, *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 86.11b, *Sandong qunxian lu* 1.11b, and *Shuofu* 43.20a, were not taken into consideration.

300 Ping Zhongjie’s *vita*, reproduced in the *SXZ*, ed. *Daozang jinghua*, 10.42bf., is *verbatim* taken from *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, HY 296, 17.8a (where no source is provided). This *vita* is also found in the *Sandong qunxian lu*, HY 1238, 6.17a, where the source is given as *Zhen’gao*! Note that within this piece the date AD 345 is mentioned which—too—speaks against Ge Hong’s authorship of this *vita*.

301 Fukui, op. cit.

302 The reason for this is simple: we have found that the Ming editors have—at least in some instances—included fragments as reproduced in the *Taiping yulan* which, as is typical for *leishu* like the *Taiping yulan*, may be abridged to a large extent and thus tend to be rather short.

ervation that there is a discrepancy between the 92 persons of some “modern” editions and the 117 testified by Wang Songnian.³⁰³ Kominami takes the *Guang Han Wei congshu* as the origin of the “modern” editions, from which the *Zengding Han Wei congshu* 增定漢魏叢書, the *Longwei bishu*, and the *Shuoku* depend. The *Yiyuan junhua* 藝苑摺華 edition, which has a *SXZ* in 5 *juan*, belongs to the same tradition but lacks the second half.³⁰⁴

The other “modern” edition, which—at a first glance—seems to be different from the *Guang Han Wei congshu* edition, namely Mao Jin’s *Jigu ge* edition³⁰⁵, is preserved in the *Siku quanshu* collection.³⁰⁶ It contains the biographies of eighty-four immortals. The most obvious difference between the *Jigu ge* and the “*Han Wei congshu*”-tradition is the different order in which the biographies are presented. Apart from three cases where the order of two subsequent biographies is reversed, Mao Jin follows the same order as that of the *Shuofu*. Three *Lives*, however, for which Mao Jin apparently has not been able to obtain any (or enough) text, he replaced by biographies that were not listed in the *Shuofu* yet are contained in the “*Han Wei congshu*”-tradition.³⁰⁷ Furthermore, Mao Jin has five biographies that are not seen in the “*Han Wei congshu*”-tradition: Taiyang nü 太陽女 (or Zhu Yi 朱翼), Taiyin nü 太陰女 (or Lu Jin 盧金), Liu Gang 劉綱, Rong Chenggong 容成公, and Yue Zichang 樂子長. We may ask what sources Mao Jin might have used for these. The Taiyang nü *vita* is identical with the version to be found in Zhao Daoyi’s *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji*, for which the latter does not indicate its

303 Sawada, op. cit.: 566.

304 Kominami, op. cit.: 302.

305 Fukui (1983:27) points at the fact that Mao Jin’s *Jindai bishu* collection does not contain a *SXZ*. He seems to imply that Mao Jin did in fact not have a *SXZ* at his disposition. However, not all works collected by Mao were printed in his *Jindai bishu*. E.g., the *Jindai bishu* does not list the *Bowu zhi*, yet we know that Mao Jin kept a rare Northern Song ed. of this work which his son, Mao Yi (1640-1710) offered for sale at a cost of four taels; cf. *Jigu ge zhenzang biben shumu* 汲古閣珍藏秘本書目, ed. *Congshu jicheng jianbian*, p. 15.

306 *Qinding Siku quanshu*, repr. Shanghai 1987, vol. 1059:253-311. For Mao Jin’s ed. as basis for the *Siku quanshu*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 254a.

307 These are: Hua Ziqi, Wu Yan, and Heshang Gong.

source.³⁰⁸ Similarly, Taiyin nü's biography almost corresponds with Zhao Daoyi's version (for which, again, no source is given) yet it has a short section of seventeen characters more.³⁰⁹ This may indicate that either Mao Jin did not copy directly from the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji* yet probably from a common source, or that the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji* has undergone editorial changes since. On the other hand, his Jie Xiang *vita* is an almost precise copy of Zhao Daoyi's *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian tongjian* (unfortunately, as in most cases, Zhao Daoyi does not reveal his own source), there are fewer variations between these than between Mao Jin's text and the *Taiping guangji* version of this *Life*. His versions of Liu Gang's and Rong Chenggong's biographies, on the other hand, are identical with corresponding texts in the *Xianyuan bianzhu*.³¹⁰ To summarize: Mao Jin used sources—apart from a version belonging to the “*Han Wei congshu*”-tradition—the editors of the *Guang Han Wei congshu* either did not have at their disposal or deliberately did not take into account.

