

## 宋遼金元

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Bulletin of  
SUNG YUAN  
Studies

Taoism at the Sung Court:  
The Heavenly Text Affair of 1008

Suzanne E. Cahill  
University of California, Berkely

On February 12, 1008, a gate keeper of the imperial city found a yellow silk scroll, sealed and bound up with a blue cord, hanging from a roof tile at one of the gateways of the imperial palace. The Sung emperor Chen-tsung (r.998-1022), declaring the scroll an auspicious gift from heaven, named it the "Heavenly Text" (天書) and received it with great fanfare.<sup>1</sup> The incident has always attracted a great deal of attention, both by contemporary and later Chinese historians. To cite just one example, an entire chapter of the *Sung-shih chi-shih pen-mo* is devoted to an account of the Heavenly Text episode, together with the events which led up to and resulted from it. From 1008 to the present, Chinese historians have interpreted it as Sung's reaction to the newly perceived military might of the Khitan or as a result of the political factionalism then dividing the court or both.<sup>2</sup> Modern Western scholars, such as Otto Franke, taking the historical accounts at face value, have interpreted the Heavenly Text as an out-and-out fraud, imposed by a cynical minister upon a weak-minded emperor whose support of Taoism escalated as the dynasty plunged ever more deeply into military and fiscal disaster. Franke expresses outrage at the emperor's waste of precious resources on useless sacrificial spectacles at a time when the barbarian menace on the borders demanded a swift and decisive response if the Sung were to survive intact.<sup>3</sup> But Franke and most other Western commentators, with their rationalistic and secular outlook, have simply dismissed what was quite believable to an 11th century Sung Chinese. It is time to take a closer look at the Heavenly Text affair and to do so in the context of the prevailing beliefs of the day.

To provide the background for a new interpretation of the appearance and reception of the Heavenly Text, I shall first present a chronological account of the episode, based on sources close in time to the events they record.<sup>4</sup>

While some editorial comments on features important to my argument will accompany this narrative, the interpretive section of the paper will follow. Incomplete in scope and tendentious, the orthodox sources highlight the demoralization at court following the war and subsequent treaty with the Khitan; the factionalism which developed among officials trying to cope with the new and frightening recognition of Sung military inferiority; the bad faith of the Heavenly Text faction; and the exceptional credulity of the emperor. After considering some assessments of Chen-tsung as a monarch, I shall explore his relationship to Taoism during this and succeeding periods. Here I shall suggest the value of heretofore neglected Taoist sources. It is my hope to demonstrate that the appearance of the Heavenly Text, when examined in the light of the total religious and political context of the time, must be seen as one of the major episodes in the long and complex history of the relations between Taoism and state.

The story opens in 1004 when Chen-tsung, after seeing his armies suffer a string of defeats, concluded a treaty with the Khitan at Shan-yüan. Because it brought an end to hostilities with no loss of territory for the Sung, the treaty was at first heralded as a diplomatic victory. But an equal treaty with barbarians was seen as unprecedented, scarcely compatible with the Chinese view of the Middle Kingdom as the center of the world. For instance, the peace treaty guaranteed the Khitan Liao dynasty an annual payment of 100,000 taels of silver and 200,000 bolts of silk. Pseudo-familial relations between the two families were established, and intimate terms of address were adopted, the Sung emperor calling the mother of the younger Liao ruler his junior aunt. The Liao officials placed the two rulers on the same level by speaking of a "Northern" and "Southern" Dynasty. The *Liao History*, undoubtedly reflecting terminology current at the time, calls the Sung payments, which arrived annually from 1005 on, "tribute" (kung 貢). The annual payments, which at first had seemed a welcome substitute for the warfare that had proved so costly in human lives as well as material resources, soon became an irritant which constantly reminded the Sung court of the ever-present military danger from the Liao, as well as of Sung's own humiliating weakness.<sup>5</sup>

The conclusion of the treaty negotiations was attended by the rise to power and position of K'ou Chün 寇準, one of its architects; yet, his rapid ascent was, according to the orthodox accounts, bitterly resented by a rival official, Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若. With Wang continually working on the emperor, the latter's initial satisfaction with the Shan-yüan treaty was replaced with feelings of shame over the treaty. It was then that K'ou's career began an abrupt

decline -- he was dismissed from office in the second month of 1006 -- while Wang's fortunes began to climb. During the next two decades the career of these two officials rose and fell alternately as the factions they represented won or lost power. But Wang steadily gained, becoming more powerful after each round. To the orthodox historians, K'ou personified the pragmatically oriented administrators at court who wanted to make a realistic peace with the barbarians, despite the cost in dynastic prestige. Realizing that further fighting was worse than useless, they worked to preserve what still remained to the Sung. The historians' view of Wang, on the other hand, will soon be revealed.<sup>6</sup>

