

**A NOTE ON THE DATES FOR THE REVELATION OF THE
CORRECT RITES OF THE CELESTIAL HEART
TIANXIN ZHENGFA**

JOHANNES L. KURZ

ABSTRACT

The present paper discusses alternative dates for the origins of an exorcistic practice which usually has been identified with the early Northern Song period (960-1126). It argues that the origins of the cult are much earlier, namely the middle of the tenth century, based on the reading of historical texts dealing with the history of the Five Dynasties and Ten States period (907-960).

INTRODUCTION

The tenth century in Chinese history is referred to as a "transitional period", bridging the years between the fall of the Tang in 907 and the start of the Song dynasty that began in 960. The period in between these two dates is only very rarely treated in Western and Chinese research, which has to do with the apparent confusion resulting from the division of the country into a northern half and a southern half. The north was dominated by five succeeding dynasties, while the south experienced the existence of several states and empires that ruled simultaneously.

As the Song dynasty arose out of this confused situation it is, nevertheless, worthwhile to take a closer look at what actually happened within those 53 years and on the form of transition that occurred. Much of what came to be identified with the new Song dynasty had its roots in the preceding period of the Five Dynasties and Ten States, such as the preservation of books that were going to be the foundation of the Song imperial collection, and the personnel that was going to use them for the compilation of some of the most influential works during the early Northern Song, among many others.

The focus of this paper is on one aspect which is relevant for the understanding of events and people in the southern part of China prior to the reunification of the empire by the Song dynasty in 960. More specifically, the matter in question is the origin of a text of an exorcistic practice and cult that came to be linked to Daoism called *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* (*Tianxin zhengfa*) and which attained some prominence under emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1125) of the Song.

TAN ZIXIAO AND THE CORRECT RITES OF THE CELESTIAL HEART

The origins of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart*, whose practitioners claimed to be able to perform exorcism, and which subsequently came to be linked to Daoism, are recorded in the *Case History of Fouqiu, Wang and Guo, the Three Perfected from Mt. Huagai* (*Huagai shan Fouqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi*) a text, which composed of several other texts, was compiled in the early Ming dynasty (1407). The first chapter is the work of an anonymous author, the second chapter is attributed to Shen Tingrui, a Daoist practitioner, who died in 985,¹ while the attribution to the following four chapters is a matter of scholarly debate.² The entry in question reads:

Rao Dongtian was a man from Linchuan in Fuzhou prefecture (Jiangxi). In the beginning he was a clerk in [his home] district. Later he dreamt of a divine being who told him: "Since you use your heart in a balanced way and you grasp the rules in an upright way, your name should make heaven shake." When he awoke from the dream and became aware of it, he changed [his name to] Dongtian.³ One night he saw a multi-coloured radiance rise before the altar for the ascension (?) to Mt. Huagai. He climbed the mountain to the summit, and ...⁴ following the radiance he dug in the earth and found a golden box. When he opened it he saw an immortal's scripture in jade characters whose title read: "Tianxin jing zhengfa" (Correct Rites of the Scripture of the Celestial Heart). He consequently took the spiritual text but nobody understood its wisdom. An immortal being told him: "You, sir, should see master Tan with the name Zixiao who can teach you in it." From then onwards he searched him for several years, and finally met the master at Nanfeng. ...⁵

This is the accepted version of the events that lead to the discovery of the text which was to play a major role during the reign of the last Northern Song emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1124). The story is included in chapter 5 of the *Case History of Fouqiu, Wang and Guo, the Three Perfected from Mt. Huagai* which is attributed by Hymes to Zhang Yuanshu, who lived in the 13th century, or more than 200 years after the event.

Rao Dongtian here is told by a supernatural being that he needs to seek instruction from master Tan Zixiao, whom he can find only after a search of several years. We are also given the geographic location in the east of modern day Jiangxi province but there is no indication to the period in which the story is set.

For that we have to turn to the preface of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart of Shangqing[-Daoism]* (*Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*) by Deng Yougong (1210-1279), where we find an exact date for the discovery of the scriptures:

On the 15th day of the 8th month of the 5th year of the Chunhua era (994) a real and virtuous gentleman⁶ saw in the night above the peak of a mountain a brilliant multi-coloured radiance. ...⁷

The date given corresponds to September 22, 994. According to John Didier this is proof that Tan Zixiao lived at least until that year, and from the evidence he carefully presents, he ends up with ca. 910- ca. 994 as the approximate life dates for Tan Zixiao.⁸

All of this fits into the narrative that Robert Hymes presents in his description of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart*. Hymes argues convincingly against a Southern Song origin of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* as presented by Judith Boltz and identifies the new cult as of definitive and undeniable Northern Song origins.

