

2 A Geographical and Symbolic History of Tiantai

Summary 2.1 The Earliest Sources on Mount Tongbai Up to the Song Dynasty. – 2.2 Mount Tongbai and the Tiantai Mountains: Name and Location. – 2.3 Tiantai in the *Tiantai Shan ji*. – 2.4 Religious Features of Tiantai. – 2.4.1 Wangzi Qiao. – 2.4.2 Ge Xuan. – 2.5 Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao. – 2.6 Bo Yi and Shu Qi. – 2.7 Buddhism in Tiantai. – 2.8 Conclusion.

This chapter is devoted to the study of the earliest accounts regarding the Tiantai mountain range and Mt. Tongbai. My purpose here is not to produce a complete review of such sources, but to discuss the most influential texts dealing with this area. This will provide the reader a good understanding of the historical and symbolic importance of the Tiantai mountains, which were already significant in Daoist traditions before the Tang dynasty and became a major Daoist centre from that dynasty onwards.

2.1 The Earliest Sources on Mount Tongbai Up to the Song Dynasty

The Tiantai Mountains are mentioned in a number of ancient sources. What is probably the earliest instance can be found in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經, a text compiled between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD:

In a very remote place there is a mountain called High Mount Tiantai. Seawater reaches its interior.¹

大荒之中有山名曰天臺高山。海水入焉。

The *Shanhai jing* is an atlas of sacred geography, a record of all the gods inhabiting the world. Its entries are grouped into different sectors according to the cardinal directions and to the distance of each place from the centre of the realm: Mt. Tiantai belongs to the lands beyond the outer seas, which were regarded as marking the boundaries of known dry lands. The significance of this excerpt is controversial not merely because the geography of the *Shanhai jing* is filled with religious symbolism that may render a strictly geographical interpretation of the text superfluous, but also because the ancient and composite origin of the text poses some serious problems in terms of the direct correlation between its toponymy and the one used after the 7th century. This is especially true because Mt. Tiantai is included in one of the chapters devoted to the remote lands beyond the four seas surrounding the known world, lands whose features are necessarily hazy and which fall outside the Chinese territory. If this Mount Tiantai is actually located in faraway or even mythical lands, then it cannot be related to the subject of this book. If we understand the *Shanhai jing* as a description of a narrower area encompassed within the borders of contemporary China – as some scholars have done – then it is still not possible to find much correspondence between the two mountains. For these reasons, although the presence of Mt. Tiantai in the *Shanhai jing* would be historiographically very significant, I would rather adopt a more cautious approach and take the possibility of simple homonymy into consideration.

The first historically reliable mention of the Tiantai Mountains in a religious context comes from the tradition of Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-363). This is also the most ancient and verifiable connection between the mountains and a ‘Daoist’ tradition.² In the ‘Golden Elixir’ 金丹 section of his *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (The Master who Embraces Simplicity), Ge writes:

According to the scriptures of the transcendents, [Daoists] can meditate and produce the medicine of immortals together at Mt. Hua, Mt. Tai [...] the Big and Small Tiantai mountains, Mt. Si-

¹ *Shanhai jing* 15:5a. Cf. Gong, “Songdai Zhejiang diqu de dongtian fudi”, 49-51; Ren, “Tiantai Shan dongtian fudi”, 50-3.

² I hesitate to use the term ‘Daoist’ here, since Ge Hong did not envision himself as part of a Daoist tradition in the modern sense of the expression.

wang, Mt. Gaizhu, Mt. Guacang [...] On all these mountains there are orthodox gods and sometimes earth transcendents.³

按仙經，可以精思合作仙藥者，有華山、泰山 [...] 大小天臺山、四望山、蓋竹山、括蒼山 [...], 此皆是正神其山中，其中或有地仙之人。

The Big and Small Tiantai mountains, along with the Siwang, Gaizhu and Guacang mountains, can all be found in later gazetteers that deal with the Tiantai area, and this confirms the correspondence between the above text and the geographical area we are discussing. Therefore, the significance of the Tiantai area for self-cultivation within the context of southern Chinese theology had already been established by the late 3rd / early 4th century. It is probable that this information was not invented by Ge Hong, but that he was relating and systematising older traditions, religious and technical knowledge that was rooted in the ancient past of the region and that, for the most part, is unfathomable to us today.

The prominent position of Tiantai within the sacred geography of the 4th century is substantiated in a quotation from Xu Lingfu's 徐靈符 (ca. 760-841) *Tiantai Shan ji* 天台山記 (Record of Mt. Tiantai; 9th century) and that this text attributes to Gu Kaizhi's 顧愷之 (Gu Changkang 長康; 345-406) *Qimeng ji* 啟蒙記 (First [Lessons] for Beginners). This work, which scholars suppose to be a reading and writing handbook for children,⁴ is now lost, although it partially survives in quotations found in later texts, most notably the encyclopaedic work of the 10th century *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽. The citation in the *Tiantai Shan ji* states:

The Tiantai Mountains are located in the middle of the five counties of Guiji Commandery. It is not far from the human world. The path [first] crosses a waterfall and then the You Brook, reaching Mount Zhe. The You Brook is in Tangxing County. It originates 20 *li* eastward, from Hua Peak, and it flows south-east of Mount Fenghuang. [...] In front of the peak there is a stone bridge. After dozens of steps, one arrives at the Jueming Ravine: in order to cross it, one must not fear for one's life. Those who succeed can see the Tiantai Mountains, lush and beautiful, soaring above the sky. [Here, there] are the Qiong Towers, the immortals' abodes, the Li Spring, transcendents' items and uncommon flora and fauna. Sometimes one

³ Wang, *Baopuzi neipian xiaoshi*, 85. See also 106-7 fnn. 271-2, 288. The text can also be found in the *Daoist Canon: Baopuzi neipian* (DZ 1185), 4:19b-20a. The edition by Wang Ming uses '臺' in the context of non-simplified characters, but the character generally used by the people of Tiantai today is '台' (pronounced *tāi*), as demonstrated by the canonical version of the text.

⁴ On this, cf. Knechtges, Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature*, 285-6.

can see them. [Travellers] sometimes happen to see [this place]. [Even if] they cut trees in order to mark the way and later search for it again, they cannot find again the route.⁵

天台山在會稽郡五縣界中。去人境不遠。路經瀑布次經猶溪，至于浙山。猶溪在唐興縣。東二十里發源。自花頂，從鳳凰山東南流。[...] 岭前有石橋。遙望不盈尺長。數十步臨絕溟之澗，忘其身者然後能度。度者見天台山。蔚然凝秀。雙嶺於青霄之上。有瓊樓、玉堂、瑤琳、醴泉、仙物、異種。偶或有見者，當時斫樹記之，再尋，則不復可得也。

It should be noted that the authenticity of the entirety of this excerpt can be disputed based on a series of facts. First of all, as anticipated, this work is not extant, although we can find some references to the *Qimeng ji* that partially correspond to the quotation above in a series of texts: *Taiping yulan*, *Chicheng zhi* 赤城志 (Gazetteer of [Mt.] Chicheng; 1223) and *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature; 520s). Almost half of the excerpt can be found, with minor changes, in the *Taiping yulan*, where its original source is indicated as *Qimeng ji zhu* 啟蒙記注 (Annotations on First [Lessons] for Beginners): it is not possible, though, to the best of my knowledge, to determine what belongs to the main text and what to the commentary, which impedes any decision on the attribution of this text to Gu Kaizhi himself. More importantly, the excerpt in the *Tiantai Shan ji* mentions Tangxing County: according to Xu Lingfu himself and to the *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志 (Gazetteer of Zhejiang [Province]), a work from the Qianlong era (1735-1796), Tangxing is the name that Tiantai County received during the Shangyuan 上元 era (674-676), more than 200 years after Gu Kaizhi passed away.⁶ We can conclude that the passage quoted in the *Tiantai Shan ji* has some interpolations and does not come directly from the *Qimeng ji*, although Xu Lingfu considers the whole excerpt as a quotation from that text, as argued also by Usui Shunji 薄井俊二.⁷ Most troubling perhaps is the fact that extant references to the *Qimeng ji* fail to report the last period dealing with the supernatural character of the path into the Tiantai Mountains, which does not allow me to determine whether this was actually discussed in Gu Kaizhi's work. If this passage reproduces the content in the *Qimeng ji*, with minor interpolations, then it is valuable proof of the importance of this area within the supernatural geography of the region. Mt. Tiantai therefore constituted an organic system that was near civilisation, yet separate from it, both geographically and ontologically. To reach it, travellers had to follow

⁵ *Tiantai Shan ji* 1b-2a.

⁶ *Tiantai Shan ji* 2a; *Zhejiang tongzhi* (QL) 4:18a.

⁷ Usui, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, 300.

a long and dangerous road, at the end of which they could finally witness a marvellous sight. This place, inhabited by supernatural and elusive beings, encompassed both powerful natural forces and supernatural features. Perhaps, the best known early description of the Tiantai Mountains as a sacred landscape is 'You Tiantai Shan fu' 遊天台山賦 (Rhapsody on Roaming Mt. Tiantai) by Sun Chuo 孫綽 (320-371).⁸ This work is considered the earliest literary celebration of these mountains, although, as discussed above, their name does appear in earlier texts. Presently, it is one of the few complete works by Sun Chuo in our hands and it has been preserved in the 6th century literary anthology *Wen xuan*. This rhapsody possesses different interpretive levels: on the surface, it describes the ascent of the Tiantai Mountains by the poet, but it can also be read as the portrayal of the persona's mystical experience of union with the absolute. The rhapsody famously begins with the following words:

The Tiantai Mountains are indeed the divine excellence of [all] mountains and peaks. Traverse the sea and there are the Fangzhang and Penglai [islands], on land the Siming and Tiantai [rangers]. Both are [places where] the mystic sages roamed and transformed [themselves], where numinous transcendents dwell in caverns. Their high and pinnacled demeanour and their auspicious beauty, is the apex of the jewelled wealth of mountains and seas, achieves the highest ornate finery of men and gods. They are not included among the Five Peaks and have never been recorded in the ancient records: is it not simply because they stand in a dark and hidden place and their road is secluded and remote? Or is it [because they] cast their inverted image in the double deep, or hide [their] summits amid the thousand ranges? Setting out, one travels paths of sprites and monsters and ends by treading regions without men. In the whole world, few can mount or climb [them], and of kings none has offered prayer or sacrifice [there]. Therefore accounts are missing in the ordinary documents, [but] their name figures in unconventional records. Yet, how can the appearance of maps and pictures be unfounded? Except for those leaving the world to revel in the Way, abandoning the grains to eat wild mushrooms, who could lightly rise and dwell there? Except for those distantly dismissing and intuitively probing, those sincerely and trusting communing with the gods, who would dare to recall remote [images] and keep [the mountains] in his mind? The reason I urge on my spirit and transport my thoughts, daily chant-

⁸ Sun Chuo's dates of birth and death are unclear. Some hypotheses are: ca. 301-ca. 380 (Derk Bodde); 320-377 (Mano Senryū 問野潛龍); ca. 310-397 (Richard Mather) as the latest year of birth and earlier year of death. Mather, "The Mystical Ascent of the T'ient'ai Mountains", 226 fn. 2.

ing and nightly rising, is that in the interval between a downward and an upward glance, it seems that I ascend them a second time. So I cast off all circling bonds, forever taking refuge in this mountain range. Unable to endure extremes of declaiming and thinking, I resort to literary skill to express my feelings.⁹

天台山者，蓋山嶽之神秀者也。涉海則有方丈、蓬萊，登陸則有四明、天台。皆玄聖之所遊化，靈仙之所窟宅。夫其峻極之狀，嘉祥之美，窮山海之瑰富，盡人神之壯麗矣。所以不列於五嶽，闕載於常典者，豈不以所立冥奧，其路幽迥？或倒景於重溟，或匿峰於千嶺？始經魑魅之塗，卒踐無人之境。舉世罕能登陟，王者莫由禋祀。故事絕於常篇，名標於奇紀。然圖像之興，豈虛也哉！非夫遺世翫道，絕粒茹芝者，烏能輕舉而宅之？非夫遠寄冥搜，篤信通神者，何肯遙想而存之？余所以馳神運思，晝詠宵興，俛仰之間，若己再升者也。方解纓絡，永託茲嶺。不任吟想之至，聊奮藻以散懷。

In this text, Sun Chuo confirms that the Tiantai Mountains were not encompassed in official cults, but were nonetheless central in exotic and quite mysterious religious activities, probably of local origin.

In addition to these pieces of evidence we find other, slightly later sources that testify to the growing religious significance of the area, such as those related to the Shangqing 上清 revelations. These were received by a certain Xu Mi 許謐 (303-373) from a series of *zhenren* 真人 (perfected), most notably the female Perfected Wei Huacun 魏華存 (*zi*: Shen'an 腎安; *hao*: Nanyue furen 南嶽夫人; 251-334), a deified libationer belonging to the tradition of the Heavenly Masters.¹⁰ Notes on these revelations are collected in the *Zhengqao* 真誥 (499), edited by Tao Hongjing. This scripture frequently mentions Mt. Tongbai, often in relation to the Perfected Tongbai 桐柏真人, better known as Wangzi Qiao 王子喬 (sometimes – wrongly – written as Wang Ziqiao) or Wangzi Jin 王子晉, the son of King Ling of Zhou 周靈王 (571-545 BC). This Mt. Tongbai – regardless of whether it coincides with the Tongbai where the present-day Tongbai Palace is located – was considered a powerful place, and an appropriate setting for self-cultivation. Two excerpts from the *Zhengqao* allow us to appreciate the significance of this area for those involved in the Shangqing revelations:

⁹ *Wen xuan* 11:4a-5a. The translation is based on Mather, “The Mystical Ascent of the T’ient’ai Mountains”, 234-5 and Sun, “Rhapsody on Roaming the Celestial Terrace Mountains”, 243-5.

¹⁰ The Heavenly Masters are usually considered the first communal religious movement that can be called ‘Daoist’. The history of the Shangqing tradition is actually much more complex than I explained and would require a more extensive discussion than the one I can offer here. More information on the origin and doctrine of the Shangqing revelations, as well as its relation to other traditions, can be found in the relevant entries in Pregadio’s *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* and in Robinet, *Taoist Meditation; Taoism*; Strickman, “On the Alchemy of T’ao Hung-ching”, 123-92.

[In the] Golden Court there is the land of no-death. It is located in the middle of [Mt.] Tongbai and its circumference is 10 li.¹¹

金庭有不死之鄉。在桐柏之中，方圓十里。

The Jinting of Tongbai in [the region of] Yue and the Jinling of Jurong in Wu are blessed places [where one can] cultivate perfection and numinous places [where one can] bring to completion the spirit.¹²

越桐柏之金庭，吳句曲之金陵，養真之福境，成神之靈墟也。

The same source also places these locations within the broader framework of Shangqing cosmology and theology:

The Perfected Wang, sovereign of the Youbi [star], has transmitted this to the Marquis Xu [Mi]: the Morning Emperor of Tongbai said that only the two Jin [i.e. Jinting and Jinling] of Wu and Yue are blessed lands.¹³

右弼王，王真人嚶令密示許侯此，即桐柏帝晨所說，言吳越之境，唯此兩金最為福地者也。

Tao Hongjing's commentary adds:

Because [one] is near the grotto-heaven, [within] the area protected by the sacred perfected [beings], [one] is not touched by the three calamities.¹⁴

既近洞天，神真限衛，故能令三災不幹。¹⁵

Therefore, this place had a special quality to it that was conducive towards the attainment of transcendence and protected practitioners from harm.

