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# The Date, Authorship, and Literary Structure of the *Great Peace Scripture Digest*

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The text opening the “Great Peace Part” (“Taiping bu” 太平部) in the Ming Taoist Canon, the *Great Peace Scripture Digest* (*Taiping jing chao* 太平經鈔), is widely confused with the famous *Great Peace Scripture* (*Taiping jing* 太平經), which follows it in the Canon. The first full analysis and reassessment of the *Great Peace Scripture Digest*, this paper reviews the textual morphology of its ancient and modern editions, discusses current hypotheses concerning its date and authorship, and investigates its literary structure and form, pointing to clusters of prosodic patterns. Light is shed on strata of diachronic origin coexisting in the text, which should not be regarded as being the product of an inconstant solitary compiler, but rather as the conflation of shortened renditions of the *Great Peace Scripture* perhaps dating to the Tang and pre-Song or early Song eras. A full linear analysis of the text, including a concordance, completes the literary study.

Contrary to a common misconception, it is not the *Great Peace Scripture* (*Taiping jing* 太平經) [hereafter Scripture] which actually opens the “Great Peace Part” (“Taiping bu” 太平部) in the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong 正統 (1436–49) era of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644), but a distinct work bearing the title *Great Peace Scripture Digest* (*Taiping jing chao* 太平經鈔) [hereafter Digest]. Since the Scripture lacked its first thirty-four chapters (*juan* 卷), the Ming editors—or editors of earlier Taoist Canons perhaps—substituted for these missing parts this shortened rendition. This paper is a thorough textual analysis and reassessment of this text.

Locating the Digest before the Scripture, rather than elsewhere in the Canon, resulted in two lasting problems. First, it blurred the distinction between them, so much that modern reference materials commonly list both texts as a single item. Such is the case in the catalogues of Taoist canonical scriptures established by Léon Wieger, S.J. (1856–1933), the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and the École Française d’Extrême-Orient.<sup>1</sup> Only the most recent catalogues finally make the distinction.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, while late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century scholars carefully distinguished between the two texts, most of their successors indiscriminately referred to these texts as if they were a single source. Partly responsible for this mishandling was Wang Ming’s 王明 (1911–92) pioneering critical

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1. All three catalogues reference the Scripture and the Digest under a single number: 1087 in L. Wieger, *Taoïsme*, vol. 1: *Bibliographie générale* (Hien-hien, Ho-kien-fou: Imprimerie de la Mission, 1911); 1093 in *Daozang zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得, ed. Weng Dujian 翁獨健 (Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1935); 1101 in *Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages*, ed. K. Schipper (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1975). [Hereafter CT.]

2. *Xinbian Daozang mulu* 新編道藏目錄, ed. Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1999), 5. Schipper’s revised numbering in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, ed. K. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004), gives “1101a” for the Scripture and “1101b” for the Digest. Schipper also wrote the synopses of both texts.

edition of Great Peace material, the *Taiping jing hejiao* 太平經合校, published in 1960 and reissued, with a handful of minor adjustments, in 1979.<sup>3</sup> On the assumption that the Digest is an abridged edition of the Scripture, Wang attempted a general reorganization requiring the former to be partitioned and relocated within the incomplete structure of the latter so as to restore as much of the morphology of the original *Great Peace Scripture* as possible. This groundbreaking work soon imposed itself as a major reference tool, leading an increasing number of authors to omit any distinction between the Scripture and its Digest, despite Wang's editing marginalia.

### 1. HISTORIOGRAPHY

Overshadowed by the master text from which it derives, the Digest has drawn little scholarly attention. Oyanagi Shigeta 小柳司氣太 (1870–1940) pointed to similarities between Scripture and Digest material.<sup>4</sup> Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893–1964) performed the first textual comparison, showing that the Digest is an edited rendition of the Scripture, and offered a dating theory for the former (see next paragraph).<sup>5</sup> Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 (1898–1991) added a hypothetical authorship to this theory.<sup>6</sup> Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾 (1912–2003) was the first to stress that the earliest source to mention the Digest dates from a period much later than that Tang and Fukui suggested.<sup>7</sup> Wang Ming focused on the first chapter of the text and showed how it borrowed heavily from a cluster of Six Dynasties Taoist hagiographical sources, suggesting that the chapter is apocryphal.<sup>8</sup> Three scholars shed light on this case of intertextuality and, against Wang, contended that this chapter was either a preface to the Digest mistakenly substituted for its first chapter by Ming editors of the Taoist Canon, or even a part of the original Scripture.<sup>9</sup> But, in doing so, they paid no attention to the remaining nine chapters of the text.

The year following the publication of Wang Ming's edition, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 (1916–79) published a transcription of a Sui 隋 (581–618) manuscript from Dunhuang 敦煌 (Gansu) bearing the shelf mark Stein 4226 and the end-title "Great Peace Part, Chapter

3. *Taiping jing hejiao*, ed. Wang Ming (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979). Both the edition notice and Wang himself call the 1979 reissue a "reprint" (*chongyin* 重印). In a postscript to this reprint, Wang explains that only "a few unit titles, notes and punctuation marks" could be revised because the layout of the original edition did not allow for substantial alterations (p. 761).

4. Oyanagi Shigeta, "Go Kan jo Jō Kai den no Taihei shōryō sho ni tsuite" 後漢書襄楷傳の太平清領書について, in *Tōyōshi ronsō* 東洋史論叢, ed. Kuwabara hakushi kanreki kinen kai 桑原博士還暦記念會 (Kyoto: Kōbundō, 1930), 143–44.

5. Tang Yongtong, "Du Taiping jing shu suo jian" 讀太平經書所見, *Guoli Beijing daxue guoxue jikan* 國立北京大學國學季刊 5.1 (1935): 7–12.

6. Fukui Kōjun, "Taiheikyō no ichikōsatsu" 太平經の一考察, *Waseda daigaku tōyōshi kai kiyō* 早稻田大學東洋史會紀要 1 (1936): 146–50.

7. See p. 124, n. 30, of Ōfuchi Ninji, "Taiheikyō no raireki ni tsuite" 太平經の來歴について, *Tōyō gakuō* 東洋學報 27.2 (1940): 100–124.

8. Wang Ming, "Lun Taiping jing chao jia bu zhi wei" 論太平經鈔甲部之偽, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 18 (1948): 375–84.

9. Li Gang 李剛, "Ye lun Taiping jing chao jia bu ji qi yu Daojiao Shangqing pai zhi guanxi" 也論太平經鈔甲部及其與道教上清派之關係, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 4 (1994): 284–99; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten: Dōkyōshi no kenkyū, sono ni* 道教とその經典・道教史の研究 其の二 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1997), 540–44; Kameda Masami 龜田勝見, "Jōsei kōsei dōkun rekki ni okeru shumin shisō ni tsuite: Taiheikyō-shō kōbu to no kankei o majiete" 上清後聖道君列紀における種民思想について 太平經鈔甲部との關係を交えて, *Nippon Chūgoku gakkaiō* 日本中國學會報 50 (1998): 77–91.

2” (*Taiping bu juan di'er* 太平部卷第二) [hereafter S.4226].<sup>10</sup> The bulk of S.4226 consists in a table of contents of a *Great Peace Scripture* organized into 10 parts (*bu* 部), each part containing 17 chapters (*juan* 卷) and each chapter in turn containing a varying number of textual units, for a total of 170 chapters and 366 units. Comparing S.4226 with the Scripture suggested that the latter contains about one third of the original text—exactly 57 chapters and 129 textual units, deprived of “part” (*bu*) numbering. The original division into ten parts must have been dropped as a result of textual losses amounting to five full parts, plus scattered chapters and units.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, comparison of S.4226 and the Digest confirmed Wang Ming’s assumption that each chapter of the latter—leaving out the peculiar first chapter—is an adapted rendition of an entire “part” (*bu*) of the Scripture.

Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 isolated sections containing elements pointing to a former dialogue form and suggested that they originate in a now lost *Scripture of All-Pervading Great Peace* (*Taiping dongji jing* 太平洞極經), supposedly a core text in the revealed corpus of the Heavenly Master (Tianshi 天師) church.<sup>12</sup> Actually, this title appears only once in the entire Taoist corpus, moreover in a quotation of a work today lost, and nothing from its contents has survived, to the point that its very historical existence cannot be ascertained.<sup>13</sup>

In the West, a few scholars pointed to interesting features of the Digest and raised questions about its nature, but the topic always remained incidental in their work.<sup>14</sup> The most noteworthy and recent effort to reinstate the text as an independent work is K. Schipper’s synopsis in the *Companion*. Schipper suggests that the author of the Digest “probably used a different version” of the *Great Peace Scripture* than the one preserved in the Canon and admits that, as his Chinese and Japanese predecessors suspected, the first chapter may not be “apocryphal” at all.<sup>15</sup> However, due to its limited size and the descriptive approach of the *Companion*, Schipper’s synopsis neglects to investigate the internal organization of the work and its purpose. Chinese catalogue entries provide little information worth noting.<sup>16</sup>

10. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* 道教と佛教, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kokusho, 1970), 9–114 (revised version of “Tonkō bon *Taiheikyō* ni tsuite” 敦煌本太平經について, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 22 [1961]: 1–103).

11. Grégoire Espeset, “Le manuscrit Stein 4226 *Taiping bu juan di'er* 太平部卷第二 dans l’histoire du taoïsme médiéval,” in *Études de Dunhuang et Turfan*, ed. Jean-Pierre Drège with Olivier Venture (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 189–256.

12. Yamada Toshiaki, *Rokuchō Dōkyō girei no kenkyū* 六朝道教儀禮の研究 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1999), 152–53 (from a chapter originally published as “Rokuchō ni okeru *Taiheikyō* no denshō” 六朝における太平經の傳承, *Tōyō daigaku Chūgoku tetsugaku bungakuka kiyō* 東洋大學中國哲學文學科紀要 1 [1993]: 17–41).

13. *Zhengyi jing* 正一經, quoted in Meng Anpai 孟安排, *Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞 (c. 699), CT 1129, 2.9b, and in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (c. 1028), compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房 (c. 961–c. 1042), CT 1032, 6.15b–16a. The latter quotation, evidently borrowed from the former source, adds that the so-called “*Taiping dongji jing*” is now lost. Whether it ever existed as an independent work or not, the *Taiping dongji jing* may be seen as reflecting a short-lived attempt by the Heavenly Master church to take over the Great Peace tradition as it was being reinstated by the Upper Clarity (Shangqing 上清) school within the official history of Taoism.

14. B. J. Mansvelt Beck, in “The Date of the *Taiping jing*,” *T’oung Pao* 66.4–5 (1980): 149–82, pointed to various ways the Scripture contents were edited into the Digest (152). Jens Østergård Petersen, in “The Anti-Messianism of the *Taiping jing*,” *Studies in Central & East Asian Religions (Journal of The Seminar for Buddhist Studies)* 3 (1990): 1–41, regarded the Digest as being “often suspect” (34) and some of its contents as “interpolations” (p. 1 n. 1).

15. *The Taoist Canon*, ed. Schipper and Verellen, 493–94.

16. *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要, ed. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2005), 515–16, no. 1090; Zhu Yueli 朱越利, *Daozang fenlei jieti* 道藏分類解題 (Beijing: Huaxia, 1996), 46, no. 178; Pan Yuting 潘雨廷, *Daozang shumu tiyao* 道藏書目提要 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1999), 8–11, no. 8.

## 2. ANCIENT AND MODERN EDITIONS

The sole extant ancient edition of the text is the version preserved in the Ming Taoist Canon.<sup>17</sup> This edition has numerous faulty characters and in places, as we shall see, a rather erratic layout. Wang Ming widely used it to prepare his collated edition, whence all other critical editions of Great Peace material derive.<sup>18</sup> The volume bearing the title *Taiping jing* 太平經 in the “Zhuzi baijia congshu” 諸子百家叢書 series actually includes both the Scripture and its Digest. This anonymous edition is basically a photocopy of the original pages of the Ming Taoist Canon with superimposed punctuation marks and a condensed page layout (one page and a half per page) to fit the series format. Since all the original running titles and page numbers were deleted and the editing did not allow for character correction, the Zhuzi baijia congshu edition is not fully satisfying. Still, it provides a unique punctuated version of the original pages of the Digest.<sup>19</sup>

Wang Ka 王卡 prepared the single existing critical edition of the Digest for the *Zhonghua daoze* 中華道藏 collection. Despite the length of the original material, Wang Ka’s critical apparatus is limited to ten corrections (pp. 255–58, 295, 314, and 316), plus four endnotes (pp. 242, 260, and 317). His own punctuation frequently departs from that of the “Zhuzi baijia congshu” edition, and not always justifiably so. In addition, the original section layout has been tampered with, as, following Wang Ming’s critical edition, many sections were broken up into shorter textual blocks.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, as elsewhere in the *Zhonghua daoze*, the text is marred by an undefined number of misprints.<sup>21</sup> A truly reliable critical edition of the Digest is still hoped for.

## 3. TEXTUAL MORPHOLOGY

Sketching the basic morphology of the Digest is fairly easy. The text is divided into ten chapters numbered 1–10 with a twin part (*bu*) numbering according to the ten Heavenly Stems, *jia* 甲 to *gui* 癸. Each chapter has a number of pages ranging from 8 to 42, a single title or, more often, none, and is divided into sections, the breaks between which are more or less obvious,<sup>22</sup> and of unequal length:

Parts (部)	甲	乙	丙	丁	戊	己	庚	辛	壬	癸	Total
Chapters	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	10
Pages	8	17	28	18	16	30	42	20	19	14	212
Sections	5	12	18	5	6	19	26	18	23	18	150
Titles	1	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	3

17. *Da Ming Daoze jing* 大明道藏經 (1444–45), fascicles 746–47 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923–26 reprint). The edition used in this paper is the Xinwenfeng 新文豐 (Taiwan) reprint, which, as far as the Scripture and Digest are concerned, is identical to the former edition.

18. On these critical editions, see Grégoire Espeset, “Editing and Translating the *Taiping Jing* and the Great Peace Textual Corpus,” *Journal of Chinese Studies* 中國文化研究所學報 48 (2008): 469–86.

19. *Taiping jing* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), 1–141.

20. “004 *Taiping jing chao*” 太平經鈔, in *Zhonghua daoze*, ed. Zhang Jiyu 張繼禹, vol. 7 (Beijing: Huaxia, 2004), 242–317.

21. For example, p. 307c, col. 12, *xian* 賢 should read *shen* 腎.

22. In addition to self-evident section breaks, some sections seem to end with a full seventeen-character column, in which cases the section breaks I propose in the appendix below remain tentative.