There is however a possibility that the text of the *Case History of Fouqiu, Wang and Guo, the Three Perfected from Mt. Huagai* has been tampered with, a possibility that John Didier has alluded to already some time back⁹ and one that I will outline in more detail in the following.

Zhang Yuanshu's text places the events at an unspecified time, which leaves a lot of space for more speculation. The connection between Zhang's and Deng's texts is only made in the Southern Song in an anonymous interlinear commentary to Zhang's text, which Boltz vaguely dates to the years between 1138 and 1293.¹⁰ Now that we know about the place and the time, what about the actors involved in the discovery of the *Correct Rites* scriptures?

Rao Dongtian does not have any biographical entry in any historical work from Song times. He is however credited with being the first adept of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* after its recovery. A close look at texts dealing with the period preceding the Song dynasty however is rather helpful. In the following I will attempt to clarify the identity of Mr. Rao.

The first person we meet in our investigation is a Yao Dong, who is the addressee of a petition by Song Qiqiu (886-959), the infamous minister of the Southern Tang, asking him

for help at a time, when he was still unemployed and poor. That is all the information the *Historical Record of the Region Around the Yangzi* (*Jiangbiao zhi*), written in 1010, provides us with.¹¹ The *Private History of Jiangnan* (*Jiangnan yeshi*) which probably was written between 1010 and 1023, taking up the information about Song's initial poverty and his search for a patron, has this to say about Mr. Rao:

The (later) first ruler (of the Southern Tang) [Li Bian] at that time was prefect of Shengzhou (in Jiangsu). His close friend Rao Dongtian left the capital to take up the post of commander in Luling (J'an). Since Qiqiu sent him a name card, he talked with him a whole day and welcomed him as his retainer. He entertained him with feasts from dusk till dawn¹²; afterwards he asked his advice in present matters. A short while afterwards Dongtian gave up his command and was ordered to return to Guangling (Yangzhou). He had hardly arrived there when he seriously fell ill and was about to die. Thereupon, in his last will, he recommended [Song] to the last ruler.¹³

Amazingly, this story fits in some parts Shen Tingrui's story, in addition to the exactly similar characters for the name. Rao Dongtian is an official and he is here serving in the geographical region which constitutes today the province of Jiangxi. Moreover we learn that he was a good friend of Li Bian. It is quite obvious that Song deliberately approached Rao to gain access to bureaucratic circles and Li Bian, who then was beginning to accumulate influence and power.

The *Separate Historical Record of Jiangnan* (*Jiangnan bieleu*) by Chen Pengnian (961-1017) contains this anecdote as well, but the cavalry officer here is called Yao Dongtian. Chen stresses the fact that Yao recommends Song to Li Bian, and Li Bian thinks that Song's skills are 'extraordinary'.¹⁴

The *Supplement to the History of the Five Dynasties* (*Wudai shi bu*, attr. to Tao Yue (?-1022)) embellishes this story even more, giving more details about Song's dire conditions.¹⁵ He is helped by a singing girl (who appeared already in the *Separate Historical Record of Jiangnan*), who provides him with money to buy paper, ink and a brush, and he composes a poem, to introduce himself to Yao Dongtian. The latter is described as a military commander in Huainan and is known for his sympathetic attitude towards scholars. As Song's poem is alluding to a potential change of dynasty, Yao is getting angry and refuses to see him. Thereupon Song changes the tone of his note using very humble vocabulary, which is noted by Yao, who then starts to support Song. There is no mention however of a relationship between Yao and Li Bian. Though the family name of Song's patron is different from the story in the *Private History of Jiangnan*, we can assume with certainty that Yao Dongtian is identical with Rao Dongtian. The different character for the family name may hint to an oral transmission of the story and the name, for Yao and Rao are phonetically rather close together.