¹¹ Zhengao 14:19a-b.

¹² Zhengao 11:5b.

¹³ Zhengao 11:5b.

¹⁴ Zhengao 11:5b.

¹⁵ The concept of three calamities is of Buddhist origin. There exist two lists of calamities, the major ones (*da san zai* 大三災) and the minor ones (*xiao san zai* 小三災). The former consist of fire, water and wind, while the latter consist of conflict (*daobing* 刀兵), pestilence (*jiyi* 疾疫) and famine (*jijin* 飢饉 or *ji'e* 飢餓). Verellen, *Imperilled Destinies*, 102 fn. 13; Ding, *Foxue dacidian*, 304-5.

We may conclude that during the 4th century the importance and sacredness of Tiantai was related to a variety of different aspects. First of all, it was conceived as a place governed and inhabited by supernatural beings related to ancient local traditions and to new revelations, the latter being the product of the lively religious environment of southern China after the fall of the Han dynasty. It was also renowned as a place appropriate for self-cultivation and for the achievement of transcendence. Finally, but in close connection with the other two aspects, Tiantai was also important for its physical, botanical, faunal and mineral features. During the following centuries this place continued to acquire new layers of meaning thanks to the institutionalisation of Daoism and to the systematisation of sacred geography by a number of religious specialists.

According to Tao Hongjing, for example, Mt. Tongbai was a 'blessed land' (*fudi* 福地), a term that originally was not completely distinct from the concept of 'grotto-heaven' (*dongtian* 洞天) and that indicates areas with supernatural characteristics useful for practising self-cultivation and preserving one's life: eventually the two words came to define different categories and were systematised and integrated during the Tang dynasty. By the 10th century, many such places had become part of the larger system encompassing hundreds of different sites.¹⁶ However, as clearly shown by the sources quoted above, the idea that some places in the Tiantai region were endowed with special features that marked them as qualitatively superior from a religious perspective is rooted in very ancient local traditions, of which Ge Hong and the Shangqing revelations are but the earliest historically attested expressions.

By the Tang dynasty, the Shangqing tradition had developed into a major state-sponsored Daoist order. It had also established a foothold on Mt. Tongbai by means of the Tongbai Palace, built for its patriarch Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647-735) under imperial auspices. Sima Chengzhen was the most famous court Daoist of the Tang dynasty and allegedly a descendent of the Sima clan that ruled China during the Jin 晉 dynasty (265-420).¹⁷ A text attributed to him and titled *Shangqing shi dichen Tongbai zhenren zhen tuzan* 上清侍帝晨桐柏真人真圖讚 (Veritable Illustrations with Eulogies of the Attendant to the Celestial Emperor of Shangqing and Perfected of [Mt.] Tongbai; *Zhen tuzan*) presents the biography of the perfected Wangzi Qiao 王子喬. This is divided into 11 scenes, each followed by a picture and a eulogy describing the main stages of Wangzi's life, his apotheosis and his appointment as 'Attendant to the Celestial Emperor' (*shi dichen* 侍帝晨) and as administrator of Mt. Tongbai, as well as his involvement in

¹⁶ Verellen, "The Beyond Within", 265-90.

¹⁷ Refer to the text of the "Tongbai Guan bei" 桐柏觀碑 by Cui Shang 崔尚, found in *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a-7a.

the Shangqing revelations of the Mao Mountains 茅山. The *Zhen tuzan* quotes the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of a Historian) and the *Liexian zhuan*, but it is clearly also inspired by Shangqing texts such as the *Zhengao*. Therefore, it shows that Sima Chengzhen was acquainted with a series of sources dating between the 2nd century BC and the 4th century AD, and that he developed a tradition which had been in existence in some form since the 4th century. His purpose was to extol Wangzi Qiao and to celebrate his own Shangqing order, while at the same time highlighting the importance of Mt. Tongbai and of its Jinting 金庭 (Golden Court).¹⁸ It is not by chance, then, that Mt. Tongbai became one of Sima Chengzhen's early residences.¹⁹ The Shangqing tradition maintained a foothold in the Tiantai area after Sima Chengzhen and at least until the eve of the Song dynasty (see the next chapter).

By the time Xu Lingfu - a 9th-century Daoist and scholar belonging to the Daoist lineage of Sima Chengzhen - wrote his *Tiantai Shan ji*, this area had already become firmly incorporated into a religious landscape that encompassed numerous intersecting layers of meaning.²⁰ The *Tiantai Shan ji* itself confirms this by referring to numerous sacred spots and to the deities inhabiting these mountains, along with the Buddhist and Daoist institutions scattered throughout the region. This work is possibly the oldest extended text entirely devoted to the Tiantai Mountains and its content constitutes the backbone of all the later accounts on this area that were included in the gazetteers. Xu Lingfu is also known as the author of a commentary on the *Wenzi* 文子, the *Tongxuan zhenjing* 通玄真經 (True Scripture of Communion with Mystery; DZ 746), today found in the *Zhengtong daoang* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong [Era]). The latter also contains the *Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu* 南華真經餘事雜錄 (Miscellaneous Documents and Additional Notes on the *Zhuangzi*; DZ 738) that compares different editions of the *Zhuangzi*, including one collated by Xu Lingfu himself.²¹ The main versions of his *Tiantai Shan ji* extant today are found in the *Tangwen shiyi* 唐文拾遺 (Compendium

¹⁸ Verellen, "Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan", 1:424-6. This text is not a "collection of eleven short biographies of Shangqing saints connected with Mount Tongbo", as stated in Kohn, *Seven Steps to the Tao*, 21. The development of the cult of the Daoist immortal Wangzi Qiao was quite complex. On this topic see Bujard, "Le culte de Wangzi Qiao", 115-58.

¹⁹ Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, 13.

²⁰ On Xu Lingfu, cf. *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 3a-4b; *Chicheng zhi* 35:12b. On the *Tiantai Shan ji*, cf. Usui Shunji's seminal study of this text, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, and Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 45-51. Both contain a full translation of the *Tiantai Shan ji*, the first in Japanese and the latter in German.

²¹ The *Daoang* also contains the *Liezi chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen* 列子沖虛至德真經釋文 (Textual Explanations of the *Liezi*; DZ 733), which among its sources also includes a text written in the calligraphy of Xu Lingfu. Cf. Robinet, "Nanhua zhenjing yushi zalu", 2:673-4 and Schmidt, "Liezi chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen", 2:682.

of Tang Prose), the *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書 (Collectanea of Ancient and Lost [Books]) and the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (New Edition of the Buddhist Canon of the Taishō [Era]; T 2096).²² I have employed the edition of the *Tiantai Shan ji* stored in the National Diet Library (*Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan* 国立国会図書館) in Tokyo, which is considered by Usui Shunji as the original edition on which the *Guyi congshu* text is based.²³ Moreover, I have slightly amended my citations of the *Tiantai Shan ji* following Usui's critical edition. The volume in the National Diet Library bears the characters *Anran shu* 安然書, which might be a reference to the Tendai (Tiantai) Buddhist monk Annen 釋安然 (Anran, 841-889?), although it is not possible to determine whether the text was hand copied by him.²⁴

2.2 Mount Tongbai and the Tiantai Mountains: Name and Location

Tongbai (or Tongbo) Palace 桐柏宮 is a Daoist temple located in Tiantai County 天台縣. If we try to reach it today, we will find it to be quite a difficult journey. The city of Tiantai, the administrative centre of the county, does not have an airport, or even a train station. The easiest and cheapest way to reach Tiantai is by bus. Alternatively, one may decide to rent a *mianbaoche* 麵包車 - a small van - or a private car. The nearest airports are those of Hangzhou 杭州 and Ningbo 寧波, respectively located about 150 and 100 km away from Tiantai. Once a visitor has arrived at the bus station, he or she has to rent a taxi; if the visitor is in really good terms with the resident Daoists, the temple will provide a car to drive him or her to the temple. Needless to say, when I first went there, this was not a viable option. In fact, the first time I arrived at the temple it was rather late in the afternoon and I decided to stay at a local hotel. The following morning I was able to reach the temple by taxi in about twenty minutes.

Once one has familiarised oneself with contemporary geography and rationalised toponymy, it is difficult not to ask oneself whether certain places have always had the same names or, conversely, if certain names always corresponded to the same places: I soon learnt

²² Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 45. Thomas Jülch based his study on the *Tangwen shiyi* version, which he considered the most reliable of the three.

²³ Usui, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, 40.

²⁴ Annen is considered to be the founder of Japanese Tendai esotericism. Buswell Jr., Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 49. Usui Shunji states that it is not possible to confirm whether Annen had anything to do with the transcription of this specific copy, even though the paper wrapping (19th century) of the *Tiantai Shan ji* edition stored at the National Diet Library states that it is the 'authentic work' 真蹟 of Annen. Usui, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, 80-1.



Figure 1 Picture of the new Tongbai Palace, built starting in 2007, and of the reservoir, taken from the back of the temple facing the front. Photo by the Author, 2015

that these are very important questions for a scholar of Chinese history. For example, what is referred to as Tongbai Palace today is commonly called *xingong* 新宮 (the new palace) by resident Daoists [fig. 1]. Why so? Because during the second half of the 20th century the temple changed place twice and the present Tongbai Palace was only built at the beginning of the 21st century. The reason for this relocation was the construction of a reservoir in the valley where the most ancient Tongbai Palace had been located.

Historical sources usually state that the Tongbai Palace was built on the Tiantai Mountains during the Tang dynasty (618-907). Although we are used to translating the character *shan* 山 as mountain, in the case of Tiantai and other famous mountains like Wudangshan 武当山 and Maoshan 茅山 it would be more appropriate to understand it as referring to a mountain range, a chain of mountains encompassing many different peaks.²⁵ The first problem we must face, therefore, is to ascertain where the historical sources situate Tongbai Palace.

The Tiantai Mountains are the namesake both of Tiantai County and of Taizhou Prefecture and attempts to explain the origin of the name of these mountains are found in historical sources. The *Chicheng zhi* of the Song dynasty, quoting the *Tiantai Shan ji*, provides three explanations of the name: according to the first one, it is because the

²⁵ Cf. de Bruyn, *Le Wudang Shan*, 8-9. The fact that the name Tiantai Shan 天台山 refers to a massif rather than a single peak is also discussed in Usui Shunji. Usui, *Tendaisan no kenkyū*, 17.



Figure 2 Map of Tiantai County during the Qing dynasty. The red circle marks the position of Mt. Tongbai. *Taizhou fu zhi* “tu”:10b-11a. Harvard College Library Harvard-Yenching Library. <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:14302704?n=41>

Tiantai summits face the *sanchen* 三辰 (Three Celestial Bodies’, i.e. sun, moon and Pole Star), acting as a platform. The second hypothesis explains: “[they] stand between the [constellations of] the Ox and of the Woman, corresponding above to the [constellation of the] Supreme Palace” (*dang niu nü zhi fen, shang ying taisu* 當牛女之分, 上應台宿).²⁶ The ‘Supreme Palace’ is also known as the constellation of the *santai xing* 三台星 (Asterism of the Three Platforms’, made of the Upper, Central and Lower Platform 上中下三台).²⁷ To understand this explanation, we must remember that in traditional Chinese cosmography there existed a direct correspondence between asterisms in the sky and earthly geography. This cosmological viewpoint still influenced the content of late imperial gazetteers.²⁸ The third theory argues: “the Greater and Lesser Tai mountains got their names from the great stone bridge and small stone bridge” (*daxiao tai yi shiqiao daxiao de ming* 大小台以石橋大小得名), two bridges (i.e. platforms) of different sizes.²⁹

²⁶ Cf. “Liu Xuan Liu Penzi liezhuan”, in *Houhan shu*, 472.

²⁷ For a correspondence of these stars with the contemporary astronomical reference system, see Yi, *Zhongxi duizhao hengxing tubiao*, 26-7. Each ‘platform’ is in fact made of two stars.

²⁸ Cf. *Chongxi Fujian Taiwan fu zhi* 37.

²⁹ *Chicheng zhi* 21:1a-b.



Figure 3 Map of Taizhou Prefecture during the Qing dynasty. Tiantai County is in the top left corner. *Taizhou Fu zhi* "tu":1b-2a. Harvard College Library Harvard-Yenching Library. <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:14302704?n=32>

Chinese toponymy started developing quite early, but the denomination of mountain ranges and peaks could change, even frequently, from one era to another. In this case, Tiantai and Tongbai have sometimes been used according to loose rules of attribution as synonyms, although today Mt. Tongbai refers to a specific mountain located in Tiantai County 天台縣 (Taizhou Prefecture 台州市) [fig. 2], in eastern Zhejiang. The county is presently located about 150 kilometres south-east of Hangzhou and more than 60 kilometres north-northwest of Taizhou [fig. 3].

According to the *Zhengao* by Tao Hongjing (456-536), Mt. Tiantai stands 3 li north of the Tiantai county seat:

Mt. Tongbai is 18,000 zhang high and its perimeter is 800 li long. It is made up of eight mountains, without interruptions on the four sides.³⁰

桐柏山，高一萬八千丈，周迴八百里。其山八重，四面如一。

It should be noted that this quotation is copied in later gazetteers where it describes the Tiantai Mountains, but in the *Zhengao* it seems to indicate specifically Mt. Tongbai, or more appropriately, the Tongbai

³⁰ *Zhengao* 14:19a-b, quoted in *Tiantai Shan ji* 1a-b and *Chicheng zhi* 30:5b.