The whole text has a single illustration covering half a page (6.18b.1–10) and a single editorial note (8.4b.8).<sup>23</sup> There are three puzzling occurrences of “kou kou” 口口 (1.7b.4, 2.7b.2, and 7.5b.2).<sup>24</sup> Wang Ming understood the phrase “口口傳訣” as meaning “instructions transmitted by word of mouth” and retained the reading *kou* in this case, using squares to denote textual lacunae in the remaining two cases.<sup>25</sup> All other critical editors followed Wang, with the exception of Yu Liming 俞理明, who substituted two-character phrases for all three instances.<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, in the third case, the parallel passage in the Scripture also reads *kou kou* (109/177.1b.2),<sup>27</sup> suggesting that, contrary to Schipper’s views, the Digest may well have been compiled after a *Great Peace Scripture* close to the canonical edition. This theory is strengthened by many instances where the Digest compiler evidently avoids the occurrence, selecting material located before and after it, or ignoring it.<sup>28</sup>

In its present condition the text has two obvious lacunae at the bottom of columns, hence perhaps caused by material deterioration, appearing as blanks the size of a single character (6.18a.4) or two (8.15a.2). The context of the orator’s imminent departure suggests that the first lacuna is *liu* 六 (“故戒六真人,” as in the title of unit 104, “戒六弟子”) while the second one is certainly *kaipi* 開關 (“天地開關已來” is a frequent formula in Great Peace texts and is attested elsewhere). Additional lacunae not materialized by blanks may be inferred from the context or by juxtaposition with the corresponding Scripture passage.<sup>29</sup> Erroneous and superfluous characters may also be seen in this manner.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP: FACTS AND HYPOTHESES

The Digest is anonymous and bears no date. From an occurrence of *li* 理 replacing *zhi* 治 in the corresponding Scripture passage, Tang Yongtong inferred that the Digest must have already existed during the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907).<sup>31</sup> Wang Ming’s marginalia provided further occurrences in support of this hypothesis.<sup>32</sup> However, both characters do appear in the Digest, sometimes in the same pages, although their distribution by chapter and section

23. References to the Digest are under the format (chapter.page.column).

24. In some Chinese sources, the occurrence signals characters avoided because appearing in the name of the ruling emperor or some of his past or present relatives; see M.A. Vissière, “Traité des caractères chinois que l’on évite par respect,” *Journal Asiatique* (9th series) 18 (1901): 320–73; Michel Soymié, “Observations sur les caractères interdits en Chine,” *Journal Asiatique* 278.3–4 (1990): 377–407.

25. *Taiping jing hejiao*, ed. Wang Ming, 8, 18, and 517. Although “口口傳訣” is not attested elsewhere, the formulae “口口相傳” and “口口相授” abound in the Taoist Canon in reference to oral transmission.

26. *Taiping jing zhengdu* 太平經正讀, ed. Yu Liming (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2001), 568 (“其要”), 29 (“可效”), and 385 (“入微”). None of these substitutions matches any known character avoidance.

27. References to the Scripture are under the format (chapter/unit.page.column).

28. For particularly striking cases, see *Taiping jing hejiao*, ed. Wang Ming, 96, 118, 177–78, 323, 340, 407, 642, and 664 (Digest excerpts beginning just after *kou kou* occurrences); 112, 377, 444, 522, and 641 (excerpts skipping occurrences or phrases containing them); 127, 169, 318, and 388 (excerpts ending just before occurrences); 262, 350, 570, 586, 636, and 658 (excerpts ending before occurrences, then beginning again after).

29. Examples of lacunae not signaled by blanks include “三十,” which should read 百三十 (6.7a.5); “百年” for 百四十年 (10.4b.7–8); “以治身” for 以法治身 (10.11a.7); and “救四” for 救四海 (10.11b.9).

30. Erroneous characters are too numerous to be listed elsewhere than in a critical edition. Wang Ming provides a few examples in his *Taiping jing hejiao*, 753–54. Superfluous characters include *yang* 陽 (6.7b.4) and an entire duplicate column (7.39b.6).

31. Tang, “Du *Taiping jing* shu suo jian,” 14. Emperor Gaozong’s 高宗 (r. 649–83) personal name was Zhi 治, for which character an imperial decree ordered to substitute *li* 理 or *zhi* 制; see *Lidai diwang miaoshi nianhui pu* 歷代帝王廟謚年諱譜 (1775), by Lufei Chi 陸費墀 (1731–90), 10a (SBBY).

32. For instance, *Taiping jing hejiao*, ed. Wang Ming, 89, nn. 3–9 and 11.

differs greatly.<sup>33</sup> This coexistence points to the well-known heterogeneity of the Scripture as much as that of the Digest and, at first sight, merely suggests that both texts include Tang materials, among others. A Tang date is also suggested by the unique philological note of the Digest, which reads, in script of reduced size: “‘Enclosure’ is today’s letterbox” 封即今甌函也 (8.4b.8).<sup>34</sup> Elsewhere, however, the Grand Astrologer (*taishi* 太史) is defined as “an official understanding astronomy and the calendar” 明於星曆之吏 (5.8a.9), which more closely aligns with the pre-Tang office.<sup>35</sup>

Fukui and Wang gathered Five Dynasties 五代 (907–60), Song 宋 (960–1279), Yuan 元 (1271–1368), and Qing 清 (1644–1911) sources attesting the existence of a selection of passages from the *Great Peace Scripture* by a Taoist monk named Lüqiu Fangyuan 閻丘方遠 (d. 902). Both scholars were keen to conclude that the extant Digest must be Lüqiu Fangyuan’s work, despite being unable to prove it for lack of material evidence.<sup>36</sup> Contrary to Wang Ming’s unconvincing argument, the fact that the *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao dagang chao* 太上洞玄靈寶大綱鈔 (CT 393), explicitly ascribed to Lüqiu Fangyuan, has the character *chao* 鈔 in its title does not prove anything concerning the Digest.<sup>37</sup> Thus uncritically received, what should have remained a theory soon became accepted as fact.

Ōfuchi rightly pointed out the single historical *fact*—that there existed a digest of the *Great Peace Scripture* in Song times, much later than Lüqiu Fangyuan’s lifetime.<sup>38</sup> In his hagiography of Laozi 老子, probably composed between 1086 and 1100,<sup>39</sup> Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔 mentions a “*Great Peace Digest*, in ten chapters, author’s personal and family names unknown; clarifies in broad outline the titles of the units of the original Scripture” 太平鈔十卷不著撰人名氏大略發明本經篇目. Jia then goes on to report how Lüqiu Fangyuan, an expert in physiological practices, “made a selection [of *Great Peace Scripture* material] in thirty units, which exhausted its essentials” 詮為三十篇而盡樞要也.<sup>40</sup> Whether *jing* 經 was omitted or not in the title of the first work mentioned by Jia, the passage bears no ambiguity and hardly supports an interpretation of both references as inconsistent allusions to a single work. Quite the contrary, Jia Shanxiang clearly distinguished the “*Great Peace Digest*” from Lüqiu Fangyuan’s own unnamed rendition. In contrast with the tenfold structure of the former, the latter’s internal organization is always described as comprising “twenty chapters” (*juan* 卷), “thirty” or “thirteen units” (*pian* 篇), in the sources quoted by Wang Ming.<sup>41</sup>

33. In the Digest, their distribution by chapter is as follows:

Chapters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Per Page
zhi 治	2	45	58	17	4	19	16	3	10	43	218	1.03
li 理	1	2	26	28	27	21	50	38	38	3	234	1.1

In the Scripture, *zhi* occurs 612 times (0.95 per page) and *li* only 206 times (0.32 per page).

34. Referring to a system designed to collect memorials submitted to the throne, the term *guihan* 甌函 appeared under the Tang.

35. According to Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1985), 481.

36. Fukui, *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū*, 245–49; *Taiping jing hejiao*, ed. Wang Ming, Introduction, 11–15.

37. A point made by Schipper in the *The Taoist Canon*, ed. Schipper and Verellen, 494. CT 393 is a short, probably incomplete introduction to Numinous Treasure (Lingbao 靈寶) Taoism.

38. Ōfuchi, “*Taiheikyō no raireki ni tsuite*,” 102.

39. See *The Taoist Canon*, ed. Schipper and Verellen, 871–72, no. 774.

40. *Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳, by Jia Shanxiang, CT 774, 4.18a–19a.

41. Lüqiu Fangyuan biographies from the following sources: *Xu xian zhuan* 續仙傳 (10th cent.), ed. Shen Fen 沈汾, CT 295, 3.4a–6a (quoted in *Yunji qiqian*, CT 1032, 113B.29a–30b); *Xuanpin lu* 玄品錄 (1335), ed. Zhang Tianyu 張天雨 (c. 1280–c. 1350), CT 781, 5.7b–8a; outside the Taoist Canon: *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志 (after 1275), by Deng Mu 鄧牧 (1247–1306), 5.10b–12a (SKQS); *Xu Tang shu* 續唐書 (1814), by Chen Zhan 陳鱣 (1753–1817), 19.206 (Congshu jicheng 叢書集成 ed.). See also *Tiantai shan fangwai zhi* 天台山方外志 (1601), by

Mutual borrowings by the authors of these sources led to confusion with regard to the titles, structures, and compilers of these two abridged versions. It may have seemed simpler for modern scholars, disturbed by apparently incoherent data, to interpret them as corrupted references to a single work, and in turn to ascribe this work to the sole author name available for it—Lüqiu Fangyuan. In conclusion, the fact that Lüqiu Fangyuan compiled a volume of selections from the *Great Peace Scripture* is unquestionable, but the argument that his work—whose title is nowhere clearly mentioned—or the *Great Peace Digest* mentioned by Jia Shanxiang is identical with the extant Digest cannot be more than a hypothesis.

Furthermore, Fukui Kōjun and scholars following him tentatively ascribed to Lüqiu Fangyuan another anonymous and undated Great Peace text, the *Great Peace Scripture: Secret Directives of the Saint Lord* (*Taiping jing shengjun mizhi* 太平經聖君祕旨, CT 1102) [hereafter Secret Directives], a probably late Tang collection of *Great Peace Scripture* excerpts.<sup>42</sup> But parallel passages in the Digest and Secret Directives (see appendix) show discrepancies in their phraseology, casting doubt on their hypothetical common authorship. Besides, the Secret Directives always have *li* 理 where the Digest reads *zhi* 治. Indeed, the latter character is absent from the Secret Directives—which would support a Tang date for their source—while both do appear in the Digest, as noted above.

A 17-character quotation from a *Great Peace Digest* (*Taiping chao* 太平抄, which echoes the title given by Jia Shanxiang a century earlier) in Wang Xichao's 王希巢 commented version of the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 九天生神章經 (prefaced 1205) matches perfectly a passage in Digest Chapter 1 (§ 2).<sup>43</sup> This perfect match and the closeness of titles suggest that both authors referred to the same source. In any event, this quotation shows that the Song *Great Peace Digest* did include material very much in line with the so-called apocryphal first chapter of the extant Digest. As Wang Ming proposed,<sup>44</sup> it may well be that a textual substitution took place during the editing process of the Ming Taoist Canon in order to make up for the loss of Digest Chapter 1, a loss Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹 ascribes to the destruction of Taoist texts during the Zhiyuan 至元 era (1335–40) of the Yuan dynasty.<sup>45</sup> But it must be stressed that the material substituted for Chapter 1 was, by that time, already part of the Digest itself—not of exogenous origin.

## 5. LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE GREAT PEACE SCRIPTURE DIGEST

This preliminary survey raises a number of questions concerning the editorial process leading from Scripture to Digest. Due to the close intertextual relationship between the two texts, analyzing the literary structure of the latter in the light of the former and of the table of contents from S.4226 is arguably the best initial approach to answering some of these questions. The following analysis of the Digest contents uses the section (§) as a basic textual sample. The Digest structure is compared to that of the Scripture and, where the Scripture

Chuangdeng 傳燈 (1554–1628), in *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編, vol. 30 (Taipei: Huayu, 1984–86), 9.12a–b. I suspect none of the authors and compilers of these sources ever actually had either book in hand.

42. Grégoire Espeset, “Les Directives secrètes du Saint Seigneur du Livre de la Grande paix et la préservation de l’unité,” *T’oung Pao* 95.1–3 (2009): 1–50.

43. *Dongxuan Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jing jie* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神玉章經解, by Wang Xichao, CT 397, 2.7b; compare *Taiping jing chao*, CT 1101, 1.3b.4–5. *Chao* 抄 and *chao* 鈔 are equivalent here. The continuous section numbering from § 1 to § 150 refers to the appendix below.

44. Wang Ming, “Lun *Taiping jing chao* jia bu zhi wei,” 384.

45. Kusuyama Haruki, *Dōka shisō to dōkyō* 道家思想と道教 (Tokyo: Hiraikawa, 1992), 215–17, from a chapter first published as “*Taiheikyō* rui 太平經類” in *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō* 敦煌と中國道教, ed. Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光, Ikeda On 池田温, and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 (Tokyo: Daitō, 1983), 119–35.



has lacunae, to that of S.4226. The aim of this analysis is to identify the greatest possible number of Scripture units adapted in the Digest and of Scripture unit titles transcribed in the Digest at body text level; to reveal the method used to compile the Digest; and to isolate its stylistic features. *Great Peace Scripture* quotations from a range of third-party sources that match the Digest but not the Scripture are included for comparison. The chapters are grouped as follows: Chapters 1 and 10, a special case of textual relocation; Chapters 2 and 8–9, a straightforward case due to their lack of counterpart in the Scripture; and Chapters 3–7, a more complex case, since the contents of the Scripture allow for comparison.

### 5.1. Chapters 1 and 10

The current Chapter 1 of the Digest differs radically from the Scripture contents and from the S.4226 list of units. It opens with a 32-character sentence that evidently functions as a title, despite being not set at the usual distance from the upper margin. The contents of the chapter were shown to derive from a cluster of Upper Clarity sources.<sup>46</sup> Half a dozen *Great Peace Scripture* quotations in early Tang and later sources match various passages in this chapter. The earliest of these quotations give “*Great Peace Scripture*, 114th [chapter]” 太平經第一百十四 [卷] as their source.<sup>47</sup> This is all the more interesting since all twelve units (192–203) from Chapter 114 of the *Great Peace Scripture* do not appear in the corresponding Digest Chapter 7. As a result, it seems probable that the current Chapter 1 is the abridged rendition of a unit or units inspired by Upper Clarity, which used to be located in Chapter 114 of a Tang version of the *Great Peace Scripture* (the “current” Chapter 114 in the Ming Scripture has no comparable contents). Perhaps it originally belonged to Chapter 7—a rendition of Part VII, which contains Chapter 114—before being relocated to its present opening position. There it plays a role similar to that of the hagiographical postscript inserted after the table of contents in S.4226 (cols. 295–346) and of the *Preface to the Doubled Characters of the Great Peace Scripture* (*Taiping jing fuwen xu* 太平經複文序) appended to the Scripture since the Ming Taoist Canon at the latest. Relocating this five-page passage may have been prompted by its peculiar nature as much as by the exceptional length of Chapter 7, which is still the longest chapter of the Digest.