A further modification of the name but not of the person itself is found in Lu You's (1125-1210) *History of the Southern Tang* (*Nan Tang shu*). The relevant entry reads:

When Li Bian was prefect of Shengzhou, Qiqiu was able to see him with the help of the cavalry commandant Yao Kezhan.¹⁶

From what we know so far, Yao Kezhan, can be none else than the Yao Dong of the *Historical Record of the Region Around the Yangzi*, the Rao Dongtian of the *Private History of Jiangnan*, and the Yao Dongtian of the *Supplement to the History of the Five Dynasties*. It is tempting and to a certain extent legitimate to speculate that the Rao Dongtian of the *Private History of Jiangnan* is the same as the Rao Dongtian mentioned by Shen Tingrui.¹⁷

The religious as well as the purely historical texts provide Rao or Yao with a specific regional background and anchor him in Jiangxi. This is the same place that is regarded as the origins of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* to which we will turn now.

Boltz follows the Deng Yougong account in establishing the date for the revelation as well as Catherine Despeux,¹⁸ so that we are faced with statements from both authors, concerning the 12th century as the time when the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* flourished.¹⁹

Tan Zixiao probably lived in Fujian from the reign of Wang Shenzhi (907-925) until 939, when Wang Chang, the ruling emperor posthumously known as Kangzong was murdered. Tan had enjoyed the support of Chen Shouyuan (?-939), an influential Daoist priest at the court, and had been conferred the title of Feathered Guest of the Golden Gate, Master of Orthodox Unity (*Jinmen yuke zhengyi xiansheng*) by the emperor. It is therefore understandable that Tan wanted to move after the murder of the emperor, since in the cleansing following the usurpation, Chen Shouyuan, his patron, was caught and executed. This example and the change in government may have prompted Tan to escape and await the further developments abroad.

Didier dismisses the historical accuracy of the record preserved in the *Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Transcendents and Those Who Embody the Dao* (*Lishi zhenxian tidaotongjian*), a hagiographical work usually attributed to Zhao Daoyi (fl. 1294-1307). This text relates how Tan Zixiao traveled to Jinling (modern day Nanjing) and was given an audience by Li Bian, who in 936 had usurped the throne of the state of Wu, and in 937 established the Southern Tang, that roughly covered the modern provinces of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and parts of Anhui.²⁰ Didier indicates that it was not possible for Tan to meet Li Bian after the fall of Min, as that occurred in 946, three years after Li had died. The problem here is twofold, concerning one of translation as well as one of understanding of the historical situation. Apparently Didier translated *Min wang* as "the fall of Min".²¹ However *wang* may also be translated as disorder, chaos, decline and the like. Such 'disorder' actually happened in late 939, when the ruling emperor Kangzong was killed. Though the history of that empire (as of some of the other states in the period) is rather 'bloody', it would appear that the regicide and the killing of even more people that followed it is a brutal enough event to gain it the designation 'disorder'. Moreover Kangzong had surrounded himself with Daoists and shamans who earlier had assassinated two uncles of Kangzong and their sons.

If we accept the date 939 as historically more accurate than the date 946, escaping to the neighboring state of the Southern Tang, Tan Zixiao would have been able to meet Li Bian. That Li Bian in this text is addressed with his posthumous title as emperor "Liezhu of the Southern Tang" thus is not surprising. If of course one accepts Didier's reading of "Min wang" as the 'fall of Min', which occurred in 945, the reigning Southern Tang emperor would have been Li Jing (r. 943-961) who was canonized as Yuanzong.

In 939 Tan could well have met and made the acquaintance of the following Southern Tang rulers including Li Yu (r. 961-976) as well. The date of his death reported in *Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Transcendents and Those Who Embody the Dao* also roughly corresponds with information found in Ma Ling's (early 12th cent.) *History of the Southern Tang* (*Nan Tang shu*), according to which he died shortly after the fall of Jinling to the Song armies in 976. I find it therefore appropriate to trust the *Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Transcendents and Those Who Embody the Dao* even though the age of Tan, - "more than hundred fifty years" -, definitely is exaggerated there.

As to Rao Dongtian, it would be very coincidental if the Rao Dongtian, who discovered the scriptures, would be different from the one who is a military official in the same region, almost eighty years earlier. The texts tell us that Rao (or Yao) held his post at a time, when Li Bian was prefect of Shengzhou. We know that Li was appointed to manage the affairs of Shengzhou in 908²², and relieved of his duties by his step-father in early 917.²³ He first was sent to Runzhou as military training commissioner, a place he did

not like, but one which moved him close to the capital of the state of Wu. The following year his step-brother who had acted as regent for the ruler of Wu was murdered in the capital. Li consequently crossed the Yangzi with his troops, quelled the rebellion and was installed in Guangling.