In the later part of 1007, Chen-tsung asked Wang Ch'in-jo how best to wash away the shame of the Shan-yüan agreements. Knowing the emperor was sick of fighting and would never follow any warlike suggestion, Wang disingenuously replied that the emperor could go out with an army and secure the territory by force. When the emperor asked for his next best plan, Wang said that only by performing the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices could the emperor make his state secure, bring people everywhere to submit, and gain prestige among foreign nations. But before he could perform the sacrifices, the emperor would need to receive auspicious tokens from heaven as a sign of divine approval of his plan. Wang further observed that such signs could well be manufactured by humans and still be valid. He even suggested that heavenly texts from the past, such as the River Chart (Ho-t'u 河圖) and the Lo Text (Lo-shu 洛書), were in fact fabrications, expedients used by the sage rulers of the past to establish the correct teaching. The emperor, uncertain about the idea of fabricating omens, asked the eminent classical scholar Tu Hao 杜鵑 about the River Chart and Lo Text. Tu's ambiguous answer seemed to support Wang's claims and schemes. At the same time possible opposition from the minister, Wang Tan 王旦, who enjoyed an absolutely unspotted reputation at court, was obviated (we are told) by a gift of pearls from Wang Ch'in-jo.

Wang's comment about the validity of heavenly signs made by human hands and Tu Hao's apparent support of the comment, expose an important aspect of Sung religious psychology. To a person of Sung, a document purporting to be of divine origin but made by human hands was not necessarily a forgery; it might indeed represent a message from heaven. As Rolf Stein and others have pointed out, whether an object is of human manufacture or not does not affect its potency or authenticity. What matters is that the omen be appropriate, accurate, and legitimate in religious terms.<sup>7</sup> Far from tricking the emperor or advising him to practice a cynical deception, Wang may in fact have been urging him to follow ancient usages. The historians' portrayal of Wang's deception and the

emperor's apparent complicity may be nothing more than the imposition of their own biased view on practices by no means inconsistent with prevailing beliefs.

While the standard sources unanimously insist on the culpability and the base motivation of Wang Ch'in-jo in all this, they disagree, however, on the emperor's part. The majority of the sources are not explicit in their representation, but they do show the emperor as a gullible, egotistical individual, not only religiously inclined but also given to wishful thinking. To a greater degree than others of his day, he appears sensitive to the possibility of supernatural intervention in human affairs. A few authors, on the other hand, suggest that the emperor was quite rationally motivated; he followed Wang's plan with calculation in order to impress the Khitan with manifestations of Sung power. I shall return to the questions of the emperor's motivation and the part played by Wang Ch'in-jo after the whole story has been told.

Soon after his discussion with Wang Ch'in-jo, Chen-tsung reported to his assembled courtiers that one night in the eleventh month after retiring, he saw a brilliant flash of light. Thereupon, a spiritual being wearing a star cap and a crimson cloak (the costume of a Taoist divinity or priest) appeared. The spirit told the emperor to set up a ritual area in the Audience Hall (*cheng-tien*, 政殿) for one month, after which some "great central auspicious token" would be sent down. When the emperor stood up to address the spirit, it vanished. The emperor reported that he set up a ritual area as instructed, then fasted and purified himself throughout the twelfth month.<sup>8</sup>

Then on the first day of the first month (1008), a gate keeper reported that an object of yellow silk had miraculously appeared at the Ch'eng-t'ien Gate (承天門), hanging from an owl-shaped molded roof tile. The emperor and the officials went to inspect the object which was wrapped like a scroll, over two feet (*chang*) in length, and bound by a blue cord. Faint writing was discernible under the seals. After everyone had paid elaborate homage to the text and discussed at length the proper ceremony for receiving and opening it, the emperor sent for an elderly scholar, Ch'en Yao-sou 陳堯叟, whom he ordered to break the seals and read the inscription on the wrapper. It read "The Chao have received the mandate and brought it to glory with the Sung. It will be handed down in perpetuity. [As there is a pun here on Heng 'perpetuity' 恆, the emperor's personal name, the line could also be translated, 'It has been handed down to the present emperor.'] It dwells in their vessels. If you preserve it in the legitimate line, then (succession) will be assured for 799

generations."<sup>9</sup> The text itself continued, in ancient style, to praise the emperor and the dynasty, to lay out codes of ritual behavior and purification, and to assert that the blessings would be continued in every generation.

After the text had reverently been placed in a golden box, the emperor reported all these events to his ancestors. Then, changing the reign title to "Great Central Auspicious Talisman" (ta-chung hsiang-fu 大中祥符), he issued a major act of grace and ordered a five-day bacchanal (p'u 酺). By these actions, Chen-tsung declared the descent of the text to be literally of epoch-making importance.