We collated one of the “modern” editions, the one contained in the *Daozang jinghua*, a) with the *Taiping guangji*, b) with the *Yunji qiqian*, and c) with the quotations as listed in the *Appendix*. The *Daozang jinghua* edition was chosen for this purpose after it has been compared with the *Zengding Han Wei congshu*, because its compiler claims to have collated the [*Guang*] *Han Wei congshu*, the *Longwei bishu* and—most important—the *Jigu ge* editions. In addition, some variorum readings are integrated in the text using smaller characters.³¹¹ The main difference between the *Daozang jinghua* and the *Zengding Han Wei congshu* is the fact that the former includes the biographies of Ruo Shi³¹² and Hua Ziqi³¹³. Both biographies

308 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji*, HY 298:2.11b.

309 Op. cit. 2.11bf. and SXZ, ed. *Siku quanshu*, 4.10a-b.

310 Liu Gang's *vita* in SXZ, ed. *Siku quanshu*, 6.9b = *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 3.1b; Rong Chenggong's biography in SXZ, ed. *Siku quanshu*, 7.5a = *Xianyuan bianzhu* 3.13b (for which no source is mentioned).

311 However, it is never said which edition shows the variant quoted. The *Jigu ge* edition was neither available to Fukui nor to Sawada.

312 SXZ, ed. *Daozang jinghua*, 1af.

313 SXZ, ed. *Daozang jinghua*, 5a.

are absent in the *Taiping guangji* but occur in the *Yunji qiqian*.³¹⁴ The text of Ruo Shi's biography is identical with the *Yunji qiqian* text, whereas the text of Hua Ziqi's biography, collated with the *Yunji qiqian*, shows a few differences.³¹⁵ Note that all "modern" editions fail to include Taizhen furen's *vita* as preserved in *Taiping guangji* 57.³¹⁶

Tabulating³¹⁷ the relative order of the *SXZ* biographies as found in the *Sandong zhu'nang* and in the *Daozang jinghua* edition, Table 5 is obtained. In 17 of 25 cases, where a direct comparison of the *juan* number is possible, there is a difference between the *Sandong zhu'nang* and the "modern" edition. A collation of the "modern" edition of the "*Han Wei congshu*"-tradition with the "long" text versions leads to the following result:

1. Where both the *Yunji qiqian* and the *Taiping guangji* have a biography of the same person, but differ from each other in some details, the "modern" edition always follows the *Taiping guangji*.³¹⁸

2. Clusters of *SXZ* biographies in the *Taiping guangji* often occur as clusters in the "modern" edition:

cluster a: Mozi³¹⁹, Sun Bo, Tianmen Zi, Yu Zi,³²⁰

314 *Yunji qiqian*, HY 1026, 109.1b-2b and *Yunji qiqian* 109.4bf., respectively.

315 Three variant and three included characters.

316 Cf. *Taiping guangji* 57.350-354. Accordingly, this *vita* is not translated by Güntsch. That this biography indeed was part of the *SXZ* is corroborated by the quotation in comm. *Wen xuan* 16.30b which matches a part of the Taizhen furen *vita* ap. *Taiping guangji* 57.351.

317 Cf. Fukui, op. cit.: 2f.; note that Fukui obviously has overlooked, or deliberately not considered, the two *vitae* of Hua Ziqi (*Sandong zhu'nang*, HY 1131, 3.27b, wrongly attributed to the *Liexian zhuan*) and Zhang Daoling (*Sandong zhu'nang* 7.8b).

318 Although additional variants occur in the former (copyists' errors).

319 After Mozi's *vita*, the *Taiping guangji* has Liu Zheng's biography which is reproduced in the *Daozang jinghua* on p. 34a.