Not a single unit title from S.4226, Part X (319–66) is to be found in Chapter 10. Instead, every unit title from Part I (Chapters 1–17) may easily be identified therein, almost always located in the opening column of a section. The sequence thus extracted closely follows S.4226, with a single exception (a section appears to be misplaced). A few titles longer than their S.4226 equivalents probably derive from end-titles.<sup>48</sup> Two sections lack identified titles, but matching quotations in two different sources suggest that both originate in unit 1, now

46. *Shangqing housheng daojun lieji* 上清後聖道君列紀, CT 442, 1b (cf. CT 1101, 1.2a–b) and 8b–9a (cf. CT 1101, 5a–b); *Huangtian Shangqing jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* 皇天上清金闕帝君靈書紫文上經, CT 639, 1a–b (cf. CT 1101, 1.7a–b). Both works are assumed to belong to the earliest Upper Clarity revelations of years 364–70; see Isabelle Robinet’s entries nos. 442 and 639 in *The Taoist Canon*, ed. Schipper and Verellen, 150–53.

47. *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 上清道類事相 (c. 680), by Wang Xuanhe 王懸河, CT 1132, 3.6a (cf. CT 1101, 1.5a–b and 7a); *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 (c. 680), by Wang Xuanhe, CT 1139, 3.5b–6a (cf. CT 1101, 1.7b–8a); *Daojiao yishu*, CT 1129, 2.12a (cf. CT 1101, 1.5b); *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (984), ed. Li Fang 李昉 (925–96) et alii, 671.9a (cf. CT 1101, 1.7b) and 677.13b (cf. CT 1101, 1.7a) (*SKQS*); *Yunji qiqian*, CT 1032, 6.19b (cf. CT 1101, 1.5b); *Daomen dingzhi* 道門定制 (1201), by Lü Yuansu 呂元素, ed. Hu Xianglong 胡湘龍, CT 1224, 3.9b (cf. CT 1101, 1.5b).

48. In addition to regular titles, some Scripture Chapters and units feature end-titles, called “one-line summaries” in Barbara Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace: The Taiping jing and the Beginnings of Daoism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 2006), 345–46. However, there is no evidence, contrary to Hendrischke’s assumption, that these end-titles are “often corrupt beyond any hope of emendation.”

lost, of the *Great Peace Scripture*.<sup>49</sup> The earliest available *Great Peace Scripture* quotation closely matches passages from both Chapters 10 and 4, but many textual elements have been edited out of the shortest version (that in Chapter 10), pointing to a later rendition.<sup>50</sup>

In sum, the “current” Chapter 10 of the Digest is a systematically shortened rendition, including most of the unit titles, of Part I of the *Great Peace Scripture*. As such, it was undoubtedly the “original” Chapter 1 of the Digest, before being replaced by a summary or summaries from Chapter 7 and relocated at the end of the work, where it replaced the “original” Chapter 10, today lost. This structural alteration must be kept in mind when analyzing the morphology of the Digest as a whole.

### 5.2. Chapters 2, 8, and 9

Chapters 2, 8, and 9 are assumed to render Parts II (Chapters 18–34) and VIII–IX (Chapters 120–53) of the *Great Peace Scripture*, for which S.4226 gives 23, 48, and 57 unit titles respectively, numbered 18–40 and 214–318. In Chapter 2 about two-thirds of the titles from Part II can be identified tentatively, and nine sections open with titles transcribed at body text level, while the title of unit 20 in S.4226, Part II appears in Digest Chapter 3—another case of textual relocation. Only half of the titles from Part VIII can be identified tentatively in Chapter 8, as omitted units multiply from mid-chapter onwards. In Chapter 9, twenty-two titles from Part IX cannot be traced, and the single occurrence whose format could suggest a title merged in the opening column of a section has no equivalent in S.4226—it is probably the end-title of an unidentified unit or chapter. In contrast to Chapters 2 and 10, not a single title from S.4226 identified in Chapters 8–9 occupies the opening column of a section.

Three *Great Peace Scripture* quotations in pre-Tang and Tang sources match passages in Chapter 2, including a discursive passage, where the quotation has retained a dialogue form, and two passages in two consecutive pages, which match the opening and ending columns of the quotation but not the intervening part.<sup>51</sup> Another Tang quotation, in 125 characters, matches a passage in Chapter 8, but the Digest rendition has only 57 characters.<sup>52</sup>

### 5.3. Chapters 3 to 7

Digest Chapters 3–7 correspond to Scripture Chapters 35–119 and S.4226, Parts III–VII. Both Scripture and S.4226 are known to unfold almost perfectly parallel structures, lacunae in the Scripture notwithstanding. Digest Chapter 3 appears to be somewhat in disorder, its twenty-six summaries first following the Scripture sequence before returning to some of the skipped units, omitting twelve units. In Chapter 4, the sequence of twenty summaries condensed in five sections follows, with eight omitted units, that of the Scripture—before and after a lacuna corresponding to 60% of the material—and of S.4226, Part IV. The fifteen summaries in Chapter 5 follow the sequence of the Scripture and, where Chapters 73–85 are

49. S.4226, cols. 10–14 (cf. CT 1101, 10.1a and 2b); *Yunji qiqian*, CT 1032, 6.15a–b (cf. CT 1101, 10.1a and 2b). In addition, quotations from the following sources match §§ 134, 140, and 144 in this chapter: *Daodian lun* 道典論 (7th/8th cent.?), CT 1130, 4.1a–b (cf. CT 1101, 10.1b–2a); *Taiping yulan*, 659.11b (cf. CT 1101, 10.6b) and 668.1a (cf. CT 1101, 10.9b).

50. *Zhengyi fawen taishang wailu yi* 正一法文太上外錄儀 (c. 500?), CT 1243, 4a (cf. CT 1101, 4.14a–b and 10.7b).

51. *Daoyao lingqi shen gui pinjing* 道要靈祇神鬼品經 (6th/7th cent.?), CT 1201, 1b (cf. CT 1101, 2.5a); *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (445), by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), commentary by Li Xian 李賢 (651–84) et al. (676), 30B.1081–82 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) (cf. CT 1101, 2.7b–8a); *Daodian lun*, CT 1130, 4.2a–3a (cf. CT 1101, 2.11a and 13b).

52. *Daodian lun*, CT 1130, 4.8b (cf. CT 1101, 8.19b–20a).

entirely missing (more than 75% of the material), of S.4226, Part V, albeit in disorder and with the omission of seven units. The thirty-two summaries in Chapter 6 also show some disorder, following three numerical sequences, with eight omitted units. Chapter 7 contains twenty-eight summaries basically following the Scripture sequence. The longest chapter in the Digest, it also has the greatest number of sections (26) and of omitted units (18). Some identifications remain tentative due to Scripture lacunae.

Wherever comparison with the Scripture is possible, one has a glimpse of the methods used to compile the Digest. Chapter 3 contains a majority of edited transcriptions (70%), a few instances of abridgement (27%), and two cases of textual elaboration (3%).<sup>53</sup> The corresponding Scripture material is usually found towards the beginning or middle of units. Chapter 4 contains transcriptions (90%) of material found in the first pages of units—plus the closing sentence of a unit—and a minority of abridgements (10%). Chapter 5 comprises transcriptions (95%), and a single case of abridgement (5%), of material found at the beginning and middle parts of units. Chapter 6 contains transcriptions (98%), and also a single case of abridgement (2%), of material mostly found at the beginning of units, two passages even duplicating short units entirely. In Chapter 7 transcriptions of material ranging from a few columns to entire, or nearly so, short units are dominant (95%), completed by a few instances of abridgement (4%) and a single case of elaboration (1%). In sum, while keeping in mind that the corresponding Scripture contents show significant lacunae, transcription, abridgement, and elaboration account for about 89%, 10%, and 1% respectively of the contents of Chapters 3–7. Chapter 3, 27% of which is made up of abridgement cases, is the closest (in this group of chapters) to what an “abridged” rendition is expected to be.

As to the transcription of unit titles in the opening column of summaries, the quasi-regularity observed in Chapters 2 and 10 has no equivalent in Chapters 3–7, which seem closer to Chapters 8–9 in this regard. Chapter 3 has three end-titles opening summaries and only three identifiable titles, one of which belongs to Part II in S.4226.<sup>54</sup> Only four titles, plus an end-title, are identifiable in Chapter 4, which opens with one of the three formal chapter titles of the Digest. Three titles are found in Chapter 5—one of which opens a section—plus an end-title opening a section. A single title is located at the top of an opening column in Chapter 6, plus three titles merged in the text and an end-title at the head of a summary. Chapter 7 opens with a formal chapter title and four end-titles, one of which opens a section. As a result, if we reinstate the “current” Chapter 10 in its position as “original” Chapter 1 and relocate the “current” Chapter 1 somewhere within Chapter 7, the Digest shows a dramatic drop in transcribed unit titles from Chapter 3 onwards.

A few *Great Peace Scripture* quotations in third-party sources that present peculiar cases should be mentioned here, beginning with the Tang-era quotations. A quotation in the com-

53. (a) “Edited transcription”—or simply “transcription”—reproduces source material under a partly altered phraseology; (b) “abridgement” ranges from leaving out entire sentences to simplifying the argument of a whole passage; (c) “textual elaboration”—or simply “elaboration”—denotes a passage without parallel in the corresponding Scripture unit. The percentages given here approximately reflect the number of occurrences, not the textual volume involved.

54. Two *Great Peace Scripture* quotations—deprived of precise location in either Part II or III—from Taoist sources dating to the Southern Song 南宋 (1127–1279) and Yuan eras match the contents of § 33; see *Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀 (dated 1191), by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 (1134–1212), CT 770, 7.18a–b, and *Lishi zhenxian tidaotongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (c. 1294), by Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, CT 296, 20.2a–b (cf. CT 1101, 3.22a). Whatever its original location, the early, possibly third-century unit (see Prosodic patterns below), once lost from the Scripture, was preserved in either of the shortened versions mentioned by Jia Shanxiang, whence the *Hunyuan shengji* quoted it. The contemporaneity of the *Hunyuan shengji* (1191) and the *Jiutian shengshen zhang jing* (1205) suggests that both texts quote from the same Song *Great Peace Digest*.

mentary on the *Book of the Later Han* matches two passages, nearly identical, in Chapters 4 and 7. Each of the three readings has its own variants as well as erroneous characters.<sup>55</sup> Two quotations in an early eighth-century Taoist text match material in Chapters 4–5. The first one runs parallel to the Digest passage, although both texts use notably different arguments and phraseology, while the second one, still in dialogue form, is longer and shows less editing than the corresponding Digest passage, which is strictly discursive.<sup>56</sup> In Song times one of the many *Great Peace Scripture* quotations in the *Taiping yulan* corresponds to two unconnected passages in Chapter 5, but it is impossible to decide whether this is a case of textual disorder in the Digest or a deliberate juxtaposition perpetrated by a contributor to the Song anthology.<sup>57</sup>

## 6. LITERARY FORMS OF THE GREAT PEACE SCRIPTURE DIGEST

In contrast to the entire Scripture (not including the appended *Preface to the Doubled Characters*) and the remaining chapters of the Digest, whose form is either discourse or dialogue, the “current” Chapter 1 is predominantly narrative. However, a few instances of interrogative and closing formulae—simply called “speech tags” hereafter—serve the purpose of giving the chapter a dialogue form in line with other parts of the Digest. The fact that Chapters 1 and 7 display the highest number of occurrences (five in each) of the speech tag *shan zai* 善哉 (“Excellent!”), nearly unused in the remaining chapters, supports the hypothesis that the former was originally part of the latter.

Chapters 2–5 and 10 have a mostly discursive form and show the lowest amount of speech tags. Only the last two sections of Chapter 2 (§§ 16–17), two late sections in Chapter 3 (§§ 31 and 34), the opening section of Chapter 4 (§ 36), and the penultimate section in Chapter 10 (§ 149) are formally structured as dialogues and concentrate more than 85% of the speech tags used in these five chapters. Chapters 2–3 also contain 85% of the speech tags used in the five chapters—*wen* 問 (“Question”) and *yan* 言 (“[A speaker] says”) mostly. Remarkably, Chapters 5 and 10 use a single speech tag each: *yuan wen* 願聞 (“I wish to learn”) and *yan* respectively.

In contrast, the style of Chapters 6–9 is overwhelmingly dialogic, no more than 22 sections (out of 86) being strictly discursive. As we might expect, these four chapters show the highest amount of speech tags. Chapters 6, 7, and 9 contain more than half the speech tags occurring in the entire Digest (respectively 19, 24, and 25 occurrences), in particular *qing wen* 請問 (“May I ask”; 26 out of 27 occurrences), *wen yue* 問曰 (“Question asked”; 12 out of 14 occurrences solely in Chapter 9), and *yuan wen* (10 out of 12 occurrences). The figure rises to 64% with the addition of those from Chapter 8 (10). In contrast to Chapters 2–4, speech tags are spread throughout most sections, not concentrated in isolated blocks. The stylistic peculiarity of Chapters 6, 7, and 9 is that many sections open directly with speech tags, while in Chapter 8 the character *tian* 天 opens 11 sections and comes second in the opening column of two more sections—a unique feature in the Digest that I am unable to account for.<sup>58</sup>

55. *Hou Han shu*, 30B.1084 (cf. CT 1101, 4.12a and 7.27a–b).

56. *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔, by Zhu Faman 朱法滿 (d. 720), CT 463, 1.2a–b (cf. CT 1101, 5.12b–13a) and 14.1a–b (cf. CT 1101, 4.8a–9a).

57. *Taiping yulan*, 668.1b (cf. CT 1101, 5.10b and 5.11b).