Mountains. The *Tiantai Shan ji* (9th century), quoting the *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (Secret Instructions for the Ascent as a Perfected; DZ 421) by Tao Hongjing, states: “the Greater and Lesser Tai stand in the middle of five counties” (*daxiao Tai chu wuxian zhongyang* 大小台處五縣中央).³¹ The *Tiantai Shan ji* specifies that these counties are: Yuyao 餘姚, Linhai 臨海, Chuxing 處興, Gouzhang 句章 and Shan 剡. Various historical sources, from the Tang dynasty onwards, identify specific places as ‘gates’ to the Tiantai mountain range. Mt. Chicheng 赤城山 in Tiantai County was referred to as the southern gate, Mt. Shicheng 石城山 as the western and the Jinling Abbey 金靈觀 of Shan County 剡縣 as the northern gate, each providing access from a different direction.³²

My use of both ‘Tiantai Mountains’ and ‘Mt. Tiantai’ is not a mistake, but the result of a problem inherent in ancient Chinese toponymy. Today we understand only the three characters *tiantai shan* 天台山 as indicating the Tiantai mountain range, but in the past the word *Tongbai Shan* 桐柏山 was sometimes used as a metonymy, or as a synonym for the entire mountain range. At the same time, *Tongbai Shan* indicated the mountain on which the Tongbai Palace was built, and which belonged to the Tiantai mountain range, but not always. Xu Lingfu stated: “The Tiantai and Tongbai Mountains are connected to each other, therefore there is not much difference [between the two]” (*Tiantai yu Tongbai ershan xiangjie, er xiaoyi ye* 天台與桐柏二山相接，而小異也).³³ However, there seems to be no doubt on Xu Lingfu’s part as on the proper name of the mountain range, because the *Tiantai Shan ji* records:

The prefecture takes its name from the mountains and it is called Taizhou. [The mountain is in] Tangxing county, that was once called Shifeng, but renamed Tangxing in the second year of the Shangyuan 上元 era of Tang Suzong’s 肅宗 reign (761).³⁴

州取名，曰台州。縣隸唐興，即古始豐縣也。肅宗上元二年改為唐興縣。

Tao Hongjing’s *Zhengao* also contains references to Mt. Tongbai, which occupies a very significant place in the author’s doctrine. This

³¹ *Dengzhen yinjue*, quoted in *Tiantai Shan ji* 1a. Of the original 24 *juan* of the *Dengzhen yinjue*, only three survive in the *Daozang*. See Robinet, “Dengzhen yinjue”, 356-7. The Greater and Lesser Tai are mentioned also in earlier texts: see, for example, the quotation of the *Baopuzi* above.

³² *Tiantai Shan ji* 13a, 18b; *Chicheng zhi* 21:5a.

³³ *Tiantai Shan ji* 1b; see also *Chicheng zhi* 21:1b. On Xu Lingfu, see also Cedzich, “Tongxuan zhenjing”, 296-7.

³⁴ *Tiantai Shan ji* 2b.

was not missed by the *Chicheng zhi* of the Song dynasty, that reprises some excerpts from this text:

“The Tongbai Mountains stand on the boundary between the Shan and Linhai counties. They end at the limit of Guiji Prefecture and enter into the Eastern Sea”. Therefore, the mountain ridge extends in this manner across the connected boundaries of three regions. All of it should be called Tongbai [Mountains].³⁵

「桐柏山在剡、臨海二縣之境。一頭在會稽東海際，其一頭入海中。」然則山之綿亘如此三邑接壤。宜皆指為桐柏也。

In the *Zhengao*, then, the expression *tongbai shan* seems to indicate a mountain range that extended across three counties. The confusion between Tiantai and Tongbai is also evident in a sentence from the *Yudi zhi* 輿地志 (Gazetteer of the Empire) quoted in the *Chicheng zhi*:

The Tiantai Mountains, also called Tongbai, are the most excellent among mountains.³⁶

天台山，一名桐柏，眾嶽之最秀者也。

The same gazetteer also contains a quotation from Cui Shang’s 崔尚 (first half of the 8th century) *Tongbai Guan bei* 桐柏觀碑 (Stele of the Tongbai Abbey), which states:

Tiantai is Tongbai, the former being the substitute name, the latter being its real one. These are two different names [that indicate] the same [mountains].³⁷

天台也，桐柏也，代謂之天台真謂之桐柏。此兩者同體而異名。

If we were to follow these excerpts, then, we should use Tiantai and Tongbai almost as synonyms. Usui Shunji theorises that, during a first phase – I would say at least since the 5th century, when the *Zhengao* was edited – both names were employed to indicate the mountain range and later gradually the name Tiantai became more prominent and eventually remained as its only denomination: the *Tiantai Shan ji* is therefore situated at a point of this process in which the confusion between the two names was still present, which is why its author

³⁵ *Chicheng zhi* 40:9a. I could not find this exact sentence in the *Zhengao*, but it is possible to find a similar one in *Zhengao* 14:19a.

³⁶ *Chicheng zhi* 21:1b.

³⁷ *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a.

determined that there was not much difference between calling the mountains Tiantai and Tongbai.³⁸

Finally, it is worth bearing in mind that, according to the *Dengzhen yinjue*, the Tiantai Mountains covered the territory of five counties, suggesting that this was an extended mountain range rather than a single peak, in contrast to the use of 'Tongbai' to indicate a single mountain that is found in other sources. Having discussed the relationship between the terms Tiantai and Tongbai, let us focus on the Tongbai Mountain itself. The *Chicheng zhi* also reports the following description from the *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (Record of the World of the Taiping [Xingguo Era]; 10th century):

Today there is still a Tongbai Village 50 li west of Ninghai, which is in Shan County. Tiantai and Linhai counties both have a Tongbai [Mountain], so the Daoist scriptures state that in the Yue [region] there is a Jinting (the Golden Hall) [Grotto-Heaven] and a Tongbai Mountain that are connected to the Tongbai of Siming [mountains].³⁹

在寧海西五十里，今其地猶有桐柏里，是剡縣。天台、寧海皆有桐柏，然道經云，越有金庭、桐柏與四明天台相連。

Here Mt. Tongbai is even doubled, further complicating our analysis. Indeed, historically there would appear to have been more than one Tongbai Mountain. The *Chicheng zhi*, quoting the *Zhengao*, confirms what we have seen above:

In the Yue region there is the Jinting of Tongbai, today [known as] the Jinting Hermitage, which was built by Shen Yue. The records about this abbey state that [Shen] Yue settled down on the Tongbai Peak and built a mansion that [he] called Jinting. Therefore, this is in the Jinting of Shan [County], also called Tongbai [Hermitage].⁴⁰

「越有桐柏之金庭」，今剡縣金庭館，乃沈約造。本觀記云約定居桐柏嶺，建館曰金庭，則是剡之金庭，亦號桐柏也。

Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), a famous literatus and official, had the opportunity of visiting the area as the head of a delegation of ten

³⁸ Usui, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, 27.

³⁹ *Taiping huanyu ji* 98:12b; *Chicheng zhi* 40:9a. Between the Sui and the Ming dynasties, the length of one li varied between 0,415 and 0,498 Km. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 234 fn. d.

⁴⁰ *Zhengao* 11:5b; *Chicheng zhi* 40:9a.

Daoists on a pilgrimage to the Tiantai Mountains to pray in favour of the Southern Qi 南齊 dynasty. This mission was performed during the reign of Xiao Baojuan 霄寶卷 (r. 498-501) and we have two stele inscriptions by Shen Yue dated 498-501 for two different temples of Tiantai, one of which is the Jinting Hermitage 金庭館 of Mt. Tongbai. In the *Tongbai Shan Jinting Guan bei* 桐柏山金庭館碑 (Stele on the Jinting Hermitage of the Tongbai Mountain), Shen Yue narrates: “The hill to which I have retired is in reality only Mt. Tongbai, the lower capital of the Numinous Sages, the leftover territory of the five counties. [...] The space occupied by Mt. Tongbai is called the Golden Courtyard”.⁴¹ It should be noted, though, that scholars are not unanimous in reading the part in prose as representing Shen Yue’s point of view; for example, Tan Xiaofei advances the possibility that the prose preceding the part in verses, written in first person, actually portrays the point of view of the head priest of the temple.⁴² We also have a poem by Shen Yue, titled ‘Roaming to the Hermitage of the Daoist Priest Shen’ (*You shen daoshi guan* 遊沈道士館): Tan Xiaofei suggests that this Daoist might be one of those inhabiting the temple and was possibly related to Shen Yue himself.⁴³

What I have explained above shows that it is impossible to respect the autochthon toponymy while maintaining a clear denomination of the different geographic features of the area. Therefore, in order to avoid similar ambiguities, in this book I use ‘Tiantai Mountains’ or ‘Tiantai mountain range’ when I wish to consider the whole area occupied by these mountains from Ningbo in the east to Hangzhou in the north and Taizhou in the south. ‘Tiantai’ and ‘Tiantai County’ refer to a region corresponding to the one administered by the county itself. Finally, ‘Mt. Tongbai’ refers to the peak and valley where the Tongbai Palace is (was) located. When translating the sources, instead, I have tried to maintain the denomination they use in order to preserve the original nuances.

2.3 Tiantai in the *Tiantai Shan ji*

The *Tiantai Shan ji* provides a thorough description of the area of Tiantai, explaining its main natural and religious features and determining their relative position. It starts by quoting an excerpt

⁴¹ Mather, *The Poet Shen Yueh*, 123-5. The translation of the stele is based on Mather, *The Poet Shen Yueh*, 124-5, with slight changes. Contrary to Mather, I think that the *wu xian* 五縣 (five counties, that Mather translates as ‘five prefectures’) refer to the five administrative territories into which the Tiantai Mountains extended.

⁴² Tan, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star*, 385 fn. 41.

⁴³ Tan, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star*, 385 fn. 41. For a translation of the poem, refer to Mather, *The Age of Eternal Brilliance*, 1:265.

from the ‘You Tiantai shan fu’ by the celebrated poet and painter Sun Chuo. These lines set the tone for the rest of the gazetteer:

Across the sea there are the Fangzhang and Penglai [islands],
[here] on land there are the Siming and Tiantai [mountains].⁴⁴

涉海則有方丈、蓬萊，登陸則有四明、天台。

The mountains are thus equated with lands inhabited by supernatural beings. The lines are followed by descriptions of Tiantai from a variety of texts, such as Tao Hongjing’s *Zhengao* and *Dengzhen yinjue* and Gu Kaizhi’s aforementioned *Qimeng ji*.⁴⁵ Xu Lingfu himself noticed a few discrepancies between the landscape in his time and historical descriptions of the area, which he actually attributed to the supernatural qualities of the land. One noticeable case is that of the bridge that crosses the You Brook 猶溪 described in the excerpt presented as part of the *Qimeng ji*: Xu Lingfu comments that in his days this watercourse presented no bridges and that, instead, what travellers could see was a bridge 20 li west of Xie Pavilion 歇亭, crossing a river that flowed by Shan County. What is described in the *Qimeng ji*, states the author, is in fact a “supernatural place” (*shenyi zhi suo* 神異之所).⁴⁶

The *Tiantai Shan ji* also provides some general information on the administrative history of the county, its topography and the origin of its name. There is no doubt that the *Tiantai Shan ji* discusses the Tiantai Mountains of Tiantai County (i.e. Tangxing County). Xu Lingfu explains that these mountains border Mt. Siming 四明山 to the north, Jinyun 縉雲 Mountain to the south, the sea to the east and the Shan River 剡川 to the west. The Tiantai Abbey 天台觀 was located 18 li north of the Tangxing county seat, on the southwest side of Mt. Tongbai, under a cliff from which a waterfall issued. The waterfall flowed more than 100 steps southward, then into the Ling Brook 靈溪 and eventually into the great county river, through the Linhai Prefecture 臨海郡.⁴⁷

According to tradition, Tiantai Abbey was built by Sun Quan 孫權 for Ge Xuan 葛玄. Xu Lingfu records that located nearby were an altar to Wang Zhenjun 王真君 (Perfected Lord Wang, i.e. Wangzi Qiao 王子喬) to the north, the Danxia Grotto 丹霞洞 northeast and Cuibing Cliff 翠屏巖 northwest. 150 steps to the east one would first

⁴⁴ *Tiantai Shan ji* 1a.

⁴⁵ On Sun Chuo, see Kroll, “Poetry on the Mysterious”, 230-44. On Gu Kaizhi, see Wan, “Literary Imagination of the North and the South”, 80.

⁴⁶ *Tiantai Shan ji* 1b.

⁴⁷ *Tiantai Shan ji* 4b-5a.

find the former abode of the Prefect of Taizhou Liu Bi 劉泌 (d. 820), called Zixiao shanju 紫霄山居 (Zixiao mountain abode), connected to the north with the Zixiao Peak 紫霄峰, while travelling northeast one would reach the Danxia Grotto 丹霞洞, where Ge Xuan practised alchemy.⁴⁸ Liu Bi, too, took advantage of the extraordinary properties of this place. According to the *Tiantai Shan ji*, when he received his prefectural position in 819, instead of fulfilling his role at the prefectural seat he took up residence at the foot of the mountain and concocted medicines, after which all his family transcended (*xian* 仙) in the Danxia Grotto.⁴⁹

One li west of Tiantai Abbey 天台觀, one would find Pubu Monastery 瀑布寺 (Monastery of the Waterfall), built during the Yuanjia 元嘉 era of the Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty (424-453) by the monk Fashun 法順.⁵⁰ North of this monastery one would find the cliff of the one hundred zhang 百丈巖, under which flowed the Ling Brook that was diverted into the kitchen of the Pubu Temple and then circled around its cloisters (*langyuan* 廊院). South of the monastery there was Mt. Jiufeng 九峰山 (Mountain of the Nine Peaks), located 15 li northwest of the county: the scenery that could be enjoyed from this mountain was reportedly appreciated by the famous Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-361) and Zhi Dun 支遁 (314-366).⁵¹

Ascending the north road from Tiantai Abbey, through ravines and stone steps, after 12 li one would reach the cave gate of Tongbai 桐柏洞門. Next to it there was a small mountain path, about two li long, that ended at Tongbai Abbey, which stood on a modest hill covered in pine trees. In front of the hill there was a plain a few qing long, surrounded

48 *Tiantai Shan ji* 5a. On Liu Bi, cf. *Tiantai Shan ji* 6a-b; Usui, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, 343-4; Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 67 fn. 287.

49 *Tiantai Shan ji* 5a-b. Other sources that discuss Liu Bi's life are the *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝, the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 and *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書. The *Xin Tang shu* gives a different account of the story: Liu Bi was recommended as a *fangshi* 方士, a master of techniques, and for this reason he was able to supply medicines of transcendence (*xianyao* 仙藥) to emperor Xianzong. These were blamed for the latter's psychic instability, which pushed the court eunuchs to commit regicide in 820. Liu Bi was eventually executed together with another alchemist, the Buddhist Datong 大通, under the order of Xianzong's successor, Muzong 穆宗 (r. 821-824). Usui, *Tendaisanki no kenkyū*, 343. As Usui Shunji has noted, the positive depiction of Liu Bi in the *Tiantai Shan ji*, written only a few years after emperor Xianzong's death, conflicts with the version narrated in the later sources: this might reveal that the bad reputation of Liu Bi had not yet spread or developed.

50 Thomas Jülch is unable to identify any monk called Fashun in the 5th century, but remarks that the founder of the Huayan school 華嚴宗, who lived much later (between the Sui and the Tang dynasty), is known by this name. This temple is mentioned in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks) and in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Pearl Forest in the Garden of Dharma), where it is associated with the monk Huida 慧達 of the Sui dynasty. Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 68 fn. 291.