320 The cluster comprises *Taiping guangji* 5.31-35 and pages 31b-32b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

Table 5: Relative order of the SXZ biographies: *Sandong zhu'nan* / “modern” editions

<i>Biography</i>	<i>SXZ juan (SDZN)</i>	<i>“modern” juan</i>
Ruo Shi	2	1
Peng Zu	2	1
Shen Xi	3	8
Wang Yuan	3	2
Ma Gu	3	2
Huang Luzi	4	10
Sun Bo	4	8
Kong Yuangfang	4	6
Jiao Xian	4	6
Taiyang Nü	4	n.a. ³²¹
Taiyang Zi	4	10
Taiyin Nü	4	n.a.
Sun Deng	4	6
Shen Jian	5	6
Zhang Daoling	5	5
Ba Gong	6	4
Dong Feng	7	6
Liu Gen	7	3
Wang Yao	8	3
Li Changzai	9	3
Gan Jun	9	n.a.
Gui Jun / Gan Jun	9	n.a.
Mao Jun	9	9
Jie Xiang	9	9
Feng Junda	10	10
Zhao Qu	10	3
Chen Chang	10	10
Li Gen	10	10
Dongguo Yannian	10	10
Ling Shouguang	10 (<i>YJQQ</i> 86)	10 ³²²

321 n.a. stands for “not available.”

cluster b: Shen Xi, Chen Anshi;³²³

cluster c: Baishi xiansheng, Huang Chuping, Wang Yuan, Baishan Fu, Ma Mingsheng, Li Babai, Li A;³²⁴

cluster d: Liu An, Yin Changsheng, Zhang Daoling;³²⁵

cluster e: Liu Shaojun, Kong Yuanfang, Wang Lie, Jiao Xian, Sun Deng, Lu Wenjing, Shen Jian;³²⁶

cluster f: Heshang Gong, Liu Gen, Li Zhongfu, Li Yiqi, Wang Xing, Zhao Qu, Wang Yao;³²⁷

cluster g: Qinshan Laofu, Wu Yan, Liu Ping, Luan Ba, Zuo Ci;³²⁸

cluster h: Hu Gong, Jizi Xun;³²⁹

cluster i: Mao Jun, Kong Anguo, Yin Gui, Jie Xiang, Su Xiangong, Cheng Xiangong, Guo Pu, Yin Si.³³⁰

322 This quotation, although not in the *Sandong zhu'nan* but also explicitly mentioning the *juan* number, has not been seen by Fukui and Sawada.

323 Pages 5.36-37 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 33a-33b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

324 Pages 7.44-50 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 6a-8b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

325 Pages 8.51-58 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 14a-17b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

326 Pages 9.59-65 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 23a-25b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

327 Pages 10.66-72 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 10a-12b in the *Daozang jinghua*. It is interesting that the *Taiping guangji mulu* then has the biography of Chen Yongbai which—we must assume—also belonged to the same *SXZ* cluster, but the text itself is missing in the *Taiping guangji*. However, the *Daozang jinghua* has Chen's biography on p. 41a which, apart from one variant and three omitted characters, is nothing else but the text reproduced in *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, HY 296, 5.20af. Note that the *Lishi tongjian* does not give his source for this biography. We have an attested *SXZ* fragment of Chen Yongbai's biography: it is to be found in the *Xianyuan bianzhu*, HY 596, 1.8a but it is different from the *Lishi tongjian* text.

328 Pages 11.73-78 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 18a-20b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

329 Pages 12.80-83 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 20b-22b in the *Daozang jinghua*.

330 Pages 13.87-95 in the *Taiping guangji* and pages 35a-39a in the *Daozang jinghua*.

3. The *Daozang jinghua* edition has 94 biographies of which sixty are taken from the *Taiping guangji* and two from the *Yunji qiqian*.

These few remarks may suffice to illustrate the validity of the thesis of the editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*.³³¹ It should be obvious by now that the Ming eds. are neither to be considered reliable nor are they of any scientific use.

10. Conclusion

Nothing of what has been said so far speaks against the possibility that the *SXZ*, as it is available through the extant fragments in the *Taiping guangji*, the *Yunji qiqian* and various *lei shu*, indeed is from Ge Hong's brush. If the *SXZ*, nevertheless, should be a forgery then it must have been fabricated in the time between Ge Hong's death and the earliest testimonies in the early 5th century, most probably during the first decades after his de-
cease.