58. In addition to the speech tags just mentioned, the Digest also uses *yue* 曰 (“[A speaker] says”) and *yu* 語 (“[A speaker] addresses [another]”), but their occurrence is rare and their distribution among chapters regular. All speech tags used in the Digest basically appear in the Scripture, but their frequency differs notably; for example, *qing wen* (27 occurrences) is used twice as much as *yuan wen* in the Digest (14 occurrences), but comes second

Of the 150 sections of the text, 60 (40%) are strictly discursive; 79 (about 52.5%) are mainly discursive but include scattered speech tags or traces of conversational formulae with, in a majority of cases, at least a personal pronoun or named speaker; and eleven (about 7.5%) are formally structured as dialogue. All the lecturing, dialoguing, or acting instances, plus the personal pronouns, mentioned in the Digest also appear in the Scripture.<sup>59</sup> This includes the term “Heavenly Master” (*tianshi* 天師), of which it has been said that it was “avoided” in the Digest.<sup>60</sup> Actually, the compound occurs 15 times in Chapters 3–7 of the Digest, with a peak in Chapter 6 (8 occurrences). As a result, it appears that most of the distinguishing features of the so-called textual “layers” or “strata” of the Scripture—which were and still are primarily defined by the literary form and the identity of the various speaking instances involved—have survived the transition between Scripture and Digest, albeit under an often edited format.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, attention should primarily be paid to the original features of the Digest—the format and internal structure given to it by the compiler—rather than to the “layers” it inherited from the *Great Peace Scripture*.

#### 7. PROSODIC PATTERNS OF THE GREAT PEACE SCRIPTURE DIGEST

The prosodic features of the dozen versified passages located in the Digest—not to mention those found in the Scripture—still await a full study.<sup>62</sup> Only Digest Chapters 1 and 9 seem devoid of such passages. Series of irregular heptameter verse are found in §§ 7, 33, 45 (two series), 48, and 134; and of both irregular heptameter and tetrameter verse in §§ 68 and 94. The greatest part of §§ 36, 61, and 66–67 is composed in heptameter and tetrameter verse. The last columns of § 43 are composed in tetrameter, heptameter, and octameter verse. All these passages are rhymed.<sup>63</sup> In § 33, characters under the Zhi 之 rhyme group classically include *you* 右 and *mu* 母, both of which left the group and entered the Hou 侯 rhyme

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to it in the Scripture (68 and 102 occurrences); *wen yue* appears fourteen times in the Digest, but only once in the Scripture. The reverse is not true: *luan qing wen* 願請問 (“I wish I may ask”) and *fu yuan qing wen* 復願請問 (“I wish I may ask again”) occur respectively 17 and 6 times in the Scripture but are not found in the Digest.

59. However, again, the reverse is not true: two isolated instances of *tiangong* 天公 (“Heavenly Sire”) in the Scripture (69.1b and 88.5a) read *tianjun* 天君 (“Lord of Heaven”) in the Digest (5.1a: 6.3a).

60. Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 349.

61. The earliest definition of these textual layers or strata is due to Xiong Deji 熊德基, who delineated three forms—dialogue (*wenda ti* 問答體), prose (*sanwen ti* 散文體), and conversation (*duihua ti* 對話體)—in his “*Tai-ping jing* de zuozhe he sixiang ji qi yu Huangjin he Tianshi dao de guanxi” 太平經的作者和思想及其與黃巾和天師道的關係, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 4 (1962): 8–25. All subsequent classifications are elaborations of this typology, with occasional substrata; see Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫, “*Taiheikyō* ni okeru genji bunsho—kyō, shū, tsū no shisō” 太平經における言辭文書—共・集・通の思想, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 92 (1983): 36–38; Takahashi Tadahiko 高橋忠彦, “*Taiheikyō* no shisō kōzō” 太平經の思想構造, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 95 (1984): 296–97; Jens Østergård Petersen, “The Early Traditions Relating to the Han Dynasty Transmission of the *Tai-ping Jing*. Part 2,” *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen) 51 (1990): 198 and 212–13; idem, “The Anti-Messianism of the *Tai-ping jing*,” 41 n. 1; and Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 343–72.

62. Preliminary Chinese studies of heptameter verse in both Scripture and Digest (undistinguished) stress the popular origin of the form and its vehicular function in religious propaganda; see Wu Weimin 伍偉民, “*Tai-ping jing* yu qiyan shi de chuxing” 太平經與七言詩的雛形, *Shanghai daojiao* 上海道教 3–4 (1989): 34–35 and 40; Wang Jian 王建, “*Tai-ping jing* zhong de qiyan shi” 太平經中的七言詩, *Guizhou shehui kexue* 貴州社會科學 135 (1995): 82–84 and 100.

63. For the detailed characters and rhyme groups involved in these passages, see *Tai-ping jing zhengdu*, ed. Yu Liming, 3, 24, 62, 66, 163, 251, 255–56, 275, 332, 376–78, and 510. For rhyme groups prior to the earliest known rhyme books, see the reconstruction given in Luo Changpei 羅常培 and Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao yunbu yanbian yanjiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究, vol. 1 (Beijing: Kexue, 1958), 125–245.

group during the Wei 魏 (220–65) and Jin 晉 (265–420) eras.<sup>64</sup> In §§ 61 and 66–68, the Yuan 元, Wen 文, and Zhen 真 rhyme groups, under which Yu Liming lists characters from four such versified sequences, formed a single rhyme group until the Three Kingdoms era 三國 (220–80). In the same passages, *xian* 先 and *xian* 仙 branched off into a fourth rhyme group, Xian 先, strictly distinguished from all three former groups in prosodic usage from the Qi 齊 (479–502) and Liang 梁 (502–57) dynasties onwards.<sup>65</sup> Again in Chapter 7, *zai* 災 and *hui* 灰, belonging to the Zhi 之 group and, according to Yu, rhyming with the eponymous character, entered a new group, Hai 咍, during the Three Kingdoms.<sup>66</sup> Assuming that Luo, Zhou, and Yu's work is reliable, these instances leave little doubt as to the antiquity of at least parts of the source material from which the Digest ultimately derives.

#### 8. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER HYPOTHESES

Together with the Secret Directives and the *Preface* following the Scripture in the Taoist Canon, the Digest reflects the endurance of the Great Peace tradition and its evolution over the course of the religious history of pre-modern China, and demonstrates that it fully deserves the status of independent work. Like the Scripture (a full-text edition, unfortunately incomplete) and S.4226 (a full table of contents, yet without contents), it should be defined as an offshoot of the *Great Peace Scripture* rather than a by-product of the canonical Scripture. Due to numerous omissions of units, either isolated or grouped, and of entire chapters, the Digest cannot be considered a faithful shortened rendition of the *Great Peace Scripture*, even though it takes up all the major themes of the latter. It was nevertheless based on source material more complete than the extant Scripture, as shown by the fact that in places (the bulk of § 76, the first half of § 77, 10 columns in §§ 88–90) its contents supplement lacunae in the Scripture and, as Wang Ming noted, also shed light on the interpolated nature of some of the Scripture unit titles.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, that source material must have been close to the Scripture, as is suggested by the compiler's strategy of avoidance as regards *kou kou* 口口 occurrences.

Textual analysis sheds further light on the complex Digest/Scripture relationship. Of the 366 unit titles listed in S.4226, about 214 are identifiable in the Digest (less than 60%) while about 104 were apparently omitted.<sup>68</sup> In Chapter 6, the unique illustration of the Digest differs from those featured in Scripture Chapters 99–101 and none of the original illustrations from Chapter 103 is included in the corresponding passages in Digest Chapter 7. Characters, phrases, and, generally speaking, any textual entity deemed unnecessary for the understanding of the argument were omitted, as Hendrichske rightly remarked.<sup>69</sup> Nor does the literary form of the Digest faithfully reflect that of the corresponding Scripture units. The dialogue form is much more than a mere matter of style, but the liveliest parts of the master/disciple interaction were evidently considered space-consuming or incidental or

64. Zhou Zumo, *Zhou Zumo yuyan wenshi lunji* 周祖謨語言文史論集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1988), 168–69.

65. *Ibid.*, 157–58.

66. *Ibid.*, 148–49 and 160–61.

67. See Wang's post-collation notes appended to his critical edition (*Taiping jing hejiao*, 752–57).

68. These figures remain tentative due to the uncertainty of some identification cases. Also, the 48 unit titles in S.4226, Part X, cannot be taken into account since the corresponding Digest chapter is missing.

69. Hendrichske, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 43, 64 (n. 169), 178 (n. 12), and 214 (n. 15).

both and in large part deliberately ignored.<sup>70</sup> It is clear that editing the Scripture contents into the Digest implied a textual standardization process. Nevertheless, instances of “textual elaboration” are too few to bear out the theory of an ideological transition between both versions.<sup>71</sup>

As intellectuals in the field of humanities, we tend to over-interpret phenomena, including textual phenomena, as necessarily reflecting ideas of a higher order. To our disappointment, perhaps, the purpose of the Digest appears to be mainly pragmatic. In the age of manuscripts, the 366-unit *Great Peace Scripture* described in S.4226—wrapped into ten bundles (*zhi* 裘) containing seventeen chapters each—must have constituted a considerable bulk. The compiler of the Digest provided a condensed version of this work, one that was more convenient to use and whose reading would take less time. Pragmatism also explains why some of the shortest Scripture units were entirely, or nearly so, transcribed in the Digest, while only disconnected fragments of the longest ones could possibly be integrated—as exemplified by unit 179. Pragmatism too incited the compiler to bypass more and more material as he advanced through the longest parts of the *Great Peace Scripture*, lest his editing work should result in heavily disproportionate chapters.<sup>72</sup> Pragmatism again inspired the relocation of the “Text of the master’s program” from Part II of the *Great Peace Scripture* (as per S.4226) to the Digest rendition of Part III (Chapter 3, § 16), doubtless in a move to rationalize the structure of the work by locating both the program and its dedicated set of explanations (§ 17) in the same chapter rather than pages away from one another. And pragmatism still justifies end-titles being occasionally preferred to regular unit titles, because the former, being usually longer than the latter, seem to encapsulate unit contents more aptly. Naturally we may conjecture that there were secondary motives beyond mere pragmatism. Scripture units 169–72, entirely composed in “double-character” (*fuwen* 複文) symbolic script, were certainly left aside due to their length, but perhaps also because of their abstruse nature. Unit 159 had sexual connotations, like the “Yellow and Red” (*huangchi* 黃赤) rite for “merging pneumata” (*heqi* 合氣) of the early Heavenly Master communities,<sup>73</sup> which was no longer agreeable to Buddhist-influenced mores. Omissions also involve cases of repetition or thematic amplification and technical matters deemed either of secondary import or obsolete. Some Scripture contents may even have seemed too complex for novices, who would have access to the unabridged text at a later stage in their vocational career, as well as lay readers—provided the compiler had this readership in mind—but both hypotheses cannot be proven.

The analysis makes it clear that, indeed like the Scripture, the Digest does not show enough homogeneity to be uncritically regarded as being the product of a single person at a single time. Several instances of apparent textual disorder prompted Wang Ming to point to

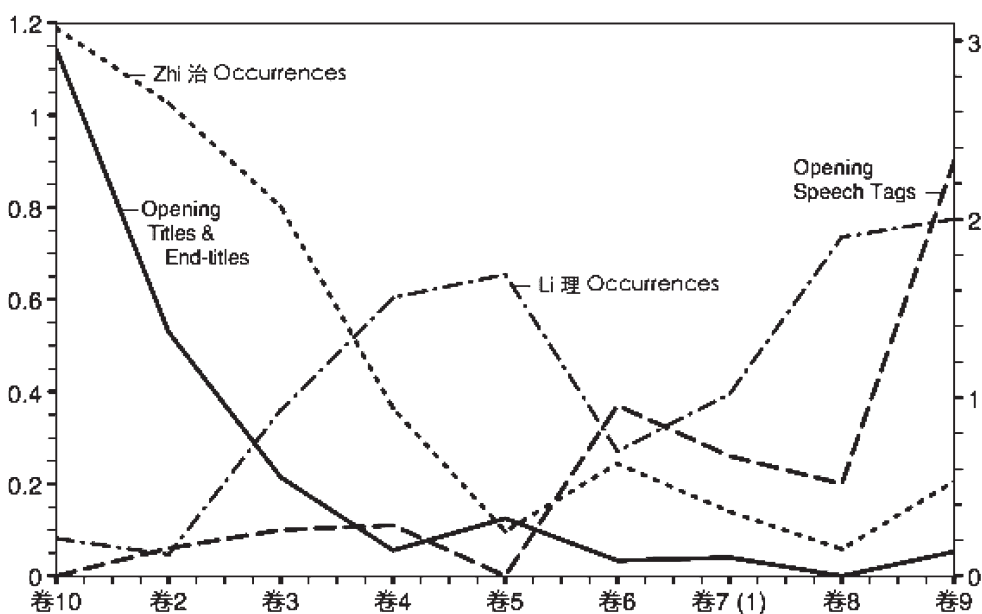
70. For examples and useful comments, see pp. 187–91 of Barbara Hendrichske, “The Dialogues between Master and Disciples in the *Scripture on Great Peace (Taiping jing)*,” in *A Daoist Florilegium*, ed. Lee Cheuk Yin and Chan Man Sing (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2002), 185–234.

71. Cases of elaboration include the idea that nothing is better than practicing the method of “preserving unity” (*shouyi* 守一) to dispel the blame of Inherited Burden (§ 18); a flourish of detailed cosmic dysfunctions resulting from one’s attention being focused on matters other than food, reproduction, and clothing (§ 31); and a threefold, phonic typology of pneumata—upper pneuma (joy/music), emitting sound; middle pneuma (harmony); and lower pneuma (punishment), which is silent (§ 89).

72. Chapter 10 omits none of the 17 units in Part I (0%), a unique case in the Digest, whereas Chapter 8 omits 24 of the 48 units from Part VIII (50%), the highest figure in the Digest.

73. On which see Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2012), 177–209.

“misplaced pages” (*cuojian* 錯簡).<sup>74</sup> Some summaries occupy two sections or more while some sections contain more than a single summary, and some column breaks (between sections) are evidently misplaced, in some instances right in the middle of a sentence. These instances are evidence of later clumsy editing by the Ming editors of the Taoist Canon at the latest. Certain regularly occurring speech tags or even isolated characters<sup>75</sup> were apparently understood as marking the beginning or end of summaries, on which assumption a number of section breaks were inserted. Though this method may have proved efficient in some cases, it also resulted in unnecessary textual (and reading) disruptions. The cases of redundancy mentioned above increase the overall feeling of textual heterogeneity. Strikingly, as the reader advances through the ten chapters, unit titles or end-titles transcribed at the head of sections become less numerous while opening speech tags multiply progressively. In general, this tendency reflects the decrease and increase of *zhi* 治 and *li* 理 occurrences respectively, as the graph below shows:<sup>76</sup>



Many theories can be imagined here but none proven. My own hypothesis relies on converging observations and the material reviewed above. It would be absurd for a solitary compiler in the middle of his work to change his method from a systematic treatment of

74. *Taiping jing hejiao*, ed. Wang Ming, 527, 539, and 753.