As to when Song actually met Li Bian we are enlightened through the *Yuhu qinghua* which reports that Song became a follower of Li Bian, when he was prefect of Shengzhou.²⁴

From the various stories, anecdotes and biographical details we can conclude, that Rao Dongtian lived between 908 and 917 and that he recommended Song Qiqiu to Li Bian. Tan Zixiao at roughly the same time may have been active in Min under its first ruler Wang Shenzhi, as stated in the account in the *Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Transcendents and Those Who Embody the Dao* and become friends with Chen Shouyuan (?-939). Chen Shouyuan served at the court of Wang Yanjun (posthumous title Xianzong, r. 916-935), the first of the Min rulers to adopt the title emperor. Chen and three shamans seem to have encouraged Wang Yanjun to renounce the suzerainty of the northern dynasty (in that case the Later Tang) and acquire independence as an empire.²⁵

Lu You credits him with digging up the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* scripture that were said to have originated with the first Celestial Master Zhang Daoling (2nd cent. C.E.). The story, as Didier correctly remarks, is reminiscent of the story told by Zhan Yuanshu in the *Case History of Fouqiu, Wang and Guo, the Three Perfected from Mt. Huagai*. The relevant part reads²⁶:

Tan Zixiao hailed from Quanzhou. In his youth he became a Daoist priest. Earlier, by digging in the earth [Chen Shouyuan] had received several tens of wooden tablets, that were contained in a copper vessel. [The wooden tablets] bore the amulet-seals of Zhang Daoling of the Han. Their vermilion and black colours [shone], as if they were new. He stored them but could not use them, so he gave them to Zixiao. Zixiao understood them completely and said consequently that he had acquired Daoling's *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart*. He uncovered demons and cured diseases with much effect.²⁷

With the knowledge and power of the scriptures, Tan Zixiao was able to cure illnesses and exorcise demons, which he proves in the case of He Jingzhu (887-964), who had been a commander during the invasion of the state of Min in Fujian in 945:

He Jingzhu, military governor of Wuchang, once had killed a female slave and thrown her corpse into a well. Nobody knew about this. When he fell ill, he summoned [Tan] Zixiao. In the middle of the night, [Tan] let his hair hang loose and held a sword in order to examine and cure [He's illness]. He saw the girl sternly complaining until the morning broke. People that had been hiding there told this to Jingzhu. [Tan] gave him an amulet written in vermilion seal script and the disease was cured at once.²⁸

He Jingzhu had moved to Wuchang in 950, but the story related here according to Ma Ling²⁹ must be placed at the start of the Song, in the Jianlong era (960-963). Tan Zixiao here was able to apply his magical powers to cure a man, who interestingly was involved in the destruction of his home state in Fujian.

Two parallels exist between this text by Lu You and the story by Zhang Yuanshu. In both texts the scriptures are dug up, having been stored in a case. The finders, Chen Shouyuan and Rao Dongtian do not know what to do with their find and in both instances Tan Zixiao is able to read the text. He does not only do that, but he also starts to take advantage of his knowledge, by using his exorcistic powers given by the scriptures in the Lu You text, and by teaching Rao Dongtian their application in the Zhang Yuanshu text. Incidentally, Rao consequently becomes the first master of the new cult, even though Tan should rightfully be given that honour, as Lu You does by addressing him as Patriarch Zixiao of the Celestial Heart Rites. So there is at least partial consistency, even though the

locations are different, and the 'finders' of the text – Chen Shouyuan in Lu's text³⁰, Rao Dongtian in Shen's – vary.

Under the circumstances it is possible to consider the Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart as a cult which had its roots in southern China. The hagiographical text that explains the revelation of the Correct Rites, places this in Jiangxi province at Mt. Huagai, while the more historically oriented text by Lu You identifies the place of the 'rediscovery' in Fujian. The apparent inconsistency between the two versions has been explained by Didier as stemming from the inclusion of the part of Chen Shouyuan's biography that deals with the discovery, in the later account of Rao Dongtian's hagiography.³¹ Even though he does not explain in detail how this occurred, it seems quite plausible, that the author of the later text included any bit of information he could find admitting even material that on closer inspection did not really fit his account.