51 *Tiantai Shan ji* 5b-6a; *Chicheng zhi* 21:10a.

by mountains on all four sides. In front of the abbey there were a few qing of cultivated fields and east of it flowed the Qing Brook 清溪: this stream flowed through the fields and to the three wells to the west, until it became a waterfall and finally entered the great country river. Xu Lingfu begins his description of the extraordinary qualities of this place by naming a series of prominent figures associated with it. He describes it as the resting place of deities and perfected beings (*shenzhen zhi suo xiuqi* 神真之所休憩) and as the location revered by the recluses Chao Fu 巢父 and Xu You 許由;⁵² it was also the location where Chu Boyu 褚伯玉 (394-479) cultivated the Way and where Xu Ze 徐則 (510-591) built his retreat, called ‘Central Peak of the Hidden Perfect’ (*yinzhen zhi zhongfeng* 隱真之中峰).⁵³ One li south of the abbey there was a stone altar, where according to tradition Ge Xuan received a revelation from the three perfected of the Supreme Pole (*Taiji sanzhen* 太極三真).⁵⁴ Southwest of the altar there was a stone, on which was engraved the inscription: “Dispatched the revered Xu to bestow the scripture to the revered transcendent at the altar of offering” 使徐公醮壇授仙公經.⁵⁵ In front of the altar there was a pond, called the Pond of the Descended Perfected 降真塘, from which a southbound road departed that after one li reached the *dongmen*.

52 Chao Fu and Xu You appear in Wei Shuqing’s 衛叔卿 biography in Ge Hong’s *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 together with Wangzi Qiao (see below), another transcendent linked to the Tiantai Mountains. Campney, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 273.

53 *Tiantai Shan ji* 6a; Usui, *Tendaishan ki no kenkyū*, 349-55; Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 69 fnn. 302-3. According to the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑿 (DZ 296), Xu Ze retired on Mt. Jinyun 縉雲山 to practice the Way. There, Xu, the Perfected of the Supreme Pole (*Taiji Xu Zhenren* 太極徐真人) manifested himself to him, saying: “When you will be eighty years old, you should become the emperor’s mater and then you will attain the Way”. Thereafter, he went to the Tiantai Mountains to live there. When he was eighty-one years old, he was summoned by the emperor Yang 煬帝 of the Sui dynasty. He eventually went to the stone bridge in Tiantai and left no traces. *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, 29:6b-7b.

54 This event is described in the Lingbao corpus. The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶真一勸戒法輪妙經 (Scripture of the Wheel of the Law to Encourage [Good] and Prohibit [Evil Deeds]; DZ 346) records the revelation of the *Falun jing* 法輪經 to Ge Xuan on the Tiantai Mountains by three perfected, the ‘masters of transmission’ (*dushi* 度師). In fact, another being was present with the role of ‘guarantor’ (*bao* 保) of the transmission: the Perfected of the Supreme Pole (*Taiji zhenren* 太極真人), Xu Laile 徐來勒. Schipper, “Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing”, 1:227; Bokenkamp, “The Early Lingbao Scriptures”, 95-124.

55 According to *Tiantai Shan ji* 9b, the perfected said that his surname was Xu 徐, his *ming* Laile 來勒 and his *zi* Ze 則. Xu Lingfu adds that this person is “unknown” (*wei xiang heren* 未詳何人). Yet, this is clearly the supernatural being who reportedly appeared to Ge Xuan (see previous note). It appears that the figures of Xu Laile and Xu Ze were somehow conflated in this story, although the *Tiantai Shan ji* itself mentions Xu Ze a few pages before: Usui, regarding this passage, comments that ‘Venerable Xu’ is another name for Xu Ze, but it seems to me that it refers in fact to Xu Laile, since the altar and the stone are linked with the transmission of teachings to Ge Xuan (see also note 74). Usui, *Tendaishan ki no kenkyū*, 372. I interpreted *xiangong* 仙公 as a reference to Ge Xuan, also known as Ge Xiangong.

More than one li southwest of the *dongmen* one reached the 'Altar of Perfected Lord Wang' (*Wang Zhenjun tan* 王真君壇), next to a small hall built on imperial orders at the beginning of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713-741), where a statue of Wangzi Qiao was enshrined. In front of the hall there was the 'Li Spring' (*Li Quan* 醴泉) and a few steps to the south one could find the newly built 'Shangzhen Pavilion' (*Shangzhen ting* 上真亭). The main altar was located 20 steps northwest of the hall and during Xu Lingfu's time this was regularly used to pray for auspicious weather to the benefit of the prefecture or of the county; an octagonal altar stood 20 steps east of the hall. Descending the mountain in a northwest direction, after 300 steps one came upon three wells. One was already closed by the 9th century and a local folktale blamed this on a Buddhist nun who had washed her hands in the well. The other two wells were so deep that a man who once tried to measure their depth used up all his fishing line without reaching the bottom. Some said that the wells were connected to the sea, or that there was a karstic spring flowing into it - probably an echo of the above-mentioned description found in the *Shanhai jing*. Xu Lingfu himself, though, stated that it had been impossible to check any of these claims. Nonetheless, this was another place of worship, linked with the seasonal prayers for auspicious weather and with the ritual of tossing the dragons (*toulong* 投龍), which according to the author was most notably celebrated here in the years 683, 737 and 825. Ascending westward for 2 li to the first peak, one would find the Foku Temple 佛窟院, renamed Daoyuan Abbey 道元觀. In front there is the Cuiping Cliff 翠屏巖, that is connected with Mt. Tongbai. Seven li northwest of Tongbai Abbey, instead, the visitor arrived at the 'jade platforms' (*qiongtai* 瓊臺), two peaks that can still be visited today. Five li northeast of Tongbai Abbey stood the Hualin Mountain Dwelling 華林山居, restored at the beginning of the Changqing 長慶 era (821-824) by the Daoist Chen Guayan 陳寡言. Near Tongbai Abbey lay a series of other mountain dwellings, among which there were those called Fangying 方瀛 and Yuxiao 玉霄.⁵⁶

The Tiantai Mountains featured a large number of other significant places, but the two most important ones were probably Mt. Chicheng and the Guoqing Monastery 國清寺. The former was reportedly located 15 li east of Tiantai Abbey. It is described as 300 zhang high, with a perimeter of seven li, and was considered the southern gateway to the Tiantai Mountains. Xu Lingfu recognised the religious importance of this place, noting that state rituals had been held there since antiquity. The Guoqing Monastery was located one li north of the county. It was built in 598 by Emperor Wen 文 of the Sui 隨

⁵⁶ *Tiantai Shan ji* 9b-12b. This version of the *Tiantai Shan ji* reports the name Chen Zongyan 陳宗言, but as noted by Usui, the text refers in fact to Chen Guayan, one of Tian Xuying's disciples together with Xu Lingfu.

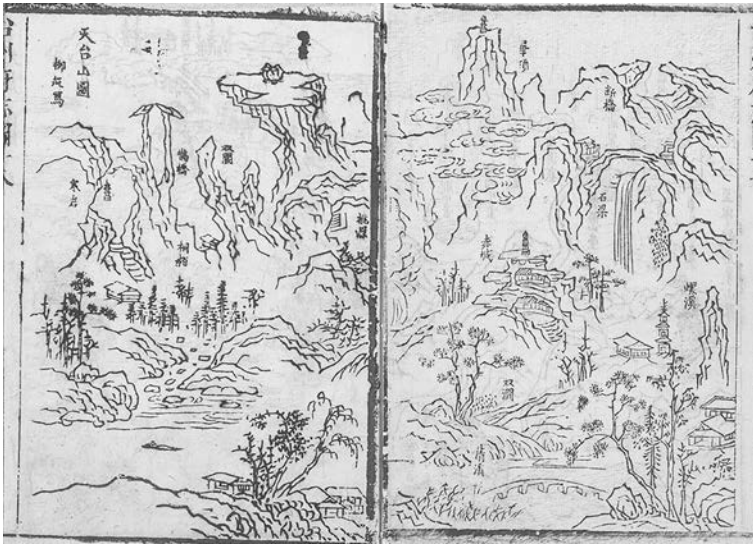


Figure 4 Landscape of the Tiantai Mountains from *Taizhou Fu zhi* 17b-18a. Harvard College Library Harvard-Yenching Library. <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn:3:fhcl:14302704?n=48>

dynasty (r. 581-604) for the Buddhist master Zhiyi 智顛. The fame of this temple was such that Xu Lingfu calls it the first among all Buddhist temples in the empire.⁵⁷

One more noteworthy place that received Xu's attention is the area surrounding Huading Peak 華頂峰, which was considered the highest point of the Tiantai Mountains. This place was associated with Sima Chengzhen's self-cultivation, but also with tales of encounters with transcendent beings. The most famous is the tale of how Liu Chen 劉晨 and Ruan Zhao 阮肇 met supernatural maidens while collecting herbs on the nearby Tianmu Peak 天姥峰 [fig. 4].

2.4 Religious Features of Tiantai

The previous presentation of early sources has offered a glimpse of the complex and multi-layered cultural and religious significance of the Tiantai area up until the end of the Tang dynasty. In what follows I will focus on the most significant elements that contributed to augmenting the importance of Tiantai up until the Song dynasty. I have chosen this dynasty as a watershed because it was during

⁵⁷ *Tiantai Shan ji* 13a-b.

its reign that the symbology and cults associated with Mt. Tongbai began to change. In particular, I will discuss the position of grotto-heavens and blessed lands in Chinese cosmology, the links between some transcendents and famous persons – Liu Chen, Ruan Zhao, Wangzi Qiao and Lord Mao 茅君 – with Chinese culture and the ritual of tossing the dragons.

Mountains in general, but especially those traditionally defined as sacred, were appreciated as solitary places of refuge, remote from civilisation, that could serve as safe havens in times of persecution and turmoil. They also represented a nexus between the ordinary world and qualitatively superior planes of existence, where the trained (or predestined) traveller could find numinous paths for self-cultivation and encounter supernatural beings. Taking into consideration these characteristics, Franciscus Verellen explains that in Daoist culture mountains were envisioned as a ‘place of initiation’, virtually inaccessible to – or even deadly for – ordinary human beings.⁵⁸ Caves were especially significant places in the sacred landscape of China. A cave is an opening to the inside of a mountain and potentially to a realm that obeys different laws from those of ordinary reality: human beings can be turned to stone, can enter from one side of the empire and come out into another on the same day, spend a few days in the cave when outside many decades have passed, or even be trapped within the cave itself.⁵⁹

The Song dynasty *Chicheng zhi* quotes the famous calligrapher and poet Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-361):

Between Tiantai and Linhai there are many golden platforms, immortals’ abodes, transcendents, numinous mushrooms and plants.⁶⁰

[王羲之書云]自天台至臨海，多有金臺、玉室、仙人、芝、草。

This source describes a number of caves, peaks and other places associated with the supernatural. Not all practitioners agreed on the reality and significance of mountain paradises. For example, Ge Hong, who was a committed proponent of alchemical methods for achieving transcendence, was also very critical of those who claimed to have visited supernatural areas in the mountains and to have met there transcendents and other supernatural beings.⁶¹

58 Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 268-9.

59 Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 269. Cf. especially the quotation of the *Maojun zhuan* 678:4b; *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳 (The Esoteric Life of the Perfected of the Purple Yang; DZ 303) dated to the Six Dynasties (399?) and the *Zhengao* itself.

60 *Chicheng zhi* 21:14b.

61 Wang, *Baopuzi neipian xiaoshi*, 345-51. Cf. Bokenkamp, “The Peach Flower Font”, 71.

Although it is impossible to determine the exact origin of the idea of grotto-heavens, it certainly underwent a profound development within the context of the Shangqing revelations, between the 4th and the 5th century, when we find numerous references to the concept of 36 grotto-heavens.⁶² According to the most mature systematisation, they may be arranged into two groups of ten and 36 grotto-heavens: the first group is that of ‘major grotto-heavens’ (*da dongtian* 大洞天), the second one that of ‘minor grotto-heavens’ (*xiao dongtian* 小洞天). Grotto-heavens are often discussed in combination with the 72 ‘blessed lands’ (*fudi*, also ‘auspicious’ or ‘blissful’ land, ‘paradise’).⁶³ This complete and mature systematisation was proposed for the first time by Sima Chengzhen in his *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Plan of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences; DZ 1032, early 8th century?). It seems that the formation of the system of 36 grotto-heavens preceded that of the ten greater grotto-heavens, which first appears in our sources in the 4th and 5th century, whereas the two series are probably mentioned together for the first time in the *Qiyu xiuzhen zhengpin tu* 七域修真證品圖 (Diagram Demonstrating the Hierarchy of Degrees of the Practice of the True [Dao] and of the Seven Regions [of Immortals]; DZ 433), dated later than the 5th century.⁶⁴

Zhejiang is one of the regions with the highest density of these so-called grotto-heavens. The fact that Sima Chengzhen was very familiar with the mountains of Zhejiang Province could account, at least partially, for this. In his *Tiandi gongfu tu* the greater grotto-heavens are defined as *shangtian qian qunxian tongzhi zhi chu* 上天遣群仙統治之所 (places administered by the transcendents dispatched by the superior heaven) and *chu tiandi mingshan zhi jian* 處天地名山之間 (located within the famous mountains of the universe) and the 36 lesser grotto-heavens receive similar definitions.⁶⁵ The blessed lands, instead, are said to be administered by the perfected and most of them are places where the Way can be obtained.⁶⁶

Today, Zhejiang contains the following 12 sacred places among those listed in the *Tiandi gongfu tu*:

⁶² Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 275-6.

⁶³ The meaning of *dongtian* and *fudi* and the relative theories were initially heterogeneous and unsystematic. In general, *dongtian* seems to refer to an underground paradise or ‘utopia’, while *fudi* indicates a location protected from external harm and where extraordinary beings and plants can be found. Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 271; Miura, “*Dongtian* and *fudi*”.

⁶⁴ Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 278.

⁶⁵ *Tiandi gongfu tu* 2a, 3b.

⁶⁶ *Tiandi gongfu tu* 9a.

- the *Dayou Kongming* 大有空明 grotto-heaven on Mt. Weiyu 委羽山, in Huangyan County 黃岩縣, Taizhou 台州 (second greater grotto-heaven);
- the *Shangqing Yuping* 上清玉平 grotto-heaven on Mt. Chicheng, in Tiantai County (sixth greater grotto-heaven);
- the *Chengde Yinxuan* 成德隱玄 grotto-heaven on Mt. Guacang 括蒼山 of Xianju County 仙居縣 (10th greater grotto-heaven);
- *Danshan Chishui Tian* 丹山赤水天 on Mt. Siming 四明山, in Xinchang County 新昌縣 (ninth lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Jixuan Taiyuan Tian* 極玄太元天 on Mt. Guiji 會稽山, in Shaoxing County 紹興縣 (tenth lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Rongcheng dayu Tian* 容城大玉天 on Mt. Huagai 華蓋山, in Yongjia County 永嘉縣 (18th lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Changyao Baoguang Tian* 長耀寶光天 on Mt. Gaizhu 蓋竹山, in Linhai County 臨海縣 (19th lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Jinting Chongmiao Tian* 金庭崇妙天 on Mt. Jinting 金庭山, in Shan County, Yuezhou 越州 (27th lesser grotto-heaven);⁶⁷
- *Xiandu Qixian Tian* 仙都祈仙天 on Mount Xiandu 仙都山, in Jinyun County 縉雲縣, Chuzhou 處州 (29th lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Qingtian Dahe Tian* 青田大鶴天 on Mount Qingtian 青田山, in Qingtian County 青田縣, Chuzhou (30th lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Tiangai Dixuan Tian* 天蓋滌玄天 on Mount Tianmu 天目山, in Yuhang County 餘杭縣, Hangzhou 杭州 (33rd lesser grotto-heaven);
- *Jinhua Dongyuan Tian* 金華洞元天 on Mt. Jinhua 金華山, in Jinhua County 金華縣, Wuzhou 婺州 (35th lesser grotto-heaven).⁶⁸

The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Record of the Grotto-Heavens, Auspicious Sites, Holy Mountains and Marshes, as well as of the Famous Mountains; DZ 599) – authored by the court Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933), “the most comprehensive exponent of this [D]aoist world-view”⁶⁹ – represents a later stage in the development of the concept of grotto-heavens. Compared to Sima Chengzhen’s list, the one in the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* presents a few differences in the names of the grotto-heavens, their ranking and the gods linked to each one. Du Guangting, though, maintained the classification of the grotto-heavens into two sets of ten and 36 and of the 72 blessed lands.