75. *Taiping jing zhengdu*, ed. Yu Liming, 3, points to a misplaced section break corresponding to an occurrence of *hu* 乎 in the middle of a heptameter line of verse.

76. Numerical data for the “Opening Titles & End-titles” and “Opening Speech Tags” curves appear on the left vertical axis (numbered 0–1.2); those for the “Zhi 治 Occurrences” and “Li 理 Occurrences” curves on the right vertical axis (numbered 0–3.1). These data express occurrences per page rather than per chapter, so as to show that curve fluctuations are not the result of differences in chapter length. On the horizontal axis, the “current” Chapter 10 appears in its location as original Chapter 1, while the figures corresponding to the “current” Chapter 1 are added to those of Chapter 7, its probable former location. The figures of the “current” Chapter 1 do not alter the overall propensity of the four curves.



units, each covered in a dedicated section with an opening transcription of its title (and using a majority of *zhi* meanwhile), to a collective amalgamation of excerpts ignoring an increasing number of both units and titles (and now with a growing preference for *li*). It seems more rational to see the received Digest, whose heterogeneous nature is certain, as a conflation of shortened versions of the *Great Peace Scripture* in incomplete condition—at least two such versions, a Tang and a later one. But since in the Digest these strata of diachronic origin coexist in the same chapters and some section breaks result from a later arrangement, it is impossible to propose clear-cut groups of sections or even chapters. Only a general picture can be tentatively drawn before moving on to the appended linear analysis of the Digest.

The first source material for the Digest would be Lüqiu Fangyuan's collection of "selections" from a Tang edition of the *Great Peace Scripture* whose Part VII included Upper Clarity-inspired units. This source was compiled mainly using the method of edited transcription as defined above (see n 53). The relevant sections tend to ignore unit titles and to open with speech tags instead, often amalgamate unit summaries without a column break, and show a majority of *li* 理 occurrences due to the Tang avoidance. From this source we could derive a stratum comprising the "current" Chapter 1 (as part of Chapter 7), most of Chapters 4–9, plus isolated sections in Chapters 2–3. This stratum is exemplified by § 93 (Chapter 8), where the Tang philological note appears. This section amalgamates summaries of six different units, has four occurrences of *li* but none of *zhi*, and no opening title. Also evidencing a Tang date are sections 68–69 in Chapter 7. Both without opening title, they list eighteen guidelines where the corresponding Scripture unit 173 has a set of nineteen and a title matching this figure. In S.4226, the same title reads "eighteen" (col. 346)—the very number of guidelines in the Digest. Another significant fact is that, unlike most post-Tang quotations, *Great Peace Scripture* quotations in Tang sources often have a dialogue form.<sup>77</sup> This suggests that the dozen sections or so in formal dialogue form scattered through Chapters 2–4, 6, and 9–10 could also derive from Lüqiu Fangyuan's "selections" from a Tang edition of the *Great Peace Scripture*.

The second source material for the Digest would be the pre-Song or early Song *Taiping chao* (anonymous), from which the title of the extant text ultimately derived, probably coined by the editors of the Ming Taoist Canon. The format of sections neatly starting with a unit title transcribed in their initial column and abstracting a single unit at a time matches the purpose of the *Great Peace Digest* known to Jia Shanxiang, namely, in his own words, to "clarify in broad outline the titles of the units of the original Scripture." From that source would derive a second stratum including most of the "current" Chapter 10 (the "original" Chapter 1) and Chapter 2, large portions of Chapter 3—which, as already noted, reveals the highest use of the abridgement method—and isolated sections in Chapters 4–7 and 9. Since its focus was on explaining rather than providing excerpts, this second source edited out most of the dialogue components of the *Great Peace Scripture*. After all, early imperial times were long gone, and with them perhaps the favor the dialogue form had enjoyed among "many great Han thinkers" for its rhetorical persuasiveness.<sup>78</sup>

77. In addition to the quotations already mentioned in preceding notes, see *Hou Han shu* (676), 30B, 1081–82, commentary; *Sandong zhunang*, CT 1139, 1.21a–23a and 4.3a; *Daodian lun*, CT 1130, 4.8b; *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*, CT 463, 1.2a–b and 14.1a–b; and the anonymous *Sandong shuji zashuo* 三洞樞機雜說, CT 839, 6a–b.

78. See Michael Nylan, "Han Classicists Writing in Dialogue about Their Own Tradition," *Philosophy East and West* 42.7 (1997), 135.

APPENDIX: LINEAR ANALYSIS OF THE GREAT PEACE SCRIPTURE DIGEST  
(WITH CONCORDANCE)<sup>79</sup>

***Great Peace Scripture Digest, Part I/Chapter 1*** 太平經鈔甲部卷之一

- § 1 (1.1a.2–3) “Yearly chronicle of the Imperial Lord and Posterior Saint of the Imperial Dawn of the Golden Portal of Great Peace, [his] master and assistants, the comings and goings of the pneuma of peace, the signs observed by the saint and the wise, the seed people of meritorious conduct, and the original rise of the established law” 太平金闕帝晨後聖帝君師輔歷紀歲次平氣去來兆候賢聖功行種民定法本起。
- § 2 (1.1a.3–5a.9) An introduction of Lord Li 李君, with full titles and a biography, leads to an apocalyptic picture of the world whence the pneuma of peace has long departed and to a prophecy of Lord Li’s Parousia.
- § 3 (1.5a.10–b.9) Short biography of Lord Li’s Great Preceptor Lord Peng (Peng jun 彭君) with a list of his four assistants (Lord Green Lad 青童君, Primordial Lady of the Southern Pole 南極元君, True Lord of Great Achromatism 太素真君, and Lord Wang, Commander of the Perfected 總真王君) and their residences.
- § 4 (1.5b.10–6b.8) Depiction of each assistant’s specific function and position next to Lord Li, who is also served by 361 high dignitaries, their 36,000 subordinates, 360,000 controllers, and 24 secret emissaries.
- § 5 (1.6b.9–8a.10) Lord Green Lad visits Lord Li and presents him with the *Purple Text in Numinous Script* (*Lingshu ziwén* 靈書紫文), together with a set of 24 instructions.

***Great Peace Scripture Digest, Part II/Chapter 2*** 太平經鈔乙部卷之二

- § 6 (2.1a.2–10) “Method: Joining Yin and Yang and conforming to the Way” 合陰陽順道法 (cf. S.4226, II/18/18) is a meditation aimed at uniting with the Way and its cycles. (2.1a.10–2a.7) “Method: The orthodox gods controlling the person lead men to know by themselves” 錄身正神令人自知法 (cf. S.4226, II/19/19) is a Yin/Yang classification giving Yang items a higher position and emphasizing the role of body gods. (2.2a.7–3a.3) “To cultivate unity and drive away perverseness” 修一却邪 (cf. S.4226, II/21/21). Men should preserve unity so as not to provoke inauspicious events.
- § 7 (2.3a.4–b.6) “To govern the person with joy and to preserve the body; to think obediently, be focused, and drive away calamities” 以樂治身守形順念致思却灾 (cf. S.4226, II/22/22). On the universal function of joy and its auspicious effects. (2.3b.6–5a.1) “Hanging images to make [body gods] return” 懸象還 (cf. S.4226, II/33/33) depicts the body gods to draw as visual aid for meditation.<sup>80</sup>
- § 8 (2.5a.2–8) “Method: Adjusting divine powers” 調神靈法. Harmonizing relations among all superhuman entities would benefit the entire universe. (Unidentified unit)
- § 9 (2.5a.9–b.5) “Method: To preserve unity and illuminate it” 守一明之法 (cf. S.4226, II/27/27) is a meditation practice consisting in visualizing light in one’s body.<sup>81</sup> (2.5b.5–6a.7) “Excellence and mediocrity in practicing the Way” 行道優劣 (cf. S.4226, II/29/29) deals with the Way and the consubstantiality of Heaven and Man.

79. References under the format “S.4226, part/chapter/unit” are to the literary structure of the table of contents in S.4226. Whenever a section contains abridgements of more than a single unit, a line break marks the beginning of each new summary. Question marks signal tentative identifications based on thematic or textual analogies. Whenever appropriate, full references to the corresponding Scripture passage or passages follow each summary.

80. The rest of the section, dealing with implementing the Way, possibly derives from another unit.

81. This passage may be compared with the Secret Directives, verses 4–6 (*Taiping jing shengjun mizhi*, CT 1102, 1b–2a; translation in Espeset, “*Les Directives secrètes*,” 34).

- § 10 (2.6a.8–b.7) On the seasonal cycle of the ruler’s temper and the five stages in the cycle of pneumata—dominant, assistant, etc. (S.4226, II/29/29?)
- § 11 (2.6b.8–7b.7) “Writings of divine instructions” 神訣書 (cf. S.4226, II/30/30) deals with the three pneumata ensuring cosmic balance: Yin, Yang, and Central Harmony.
- § 12 (2.7b.8–9a.5) “Method: Harmonizing the three pneumata to give rise to the sovereign” 和三氣興帝王法 (cf. S.4226, II/31/31) explains how ruler, ministers, and people—after the three pneumata pattern—must unite to bring forth Great Harmony, then Great Peace.
- § 13 (2.9a.6–10b.6) “Method: To bring peace and delight to the ruler” 安樂王者法 (cf. S.4226, II/32/32) states that the sovereign (corresponding to Yang) and his consort (Yin) must unite to procreate (Central Harmony).
- § 14 (2.10b.7–11a.1) “Method: Hanging images to make [body] gods return” 懸象還神法 (cf. S.4226, II/33/33) deals with the drawing of images of body gods (see § 7 above).
- § 15 (2.11a.2–13b.6) “Instruction: Explaining the Inherited Burden” 解承負訣 (cf. S.4226, II/34/40) shows the harmful accumulation of evil deeds since the beginning of the world.<sup>82</sup>
- § 16 (2.13b.7–14b.6) Defines happiness as fondness for the True Way and as outliving ordinary people, then deals with forms of government. (S.4226, II/28/28?)
- § 17 (2.14b.7–16b.10) On the ruler’s morality, the appearance of extraordinary documents as a response to good government, the study of the Way under an enlightened master, and putting in practice oneself what one has studied. (S.4226, II/24/24?)

***Great Peace Scripture Digest, Part III/Chapter 3*** 太平經鈔丙部卷之三

- § 18 (3.1a.2–2a.3) “Analyzing poverty and wealth” 分別貧富 (cf. S.4226, III/35/41; 35/41.1a.2) defines both notions in relation to the completeness of agricultural products rather than to the hoarding of riches (cf. 35/41.1a.6–3b.8; 9a.2–3).<sup>83</sup>
- (3.2a.3–9) Should they abstain from reproducing, men (Yang) and women (Yin) would interrupt the lineage of Heaven and Earth (cf. 35/42.9a.9–b.2; 10b.10–11a.1).<sup>84</sup>
- (3.2a.9–b.2) The malevolent are made aware of the forthcoming pneuma of Great Peace so that they may amend their conduct (cf. 35/43.13a.1–5).<sup>85</sup>
- (3.2b.2–10) “Instruction: The king pursues relieving Inherited Burden” 王事解承負訣 (cf. S.4226, III/37/48; 37/48.3b.5) relates how the Ancients prevented the accumulation of the ill effects of misbehavior (cf. 37/47.1a.7–8; 1b.2–4; 8; 2b.8–9).<sup>86</sup>
- (3.2b.10–3a.6) Unity being at the root of everything, nothing is better than preserving unity in order to dispel Inherited Burden (cf. 37/48.3b.9–4a.2; 7a.3–8).<sup>87</sup>
- (3.3a.6–4a.5) Definition of the four constraints (cf. 40/52.1a.3–b.7; 2b.5–3a.1; 4–7).<sup>88</sup>

82. The last sentence (“Practicing good speech is not as good as putting [it] into practice on oneself” 習善言不若習行于身也, 2.13b.6) might echo another unit title (S.4226, II/28/28?).

83. The transcribed title actually corresponds to the next summary. For a translation of the unabridged unit, see Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 67–94.

84. *Ibid.*, 95–104.

85. *Ibid.*, 105–12.

86. *Ibid.*, 136–40.

87. *Ibid.*, 141–52.

88. The four constraints are: children cannot imagine their parents departing; lovers cannot leave one another; love shifts from spouse to children; and the impotency of old age. Translation of the unabridged unit in Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 173–79.

- § 19 (3.4a.6–5b.4) As writings multiply, the root (texts free from editorial alterations) should be preserved. Why numbers begin with one and end with ten (cf. 40/53.3b.6–5b.1).<sup>89</sup>
- § 20 (3.5b.5–3.6a.5) The best among eight types of government is the one taking Heaven as a model (cf. 40/54.6b.7–7b.6).<sup>90</sup>
- § 21 (3.6a.5–b.5) How to extract the best contents from all writings of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Ages that deal with the Way (cf. 41/55.1b.4–2a.7).<sup>91</sup>
- § 22 (3.6b.5–7b.10) The specific duties of each ontological category in a nine-fold hierarchy of men appointed by Heaven (cf. 42/56.1a.3–8; b.7–10; 2a.2–6; 2b.4–10; 3a.2–b.3).<sup>92</sup>  
(3.7b.10–8a.2) Pneuma as a vehicle for divine men and body gods (cf. 42/58.9a.5–b.2).<sup>93</sup>
- § 23 (3.8a.2–10a.10) The monthly cycle of two opposed principles, Punishment and Virtue, that regulates all living beings (cf. 44/60.1b.9–4b.3; 5a.2–b.2).<sup>94</sup>
- § 24 (3.10b.1–12b.4) On the macrocosmic and symbolical background of Earth prohibitions (cf. 45/61.1a.7–2a.10; 2b.4–4a.4; 4b.6–5a.6; 5b.1–6; 6a.6–b.1; 7b.9–8b.2).<sup>95</sup>
- § 25 (3.12b.5–13b.1) A single good word has more value to the ruling family for establishing Great Peace than any amount of gold (cf. 46/62.1a.10–b.10; 2b.6–3a.6; 4a.2; 4b.7).<sup>96</sup>  
(3.13b.1–9) The best subjects endeavor to make the rule of their sovereign easier and to find wondrous medications to secure his longevity (cf. 47/63.2b.10–3b.4).<sup>97</sup>
- § 26 (3.13b.10–14a.7) The most filial child strives to increase the longevity of his parents and alleviate the pains of old age (cf. 47/63.4b.1–8).
- § 27 (3.14a.8–b.5) The best disciples follow their master’s teachings and promote his official career once their education is completed (cf. 47/63.6a.4–b.4).
- § 28 (3.14b.6–10) The ruler should subdue people with the Way and Virtue rather than by means of severity, deception, and penal sanctions (cf. 47/64.13b.6–14a.3).<sup>98</sup>
- § 29 (3.15a.1–b.7) On the triadic logic behind Great Peace introduced by an etymology of “upper,” “august,” “great,” and “peace” (cf. 48/65.1a.5–6; 2a.4–9; 2b.1–4a.3).<sup>99</sup>  
(3.15b.7–9) As the Son of Heaven, the ruler must obediently and diligently follow Heaven’s instructions (cf. 50/67.2a.7–8).  
(3.15b.9–16a.9) Disordered astronomical phenomena show that men do not conform to the regular motions of the Heavenly Way (cf. 50/73.11b.7–12a.3; 12a.9–b.8).  
(3.16a.9–17a.7) Guidelines to use moxa (Yang) and acupuncture (Yin) efficiently and harmlessly so as to harmonize the 360 meridians of the body (cf. 50/74.12b.10–13b.8).  
(3.17a.7–18a.2) Texts may be sorted pragmatically according to their success rate when put into practice to try and dispel adverse phenomena (cf. 50/77.19a.1–b.6).