CONCLUSION

The Correct Rites case shows that reliance on religious and hagiographical texts only presents a story that is more or less stringent as such. However, consulting historical texts in addition to the religious texts, results in some changes to the accepted version of the discovery and revelation of the Correct Rites. The two major characters accordingly can be identified as having southern China origins, and as is apparent in the dates for Rao Dongtian, must have lived in the first half of the 10th century.

The texts of the Correct Rites enjoyed great popularity which is evident in their inclusion in various imperial and private collections. Robert Hymes accepts the revelation of the Correct Rites as a major event in the religious history of the early Northern Song. As we have seen, the cult may have originated much earlier in the south. Its appropriation under Northern Song auspices can be seen in the same light as that of other cultural features preserved especially under the Southern Tang. As I have explained elsewhere, the second Song emperor Taizong (r. 978-997) in particular, took advantage of what the Southern Tang had to offer not only in literary traditions, but also in material and in manpower.³² It is certainly no coincidence that the revelation of the Tianxin zhengfa in Song sources is identified with the reign of Taizong.

ENDNOTES

¹ Shen Tingrui has biographical entries in his father Shen Bin's biographies in Long Gun (fl. early 11th cent.), *Jiangnan yeshi* (Yuzhang congshu) 6.6b-7a; in Lu You, *Nan Tang shu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986) 7.29; Wu Renchen (1628-1689), *Shiguo chungiu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 29.416. Shen Bin had served under the first and the second rulers of the Southern Tang. In the *Nan Tang jinshi*, which was written in 977, we find the information, that Shen at that time was still living in the region of Mt. Yusi (modern day Hunan) and Mt. Fuyun (modern day Hubei). See *Nan Tang jinshi* (Congshu jicheng), 4. Thus it seems he was prominent enough to be mentioned by Zheng. The two chapters in question form part of Shen's otherwise lost *Er zhenjun shilu*. There is no reason to doubt that this book was written by Shen, since his father had also shown great interest in Daoist matters and written a text about them. This earned him an entry in Xu Xuan's (917-992) work on extraordinary people in the region of the Yangzi and Huai rivers, entitled *Jiang Huai yiren lu*.

² On the composition of this text see Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1987), 78-81, and Florian C. Reiter, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus: Das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin.-Yüan, und frühen Ming-Zeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988), 108-111. For a diverging view of the same text, Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 277-280.

³ "To make heaven shake" (*dongtian*) is homonymous with Rao's name Dongtian (grotto heaven).

⁴ I cannot make any sense of the character *han* that appears at this place.

⁵ *Huagai shan Fouqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi* (HY 777) 5.313.

⁶ I have not been able to find a more convincing translation for *roushen dashi*. *Roushen* means the body; is used in Buddhism to denote a Bodhisattva for instance, while *dashi* means a man with high qualities.

⁷ *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* (HY 566), 1.743.

⁸ John Didier, "Mssrs. Tan, Chancellor Sung, and the Book of Transformation (*Hua Shu*): Texts and the Transformations of Traditions", in *Asia Major* 11.1 (1998):122.

⁹ John Didier, "Mssrs. Tan", 121, note 66. Note that Didier's article does not appear in Hymes' account.

¹⁰ Boltz, *Survey*, 287, n. 217.

¹¹ Zheng Wenbao (953-1013), *Jiangbiao zhi* (Xuehai leibian), 3.4a

¹² The *Siku quanshu* recension reads here "[Rao] feasted with him from dusk till dawn".

¹³ *Jiangnan yeshi* 4.1a-b.

¹⁴ Chen Pengnian (961-1017), *Jiangnan bielü* (Xuehai leibian), 6a.

¹⁵ Tao Yue, *Wudai shi bu* (Siku quanshu), 2.10b-11b.

¹⁶ Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 4.15.

¹⁷ In a commentary to the *Huagai shan Fouqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shi* we find Rao Dongtian as R Dongqi. See *Huagai shan Fouqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shi* (HY 777), 2.286.

¹⁸ Catherine Despeux, *Taoisme et corps humain: le Xiuzhen tu* (Paris: Tredanie, 1994), 173-174. Tan Zixi is mentioned as the 'founder' of the *Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart* on 185, note 91.