⁶⁷ This agrees with the *Zhengao*, quoted in *Chicheng zhi* 40:8a-9b, that places the grotto in Shan County 剡縣. Further study of the early location of these sacred places is required to clarify whether they changed over time.

⁶⁸ The list of grotto-heavens and blissful lands can be found in *Yunji qiqian* 27:1a-9a. *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 3b-11a records a slightly different list by Du Guangting.

⁶⁹ Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 272.

We can see that grotto-heavens are a characteristic feature of Daoist sacred geography. Their interior is described as marked by features similar to those of the outer world, even to the point of having their own sun and moon. The *Zhengao*, describing the *Jintan huayang* 金壇華陽 grotto-heaven of Jurong 句容 (eighth greater grotto-heaven, according to Sima Chengzhen), states:

Inside it there are [...] the yin rays shining at night and the illumination of the root of the solar essence, also [called] sun and moon. The yin rays govern the night, the yang essence governs the day; these have a round shape and fly in the middle of the dark space.⁷⁰

其內有……陰暉夜光，日精之根照此空內明，並日月矣。陰暉主夜，日精主晝，形如日月之圓，飛在玄空之中。

Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* declares:

The *Guishan yujing* (Jade Scripture of Tortoise Mountain) states: “Among the great heavens are 36 grotto-heavens (*dongtian*). They separately contain suns, moons and stars, as well as the places of the divine immortals who control blessings and chastisements and keep the registers of life and death”.⁷¹

『龜山玉經』云：「大夫之內有洞天三十六，別有日月星辰，靈仙宮闕主御罪福典錄死生」。

The fact that the sun and moon were considered features of all grotto-heavens is clearly explained in Tao Hongjing's commentary on these lines. A similar concept is found in the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序 (The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High; DZ 388), a scripture that belongs to the Lingbao corpus. The current text is probably dated to the Eastern Jin dynasty 西晉 (317-420), although scholars argue that it possibly originated within the religious milieu of the 3rd century and that it may be related to the weft texts (*weishu* 緯書) of the Han dynasty. The version included in the *Zhengtong daoze* mentions Ge Hong and its content extends beyond the ‘five talismans’ (*wufu* 五符) named in the title, constituting an anthology of Taiqing 太清 Daoism.⁷² In it, a recluse called Elder Longwei (Longwei zhangren 龍微丈人, Elder of Dragon Prowess) was ordered to explore the ‘grotto court’ (*dongting* 洞庭) under Mt. Bao 包山 and reached

⁷⁰ *Zhengao* 6a-b.

⁷¹ *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* “xu”:1a. Transl. by Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 273.

⁷² Lagerwey, “Taishang lingbao wufu xu”, 232-3.

an underground world with natural light, gold buildings and jade pillars, dragons, phoenixes and all sorts of things different from their counterparts in the mortal world. The passage was studded with innumerable other caves and passageways: in brief, it was an other-world accessible via specific entrances located in the mortal world, but qualitatively superior to the latter.⁷³

It should be noted that grotto-heavens are not independent sites, but are interconnected via an array of underground tunnels.⁷⁴ As Stephen Bokenkamp has remarked, the Shangqing revelations too deal with this theme by advancing a particular geography of the network of tunnels centred on Mt. Xi and advancing a characteristic underground geography: “The Grotto-Heaven of [Juqu] 句曲 (Mao Mountains) communicates with the Grove Chamber ([B]ao Shan) in the east, with [Daizong] 岱宗 ([Taishan]) in the north, [Emei] 峨嵋 in the west and [Luofu] 羅浮 in the south. All these are major passageways. Between them are small paths and criss-crossing roads in the thousands and hundreds, but they do not converge in one spot”.⁷⁵ Anyway, these underground passageways constituted a world within a world, at least as extensive and difficult to travel as the surface world.

The most interesting reflection on the process of systematisation of these sacred places regards their political and cultural significance. We know that Tao Hongjing, Sima Chengzhen and Du Guangting all had close connections with the court, so their efforts to outline an empire-wide sacred geography can be interpreted as attempts to produce a unified spiritual landscape to support and go along with the project of giving the empire political unity.⁷⁶ This interpretation is helpful for the present book, because it advances a perspective that highlights the practical consequences of religious discourse: it does not treat this topic as merely fantastic, but allows us to appreciate the profound political, cultural and social implications of religious knowledge.

Mountains were also the stage for the aforementioned ritual of tossing the dragons. According to our knowledge, the ritual of ‘tossing’ or ‘casting the dragons and tablets’ (*tou longjian* 投龍簡) was a 5th century evolution of the ritual of sending written documents to the Three Offices (*san guan* 三官), practised by the early Celestial Masters 天師.⁷⁷ The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing*

⁷³ *Taishang Lingbao wufu xu* 1:8b-11b; Bokenkamp, “The Peach Flower Font”, 65-9.

⁷⁴ Miura, “*Dongtian and fudi*”, 372.

⁷⁵ *Zhengao* 11:7a. Transl. by Bokenkamp, “The Peach Flower Font”, 74-5 fn. 51.

⁷⁶ Verellen, “The Beyond Within”, 278.

⁷⁷ Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 234.

太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經 (Lingbao Scripture of the Jade Instructions on the Red Writing; DZ 352; *Chishu yujue miaojing*), dated to around the year 400, belongs to the early Lingbao canon and it is the oldest text containing the liturgical procedure for tossing the dragons. The *Yuanshi lingbao gao xuechu zui jian shangfa* 元始靈寶告消除罪簡上法 (Superior Methods of Yuanshi Lingbao for Ordering to Erase Sin) instructs the ritualist to prepare three ginkgo tablets with red writing and wrapped in green threads and to throw them into rivers, to bury them in mountains and at one's residence together with nine gold coins and a gold dragon in order to ask the sovereigns of water, the mountains and the earth to erase one's sins from the divine records.⁷⁸ We again find similar rituals in Lu Xiujing's *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen* 太上洞玄靈寶眾簡文 (The Tablets of the Precious Jewel; DZ 410), where oblations of dragons and tablets serve the purpose of announcing an adepts' new status as an initiate.⁷⁹ Another text useful to understand the continuing importance of this ritual is the *Jinlu zhai qitan yi* 金錄齋啟壇儀 (Rites of Commencement of the Retreat of the Golden Register; DZ 483) by Du Guangting, where the casting of dragons and tablets constitutes the last part of the ritual.⁸⁰ Here, as in the *Chishu yujue miaojing*, the tablets are addressed to the three offices of water, mountains and earth. Finally, during the Tang dynasty the casting of dragons was performed relatively frequently by emperors as an auspicious ritual in favour of the ruler and of the dynasty.⁸¹

The Tiantai area itself, as stated above, was chosen as the stage for the tossing of dragons and tablets. According to Xu Lingfu's *Tiantai Shan ji*, the three wells hosted the casting of dragons during imperial offering rituals three times during the Tang dynasty.⁸² It is not clearly explained why this place was considered especially suitable for rituals of this kind, nor it is clarified whether the rituals involved all three offices or whether it was done only by tossing the dragon effigy in the water of the three wells.⁸³ This practice was clearly oriented toward asking for blessings for the empire (*guojia*

⁷⁸ *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 5a-7a. Cf. Benn, "Tou longjian", 998-9.

⁷⁹ Schipper, "Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen", 1:255. See also the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudou yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀 (DZ 528), also by Lu Xiujing.

⁸⁰ *Jinlu zhai qitan* 4a, 6a. See also *Jinlu zhai tou jian yi* 金錄齋投簡儀, a 12th c. revision of the ritual by a court Daoist. Cf. Schipper, "Jinlu zhai qitan yi", 1:580.

⁸¹ Verellen, "The Beyond Within", 279; Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, 32-3.

⁸² *Tiantai Shan ji* 10b.

⁸³ In the context of a similar ritual described in the *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要, only one 'jade letter' was tossed from a cliff, while the others were hung and buried. Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, 166-7.

tou long bi jiaoqi qifu 國家投龍壁醮祭祈福), but the three wells were indeed regarded as a numinous place in a more general way. This may be justified by the fact that profound water wells were seen as related to dragon spirits, which controlled the weather, or by the belief that these wells were connected to the sea and hence in some way associated with underground paradises.

Finally, the Tiantai area was closely connected to the history of the systematisation of the Shangqing revelation. We know that the Xus 許 were a prominent family of Jurong 句容, counting Xu Mi and his son Xu Hui 許翮 (341-ca. 370), the final addressees of the Shangqing revelations that Yang Xi 楊熙 (330-386?) received between the years 364 and 370, among its members. The revelations were bestowed by a number of transcendental beings, including the Mao Brothers, the female immortal and former libationer of the Heavenly Masters Wei Huacun and Wangzi Qiao. After the death of the original recipients, in 404, Xu Mi's grandson Xu Huangmin 許黃民 (361-429) retired to the Shan Mountains 剡山 (presently located northwest of Tiantai County), bringing most of the manuscripts of the revelations with him. Moreover, before 465 a group of owners of partial collections of the Shangqing manuscripts, "the most notable recluses of their time" as Strickmann described them, gathered in that region, undertaking the collation and critical study of the surviving corpus.⁸⁴ Therefore, the region occupied by the Tiantai Mountains and its surrounding areas were actually involved in the spread and development of the Shangqing revelations centuries before the construction of Tongbai Palace. Only later, in 492, Tao Hongjing retired to the Mao Mountains to edit a collection of what he considered to be the remaining original documents received by the Xus and to practice the Shangqing teachings. It was at this time that these mountains strengthened their relation to the Shangqing revelations, begun in the 4th century.⁸⁵ By the beginning of the 6th century, the Shangqing tradition had established firm control over the Mao Mountains, but there remained a historical bond with the Tiantai area, which was later chosen to host Sima Chengzhen's temple.

⁸⁴ Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations", 1-36. The Xu family had generations-old connections to the area: Xu Mi's father had acted as district magistrate of Shan County 剡縣令 and one of Xu Mi's sons lived as a hermit there. Among the scholars who gathered in the Shan Mountains, we find Gu Huan 顧歡 and Du Jingchan 杜京產, who reportedly set up a residence or school (*she* 舍) there. An early source mentioning Xu Mi's father is the "Stele of the Altar at the Ancient Belvedere of the Shangqing Perfected, Administrator Xu" 許長史舊館壇碑 (erected in 518), in *Huayang Tao yinju ji* (Literary Works of Tao [Hongjing], the Hermit from Huayang; DZ 1050) 3:1a-5a. On this stele, see also Li, "Xu changshi jiuguan tanbei' luekao".

⁸⁵ Bumbacher, "On Pre-Tang Daoist Monastic Establishments", 145-52; Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations", 38-40.

2.4.1 Wangzi Qiao

In traditional culture, the supernatural features of Tiantai explain the presence of deities and transcendent beings operating there: one of the most famous supernatural beings associated with this area is Wangzi Qiao, whose cult exerted a long-lasting influence on the development of local Daoism. The *Chicheng shishi* 赤城事實 (Facts of [Mt.] Chicheng) reports one version of how Wangzi Qiao supposedly arrived at the Tiantai Mountains:

The Eminent Jin [Tong]bai hurried inside this area while hunting and smelled the fragrance of many famous flowers and strange herbs, whose scent was uncommon.⁸⁶

晉柏碩因馳獵深入，見其中有名花異草，香氣不凡。

Wangzi Qiao was already recognised as a powerful immortal during the Later Han 後漢 dynasty (25-220). The “Wangzi Qiao bei” 王子喬碑 (Stele of Wangzi Qiao) of the year 165 commemorates Wangzi Qiao’s appearance at the Wang family shrine in Meng 蒙 (Henan) during a *la* 臘 festival in 137.⁸⁷ In the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, Wangzi Qiao is described as prince Jin 晉 of the Zhou kingdom, who “liked playing the reed pipe” (*hao chui sheng* 好吹笙) and “imitating the call of the phoenix” (*zuo fenghuang ming* 作鳳凰鳴). He was held to have been a disciple of Fu Qiu 浮丘 on Mt. Song 嵩山 and to have finally ascended on a white crane after residing there more than 30 years.⁸⁸

The cult of Wangzi Qiao was already well-established in the 2nd century, although it seems that by that time his biographical details, including his place of origin and main activities, were already detached from historical facts.⁸⁹ Wangzi Qiao is also remembered as one of the transcendents who appeared to Yang Xi in the context of the revelations of the Mao Mountains: even more important for us, the *Zhengao* describes him as the administrator of the Jinting Grotto 金庭洞 of Mount Tongbai; therefore, starting from the Shanqing revelations, Wangzi Qiao was associated with these mountains.⁹⁰ During the Tang dynasty, Wangzi Qiao’s links with the Tiantai Mountains strengthened. The stele written by Cui Shang is now lost

⁸⁶ *Chicheng zhi* 21:14b.

⁸⁷ Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China”, 220.

⁸⁸ *Liexian zhuan* 1.14a. Marianne Bujard argues that the *Liexian zhuan* dates from the 1st century AD. Bujard, “Le culte de Wangzi Qiao”, 119. Cf. Campany, *Strange Writing*, 193.

⁸⁹ Campany, *Strange Writing*, 194-5.

⁹⁰ Cf. *Zhengao* 1:15b, 2:3a.

but its text has been recorded in local gazetteers.⁹¹ It states that the Tongbai Abbey was first established by Wangzi Qiao owing to the peculiar characteristics of the area, which was considered a *fu*xiang 福鄉 (blessed land) and a “*lingjing* [numinous realm] that is propitious for cultivating perfection” 養真之靈境.⁹² According to Cui Shang, this was the main reason for Tiantai’s eminent position in Daoism.