89. *Ibid.*, 180–88.

90. *Ibid.*, 189–94. The last four columns derive from the same unit as the next summary.

91. *Ibid.*, 195–205. The last ten characters derive from the same unit as the next summary.

92. *Ibid.*, 206–16.

93. *Ibid.*, 221–30. The last nineteen characters derive from the same unit as the next summary.

94. *Ibid.*, 241–54.

95. *Ibid.*, 255–73.

96. *Ibid.*, 274–82.

97. *Ibid.*, 283–300.

98. *Ibid.*, 301–6.

99. *Ibid.*, 307–25.

- (3.18a.2–b.6) All texts should be checked and corrected so that they correspond to the will of Heaven (cf. 51/78.1a.5–b.10).
- § 30 (3.18b.6–8) Divine sanctions cannot be avoided as easily as human ones (cf. 51/78.3a.4–8).<sup>100</sup>
- § 31 (3.18b.9–20b.2) As men left the divine Way, two major distresses (feeding, reproducing) and a minor one (clothing) appeared (cf. 36/44.1a.3–9; 1b.7–2b.7; 3a.2–b.8).<sup>101</sup>
- (3.20b.2–5) End of the dramatic picture of disorders caused when focusing attention on matters not related to the three distresses above. (S.4226, III/36/44)
- (3.20b.5–21b.2) Serving the dead (Yin) should not surpass serving the living (Yang), for it would provoke cosmic and social dysfunctions (cf. 36/46.6b.9–8a.6).<sup>102</sup>
- § 32 (3.21b.3–10) Ostentatious funerals boost Yin at the expense of Yang and attract manes who harm the living (cf. 36/46.9a.4–10b.1).
- § 33 (3.22a.1–6) “Text of the master’s program” 師策文 (cf. S.4226, II/20/20) is a cryptic hymn dealing with such topics as cosmology, healing, and immortality.
- § 34 (3.22a.6–26a.7) Explanatory analysis of the preceding hymn (§ 33), one character or verse after the other (cf. 39/50.1a.3–5b.3).<sup>103</sup>
- § 35 (3.26a.8–28a.2) Major and minor cosmic dysfunctions are major and minor reprimands from cosmic instances and must be taken into consideration (cf. 43/59.1a.10–3b.2).<sup>104</sup>

***Great Peace Scripture Digest, Part IV/Chapter 4* 太平經鈔丁部卷之四**

- § 36 (4.1a.2–2a.3) “Illustration: Yin and Yang prescriptions for the fetus in the womb, which, when practiced correctly, eliminate evil” 胞胎陰陽規矩正行消惡圖 (cf. S.4226, IV/52/79) is a meditation and visualization practice to invert the aging process.
- (4.2a.3–3b.2) “Analyzing four [types of] reign” 分別四治 (cf. S.4226, IV/53/80; 53/79.1a.2). The criteria are the age of ministers and their relationship with the ruler (cf. 53/79.1a.6–3a.1).
- (4.3b.2–4b.1) Resentments and arguments arise when people strive to do what is beyond their capacity instead of keeping to what is appropriate for them (cf. 54/81.1b.2–2b.6).
- (4.4b.1–8) The speaker’s book would not be different from any other book if, once one receives it, one does not strive to study it and put it into practice (cf. 55/82.1a.5–b.2).
- (4.4b.8–5b.3) There is someone appropriate for every matter, hence the importance of choosing the right person to avoid risking failure (cf. 55/83.1b.10–2b.4; 4b.1–2).
- (4.5b.3–6a.10) “Having agreements with multitudes of gods” 與衆神有約束 (cf. S.4226, IV/56/84) states that the Lord of Heaven knew the merits of the ancients.
- (4.6a.10–8a.3) Both the calendar and the Hall of Light must reflect cosmic order as they did in the past. Description of the heavenly bureaucracy. (S.4226, IV/57/88?)

100. The last fourteen characters derive from the same unit as the next summary.

101. Translation of the unabridged unit in Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 113–20.

102. *Ibid.*, 126–35.

103. *Ibid.*, 153–69.

104. *Ibid.*, 231–40.

- (4.8a.3–9a.5) Cosmological and social justifications for prohibiting the consumption of alcoholic beverages. (S.4226, IV/57/89)
- (4.9a.5–10b.1) The relationship between hierarchical superiors—lord, father, master—and inferiors—ministers, sons, disciples—should be harmonious. (S.4226, IV/58/90?)
- § 37 (4.10b.2–11b.7) The six stages of human life. How Heaven’s rain (Yang) penetrating Earth (Yin) gives birth to beings of different sizes. (S.4226, IV/59/91?)
- (4.11b.7–12a.7) Stillborn beings (i.e., unproductive seeds) show that the Way of Heaven is injured, which provokes in turn the interruption of human lives. (S.4226, IV/60/93?)
- § 38 (4.12a.8–10) The speaker’s Way is the faith of red (Great Yang, and the true color of Heaven) and green (color of humaneness). (S.4226, IV/60/94)
- (4.12a.10–13b.2) The emperor, Son of Heaven, must act in accordance with Heaven’s will and his consort, Daughter of Earth, with Earth’s will. (S.4226, IV/61/95)
- § 39 (4.13b.3–14b.1) In order to reproduce, all things come under either Yang (corresponding to the generative function) or Yin (nutritive function). (S.4226, IV/59/91?)
- (4.14b.1–15b.8) An eightfold hierarchy within which it is possible to climb: divine men (Heaven), Perfected (Earth), immortals (the Four Seasons), men of the Way (the Five Agents), saints (Yin/Yang), wise men (mountains and rivers), commoners (agricultural products), and slaves (weak plants). (S.4226, IV/62/96?)
- § 40 (4.15b.9–16a.6) Variant of the eightfold hierarchy: Heaven, Earth, divine men, Perfected, immortals, men of the Way, saints, and wise men. (S.4226, IV/63/97?)
- (4.16a.6–b.5) The ruler should extirpate weapons (Metal agent), making the Wood agent dominant, to promote Yang pneuma and the Fire agent (cf. 65/99.1b.3–3a.3).
- (4.16b.5–17a.2) The ruler should present the wise with texts, the starving with food, and people suffering from cold with clothing (cf. 65/100.5b.4–6a.4).
- (4.17a.2–b.1) An epistemological model combining Heaven, Earth, and Man, with the Three Augusts, Five Emperors, Three Kings, and Five Hegemons (cf. 66/102.1a.6–2a.3).
- (4.17b.1–18a.2) Six major sins—concerning the selfish practice of the Way and Virtue, accumulating wealth, laziness, and robbery—cannot be remitted (cf. 67/103.1a.6–3a.3).
- (4.18a.2–9) “Cautioning the six disciples” 戒六子 (cf. S.4226, IV/68/104; 68/104.1a.2) stages the master announcing his imminent departure (cf. 68/104.1a.3–b.10; 3a.4).

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- § 41 (5.1a.2–3b.4) “The pairing of [Earthly] Branches and [Heavenly] Stems after the texts of the predictions of Heaven” 以天讖文支干相配 (cf. S.4226, V/69/105; 69/105.1a.2) is a lecture on cosmological correspondences (cf. 69/105.1a.2–7a.8).<sup>105</sup>
- § 42 (5.3b.4–4b.3) Students risk falling into heresy due to textual profusion, false texts, and misleading glosses, or if they turn their back on their master (cf. 70/106.1a.5–2b.3).

105. For a translation of the unabridged unit, see pp. 47–61 of Barbara Hendrichke, “Divination in the *Tai-ping jing*,” *Monumenta Serica* 57 (2009): 1–70. I am indebted to B. Hendrichke and Philipp Hünnebeck for kindly providing me with a copy of this work.

- (5.4b.3–5b.6) Nine principles—five guidelines for meditation on and visualization of gods, plus four warnings concerning dangerous entities (cf. 71/107.1a.3–3a.7).<sup>106</sup>
- (5.5b.6–9) On celestial gods as emissaries of Heaven and Earth (cf. 72/109.1b.8–2a.1).
- (5.5b.9–6a.1) To accumulate good deeds and preserve the Way and Virtue ensures renown and gives access to all divine entities. (S.4226, V/73/112–114?)
- § 43 (5.6a.2–7b.2) Ten examples illustrating how at the local level ancient sages ensured social order, benevolence, and the fulfillment of the human lifespan. (S.4226, V/74/115?)
- (5.7b.2–8a.1) The four divine roots of restored universal equilibrium are the ruler, his consort, all saints, and commoners. (S.4226, V/75/116?)
- (5.8a.1–b.8) The Grand Astrologer watches the circulation of cosmic pneumata through the openings of a properly designed Hall of Light. (S.4226, V/77/118?)
- (5.8b.8–10a.8) On the prevalence of dominant pneuma and the characteristics of the lower pneumata positions according to each phase in the cycle. (S.4226, V/79/120?)
- (5.10a.8–b.6) The success rate—10/10, 9/10, 8/10, or less—of prognostications based on the speaker’s text will reveal the current condition of the Way. (S.4226, V/80/121)
- (5.10b.6–12b.7) A versified set of guidelines and warnings to obtain the Way and ensure longevity. (S.4226, V/81/122?)
- § 44 (5.12b.8–13b.5) On three types of scripture. Study is compared to a good root (masters) and good branches (disciples) growing from a seed sown in good soil.<sup>107</sup> (S.4226, V/83/124?)
- § 45 (5.13b.6–14a.9) “Entering the oratory to meditate and memorize” 入室思存 (cf. S.4226, V/78/119) is a partly versified set of guidelines for meditation.<sup>108</sup>
- § 46 (5.14a.10–15b.10) “Knowing by oneself gain and loss” 自知得失 (cf. S.4226, V/82/123) explains that knowledge is useless as long as it fails to procure personal longevity or help one serve one’s parents or honor the ruler.

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- § 47 (6.1a.2–2b.10) Fear to memorialize local authorities deprives the throne of good advice and provokes cosmic dysfunctions (cf. 86/127.3a.7–4b.8; 7a.1–4; 13a.2–b.1; 15a.3–b.3).
- (6.2b.10–3a.5) Ingested symbols written in cinnabar red and visualizing one’s body as being interiorly luminous remove diseases and secure longevity.<sup>109</sup> (S.4226, VI/87/128?)
- § 48 (6.3a.6–8) On the importance of preserving the physical body and its divine inhabitants to secure longevity. (S.4226, VI/87/128?)
- § 49 (6.3a.8–b.5) World instability is explained by the ruler’s isolation, the blocked circulation of extraordinary documents, and accumulated resentment (cf. 88/129.5a.10–b.7).

106. This passage may be compared with the Secret Directives, verses 14–22 (*Taiping jing shengjun mizhi*, CT 1102, 2b–3b; translation in Espeset, “Les Directives secrètes,” 35–37).

107. “Entering the oratory” 入室 at the end of the section may echo other unit titles (S.4226, V/73/112? V/78/119?) and the ensuing two columns may belong to the next summary.

108. The last part of the section may echo another unit title (S.4226, V/73/114?).

109. The last three columns of this passage may be compared with the Secret Directives, verses 31, 33, and 38 (*Taiping jing shengjun mizhi*, CT 1102, 4a–5a; translation in Espeset, “Les Directives secrètes,” 39–40).

- § 50 (6.3b.6–4b.8) Moved by the fact that men live only once, Heaven emits extraordinary recipes enabling them to fulfill their lifespan (cf. 90/131.1b.2–2a.9; 3a.10–b.9; 5a.2–9).
- § 51 (6.4b.9–5b.1) The ruler of the Way and Virtue prevents eclipses, which show Yin and Yang disharmony and Heaven and Earth’s wrath (cf. 92/133.18b.1–2; 1a.3–2a.4).
- § 52 (6.5b.2–10) Angered by the Inherited Burden of collective sins, Heaven causes untimely death among men regardless of their personal deeds (cf. 92/134.6a.2–b.1).
- § 53 (6.6a.1–8) Programs in any of the 12,000 countries of the world should begin in the South-East with the Fire agent, corresponding to Heaven’s will (cf. 92/134.12a.2–b.1).  
(6.6a.8–b.6) The vigor of the Fire agent proves the advent of the upper august pneuma, as opposed to perverse pneumata, and of the true divine Way (cf. 92/135.13a.5–14a.1).
- § 54 (6.6b.7–7a.4) Fainéant ministers in the government are compared to parasites eating human beings from inside (cf. 92/136.14a.9–10; 14b.4–10; 15a.8–9).  
(6.7a.4–b.4) Definition of five orders of human longevity: 120 (heavenly), 100 (earthly), 80 (human), 60 (hegemonic), and 50 years (uncongenial). (S.4226, VI/94/143?)  
(6.7b.4–9a.5) “Covertly helping people without expecting [retribution]” 不望陰 (陽) 祐人 (cf. S.4226, VI/94/144) states that only disinterested help earns Heaven’s retribution.  
(6.9a.5–10a.9) “To love oneself and do oneself good” 自愛自好 (cf. S.4226, VI/94/145) gives practical advice for taking care of one’s person and attaining longevity.  
(6.10a.10–11a.10) By memorializing, local officials, citizens, and itinerants alike ensure the circulation of cosmic pneumata and enlighten the ruler. (S.4226, VI/95/149?)<sup>110</sup>
- § 55 (6.11b.1–12a.10) On a network of houses of Great Peace to collect memorials, the best of which are to be edited and submitted to the ruler (cf. 91/132.17a.3; 1a.3–2a.4).
- § 56 (6.12b.1–5) On the compiling of an all-pervading scripture to heal the maladies of Heaven and Earth (cf. 91/132.2a.4–8).
- § 57 (6.12b.6–14b.9) On the different types of documents of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Ages to edit into an all-pervading scripture (cf. 91/132.2a.8–10; 2b.7–5a.7; 5b.1–5).
- § 58 (6.14b.10–16a.2) Collected documents need to be carefully corrected to avoid textual, social, as well as cosmic disorder (cf. 91/132.5b.10–8a.6; 9b.5–8; 13b.7–14a.7).
- § 59 (6.16a.3–b.8) Yang, being full and having substance, is venerable, while Yin, empty and without substance, is menial (cf. 93/138.4a.4–b.10; 5a.7–10; 5b.6–8).
- § 60 (6.16b.9–17a.1) The world comprises three parts—including a central part divided into eighty-one regions and a periphery—for a total of 12,000 countries (cf. 93/139.7b.10–8a.3).  
(6.17a.2–10) On the auspicious effects induced by a generalized state of Great Peace, from its first to its thirtieth year (cf. 93/140.19a.3–b.3).