Thus Wang Ch'in-jo's plan was carried out -- according to the orthodox accounts -- with the eager and sycophantic cooperation of many supposedly conscientious officials, including Ting Wei 丁謂 and Ch'en P'eng-nien 陳彭年. Sun Shih 孫奭 raised a lone voice in opposition when he said, "According to what this stupid servant has heard, how could Heaven use words? And how could there possibly be such a text?!" -- a query which the emperor received in silence.

In the third month of 1008, the emperor ordered a discussion of the feng and shan sacrifices. Over 24,300 people from all walks of life presented requests that he go ahead with it. But Chen-tsung, worried about the expense involved, remained undecided. Ting Wei argued that there was always enough money in the treasury for great plans, while Wang Tan observed that the absence of other preoccupations made it possible for the state to perform the sacrifices. Li Kang 李沆, however, disagreed. He asserted that there was more pressing business on the frontiers and that, inauspicious in themselves, the numerous natural disasters which had occurred of late required immediate imperial attention. He further insisted that it was the officials' job to teach the emperor his duty; if the officials failed in this, there was bound to be trouble. The debate over performing the sacrifices is thus set out by our historians to conform perfectly to positions vis-à-vis the "Heavenly Text": the "pro" faction clustered around Wang Ch'in-jo versus the more rational and loyal (in the eyes of our historians) contra faction.

In the fourth month, the emperor did in fact order that planning for the sacrifice begin. According to two sources, another text descended from heaven at this time, which they also call a Heavenly Text. Most sources do not mention this text, however, and those that do give no details of its contents or

reception.<sup>10</sup> Two months later, Wang Ch'in-jo reported that a sweet spring had suddenly bubbled up at T'ai-shan, and a glaucous dragon had been sighted at Hsi-shan (錫山).<sup>11</sup> Both were supremely good omens. Soon thereafter, also in the sixth month, a woodworker found a yellow cloth hanging from a tree in the forest; it was another Heavenly Text, which was quickly sent to the palace.

After the emperor heard of the latest text, he assembled his officials and told them that in the fifth month he had fallen asleep and had another dream, in which the same spiritual being whom he had seen previously again appeared and said to him, "In the first decade of the next month, you will certainly receive a gift of heavenly script at T'ai-shan." After his second encounter with the spirit, Chen-tsung had encouraged his officials to bring him news of any such text. When this one appeared, it was received with ceremony, and Ch'en Yao-sou again broke the seals and read what was written. The text read: "As you have accorded me respect and filial piety and as you nourish the people with far-reaching good fortune, I have bestowed upon you auspicious omens, so that the black-haired masses will all be aware (of my favor). If you secretly guard these words and achieve comprehension of my meaning, your country's good luck will be extended forever and eternal life be granted to you."<sup>12</sup> Soon after this, Wang Ch'in-jo submitted 8,000 pieces of auspicious fungus (ju-chih 瑞芝), while another official sent in a five-colored gold-jade elixir (wu-se chin-yü tan 五色金玉丹), along with 8,700 pieces of purple fungus (tzu-chih 紫芝).<sup>13</sup> The auspicious omens required for the feng and shan sacrifices were certainly being turned up and reported in convincing numbers.

In the ninth month of the same year, the emperor started work on a palace compound intended to house the Heavenly Text. In the tenth month, he made the much discussed progress to T'ai-shan, taking the Heavenly Text with him. There he performed the sacrifices without incident, throughout the ceremonies keeping the Heavenly Text on his left, the position of highest honor. Then returning to the capital by stages, he visited the ancestral temple of Confucius and the shrines of his disciples, as well as the temples of other Chou dynasty paragons, including that of the Duke of Chou. At all of these sacred places of the imperial cult, Chen-tsung paid homage and bestowed benefactions. His stops on the return trip were intended to emphasize the significance of the whole undertaking as well as the emperor's ties to exemplary and charismatic figures of the past.

Following the emperor's return to the capital and promulgation of an

amnesty, Sun Chi 孫籍 submitted a memorial criticizing the sacrifices. Sun argued that the feng and shan sacrifices were only to be performed when the empire was prosperous and flourishing; they were not to be accomplished merely upon imperial whim. At the same time another official warned the emperor not to take seriously the numerous reports affirming the completion of a historical cycle and renewal of the dynasty.<sup>14</sup> The dissatisfaction of many critics, both before and after the sacrifices, reveals the deep divisions at court. The criticisms also reveal differing perceptions about the true state of the country and thus the suitability of performing rites intended to give thanks to heaven for blessings currently being enjoyed.