Wangzi Qiao received the attention of Tang and Song rulers. During the Zhou 周 dynasty, even Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690-705) showed an interest in him. Timothy Barrett argues that this was related to her fascination with techniques for attaining immortality and to Wangzi’s connection with Mt. Song 嵩山, where she performed the crucial, but potentially harmful, *feng* 封 sacrifice in the years 688, 700 and 701.⁹³ But, as we have seen, Wangzi Qiao was already featured in the Shangqing revelations as a transcendental being and he is repeatedly mentioned in the *Zhengao* under his sobriquet Perfected Tongbai (Tongbai Zhenren 桐柏真人). When Sima Chengzhen took residence at the Tongbai Palace, it was surely his position as Shangqing representative that led him to take up this tradition and celebrate the figure of Wangzi Qiao and, at the same time, the importance of Mt. Tongbai within Daoism. Thomas Jülch interprets this fact as Sima Chengzhen’s attempt to provide spiritual justification for the temporary transfer of the Shangqing centre of power from the original Mao Mountains to Mt. Tongbai, an event that in fact was caused by political reasons.⁹⁴ The Song emperors continued to sponsor the cult of Wangzi Qiao by granting him two titles, Yuanying Zhenjun 元應真君 (True Lord of the Mysterious Response) in 1113 and Shanli Guangji Zhenren 善利廣濟真人 (Perfected of the Charitable Merit and Vast Relief) during the Shaoxing reign (1131-1162).⁹⁵

We can see that the figure of Wangzi Qiao developed over the centuries and acquired new characteristics. Originally he was the elder son of King Ling of the Zhou dynasty who achieved transcendence after 30 years of study under his master Fu Qiu between the cities of Luoyang 洛陽 and Kaifeng 開封, but became a central figure in the Shangqing tradition and the spiritual administrator of Mt. Tongbai. His importance grew even more during the Tang dynasty through the founding of Tongbai Abbey in Tiantai and Sima Chengzhen’s celebration of Wangzi’s achievements within Shangqing theology.

⁹¹ The earliest record is the one contained in the *Chicheng zhi*.

⁹² *Chicheng zhi* 30:5b.

⁹³ Barrett, *Taoism Under the T’ang*, 43-4. On the *feng* and *shan* rituals, cf. Bujard, “State and Local Cults in Han Religion”.

⁹⁴ Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 2. I will discuss Sima Chengzhen’s activities more in detail in the next chapter.

⁹⁵ Raz, “Wangzi Qiao”, 2:1029.

2.4.2 Ge Xuan

According to tradition, another very famous Daoist master who lived on Mt. Tongbai after Wangzi Qiao was Ge Xuan 葛玄 (tr. 164-244), who was Ge Hong's paternal great-uncle: this fact explains his prominent role in Daoism and why the earliest accounts about him were authored by Ge Hong himself. According to the latter's *Baopuzi* and *Shenxian zhuan*, Ge Xuan was a proficient healer and exorcist who performed all sorts of miracles. He was also a scholar, well versed in the Five Classics.⁹⁶ A later tradition, tied to the Lingbao revelations of the 5th century and already well developed by the time of the Tang dynasty, states that Ge Xuan meditated on the Tiantai Mountains at the age of 18, when three Perfected bestowed on him all the Lingbao scriptures, the Golden and the Yellow Registers, and the methods for performing the *zhai* rituals.⁹⁷ This story is at the origin of the various places associated with Ge Xuan on Mt. Tongbai discussed above (see 1.3).

A few decades after Ge Hong, Ge Xuan became a central figure as the first supposed recipient of the Lingbao revelations, spread by Ge Hong's great-nephew Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫 (fl. 402). Within the framework of this new tradition, Ge Xuan was fully deified and received the title Taiji Zuo Xiangong 太極左仙公 (Duke of the Left of the Great Ultimate). The *Falun zuifu* 法輪罪福 (The Wheel of the Law [Expounding] Sins and Blessings; DZ 346, Six Dynasties), a scripture itself belonging to the Lingbao corpus, narrates the appearance of three masters of transmission (*dushi* 度師) to Ge Xuan during his practice on the Tiantai Mountains. Each of the three masters, who were in fact three deities, transmitted one part of the revelation to him. As a proof of the complex religious environment of the Six Dynasties, Stephen Bokenkamp argues that these deities reflect Buddhist influences. The same scripture also presents Xu Laile 徐來勒 as the "guarantor" (*bao* 保) for Ge Xuan's promotion to "great ritual master of the Three Caverns" (*Sandong dafashi* 三洞大法師).⁹⁸

In this way, Ge Xuan became one of the patriarchs of Daoism and he continued to be celebrated in the following centuries as such. For example, the *Zhengtong daoze* contains a biography of Ge Xuan titled *Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan* 太極葛仙公傳 (Biography of Ge, Duke Immortal of the Taiji [Palace]; DZ 450) and attributed to Tan Sixian 譚嗣先, with a preface by the editor Zhu Chuo 朱綽 dated to the year

⁹⁶ Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 152-9.

⁹⁷ *Xianyuan bianzhu* 2:13a; Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 406.

⁹⁸ Bokenkamp, "The Early Lingbao Scriptures", 102-3; Schipper, "Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing", 1:227. Cf. *Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan* 4b, where Tongbai Abbey is described as the place where Ge Xuan received the *Dadong jing* 大洞經 from Xu Laile 徐來勒.

1377. It records two edicts from 1104 and 1246 bestowing on Ge Xuan the titles of Chongying Zhenren 沖應真人 (Perfected of Humble Response) and Chongying Fuyou Zhenjun 沖應浮佑真君 (Perfected of Humble Response and of Manifested Protection).⁹⁹ The centrality accorded to Ge Xuan continued to represent a fundamental feature of modern Daoism and we still find him mentioned as one of the patriarchs of Daoism in sources from the early 19th century.¹⁰⁰

While the historicity of Wangzi Qiao and Ge Xuan – at least as presented by the early sources – is contested and the idea that they practised self-cultivation on Mt. Tongbai seems to be a later development of their hagiographical accounts, in late imperial times they were regarded as important persons who reinforced the significance of the Tiantai area, and their supposed presence there augmented the prestige and sacredness of those mountains. As I will discuss in the fourth chapter, the relation of Mt. Tongbai with Ge Xuan played a part in the restoration of Tongbai Palace at the beginning of the 18th century.

2.5 Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao

The presence, alleged or otherwise, of deities, holy persons and elite masters in the Tiantai Mountains contributed to the gradual accumulation of layers of sacred significance in Tiantai over the centuries and to the consequent elevation of its religious significance and its appeal for the religious elite and the general population. One famous story set in the Han dynasty and mentioned by Xu Lingfu is based on the shared recognition of the extraordinary quality of this region: it is the story of Liu Chen 劉晨 and Ruan Zhao 阮肇. In some way, this can be read as a consequence of the high density of grotto-heavens and blessed lands in Zhejiang Province discussed above, but also as a development of the numerous stories about supernatural beings and self-realised masters who dwelled in the Tiantai Mountains.

The local gazetteers mention the Liu-Ruan Grotto 劉阮洞, located 20 li northwest of the Tiantai county seat. Its name originates from that of the two men Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao who, according to an ancient story, met female deities in the Tiantai Mountains. This story is already found in the *Youming lu* 幽明錄 (Records of the Hidden and Visible Worlds) attributed to Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444). In the year 62, Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao of Shan County went to the Tiantai Mountains,

⁹⁹ Bokenkamp, “Ge Xuan”, 445; Schmidt, “Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan”, 905.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Jingqi xindeng* “Daopu yuanliu tu”:1b, in *Jingqi xindeng*, where he is mentioned under his divine title ‘Taiji xiangong’.



but could not find their way back. After 13 days they run out of food and faced the threat of starvation. They saw a peach tree in the distance, up the mountain, and they wanted to eat its fruits. To reach it they had to climb up a dangerous path on which no living human being had ever set foot. They ate several peaches, then descended the mountain. They met two women, who knew their names, although Liu and Ruan did not remember having ever met them. The women invited them home and treated them to a feast of succulent food. After the meal, they drank to their heart's content and then a group of women arrived, each holding some peaches and congratulating the grooms (*he ruxu lai* 賀汝婿來). Finally, they led the two men to their room. After ten days, Liu and Ruan expressed the desire to return home, but the women managed to convince them to remain for half a year. Once they were finally able to return to civilisation, they met their seventh-generation descendants and found out that they had gone missing for hundreds of years. Then, in the year 383 the two disappeared again and no one ever knew where they went.¹⁰¹

This story contains a number of references to supernatural tropes of ancient China, most notably to the idea of transcendental beings (in

¹⁰¹ *Younging lu* 1-3; *Chicheng zhi* 21:16b; *Taiping guangji* 61:12a-b.



Figure 5 Detail of Zhao Cangyun's painting *Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao Entering the Tiantai Mountains* 劉晨阮肇入天台山圖. "Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 2005-2006" in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, v. 64. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39545>

this case female transcendents, *nǚxiān* 女仙) inhabiting inaccessible places, and to mountain paradises filled with extraordinary elements, paradigmatic lands of plenty. This story contains sexual undertones that scholars have attributed to a new trend which arose through the influence of the Shangqing revelations, whose texts often dwell on the 'spirit marriage' between a mortal practitioner and goddesses.¹⁰²

The story of Liu and Ruan continued to influence literary production and the way in which the Tiantai area was conceptualized by literati and common people alike. Just to give two examples, this story inspired Wang Ziyi's 王子一 (late Yuan-early Ming) *zaju* 雜劇 "Liu Chen, Ruan Zhao wuru Taoyuan" 劉晨阮肇誤入桃源 and it is portrayed in a famous painting from the Yuan dynasty by Zhao Cangyun 趙蒼雲, acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York in 2005 [fig. 5].¹⁰³

The aforementioned *Shanhai jing* testifies to a very ancient substratum of Chinese sacred geography, theology and teratology. Visitors' reports about trips to extraordinary lands were clearly well-known during the 4th century, as it is suggested by chapter 20 of Ge Hong's *Baopuzi neipian*, the last of the 'inner chapters',

¹⁰² Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font", 75 fn. 52.

¹⁰³ Maxwell, "Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao Entering the Tiantai Mountains", 13.

those that constitute the kernel of Ge Hong's esoteric teachings. It is titled 'Dispel Confusion' (*quhuo* 祛惑), with reference to the idea of differentiating true masters from fake ones. Ge Hong distinguishes between two possible reasons for not achieving thorough understanding (*juewu* 覺悟): this is either blamed on the master, who is mediocre (*yongshi* 庸師) or on the disciple, who is not diligent in his pursuit (*qinqiu* 勤求) – hence the need to separate 'shallow' people from 'profound' ones. Those who know the essential teachings do not desire material things (*wu yu yu wu ye* 無欲於物也), do not search for worldly honours (*bu xun shiyu ye* 不徇世譽也) and consequently do not show off following the current fashion (*zi biao xian yu liusu* 自標顯於流俗). Instead, shallow practitioners brag about themselves, trying to cover up their nonsense with an austere façade just to confuse their pupils. Among those who 'talk big', Ge Hong includes people who "say that they have already climbed the famous mountains and seen the transcendents" 乃云, 已登名山, 見仙人.¹⁰⁴ In conclusion, the author disapproved of these practices, associating them with shallow practitioners, but they actually seem to have been common in that era as well as in later centuries.¹⁰⁵

In the first part of the aforementioned *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* we find a sort of 'introduction' that narrates the history of the transmission of the five talismans. According to Stephen Bokenkamp, this first section constitutes part of the original core of a scripture that predates both Ge Hong and the Shangqing revelations collected in the *Zhengao*.¹⁰⁶ I am interested here in the incipit of the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* because it contains the tale of the journey of the Elder Longwei (also known as the recluse of Mt. Bao, *Baoshan yinju* 包山隱居) into the grotto court under Mt. Bao, where he obtained a celestial script that turns out to be the 'Lingbao talismans' (*Lingbao fu* 靈寶符).¹⁰⁷ This story is helpful to trace the roots of the concept of mountain paradises, such as those discussed in Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao's tale. After a long journey of about 7,000 li, the Elder Longwei arrived at a marvellous place that he describes in the following way:

At the mouth of the converging paths there were golden city walls and jade chambers, 500 li in circumference. Where the passageways joined, the sun and moon shone clearly, illuminating mottled patterns with shifting beams. In the center were canopies, bed-platforms, windows and secret rooms – all inlaid with purple gems and decorated with gold. Cloudy buildings scraped the heav-

¹⁰⁴ Wang, *Baopuzi neipian xiaoshi*, 346.

¹⁰⁵ Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font", 71-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1:7a; Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font", 65 fn. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1:1a-11b; Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font", 65-9.

ens so that I could not distinguish their shape. [...] When the recluse had travelled for a distance of about 1,000 li from the place he started out, it was no longer dark. Natural light shone like the sun. The great passageway was high and dry and dust was raised [as he walked]. To the left and right were subterranean and surface aqueducts. Every thirty li there was a stone well with wonderfully sweet-tasting waters. Drinking from them, he was naturally sated and did not thirst. Sometimes the prints of men and horses were evident, leading into side passages.¹⁰⁸

其叢徑之口，有金城玉屋，周迴五百里，於眾道中央，明月朗煥，華照逸光，其中帷帳牀机，窗牖密房，錯以紫玉，飾以黃金，雲霞凌天，莫識其狀。……隱居行當出一千里，不復冥晦，自然光照如白日，大道高燥揚塵。左右有陰陽溝。三十里輒有一石井，水味甘美，飲之自飽不飢。或見人馬之跡，旁入他道。

This extraordinary place shares certain features with the grotto-heavens discussed above, most notably the presence of a sun and a moon, of buildings, of gems and strange flora. Although the Elder reportedly saw traces of human-like activity, he did not have the chance to interact with any inhabitant of the subterranean realm and only witnessed phoenixes, dragons and *qilin* 麒麟. This text confirms that the Daoist sacred geography that was developed during the Tang dynasty and was systematised by Sima Chengzhen and Du Guangting had a long history, closely tied to an array of previous traditions.

The incipit of the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* falls within a tradition that describes the world as dotted by portentous localities characterised by elements that transcend everyday reality. This literary strand inspired a famous *zhiguai* by Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427) set in the end of the 4th century and titled *Taohua yuan ji* 桃花源記. It tells of a fisherman who, having lost his way, found Peach Flower Spring and, next to it, the entrance to a cave. He entered it and after a while found himself in a subterranean land with flora and fauna similar to that in the outside world. He then had the chance to befriend the local villagers, who presented themselves as the descendants of people who had sought shelter there at the end of the Qin 秦 dynasty.¹⁰⁹

108 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 1:7b, 8b. Transl. by Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font", 66-7.

109 For a study on the *Taishang Lingbao wufu xu* and the *Taohua yuan ji*, see Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font", 65-77. Peaches features prominently in religious symbolism. For example, one of the most ancient Chinese deities known to us, Xi Wangmu 西王母, was said to have a garden of peaches of immortality. By the time of the Six Dynasties there circulated a story about her making a gift of the peaches of immortality to emperor Han Wudi (r. 141-87 BC). Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion*, 54-5, 143-89. One of the earliest, if not the earliest account, of Xi Wangmu can be found in the *Shanhai jing*. Cf. Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary*, 109-10.

This story enjoyed great popularity in the following centuries, especially from the Tang dynasty onwards, and it can be found also in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Overview of the Taiping [Xingguo] Era; late 10th century).¹¹⁰ This and similar works, along with the constantly developing Daoist sacred geography certainly exerted a profound influence on how portentous locations around the empire and in particular in Tiantai were thought of and experienced, as witnessed by the lasting appeal of the *Taohua yuan ji* during the Yuan dynasty.