110. The last two columns derive from the same unit as the next summary.



- § 61 (6.17b.1–18a.7) “To board clouds and drive dragons” 乘雲駕龍 (cf. S.4226, VI/99/162; 99/162.1a.2). On the status of immortality and some conditions for ascending to it.<sup>111</sup>  
 (6.18a.8–b.10) A 29-character caption introduces a picture of a Divine Man ascending to Heaven aboard a dragon carriage.
- § 62 (6.19a.1–b.7) “Western wall illustration” 西壁圖 (cf. S.4226, VI/101/164; 101/164.1a.2) is a warning against the consequences of misbehavior (cf. 101/164.7b.1–8a.7).  
 (6.19b.7–20a.2) Nothing should be blocked—especially texts—so that the knowledge of the ruler may reach even the remotest areas. (S.4226, VI/94/146?)  
 (6.20a.3–b.3) Writing was not a necessity in the Upper Age, as people were trustworthy and did not deceive their superiors. (S.4226, VI/95/148)  
 (6.20b.3–21a.9) Children, disciples, and ministers who are not filial, obedient, and loyal to their parents, master, and lord incur divine punishment (cf. 96/151.1a.9–b.6; 3b.4–4a.10).  
 (6.21a.9–23a.2) Preserving the divine Way and reading the speaker’s text attract divine blessings on the ruler (cf. 96/152.7a.4–8a.10; 9a.2–6).  
 (6.23a.2–24a.5) Ignoramuses will agree to be converted by the ruler, as Earth humbly agrees to remain below Heaven (cf. 96/153.21a.3–b.1; 22b.3–10; 24a.4–b.2).  
 (6.24a.5–10) Ignoramuses suffer heavenly punishment because there are no Saints to teach them to practice Heaven’s Way and Earth’s Virtue (cf. 97/154.6b.1–6).  
 (6.24a.10–25a.4) The ruler will seek out any scholar known to study the Way restlessly in his oratory without regard for official positions (cf. 98/156.1a.3–8; 4a.7–b.6).  
 (6.25a.4–27a.1) As cosmic instances fulfilling their task silently, students of the Way must not indulge in vain talk (cf. 98/157.4b.8–5b.8; 6b.10–7b.3; 8a.5–b.3).  
 (6.27a.1–b.8) States that only the documents enabling lifespan extension and those officials who help the ruler reach Great Peace are indispensable (cf. 98/158.9b.2–10a.10).<sup>112</sup>
- § 63 (6.27b.8–28b.1) Unity—one principle, one ruler, and one sun—prevails over the multiplicity of texts, of humans, and of asterisms (cf. 98/158.10b.2–11a.6).  
 (6.28b.1–29a.1) The speaker’s text will enable everyone to fulfill one’s wants—a basic requisite for the advent of Great Peace (cf. 98/160.13b.2–14a.5).  
 (6.29a.1–3) The actions of Heaven, Earth, and an enlightened ruler do not deprive people of their wants (cf. 98/161.14a.8–10; 15a.1–3).
- § 64 (6.29a.4–b.2) On goodness and the covert divine help granted to the benevolent (cf. 100/163.4a.2–10).  
 (6.29b.2–6) The speaker studied for a long time before Heaven granted him favor by sending the Heavenly Master, a Divine Man, to teach him long life (cf. 102/165.1a.4–8).
- § 65 (6.29b.7–30a.8) The speaker transmits the Way to the Perfected, his disciples, urging them to transmit it in turn to men (cf. 102/166.3b.2–6; 3b.7–4a.6; 4a.10–b.2).

111. I am convinced that this element, unknown to the Scripture, originally followed the illustration bearing the same title in Chapter 99, unit 162. The two analogous units 163–64 in Chapters 100–101, also containing pictures, are both followed by comparable matter; see CT 1101, 100/163.4a–b, and 101/164.7b–8a. *Taiping jing zhengdu*, ed. Yu Liming, 332, unconvincingly relates it to unit VI/95/149 in S.4226.

112. This summary includes the first sixteen characters of the next section.

(6.30a.8–b.9) Natural numbers from 1 to 10 explained by the yearly agricultural cycle, starting with gestation in the North, on the winter solstice (cf. 102/167.5a.6–b.7).

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- § 66 (7.1a.2–9) “Precept: Illustrations of emptiness and spontaneity to necessarily achieve the Way” 虛無自然圖道必成誠 (cf. S.4226, VII/103/168; 103/168.1a.2–3) are versified guidelines for meditation on emptiness (cf. 103/168.1a.8–b.4).
- § 67 (7.1a.10–b.10) A versified exhortation to meditate on non-interference, to revert to the origin, and to preserve unity rather than duality (cf. 103/168.1b.9–2a.9).
- § 68 (7.2a.1–b.3) A versified exhortation to preserve spontaneity by submitting to the cyclical nature of the Way (cf. 103/168.2b.5–3a.7).  
(7.2b.3–3a.9) The first twelve guidelines in a set of eighteen<sup>113</sup> (cf. 108/173.1a.7–2a.9).
- § 69 (7.3a.10–b.8) The last six guidelines in the same set (cf. 108/173.2a.10–b.10).<sup>114</sup>
- § 70 (7.3b.9–4a.1) Definition of the character “good omen” with a set of single characters: clarity, serenity, correctness, and the state of being focused (cf. 108/174.3a.2–5).
- § 71 (7.4a.2–9) As a natural rule, similar things attract one another. Therefore people showing the above qualities (§ 70) move Heaven and get auspicious answers (cf. 108/174.3a.5–b.4).
- § 72 (7.4a.10–b.8) Filial children, loyal ministers, and obedient disciples must submit what is rare and precious to their father, lord, and master (cf. 108/175.3b.7–4a.5).
- § 73 (7.4b.9–5a.3) Fathers, lords, and masters already have access to what is common; only rare things enable them to attain Heaven and Earth’s will (cf. 108/175.4a.5–8; 4b.2–3).  
(7.5a.3–6a.5) Two complementary instances—such as Heaven and Earth—can join forces to achieve anything; an isolated instance only causes dysfunctions (cf. 109/177.1a.3–2a.7).
- § 74 (7.6a.6–7a.5) The above principle of duality is universal and necessary to achieve Great Peace (cf. 109/177.2a.7–3a.9).<sup>115</sup>
- § 75 (7.7a.6–b.2) By following the duality principle above, lifespan may be extended and Heaven’s will attained (cf. 109/177.3a.9–b.6).
- § 76 (7.7b.3) On appointment to official positions (cf. 109/178.3b.8–9).  
(7.7b.3–8a.6) A typology of four auspicious events resulting from the appointment of the right people to official positions. (S.4226, VII/109/178)
- § 77 (7.8a.7–b.6) The first inauspicious event in a typology of four provoked by appointing the wrong people to official positions. (S.4226, VII/109/178)  
(7.8b.6–9b.2) The second to fourth inauspicious events provoked by appointing the wrong people to official positions (cf. 109/178.3b.9–4b.7).

113. On the submission of memorials (#1); meditation (##2 and 6); collating texts (#3); the speaker’s text (##4 and 8–9); appointing officials (#5); longevity (##7 and 10); the Metal agent and alcoholic beverages (##11–12).

114. On collecting and correcting writings (##13–15); preventing female infanticide (#16); therapeutic symbols (#17); constancy in the practice of the present text (#18).

115. This summary includes the first three characters of the next section.

- § 78 (7.9b.3–11b.6) Divine bureaucrats watch how men respect or disrespect prohibitions and allot individual lifespan accordingly (cf. 110/179.20b.7–8; 1a.4–2a.8; 18a.7–19a.10).
- § 79 (7.11b.7–12a.9) Heaven values men who have faith, are benevolent, respect prohibitions, and look back with regret on their transgressions (cf. 110/179.11b.8–12a.6; 13a.4–b.1).
- § 80 (7.12a.10–16b.8) Heavenly bureaucratic routines and the promotion of worthy humans to divine official ranks (cf. 110/179.15a.2–8; 16a.10–b.6; 17b.1–2; 2b.10–3a.5; 3a.9–4b.5; 5a.8–b.9; 6a.9–b.2; 7b.9–8b.1; 9b.5–11a.4; 19a.10–20a.2).  
(7.16b.8–18a.6) Major Saints ascend to Heaven to assist the Major God in managing the circulation of bureaucratic documents (cf. 111/180.1a.3–8; 1b.1–2a.5; 2b.3–8; 3a.1–6).  
(7.18a.6–9) People of utmost Virtue are prescient and their bliss extends to their children and grandchildren (cf. 111/181.3b.4).
- § 81 (7.18a.10–19a.9) In the Upper Age, benevolent men followed cosmic cycles, respected prohibitions, and gained immortality (cf. 111/182.6a.6–b.2; 6b.7–7a.4; 8b.5–9a.8).
- § 82 (7.19a.10–b.10) Men of utmost benevolence, whose names are entered on registers of long life, will serve the Major God as retainers (cf. 111/182.10b.9–11a.10; 11b.7–12a.1).  
(7.19b.10–20a.4) Men of utmost knowledge are prescient of heavenly affairs and will be deified to cooperate with the Major God (cf. 111/183.14a.1–8).  
(7.20a.4–20b.1) Men of utmost spirituality may diligently serve the Major God and hold meetings with divinities (cf. 111/184.16b.9–17a.10).  
(7.20b.2–3) End-title of Chapter 112 (cf. 112.23a.8–9).
- § 83 (7.20b.4–21a.4) Incorporeal divine men of Antiquity are contrasted with ordinary men of today, who take themselves for worthies (cf. 112/185.1a.3–b.2; 1b.7–2a.5).
- § 84 (7.21a.5–22a.3) Evildoers have their body infused with malevolent entities dispatched by Heaven to report on them (cf. 112/186.4b.8–5a.8; 6a.10–b.3; 7a.1–3; 7b.7–8a.4).  
(7.22a.3–7) Agreeing with cosmic norms and respecting heavenly prohibitions lead men to establish Great Peace (cf. 112/187.8a.8; 9b.4–5).  
(7.22a.7–23a.5) Gods closely watch men’s behavior and record their deeds in nominal registers (cf. 112/188.11b.6–12a.4; 12a.7–8; 12b.7–8; 13b.1; 14a.2–7; 15b.9–10; 16a.6–7).  
(7.23a.5–25a.5) These nominal registers are kept by the Director of Observations (cf. 112/190.19b.10–20a.5; 20a.8–b.7; 21a.2–7; 21b.1–10; 22a.3–b.4; 23a.4–7).  
(7.25a.5–27a.9) Joy (Yang) is opposed to anger (Yin).<sup>116</sup> The five musical notes and their correspondences (cf. 113/191.1a.3–7; 1a.9–3b.10; 4a.4–9).  
(7.27a.9–b.2) The speaker’s Way is the faith of red (Great Yang, and the true color of Heaven) and green (color of humaneness). (S.4226, VII/115/204)
- § 85 (7.27b.3–30a.4) Great Peace demands that joy (Yang) prevail and that the use of force and punishment (Yin, like anger) be abandoned. (S.4226, VII/115/205)
- § 86 (7.30a.5–31a.3) Joy (Yang), like Heaven, should occupy a high position while filial piety (Yin), like Earth, should obediently remain below. (S.4226, VII/115/205?)

116. In this summary and the subsequent ones, *yue* 樂 means alternately “joy,” “music,” or both.

- § 87 (7.31a.4–32a.4) The Three August Ones converted men by the Way; the Five Emperors by Virtue; the Three Kings by texts or civility; and the Five Hegemons by the martial. (S.4226, VII/115/205?)
- § 88 (7.32a.5–b.8) The Way of Heaven is completing a major revolution and has sent the speaker to convert everyone to joy and benevolence. (S.4226, VII/115/205?)  
(7.32b.8–9) End-title of Chapter 116 (cf. 116.16b.6–7).  
(7.32b.9–33a.8) A great joy results from people uniting their will, whereas disunity and bitterness can only produce ill effects. (S.4226, VII/116/206)  
(7.33a.8–34a.4) The ruler should unite with the natural cycles of pneumata according to the direction the Northern Dipper points at (cf. 116/204.1a.4–b.2; 1b.10–2b.3).<sup>117</sup>
- § 89 (7.34a.5–36a.8) Rules for playing the five musical notes, with their cosmic correspondences (cf. 116/204.4a.4–7; 4b.1–5b.9; 6a.6–b.10; 7a.4–b.2).<sup>118</sup>
- § 90 (7.36a.9–38a.8) Definition of six phases in the cycle of pneumata and of their cosmic repercussions (cf. 116/204.7b.5–8b.5; 9b.2–3; 11a.1–b.9; 12b.8–13b.5; 15a.3–b.6).  
(7.38a.8–b.6) Since the origin of the universe, the number of benevolent men who meet Heaven's will has constantly been decreasing (cf. 117/207.1a.3–9; 1b.4–9).  
(7.38b.6–40b.3) On four conducts befouling the Way of Heaven<sup>119</sup> (cf. 117/208.2b.10–3a.9; 3b.4–6; 4a.3–6; 5b.9–6a.10; 6b.4–10; 8a.10–b.4; 9a.5–7; 13a.9–b.5).  
(7.40b.3–41a.4) Burning mountain forests is prohibited because the Fire agent, mountains, and roots all correspond to Great Yang (cf. 118/209.1a.5–7; 1b.4–2a.9).
- § 91 (7.41a.5–10) Any Yang instance needs a Yin counterpart, for Yang alone would soon become extinct (cf. 118/209.2a.9–b.5).  
(7.41a.10–b.10) Being the Yin component of the Wood agent, grass from flatland fields may be burned to prevent an excess of Yin (cf. 118/210.2b.10–3a.9; 3b.4–7).  
(7.41b.10–42a.7) Those who infringe the seasonal ordinances are cross-examined by divine bureaucrats on a periodic basis and punished accordingly (cf. 118/211.4a.2–5; 4a.7–b.1).  
(7.42a.7–43a.1) As the Way of Heaven completes a major revolution and begins anew, pure Yang must rule unhindered by punishment (Yin) (cf. 119/212.2b.3–3a.7; 4b.1–6).  
(7.43a.1–7) Benevolent people are appropriate for the Way as rain and wind are for the growth of agricultural products (cf. 119/213.6b.5–10; 7a.2–3).