¹⁹ On the dating problem and Tan Zixiao see also Poul Andersen, "Taoist Talismans and the History of the Tianxin Tradition", review article of Monika Drexler, *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu d. Schriftamuletten Fu im Daozang* (München, 1994), *Acta Orientalia* 57 (1996), 3-8.

²⁰ *Lishi zhenxian tidaotongjian* (HY 296), 43.8a.

²¹ The exact same formulation "Min wang" is also found in Lu You's biography of Tan Zixiao. See Lu You *Nan Tang shu*, 17.72.

²² Xue Juzheng (912-981), *Jiu Wudai shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 134.1785. The *Zizhi tongjian* lists this event under 909. See Sima Guang (1019-1086), *Zizhi tongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976) 267.8708. I tend to rely on the older account, for that we know that Xuanzhou was seized by Chai Zaiyong in 908 and that it was right after that, that Li Bian was promoted to the position in Shengzhou. See *Xi Wudai shi* (Beijing, 1974), 62.765.

²³ *Zizhi tongjian* 269.8815.

²⁴ Wenying (fl. 11th cent.), *Yuhu qinghua*, 10.103, in *Xiangshan yelu, xulu, Yuhu qinghua* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984).

²⁵ For this see Edward H. Schafer, *The Empire of Min* (Tokyo/Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1954), 96-100.

²⁶ Didier did not translate this passage but paraphrased it.

²⁷ Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 17.71.

²⁸ Lu You, *Nan Tang shu*, 17.71.

²⁹ Ma Ling, *Nan Tang shu* (Congshu jicheng), 24.162-163. In this work that dates from the early twelfth century no mention is made of a connection between Tan Zixiao and the Correct Rites; it does however emphasize his relationship to Chen Shouyuan and his practicing Daoist rites.

³⁰ Note that Kenneth Dean referring to Lu You identifies Tan Zixiao himself as the finder of the scriptures, which is incorrect. See Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 219.

³¹ Didier, "Mssrs. Tan, Chancellor Sung", 121, note 66.

³² Johannes L. Kurz, *Das Kompilationsprojekt Seng Taizongs* (reg. 976-997) (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003).

REFERENCES

Primary sources

- Chen Pengnian. *Jiangnan bielü*. Xuehai leibian.
Deng Yougong. *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*. HY 566.
Huagai shan Fouqiu Wang Guo san zhenjun shishi. HY 777.
Long Gun. *Jiangnan yeshi*. Yuzhang congshu.
Lu You. *Nan Tang shu*. Beijing, Zhongguo shudian, 1986.
Ma Ling. *Nan Tang shu*. Congshu jicheng.
Ouyang Xiu. *Xin Wudai shi*. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1974.

- Sima Guang. *Zizhi tongjian*. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1976.
 Tao Yue. *Wudai shi bu*. Siku quanshu.
 Wenying. *Xiangshan yelu, xulu, Yuhu qinghua*. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1984.
 Wu Renchen. *Shiguo chungiu*. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1983.
 Xue Juzheng. *Jiu Wudai shi*. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
 Zhao Daoyi (attr.). *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. HY 296.
 Zheng Wenbao. *Jiangbiao zhi*. Xuehai leibian.
 Zheng Wenbao (attr.). *Nan Tang jinshi*. Congshu jicheng.

Secondary literature

- Andersen, P.(1996). Taoist Talismans and the History of the Tianxin Tradition. Review article of Monika Drexler, *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu den Schriftamuletten Fu im Daozang* (München, 1994), *Acta Orientalia*, 57: 3-8.
 Boltz, J. M. (1987). *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.
 Dean, K. (1993). *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 Despeux, C. (1994). *Taoisme et corps humain: le Xiuzhen tu*. Paris, Tredaniel.
 Didier, J. (1998). Mssrs. T'an, Chancellor Sung, and the Book of Transformation (*Hua Shu*): Texts and the Transformations of Traditions". *Asia Major*, 11.1: 99-150.
 Hymes, R. (2002). *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
 Reiter, F. C. (1988). *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus: Das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yuan, und frühen Ming-Zeit*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
 Schafer, E. H. (1954). *The Empire of Min*. Tokyo/Rutland, VT.: Tuttle.