2.6 Bo Yi and Shu Qi

One final feature of Tiantai County that I should like to mention is its relation with two figures from the Shang 商 dynasty (16th century-11th century), Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊 (sometimes written Boyi and Shuqi), which exerted a profound and long-lasting influence on the portrayal of the Tiantai Mountains as a place promoting personal transcendence and inhabited by supernatural beings. These two personalities are mentioned *en passant* in chapter 20 of the *Baopuzi*, where Ge Hong uses the expression ‘to borrow grain at the door of [Bo] Yi and [Shu] Qi’ (*jia gu yu Yi Qi zhi men* 假穀於夷齊之門) to refer to those who abstain from consuming cereals.¹¹¹ The story of Bo Yi and Shu Qi has been known since antiquity, as testified by their presence in Confucius’s (551-479) *Lunyu* 論語 (The Dialogues). According to the *Shiji*, Bo Yi and Shu Qi were the sons of the ruler of the state of Guzhu 孤竹 under the Shang dynasty. The latter wished for his second son, Shu Qi, to succeed him on the throne. Upon their father’s death, however, neither brother would take his place: Shu Qi because he did not wish to take precedence over the eldest and rightful heir, Bo Yi, and the latter in order not to contravene to their father’s wish. So, they both left their homeland. In the meantime, the Shang dynasty had collapsed at the hands of King Wu 武王, who founded the Zhou 周 dynasty. Bo Yi and Shu Qi then deemed it unworthy to eat the food produced within the land of what they considered a usurping dynasty, governed by a regicide, and so they decided not to eat cereals anymore. Instead, they went to Mt. Shouyang 首陽山 (which Sima Qian locates north of Mt. Hua 華山), where they ate only ferns, until they eventually died of starvation.¹¹² Bo Yi and Shu Qi’s is the first of the biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳) included in the *Shiji* and it allows Sima Qian to ponder

¹¹⁰ Campany, “Tales of Strange Events”, 576-91; Zhang, “A Textual History of Liu Yiqing’s ‘You Ming Lu’”, 87-101. I will refer to this source also for a discussion on the authorship of the *Records*.

¹¹¹ Wang, *Baopuzi neipian xiaoshi*, 345, 352 fn. 12.

¹¹² *Shiji* 61:3a-4a.

over the problem of theodicy: why is it that righteous persons like Bo Yi and Shu Qi died of starvation, while cruel cannibalistic bandits like Bandit Zhi 盜跖 lived a long and comfortable life?

Their biography in the *Shiji* is proof that by the beginning of the imperial era Bo Yi and Shu Qi were seen as paragons of morality. One prestigious antecedent that contributed to this reading is the *Lunyu*, where the two are mentioned multiple times. A list of the occurrences will offer the reader a better understanding of their cultural significance during the Spring and Autumn 春秋 era (722-403 BC):

The Master said: “Bo Yi and Shu Qi never harboured old grudges, this is why they rarely incurred ill will”.¹¹³

子曰：「伯夷、叔齊不念舊惡，怨是用希。」

[Zigong] went in and said: “What sort of men were Bo Yi and Shu Qi?” [The Master] replied: “They were virtuous men of old.” “Did they have any complaints?” “They sought benevolence and they achieved it. So, why should they have any complaints?” Zigong came out and said: “The Master is not on the side [of the Lord of Wei]”.¹¹⁴

[子貢]入曰：「伯夷、叔齊何人也？」曰：「古之賢人也。」曰：「怨乎？」曰：「求仁而得仁，又何怨？」出，曰：「夫子不為也。」

Duke Jing of Qi had a thousand teams of four horses each, but on his death the common people were unable to find anything for which to praise him, whereas Bo Yi and Shu Qi starved under Mt. Shouyang and to this day the common people still sing their praises.¹¹⁵

齊景公有馬千駟，死之日，民無德而稱焉。伯夷叔齊餓于首陽之下，民到于今稱之。

Bo Yi, Shu Qi, Yu Zhong, Yi Yi, Zhu Zhang, Liu Xiahui, Shao Lian are men who withdrew from society. The Master commented: “Not to lower their purpose or to allow themselves to be humiliated describes, perhaps, Bo Yi and Shu Qi”.¹¹⁶

逸民，伯夷、叔齊、虞仲、夷逸、朱張、柳下惠、少連。子曰：「不降其志，不辱其身，伯夷、叔齊與！」

¹¹³ Translations based on Confucius, *The Analects*, 43.

¹¹⁴ Translations based on Confucius, *The Analects*, 59.

¹¹⁵ Translations based on Confucius, *The Analects*, 167.

¹¹⁶ Translations based on Confucius, *The Analects*, 187.

According to Confucius, Bo Yi and Shu Qi were virtuous men (*xianren* 賢人) who sought to achieve benevolence (*ren* 仁), whose will never capitulated and who never humiliated themselves with their actions. This made exemplary men who were praised for the moral strength and determination to follow what complied with the system of values upheld by Confucianism. Tao Qian, too, inspired by their biography authored by Sima Qian, mentioned Bo Yi and Shu Qi in a poem dealing with the same questions about morality and justice.¹¹⁷

Their superior virtue did not confine them to the Confucian framework: indeed, in due time they were deified within Daoism. The *Chicheng zhi* calls them Vice Directors of the Ninth Heaven (*jiutian puye* 九天僕射), based on a text titled *Zhongzhen ji* 眾真記.¹¹⁸ This refers to the *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 元始上真眾仙記 (Record of [the Heavenly Prince of] Primordial Beginning, the Superior Perfected and Hosts of Transcendents; DZ 166, *Zhongxian ji*), contained in the *Zhengtong daoang*. The canonical edition also bears the title *Zhenzhong shu* 枕中書 and is attributed to Ge Hong, although the text itself is surely later.¹¹⁹ The *Zhongxian ji* claims to be a revelation received by Ge Hong and includes cosmogonic and cosmological sections, a divine hierarchy and a list of transcendents with their respective titles and abodes. The scripture lists deities and transcendents coming from a variety of different traditions, some of which became recognised Daoist deities from the Northern and Southern Dynasties on, while others remained within the general Chinese heritage or were quite clearly separated from traditional Daoist theology.

The *Zhongxian ji* describes the highest levels of the divine hierarchy, constituted by three palaces on the mountain above the 'Great Canopy Heaven' (*daluotian* 大羅天). The top palace (*shanggong* 上宮) is governed by Pangu Zhenren Yuanshi Tianwang 盤古真人元始天王 (Perfected Pangu Celestial King of the Original Beginning) and by Taiyuan Shengmu 太元聖母 (Holy Mother of the Supreme Origin); the 'middle palace' (*zhonggong* 中宮) is governed by the *taishang zhenren* 太上真人 (Supreme Perfected) and Jinque Laojun 金闕老君 (Lord of the Golden Portal); the 'lower palace' (*xiagong* 下宮) is administered by the *jiutian zhenhuang* 九天真皇 (Perfect Augusts of the Ninth Heaven) and the *santian zhenwang* 三天真王 (Perfect Sovereigns of the Third

¹¹⁷ Ashmore, *The Transport of Reading*, 210-12.

¹¹⁸ *Chicheng zhi* 30:9a. The title *puye* 僕射 could also be read *pushe* with reference to the ancient custom of letting the best archers manage important matters. For a detailed explanation of the term, see Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 394-5.

¹¹⁹ In fact, the header reads: *Ge Hong zhenzhong shu* 葛洪枕中書, which can be translated as "writs inside Ge Hong's pillow". Verellen, "Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian".

Heaven).¹²⁰ These are followed by a long list of deities, historical and mythical figures, cultural heroes and transcendents, such as Xiwang Mu, Guangcheng Zhangren 廣成丈人 (Elder Guangcheng), Wuchengzi 務成子 and the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝).¹²¹ Among them, are the ancient sovereigns Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹 and King Tang 唐, founder of the Shang dynasty, and the hermits Xu You and Chao Fu, to whom Emperor Yao offered the throne – and who, as seen above, are said to dwell in the Tiantai Mountains by Xu Lingfu. We also find more recent emperors, such as Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202-195 BC) and Guangwu 光武 (r. 25-57), the founders respectively of the Western and the Eastern Han dynasty. The scripture not only mentions exalted figures from the Confucian tradition, but also introduces Confucius himself as Superior Lord Daji 大極上真公, the administrator of Mt. Jiuyi 九嶷山!

Most interesting for the present study is the presence of a few other figures who have been associated with the Tiantai area:

Wangzi Qiao is the Official of Jinque, who administers Mt. Tongbai. Chisong[zi] is the Transcendent Kunlin, who administers the Southern Marchmount. Wangzi Deng is the Thearch Xiaoyou, who administers Mt. Wangwu. Bo Yi and Shu Qi from the Reign of Gu-zhu are Chief Administrators of the Nine Heavens and [they] administer Mt. Tiantai [...] Xu Laile is the Perfected of the Utmost Ultimate, who administers Mt. Kuocang and his small palace is in the Tiantai Mountains.¹²²

王子喬為金闕侍中，治桐柏山。赤松為崑林仙伯，治南嶽山。王子登為小有天王，治王屋山。孤竹伯夷、叔齊等並為九天撲射，治天台山……徐來勒為太極真人，治括蒼山，小宮在天台山。

The importance of the *Zhongxian ji* for the present study lies in its mention of Bo Yi and Shu Qi as *jiutian puye* and administrators of the Tiantai Mountains.¹²³ This piece of information is in stark contrast with what is recorded in their previous biographies, discussed above, where the Tiantai area plays no role at all.

¹²⁰ *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 4a. We find a classification of transcendents in nine ranks in Du Guangting's *Yongcheng jixian lu* 壺城集仙錄 (Record of the Assembled Immortals of Yongcheng; DZ 783) 1:12b. The *Yongcheng jixian lu* describes Xiwang Mu's entourage as living on Mt. Kunlun and it is influenced by texts close to the tradition of the Shangqing, by Ge Hong's *Shenxian zhuan* and by the *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要. Reiter, "Yongcheng jixian lu", 431. This same nine-tiered taxonomy is found in the late Qing work *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 (Complete Search of the Deities of the Traditions of the Three Teachings) 1:11a.

¹²¹ *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 5b-6a.

¹²² *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 8a-b.

¹²³ *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 8a.

Two considerations are in order here. The presence of figures from different cultural and religious backgrounds might explain why Bo and Shu appear in the *Zhongxian ji*, pointing to a process of assimilation of elements from all sorts of traditions belonging to the broader Chinese culture into a Daoist sacred geography. Moreover, their association with southern locations should be read within the context of southern efforts to produce a systematic cosmology. The locations managed by transcendental beings include many places in Jiangnan, such as the Tiantai, Tongbai and the Siming 四明 mountains, but also more distant ones such as Mt. Qingcheng 青城山 and Emei 峨眉山 in Sichuan and Mt. Luofu 羅浮山 in Guangdong.

The fact that this text was attributed to Ge Hong suggests that it was produced or considered to be related to his milieu or to the context of the southern revelations. Although it is undated, it reflects their influence, and especially that of the Shangqing, as exemplified by the idea that Wangzi Qiao is related to Mt. Tongbai and by the mention of Wei Huacun 魏華存 and the three Mao Brothers (*san Maojun* 三茅君). This sacred geography is so mature that it is difficult to consider it a product of the mid-4th century, so it may be related to a later stage of development of the Shangqing tradition. Finally, the attempt to produce a broad cosmological system that also encompasses Confucian characters reveals the author's tendency to turn Daoism into an overarching system embracing native Chinese culture as a whole.

2.7 Buddhism in Tiantai

Up to this point I have mainly dealt with the significance of the Tiantai area in Daoist and literary accounts, but we should consider the fact that the Tiantai Mountains hosted a great number of Buddhist institutions as well. In fact, in certain periods in Chinese history the Tiantai area was remembered especially for its relation with Buddhism. Gil Raz argued in favour of four basic geographic imaginations in Medieval China: the imperial, the popular, the Buddhist and the Daoist.¹²⁴ The previous pages focused mainly on the geographical imaginary of imperial, Daoist and - to a lesser degree - popular origin, but Buddhism was equally present, if not more so, starting from the 4th century.

I will not discuss the Buddhist presence in the Tiantai area in detail, because this would require a separate study. Still, I consider it necessary to at least mention the importance of Buddhism in the construction of the religious significance of this territory. If we concentrate on Buddhist schools, certainly one of the most famous

¹²⁴ Raz, "Daoist Sacred Geography", 1400-1.

is the Tiantai (Jap.: Tendai),¹²⁵ one of the four main Chinese Buddhist schools – together with the Huayan 華嚴, Pure Land (*Jingtu* 淨土) and Chan 禪, which attests to the historical significance of this area for the history of Buddhism.

The local gazetteers record a great number of Buddhist institutions that were built in Tiantai County. The coexistence of Buddhist and Daoist institutions in the same mountains was a common feature of the Chinese religious landscape and mutual influence was inevitable. Already in Sima Chengzhen's writings Buddhist elements are noticeable and one wonders if this is somehow related to his long-term residence in the Tiantai Mountains. We also find traces of the interaction of Buddhism and Daoism in the late imperial history of Tongbai Palace, specifically in relation to the Yongzheng emperor's restoration of the temple in the first half of the 18th century.

According to the *Chicheng zhi*, Qinghua Monastery 清化寺, located 45 li southeast of the county seat, was built in 239 and was still active during the Song dynasty: in 1066 it was renamed 'Xinghua Monastery' 興化寺 and during the Longxing 隆興 era (1163-1164) it took the name of 'Zifu Monastery' 資福寺.¹²⁶ If the information in the gazetteer is true, this means that Qinghua is the most ancient Buddhist temple in Tiantai. Unfortunately, without further sources it is impossible to confirm this version. Another temple allegedly established in early times is Yinyue Monastery 隱嶽寺, built in 535 by 'a Buddhist monk from India' (*xiyu fanseng* 西域梵僧). In 522, the Buddhist monk Zhida 智達 built a hut west of the county, where he recited the sutras. Later, this hut became a temple, called 'Xichan Monastery' 栖禪寺. It was restored in 851 and renamed 'Ningguo Monastery' 寧國寺 in 1008.¹²⁷ Another Buddhist temple is reportedly tied to Zhida's presence in the territory. It was called 'Pumen Monastery' 普門寺 and was built in 950 by the second patriarch of the Fayan school 法眼宗 on the site where Zhida had reportedly set up a retreat.¹²⁸

According to a much later source, the Ming-dynasty *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi*, during the same period a certain Tianhua Zunzhe 天花尊者 (fl. 522) arrived in Tiantai. In 522 he broke open the rock under a cliff near the village of Pingqiao 平橋鎮 and set up a temple there, which for this reason was called Kaiyan Monastery 開巖寺 (*kaiyan* 開巖 meaning 'opening the cliff').¹²⁹ According to the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks; 6th century), in the 4th century the

¹²⁵ Robson, "Buddhist Sacred Geography", especially 2:1393-4.