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- § 92 (8.1a.2–2a.2) Dietary rules for decreasing solid food intake to one meal a day, limiting liquid food intake, and practicing feeding on pneuma. (S.4226, VIII/120/214?)
- § 93 (8.2a.3–3a.8) On using astronomical prognostication to rescue the ruler, or one's parents, by preventing inauspicious events. (S.4226, VIII/121/215?)  
(8.3a.8–4a.4) On the all-pervading book to be compiled by extracting the best contents from all texts authored by saints and sages past and present. (S.4226, VIII/122/216?)

117. This summary includes the first column of the next section.

118. This summary includes the first two columns of the next section.

119. Not to be filial, not to procreate, to ingest manure, and to beg.

- (8.4a.4–b.8) “Collected pneumata of the three Ways” 三道集氣 (cf. S.4226, VIII/123/217) are memorials written by commoners and collected by local officials.
- § 94 (8.4b.9–5a.4) Promptness and slackening exist in Heaven—as the timeliness of, or delay in, meteorological phenomena shows—as well as in the human realm. (Unidentified unit)
- (8.5a.4–6a.3) “There is a Son of Heaven in everyone’s abdomen” 凡人腹中各有天子 (cf. S.4226, VIII/124/218) describes a longevity practice based on visualizing the organ heart.<sup>120</sup>
- (8.6a.3–9a.6) “Kinship and affinity” 親屬兄弟 (cf. S.4226, VIII/126/220) explains that all things belong to a determined category and attract things of the same category.
- § 95 (8.9a.7–b.1) “People who in their lifetime are unable to support their parents with all their might” 凡民生不能盡力養父母 (cf. S.4226, VIII/128/224) are reprobates.
- § 96 (8.9b.2–10a.7) “To result not in cunning utterances but in achieving merit” 不效巧言乃效成功 (cf. S.4226, VIII/127/221). On driving away disasters provoked by deceitful officials.
- § 97 (8.10a.8–b.10) All documents issued by Heaven, divine entities, and superior men are words enabling mankind to restore cosmic order. (S.4226, VIII/127/222?)
- § 98 (8.11a.1–13a.9) This text was inspired in the speaker by Heaven. Congruent with the universe, it will drive away all its dysfunctions. (S.4226, VIII/129/225?)
- § 99 (8.13a.10–b.8) Man cannot hide good or evil from Heaven and Earth, because he lives between both and is the product of their joined pneumata. (S.4226, VIII/129/227?)
- § 100 (8.13b.9–14b.4) Blessed by Heaven are wise, rich, or strong men who support unwise, poor, or weak men, instead of deceiving them. (S.4226, VIII/130/230?)
- § 101 (8.14b.5–15a.5) Heaven rewards the benevolent with lifespan units left unused by the growing number of untimely deaths. (S.4226, VIII/128/223? VIII/130/231?)
- § 102 (8.15a.6–16a.4) The advent of Great Peace exalts Yang, preventing the ominous effects of accumulated Yin, such as weapons. (S.4226, VIII/131/234?)
- § 103 (8.16a.5–b.2) Transcending generations requires reaching the major gods by the major Way, while average and minor ways only lead to lower gods. (S.4226, VIII/132/240?)
- § 104 (8.16b.3–17a.8) Superior and average men get presents and awards while lower men, who are comparable to empty seeds, receive nothing. (S.4226, IX/133/245?)
- § 105 (8.17a.9–10) On the value of the Way of Great Peace and the effects one may expect from its text. (S.4226, VIII/133/246?)
- § 106 (8.17b.1–6) “To select and promote” 選舉 (cf. S.4226, VIII/133/247) explains that, in order to reach Great Peace, the nomination of civil servants must conform to the constellations.
- § 107 (8.17b.7–18a.9) At each cosmic level, official lodgings and courier stations feed, clothe, and accommodate all categories of divine beings. (S.4226, VIII/134/251)
- § 108 (8.18a.10–b.9) On the six auspicious positions of pneuma in front of the monthly determinant and the six inauspicious positions behind it.<sup>121</sup> (S.4226, VIII/135/253)

120. “Illustrations” 圖畫 (8.5b.8) might point to another unit title (S.4226, VIII/125/219?).

121. The monthly determinant corresponds to the direction the Northern Dipper points at during its apparent rotation.

- (8.18b.10–19b.7) To keep the body gods and quintessential pneumata within oneself constantly avoids disease, aging, and death. (S.4226, VIII/136/258?)
- § 109 (8.19b.8–20a.1) “Striving to study to revert to the breathing of spontaneity” 力學反自然之氣 (cf. S.4226, VIII/136/257) refers to a practice of long life.

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- § 110 (9.1a.2–b.6) Ordinary men, as well as some gods, believe their fate to be in their own hands, whereas Heaven has the power to execute them. (S.4226, IX/137/262?)
- § 111 (9.1b.7–2b.4) The universe being half good (Yang) and half evil (Yin), the ruler must promote benevolence for evil to be rejected. (S.4226, IX/137/263? IX/144/287?)
- § 112 (9.2b.5–3a.5) It is the merit achieved by wise, enlightened, sage, eloquent, courageous, and strong men that is significant, not their supposed abilities. (S.4226, IX/137/264)
- § 113 (9.3a.6–b.2) The condition of living beings depends on the ruler, his consort, and the high ministers assuming the functions of generation, nutrition, and completion.
- § 114 (9.3b.3–4a.2) The Way helps the ruler because he is solitary—like the Polar Star, around which all stars rotate<sup>122</sup>—and weak—like a child.<sup>123</sup> (S.4226, IX/141/276)
- § 115 (9.4a.3–6b.10) This text appears because Heaven wants the Way to be practiced but men still have no faith in Great Peace. Deficient functions of generation, nutrition, and completion harm living beings. (S.4226, IX/141/277? IX/139/270? IX/139/272?)
- § 116 (9.7a.1–7) The gods residing in the heart, the essence in the kidneys, and the manes in the liver encourage their host’s inclination towards good or evil. (S.4226, IX/140/274)
- § 117 (9.7a.8–8a.8) The pneuma of Great Peace ensures good harvests. The phases in the cycle of pneumata depend on the monthly determinant. (S.4226, IX/140/275? IX/142/278?)
- § 118 (9.8a.9–b.8) On the beginning of four sorts of Way (august, imperial, royal, and hegemonic) according to the calendars of Heaven and Earth. (S.4226, IX/143/282?)
- § 119 (9.8b.9–9a.9) At birth, Heaven confers on men the longevity of the Way and Earth the richness of Virtue. The ruler may confer emolument and clothing. (S.4226, IX/143/283)
- § 120 (9.9a.10–9b.9) Music, the language of the universe, whose feelings it expresses, may provoke the auspicious or the ominous as human speech does. (S.4226, IX/151/310?)
- § 121 (9.9b.10–10b.8) On the number of chapters in the *Great Peace Scripture* (170) as being based on cosmological and numerical considerations. (S.4226, IX/143/284?)

122. Similar comparison in the *Lunyu* 論語, 2.1; see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1 (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), part II, “Confucian Analects,” 9.

123. Partly reminiscent of the *Laozi* 老子; see *Daode zhenjing* 道德真經, CT 664, 2.2a, 11b and 12a.

- § 122 (9.10b.9–11a.2) Unlike other innumerable writings of the world, this text, when practiced by the ruler, will prove effective in suppressing disasters. (S.4226, IX/137/265?)
- § 123 (9.11a.3–b.3) As men lost the knowledge of inner visualization, Heaven sent wise men to rule in conformity with the celestial phenomena. (S.4226, IX/140/273?)  
(9.11b.3–14a.6) On the divine bureaucracy ruled by the Lord of Heaven and its archives kept in the Hall of Light. (S.4226, IX/146/290–96)
- § 124 (9.14a.7–14b.4) The Way of Heaven declines as the texts of the wise that are no longer understood are discarded. (S.4226, IX/138/266? IX/147/297?)
- § 125 (9.14b.5–9) As humans strayed from the Way, Heaven issued certificates, which saints transcribed into texts and masters transmitted. (S.4226, IX/147/298)
- § 126 (9.14b.10–15b.5) The ruler should simply meditate on the Way in the morning, on Virtue during the day, and on humaneness at dusk. (S.4226, IX/148/299? IX/143/285?)
- § 127 (9.15b.5–16b.2) On five governmental models corresponding to the five phases in the cycle of pneumata—dominant, assistant, etc. (S.4226, IX/148/300)
- § 128 (9.16b.3–17a.6) When certain signs show that Heaven is angry, the ruler should search for hidden men of the Way, of Virtue, and of humaneness. (S.4226, IX/148/301?)
- § 129 (9.17a.7–b.9) On the three principles defining a Lord of Great Peace: the Way, Virtue, and humaneness. (S.4226, IX/148/301)  
(9.17b.9–18a.7) On some features of the Lord of Heaven and the Major God, incorporeal heavenly entities made of accumulated pneumata. (S.4226, IX/149/302?)
- § 130 (9.18a.8–b.8) On Yin/Yang, man and woman, lord and minister (etc.) as being “two halves” producing together unity, which is a universal principle. (S.4226, IX/150/304)
- § 131 (9.18b.9–19a.5) Heaven has the speaker produce this text because the numerous writings of contemporaries fail to stop ominous events lastingly. (S.4226, IX/151/309)
- § 132 (9.19a.6–b.9) Preserving the unity of the person—i.e., preventing essence and body gods from leaving it—ensures longevity. (S.4226, IX/153/315)

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- § 133 (10.1a.2–8) Definition of the Way of Grand Conformity as being writings of the divine Way, texts scrutinizing facts, and the rejection of frivolous records. (S.4226, I/1/1?)
- § 134 (10.1a.9–2b.2) “Method: The divine men, Perfected, saintly, and wise men contemplate by themselves what may be done and what should not” 神人真人聖人賢人自占可行是與非法 (cf. S.4226, I/1/1) states that men of the past knew what was auspicious and inauspicious.
- § 135 (10.2b.3–3a.7) Of the three sorts of books mentioned in § 133, frivolous records are the remotest from the origin, which should constantly be preserved. (S.4226, I/1/1?)
- § 136 (10.3a.7–4b.4) “Method: To drive away the ominous” 却不祥法 (cf. S.4226, I/2/2) deals with a meditation on the pneumata of the Four Seasons and the Five Agents.
- § 137 (10.4b.5–5b.1) “Method: A vigorous person drives away calamities” 盛身却災法 (cf. S.4226, I/3/3) deals with preserving body gods to ensure longevity (120, 80, or 60 years).

- § 138 (10.5b.2–6a.2) “To meditate on the origin and correct practice” 思本正行 (cf. S.4226, I/4/4) states that, like Heaven and Earth, one should never stray from the origin.
- § 139 (10.6a.3–b.4) “Method: Analyzing [one’s] physical configuration [to make] perverseness eliminate itself and cleanse personal conduct” 分別形容邪自消清身行法 (cf. S.4226, I/15/15) are guidelines for a visualization practice to fulfill or increase one’s lifespan.
- § 140 (10.6b.5–10) “Method: Communicating with divinities and transcending generations and hazards” 通神度世厄法 (cf. S.4226, I/5/5) defines three levels in the study of the Way.
- § 141 (10.7a.1–b.7) “Method: Knowing by oneself wisdom and unworthiness” 賢不肖自知法 (cf. S.4226, I/6/6) defines six levels of study leading from ignorance to deification.
- § 142 (10.7b.8–8a.5) “Method: In one day to prolong [one’s life] mandate and have barbarians prostrate themselves [in submission]” 一(日)[日]延命夷狄自伏法 (cf. S.4226, I/7/7) deals with the spontaneity and efficiency of the Way of Grand Conformity.  
(10.8a.5–b.1) “To cultivate the texts of antiquity” 修古文 (cf. S.4226, I/8/8) explains how the Three Augusts and the Five Emperors established masters to solve doubts.
- § 143 (10.8b.2–9a.4) “Method: The ruler is without worries” 王者無憂法 (cf. S.4226, I/9/9) states that a ruler following the path of Grand Conformity must reach Great Peace.
- § 144 (10.9a.5–10a.2) “Method: Make [body] gods return and perverseness eliminates itself” 還神邪自消法 (cf. S.4226, I/10/10) deals with preserving the components of the “divine tool” (i.e., the body) in order to stabilize and strengthen one’s person.
- § 145 (10.10a.3–9) “Joining Yin and Yang harmoniously” 和合陰陽 (cf. S.4226, I/11/11) unfolds pairs of opposites illustrating the binary root of the Way, crux of Yin and Yang.
- § 146 (10.10a.10–b.10) “Method: Leading men to longevity and to reign in peace” 令人壽治平法 (cf. S.4226, I/12/12) explains that longevity depends on preserving essence, body gods, and pneuma. Men must rule without interfering with cosmic order.<sup>124</sup>
- § 147 (10.11a.1–b.8) “Method: Solving perplexities [regarding] seven matters” 七事解迷法 (cf. S.4226, I/13/13) states that one’s rule cannot be just virtuous, humane, righteous, ritual, civil, legal, or martial, but should combine all seven components.
- § 148 (10.11b.9–12b.3) “Method: To rescue the four [seas] and to know excellence and mediocrity” 救四[海]知優劣法 (cf. S.4226, I/14/14) explains that the ruler should rule the realm, ministers assist him, and ordinary people take care of their own selves.
- § 149 (10.12b.4–13a.9) “Method: The leaving or staying of every [body] god validates the Way” 是神去留效道法 (cf. S.4226, I/16/16) deals with body gods leaving during sleep.
- § 150 (10.13a.10–14a.1) “Method: Turning the sovereign away from perplexity” 救迷轉帝王法 (cf. S.4226, I/17/17) states that the ruler must be taught the Way of Great Peace.

124. This section may be compared with the first verse of the Secret Directives (*Taiping jing shengjun mizhi*, CT 1102, 1a; translation in Espeset, “Les *Directives secrètes*,” 33–34).