Based on three different kinds of evidence we can conclude that what still is extant from the *SXZ* (namely two "long" versions and a series of quotations to be found in sources from pre-Tang times up to the Southern Song) may indeed go back to Ge Hong's original text:

Firstly, both bibliographical evidence and other testimony suggest that not only roughly a century after Ge Hong's death his works, including his *SXZ*, were already quite popular and that the *SXZ*'s existence is attested for the late fifth / early sixth century but that from the middle of the sixth until the early 13th centuries it was continuously available at least in the imperial and, at times, in private libraries as well.

Secondly, collation of the early quotations (from the early fifth and early sixth centuries) with the "long" versions—as they existed in the late tenth (*Taiping guangji*) and early eleventh century (*Yunji qiqian*)—revealed

331 Contrary to Durrant who, concerning Mozi's *vita*, says "that the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* ... is an almost exact copy of the *Shen-hsien chuan* ...", the *SXZ* ed. he used are copies from the *Taiping guangji*! Cf. Stephen W. Durrant, "The Taoist Apotheosis of Mo Ti", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97, 1977:543.

no serious indication suggesting that the Song text was fundamentally different from the Nanbeichao text.³³²

Thirdly, a series of *verbatim* correspondences between the “long” versions of the *SXZ* and the shorter *Baopuzi neipian* versions as well as the way in which self-references are used by the compiler of the *SXZ* indicate that both texts may well be the products of the same author. After all, the *SXZ* would perfectly complement *juan 2*, 論仙 “On immortals”, of the *Baopuzi neipian*. An even superficial look into the *Baopuzi* brings to light 32 persons who, according to the list in the *Appendix* below, are dealt with in the *SXZ* too.

This, however, does not exclude the possibility that during the transmission process additional passages or alterations have found their way into the text—as Kaltenmark was able to show for another collection of “Daoist” *Lives*, the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳.³³³

Nevertheless, fragments are seen of *SXZ* biographies concerning persons who were almost contemporaries of Ge Hong and one might doubt whether he would have included them in a collection of immortals’ *vitae*. As a possible solution to this problem the hypothesis may serve that these *vitae* were originally entered into other works of Ge Hong’s, such as, e.g., his *Yinyi zhuan* 隱逸傳,³³⁴ but later were added to the *SXZ*.³³⁵

Another problem regards the size of the *SXZ*: our witnesses are not unanimous.³³⁶ The *SXZ* may have contained little more than a hundred

332 We even doubt that a (desirable) extension of the study to less known *lei shu* and other works, especially of the Tang, would change our view in a critical way, although there is some hope that for one or another *vita* a more complete version could be found.

333 Kaltenmark, op. cit.: 3. Also cf. present author’s article “Critical editions, concordances and semantic databases of early Daoist texts”, in *Chinesisch und Computer* 10 (1997):57-69, especially p. 58.

334 Note that Guo Wen’s official biography occurs in the *yinyi* 隱逸 chapter of the *Jin shu* biographies. Cf. *supra*, p. 741.

335 Unfortunately, we at present know of no possibility to verify or falsify this hypothesis.

336 See above, pp. 744-5.

biographies, probably 117 or 119, but it almost certainly did not exceed 200. Our count of the attested *vitae* yields 123.³³⁷

Collation of the fragments with the “long” versions further revealed that neither the *Taiping guangji*- nor the *Yunji qiqian*-texts represent the biographies in their original length, but are abridged to an unknown extent. Quite a series of fragments indicate that the *Yunji qiqian*-texts are more trustworthy than those of the *Taiping guangji*.

Appendix

It may be useful to have a list of the major quotations found so far,³³⁸ arranged according their occurrence in the *Taiping guangji* and *Yunji qiqian* (“long” versions) and according to the chronological order of the sources. *Juan* no. according to *Sandong zhu'nang*:

Juan 1

—

Juan 2

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1 Ruo Shi | YJQQ, SDZN, WX, XYBZ, SF |
| 2 Peng Zu | TPGJ, YWLJ, SDZN, FYZL, SJ zhengyi, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |

Juan 3

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 3 Shen Xi | TPGJ, YJQQ, SJZ, QMYS, XDL, YWLJ, SDZN, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 4 Wang Yuan/Cai Jing/Ma Gu | TPGJ, YJQQ, BTSC, YWLJ, SDZN, CXJ, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |

Juan 4

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 5 Huanglu Zi/Ge Yüe | YJQQ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 6 Sun Bo | TPGJ, YJQQ, SDZN, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |

337 Excluding those persons who lived during the Jin. Cf. Appendix, below.

338 This list does not presume completeness. Rather, the most important sources of quotations are listed. A complete list will be contained in the critical edition of the fragments of the *SXZ*, presently being prepared by the author.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 7 Kong Yuan[fang] | TPGJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 8 Jiao Xian | TPGJ, YWLJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 9 Taiyang Nü | SDZN, XYBZ, SF |
| 10 Taiyang Zi | SDZN, XYBZ, SF |
| 11 Taiyin Nü | SDZN, XYBZ, SF |
| 12 Sun Deng | TPGJ, BTSC, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| <i>Juan 5</i> | |
| 13 Shen Jian | TPGJ, YJQQ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 14 Zhang Daoling | TPGJ, YJQQ, YWLJ, SDZN, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| <i>Juan 6</i> | |
| 15 Liu An | TPGJ, YJQQ, BTSC, YWLJ, SDZN, WX, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| <i>Juan 7</i> | |
| 16 Dong Feng | TPGJ, SGZ, QMYS, YWLJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 17 Liu Gen | TPGJ, SDZN, WX, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| <i>Juan 8</i> | |
| 18 Wang Yao | TPGJ, BTSC, SDZN, TPYL, SF |
| <i>Juan 9</i> | |
| 19 Li Changzai | TPGJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL |
| 20 Gan Jun/Gan Ji | SDZN, YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL |
| 21 Mao Jun/Mao Ying | TPGJ, YWLJ, SDZN, WX, CXJ, TPYL, SF |
| 22 Jie Xiang | TPGJ, SGZ, QMYS, BTSC, YWLJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| <i>Juan 10</i> | |
| 23 Feng Junda/Feng Heng | SJZ, YWLJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 24 Zhao Qu | TPGJ, SDZN, XYBZ, SF |
| 25 Chen Chang | SDZN, XYBZ, SF |
| 26 Li Gen | SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |
| 27 Dongguo Yan | SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF |

Juan 10 (continued)

28 Ling Shouguang YJQQ, SJZ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF

no *juan* indicated

- 29 Laozi TPGJ, SJZ, MS P 2353, YWLJ, HHS zhu, FYZL, SJ zhengyi, BSLTSLJ, TPYL
- 30 Guang Chengzi TPGJ, YJQQ, WX, SF
- 31 Wei Boyang TPGJ, YJQQ, XYBZ, ZYCTQFZTZY, TPYL, SF
- 32 Feng Gang TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 33 Wei Shuqing TPGJ, SJZ, WX, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 34 Mozi TPGJ, XYBZ, SF
- 35 Liu Zheng TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 36 Tianmen Zi TPGJ, YJQQ, XYBZ, SF
- 37 Yu Zi TPGJ, YJQQ, XYBZ, SF
- 38 Chen Anshi TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 39 Baishi xiansheng TPGJ, YWLJ, TPYL, SF
- 40 Huang Chuping TPGJ, YJQQ, SJZ, YWLJ, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 41 Baishan Fu/Bo Shanfu TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 42 Li Babai TPGJ, YJQQ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 43 Li A TPGJ, YJQQ, BTSC, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 44 Yin Changsheng TPGJ, BTSC, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 45 Li Shaojun TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 46 Wang Lie TPGJ, YWLJ, WX, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 47 Lu Wenjing/Lu Gong/Lü Gong TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 48 Heshang Gong TPGJ, YWLJ, WX, TPYL
- 49 Li Zhongfu TPGJ, BTSC, YWLJ, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL
- 50 Li Yiqi TPGJ, SGZ, BTSC, XYBZ, TPYL, SLF, SF
- 51 Wang Xing TPGJ, QMYS, YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 52 Taishan Laofu TPGJ, BTSC, YWLJ, CXJ, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 53 Wu Yan TPGJ, CXJ, XYBZ
- 54 Liu Ping TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL

- 55 Luan Ba TPGJ, YJQQ, BTSC, YWLJ, HHS zhu, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 56 Zuo Ci TPGJ, BTSC, YWLJ, HHS zhu, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 57 Hu Gong & Fei Changfang TPGJ, QMYS, BTSC, CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 58 Jizi Xun/Ji Liao/Ji Zixun TPGJ, CXJ, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 59 Kong Anguo TPGJ, XYBZ, TPYL
- 60 Yin Gui TPGJ, TPYL, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 61 Su Xiangong TPGJ, TPYL
- 62 Cheng Xiangong TPGJ
- 63 Taizhen furen/Ma Mingsheng TPGJ
- 64 Ban Meng TPGJ, CXJ, BSLTSLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 65 Ge Xuan TPGJ, BTSC, YWLJ, CXJ, BSLTSLJ, TPYL, SF
- 66 Shen Wentai YJQQ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 67 Hua Ziqi YJQQ, SDZN, XYBZ
- 68 She Zheng YJQQ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 69 Nanji Zi YJQQ, BTSC, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 70 Feng Junda BTSC, YWLJ, SDZN, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 71 Dongling Shengmu YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 72 Fan furen QMYS, YWLJ, TPYL, SF
- 74 Gan Shi YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 75 Kang Fengzi YWLJ, BSLTSLJ, TPYL
- 76 Xu You/Li Lougong/Chao Fu YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 77 Lu Nüsheng/Yu Nüsheng YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 78 Chen Zihuang YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL
- 79 Gao, Shang Qiu, Pinggong YWLJ, XYBZ, TPYL
- 80 Cheng Weiqi YWLJ, SF
- 81 Bai He/Bo He CXJ, XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 82 Huangshan/shi Jun CXJ, XYBZ, SF
- 83 Rong Chenggong CXJ, TPYL, SF
- 84 Liu Gang XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 85 Wang Zhen XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 86 Gong Song XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 87 Liu/Lou Jing XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 88 Yan Qing XYBZ, TPYL, SF
- 89 Mo Ronggong XYBZ, TPYL

90 Yan/Xianmen Zi	XYBZ, TPYL
91 Xiumei Gong	XYBZ, TPYL
92 Yue Zichang	XYBZ, SF
93 Chen Yongbai/Yongbo	XYBZ, SF
94 Jiuling Zi	XYBZ, SF
95 Beiji Zi	XYBZ, SF
96 Jue Dongzi	XYBZ, SF
97 Taixuan Nü	XYBZ, SF
98 Huang Jing	XYBZ, SF
99 Chang Ling/San Lao	XYBZ
100 Gaoshan Sihao	XYBZ
101 Da Zu	XYBZ
102 Tang Feng	XYBZ
103 Ken Laizi	XYBZ
104 Luoxia Gong	XYBZ
105 Zhang Chang	XYBZ
106 Fei Yuzi	XYBZ
107 Haorong Gong	XYBZ
108 Qingniao Gong	XYBZ
109 Qing Niu	XYBZ
110 Baitu Gong	XYBZ
111 Chen He	TPYL
112 Wu Mu	TPYL
113 Huang, Dong Ziyang	TPYL
114 Fan Mo/Miao	TPYL
115 Wang Bao	TPYL
116 Fei Huangzi/Zhang Xu	TPYL
117 Yun Xiangong	TPYL
118 Liu Yuanfeng	TPYL
119 Hei Xuegong	TPYL
120 Zhonghuang Zi	SF
121 Shi Yang ?	SF
122 Dongzhong Jun	SF
123 Qing Pingji	SF

List of abbreviations:

BSLTSLJ	Bai shi Liutie shilei ji
BTSC	Beitang shuchao
CXJ	Chuxue ji
FYZL	Fayuan zhulin
HHS zhu	comm. Hou Han shu
MS P 2353	MS Pelliot 2353
QMYS	Qimin yaoshu
SDZN	Sandong zhu'nang
SF	Shuofu
SGZ	Sanguo zhi
SLF	Shi lei fu
SJ zhengyi	zhengyi comm. Shi ji
SJZ	Shui jing zhu
TPGJ	Taiping guangji
TPYL	Taiping yulan
WX	Wen xuan
XDL	Xiao dao lun
XYBZ	Xianyuan bianzhu
YJQQ	Yunji qiqian
YWLJ	Yiwen leiju
ZYCTQFZTZY	Zhouyi cantongqi fen zhang tongzhenyi