¹²⁶ *Chicheng zhi* 28:28b; Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 206-8.

¹²⁷ *Chicheng zhi* 28:31a; Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 233.

¹²⁸ Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 238.

¹²⁹ *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 天台山方外志 4:11b, 5:12a; Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 240.

Buddhist monk Tanyou 曇猷, originally from Dunhuang 敦煌, went to Mt. Chicheng.¹³⁰ The Fangguang Monastery 方廣寺 was built in 1101 near the place where Tanyou had supposedly practised meditation.¹³¹

Tiantai is indissolubly bound to the Tiantai school, whose historical foundation can be traced back to the activities of the monk Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597). Traditionally, he is regarded as the fourth patriarch of the school, in a line of transmission that begins with the founding patriarch Nāgārjuna, followed by two generations of Chinese successors (Huiwen 慧文 and Huisi 慧思, 515-577) and then by Zhiyi. In fact, this version of the transmission was developed by Zhang'an Guanding 章安灌頂 (561-632) based on the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳 (History of the Transmission of the Dharma-Storehouse; T 2058).¹³² Historical sources do not support this narrative, but Nāgārjuna's role as the founder of the school granted legitimation and prestige to Zhiyi's teachings. Born in Jingzhou 荊州 (Hunan), Zhiyi was ordained a Buddhist monk in 556, after his parents died during the turmoil that would lead to the foundation of the Sui dynasty. In 560 he met master Huisi in Guangzhou 光州 (Henan) and studied with him for about eight years. In 567 Zhiyi was sent to Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing) by his master, where he taught for eight years to a growing number of disciples. He then left for the Tiantai Mountains, where he arrived in 575 and set up twelve monasteries (or 'platforms', *daochang* 道場) in Tiantai, most of which developed into prominent institutions during the following centuries. Later, he received the patronage of the Chen 陳 (557-589) and Sui dynasties. In 585 he accepted the invitation of the Chen ruler, Shubao 叔寶 (583-589), and returned to Nanjing. In later years he had a close relationship with the crown prince of the Sui dynasty, Yang Guang 楊廣 (569-618), on whom he bestowed the bodhisattva precepts.¹³³

Zhiyi is recognised as one of the most influential Buddhist masters in Chinese history and he is the founder of what is considered to be the first truly 'Chinese' Buddhist school, called 'Tiantai'. One of Zhiyi's main contributions to Chinese Buddhism was the development of a doctrinal and scriptural system of classification.¹³⁴ Zhiyi is also responsible for developing the Chinese Buddhist repentance rites, based on the Tiantai doctrinal framework.¹³⁵ I have already mentioned this monk in relation to the *Tiantai Shan ji*, which testifies to his lasting

¹³⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T 2059) 11:2-3; Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 118.

¹³¹ Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 158.

¹³² Xu, "A Study of Early Transmissions", 31-89.

¹³³ *Chicheng zhi* 35:2b; *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuàn* 191-7; Buswell Jr., Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 911-12; Sheng, "Faith and Lifestyle of Buddhists", 170-5.

¹³⁴ Yü, *Chinese Buddhism*, 154-6.

¹³⁵ Sheng, "Faith and Lifestyle of Buddhists", 170-97.

importance even during the Tang dynasty. We should also note that Zhiyi is remembered for his important contribution to the dynastic ideology legitimating Sui 隋 sovereignty. For this reason, Thomas Jülch argues that setting up a prestigious Shangqing institution such as the Tongbai Abbey (later, Palace) on Mount Tongbai was justified by the politically driven purpose of countering Buddhist legitimation of the Sui dynasty through a Daoist organisation that supported the Tang.¹³⁶ I will discuss this theme further in the next chapter.

Zhiyi is behind a great flourishing of Buddhism in Tiantai during the 6th century Tianfeng Monastery 天封寺 developed out of the retreat that Zhiyi had built on Mt. Huading 華頂山 in 575. In 585 the temple received the name of 'Lingxu Platform' 靈墟道場, and during the Qianyou 乾祐 era of the Later Han 後漢 (947-951) it was renamed 'Zhizhe Temple' 智者院; then, in 1008, it became 'Shouchang Monastery' 壽昌. Finally, in the year 1066 it obtained the name of 'Tianfeng Monastery'.¹³⁷ Xiuchan 修禪 or Chanlin Monastery 禪林寺 was built for Zhiyi during the Chen 陳 dynasty (557-589), although older gazetteers record that it was originally built in the first year of the Zhongxing 中興 era of the Southern Qi 南齊 (501).¹³⁸ Luoxi Monastery 螺溪寺, located 10 li east of the county seat, was built on the spot of one of Zhiyi's abodes in the Tiantai Mountains. In the year 1066 it was renamed 'Qingxin Temple' 清心院.¹³⁹ Jiyun Temple 集雲院 was built by Zhiyi 15 li southwest of the county and in 1008 it was renamed 'Chanlin Temple' 禪林院.¹⁴⁰ 20 li northeast of the county seat one would find Jingming Monastery 淨明寺, later renamed 'Gaoming Monastery' 高明寺, which was built during the Tang by expanding the previous Youxi Platform 幽溪道場; this too was recognised as one of the platforms (of enlightenment) related to Zhiyi in the Tiantai Mountains.¹⁴¹

Other Buddhist temples that were built between the Tang and Song dynasties were located in places significant for Zhiyi's biography. For example, the Guotai Temple 國泰院 was built in 856; Zhiyi was believed to have authored his *Zhiguan* 止觀 (Cessation and Contemplation)

¹³⁶ Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 3.

¹³⁷ *Chicheng zhi* 28:19b. In the *Chicheng zhi* the name of the temple is recorded as 'Wenfeng Monastery' 文封寺.

¹³⁸ *Chicheng zhi* 28:22b-23b.

¹³⁹ *Chicheng zhi* 28:27a.

¹⁴⁰ *Chicheng zhi* 28:27a.

¹⁴¹ *Chicheng zhi* 28:20b; Tiantai Xian dang'an ju, *Fozong daoyuan*, 65.

there.¹⁴² The temple was renamed ‘Xizhu Temple’ 西竺院 in 1008.¹⁴³ Yunfeng Monastery 雲峰寺 was built in 911 at the location of Zhiyi’s sixth platform (*diliu daochang* 第六道場) and renamed ‘Taiping Xingguo Monastery’ 太平興國寺 during the Taiping Xingguo era (976-984).¹⁴⁴ According to the *Chicheng zhi*, Renshou Monastery 仁壽寺 was built 30 li northeast of the county in 949 in the location of Zhiyi’s ninth platform; it was renamed ‘Jiuming Monastery’ 九明寺 in 1066.¹⁴⁵

Certainly, the most famous of these temples is the Guoqing Monastery 國清寺, located 10 li north of Tiantai County [fig. 6]. The *Chicheng zhi* states that it was built for Zhiyi (whom had died in 597) in the 18th year of Kaihuang 開皇 reign (598) with the name of Tiantai Monastery. Other documents explain better the situation. The idea of building a temple in the Tiantai Mountains had been in the mind of Zhiyi for some time, so much so that some time before his death, Zhiyi stated: “If today we manage to set up the foundations of the monastery, the ruler will build it. This is not something that you, helpless monks, can accomplish. There is another powerful man who will [bring this] to completion. It is a pity that I will not see it finished” 今得寺基，為王創造。非爾小僧所辦，別有大力勢人，後當成就。恨吾不見寺成。¹⁴⁶ In his last wishes, handed to the Prince of Jin 晉王 (the future Emperor Yang 煬帝) in 597, Zhiyi mentioned the construction of the monastery: the prince was eager to comply with Zhiyi’s wishes, given the long-standing close relationship between the two.¹⁴⁷ The temple was probably completed in 601, the date in which the monks expressed their gratitude to the prince.¹⁴⁸ In the Daye 大業 era (605-

142 ‘Zhiguan’ might refer to the *Mohe zhiguan*, a fundamental scripture of the Tiantai school, but this contains the lectures that Zhiyi held in 594 at the Yuquan Monastery 玉泉寺 of Jingzhou 荊州 (Hubei) and which were recorded by his disciple Zhang’an Guanding. Therefore, the gazetteer here is referring to the *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀 (Minor Cessation and Contemplation), also called *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (Essentials of the Methods of Studying Cessation, Contemplation and Sitting in Dhyāna). Cf. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, 250; Buswell Jr., Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1013-14.

143 *Chicheng zhi* 28:21a.

144 *Chicheng zhi* 28:19a-19b. *Daochang* translates the Sanskrit term *bodhimanda*, ‘platform of enlightenment’. It originally indicates the place under the Bodhi tree where the Buddha was sitting when he achieved the enlightenment. In China, the term was also used to indicate ritual precincts and monasteries. Buswell Jr., Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 132.

145 *Chicheng zhi* 28:28a.

146 *Tiantai Shan zhong xieqi* 天台山眾謝啟 (Missive of Gratitude from the Buddhists of the Tiantai Mountains; 599), in Ikeda, *Kokusei hyakuroku no kenkyū*, 398.

147 *Wang da yizhi* 王答遺旨 (The Prince’s Reply to the Last Wishes; 598), in Ikeda, *Kokusei hyakuroku no kenkyū*, 379-81.

148 *Tiantai zhong xie zao si cheng qi* 天台眾謝造寺成啟 (Letter to Thank for Completion of the Construction of the Monastery by the Tiantai [Monastic] Community; 601),

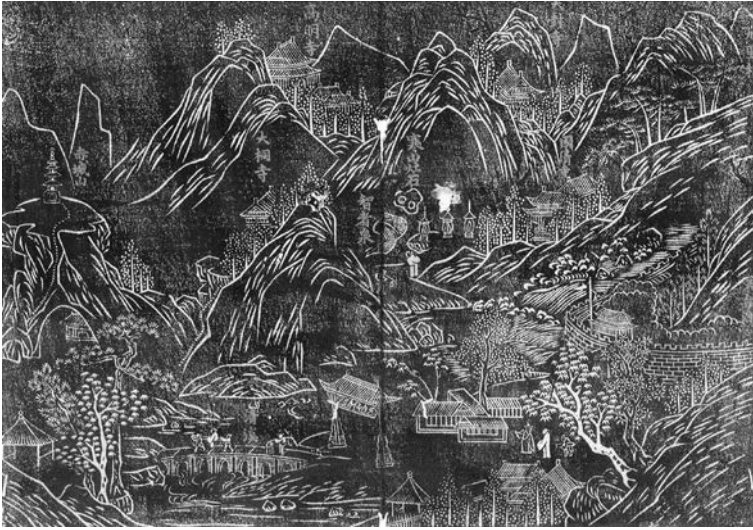


Figure 6 The landscape surrounding the Guoqing Monastery. The temple is shown on the page on the right, at the centre. *Tiantai shan tu bing fu* 天台山圖并賦 1a-b

610), the temple eventually received the name ‘Guoqing’ by which it is still known today: according to the tradition, it was suggested to Zhiyi in a dream in which the Buddhist master Dingguang 定光 appeared to him and said “If the monastery will be built, the empire will be stable, so it must be called Guoqing Monastery” 寺若成國即清，必呼為國清寺.¹⁴⁹ This event therefore ties the establishing of the temple to the prosperity of the country and to the legitimation of the ruling dynasty. Later, during the Song dynasty, the monastery was destroyed, the only surviving traces of it being a copy of the *Lianhua jing* 蓮華經 (Lotus Sutra) handwritten by Zhiyi, a one-volume sutra written on palm leaves (*beiduoye* 貝多葉) from India and a sandalwood statue with a tooth, a relic of the Buddha. The temple was rebuilt in the year 1128 and many other times after that, up until the end of the imperial era.¹⁵⁰

included in the collectanea *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 (Hundred Records of Guoqing [Monastery]), of the first year of the Renshou 仁壽 reign (601). *Tiantai zhong xie zao si cheng qi*, in Ikeda, *Kokusei hyakuroku no kenkyū*, 405.

149 *Fozu tongji* 49:185c; *Chicheng zhi* 28:17b. Dingguang was a Buddhist monk who lived during the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-557), originally from Qingzhou 青州 (Shandong). During the Datong era (535-546) he retired to Folong Peak 佛隴峰, where he spent thirty years, mostly unseen. *Chicheng zhi* 35:2a-2b.

150 *Chicheng zhi* 28:17b-19a; *Tiantai Shan ji* 11b. The *Tiantai Shan ji* states that this temple was built by Sui Yangdi 隋煬帝 in the 18th year of the Kaihuang 開皇 era, but Emperor Yang’s reign name was Daye 大業 (605-617). Instead, Kaihuang was the era name of the founding emperor of the Sui dynasty, Wenhuan 文皇 (r. 581-604). So, Xu

The Tiantai area also reflects the influence of other Buddhist schools. In the case of Chan Buddhism, the earliest traces can be dated to the 8th century, when Chan master Yize 遺則 (753-?) built Foku Monastery 佛窟寺 on the peak west of the three wells (*sanjing xi feng* 三井西峰) of Mt. Tongbai.¹⁵¹ Another influential character, a near contemporary of Yize's, with an almost mythical status is the hermit Hanshan 寒山, who supposedly lived between the 7th and the 8th century and who is remembered today as one of the three recluses of Guoqing Monastery, together with Fenggan 豐干 and Shide 拾得.¹⁵² During the Song dynasty, Hanshan's poems became very popular, especially within Chan circles that frequently quoted his poems.¹⁵³ Guoqing Monastery, therefore, is the bearer of powerful symbolic capital, being linked not only with the Tiantai school, but also with Chan Buddhism.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have studied the cultural and religious substratum that constitutes the basis of the importance of the Tiantai area throughout the imperial era. Although in different periods all these layers played a role in the development of local Daoism, some features became increasingly significant, while others were forgotten or left out of the narrative about the area. During the Tang dynasty, for example, the importance of the relation of Mt. Tongbai with the Shangqing revelations and with Wangzi Qiao played a prominent role. Later, to this was added the (physical and historical) presence of Sima Chengzhen at Tongbai Abbey/Tongbai Palace. After a few centuries, as I will discuss in chapters 4 and 5, the significance of these layers changed in accordance with elite patrons' focus, which came to be directed first towards Bo Yi and Shu Qi and then towards new Daoist figures who emerged during the Song dynasty, like Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (987?-1082). One aspect that should not be underestimated is the interaction between the three religions (Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism) present in the area: I will have the chance to illustrate the importance of this element in the rest of the book. In the following chapter I will focus on the institutional development of Tongbai Abbey during the Tang and Song periods and I will explain in greater detail which layers became prominent in that period and why, based on a study of the interactions between resident Daoists and the court.

Lingfu might have meant to indicate the year 598, which nonetheless might be wrong for the reasons discussed above.

¹⁵¹ *Chicheng zhi* 28:31b; *Song gaoseng zhuan* 10:8-9; Zhu, *Tiantai shan Fojiao shi*, 41.

¹⁵² Rouzer, *On Cold Mountain*, 19-40; Buswell Jr., Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 344, 803; Zhu, *Tiantai shan Fojiao shi*, 44-8.

¹⁵³ Rouzer, *The Poetry of Hanshan*, ix.