In 1009, the emperor received the first news of a divine ancestor. The minister Liu Ch'eng-kuei 刘承珪 brought to his attention a certain magician by the name of Wang. Wang claimed that his teacher, from whom he learned alchemical arts and whose ring and divine sword he possessed, was surnamed Chao. This very same master Chao, according to Wang, was a Perfected Lord (Who is) Governor of Destiny (ssu-ming chen-chün 司命真君) and the ancestor of the Chao clan. When Chen-tsung heard the story, he bestowed the name (ming) Chung-cheng 中正 upon Wang, in addition to giving him land and a title. At the same time, the emperor added new honorifics to the titles of the Incomparable Ancestor (sheng-tsu 聖祖) of the Chao clan, calling him the Celestial Worthy (Who is) Governor of Destiny (ssu-ming t'ien-hsün 司命天尊).

The next year, 1010, in the sixth month, 1200 people came to the capital to request that the emperor sacrifice to the earth at Fen-yin 汾陰.<sup>15</sup> The sacrifice to the earth was the other great occasional imperial sacrifice, second in prestige only to the feng and shan. Deciding in the eighth month to perform the sacrifice, the emperor put Wang Tan and Wang Ch'in-jo in charge of arrangements. Little opposition to the project seems to have surfaced. However, in the spring of 1011, as the emperor was preparing to set out for Fen-yin, past critic Sun Shih sent up a petition condemning the proposed ceremonies on no less than ten grounds.<sup>16</sup> In brief, Sun argued that the forthcoming sacrifice was being performed incorrectly, that there was no justification for going as far away as Fen-yin to perform it, that recent ill-omened prodigies from heaven were warnings against the sacrifice, that the emperor was wantonly squandering the people's energy and resources, and that he was following the bad examples of Han Wu-ti and especially T'ang Hsüan-tsung. Dire consequences were predicted should the emperor pursue his plans for the sacrifice at Fen-yin.

Questioning by an imperial emissary only solicited from Sun another highly critical petition. Stressing again the need to harbor the people's strength and material resources, Sun warned the emperor against taking a step which, involving both the capital and the frontiers, was bound to create instability. He also pointed out that no Sung emperor had ever performed the feng and shan, though the issue had often been discussed, because none felt that his prestige and virtue to be of sufficiently high order. The preconditions for the performance of the two greatest of all sacrifices have not yet under Sung come into existence. By performing them, the emperor had betrayed his sacred trust. In still a third memorial Sun went so far as to tax Chen-tsung for taking all sorts of bizarre phenomena as good omens, whether they were auspicious or not, and to suggest that everyone was beginning to laugh at him behind his back. He expressed fear that the emperor might actually delude himself into believing that heaven could be deceived, the people befuddled, and future generations misled. He warned the emperor that he was trifling with great matters; disloyal advisors were deluding him and leading him down a false path. These three documents are worth noting because of the prominence accorded them by the official historians. Almost certainly Sun was selected to argue the historians' case for them, especially because of his explicit demonstration of the unfavorable context in which these celebrations were seen to occur.

Whether or not Sun's criticisms were seriously considered, or even reached the throne, the emperor decided to go ahead with the earth sacrifice. He gave even further evidence of his belief in signs from heaven by proclaiming the sixth day of the sixth month a national holiday: the Day of the Descent of the Heavenly Text. Then, in the second month, he set out from the capital, again taking the Heavenly Text with him. With the Heavenly Text on his left as it had been during the feng and shan ceremonies, he performed the sacrifice at Fen-yin, declared a general amnesty, and ordered a grand celebration. He then returned to the capital by stages, visiting and bestowing gifts upon various esteemed hermits - from whom he received varied and frequently unflattering responses. He also visited the imperial tombs, finally returning to the capital in the fourth month.

As described by the historians, the scenario for the sacrifice to the earth and its consequences was similar to that for the feng and shan. Officials and subjects submitted both reports of good omens and objections before the sacrifice, and some criticisms afterwards, especially over the appropriateness of the sacrifices at that time. Clearly, these mixed responses suggest a growing factionalism in the ranks of officials.

The officials who had been associated with both the feng and shan sacrifices of 1008 and the earth sacrifice of 1011 grew steadily more powerful. According to the orthodox historians, men like Wang Ch'in-jo, Ch'en P'eng-nien, Ting Wei, Liu Ch'eng-kuei, and Lin T'e 林特, all of whom held high positions, had formed a faction at court and secretly plotted to increase their own influence and wealth. Contemporaries called them "the Five Devils" (wu-kuei 五鬼). Acting together, they could blackmail or outmaneuver individuals such as Wan Tan who might have opposed them, and they were able to manipulate the emperor. Wang Ch'in-jo, especially -- we are told -- held the emperor in thrall with his profound command of Taoist arts.

In the tenth month of 1012, the emperor had still further dreams. He told his assembled courtiers: "(Recently) I dreamed of a spiritual being who conveyed to me a command from the Jade Emperor as follows: 'I ordered your ancestor Chao Yüan-lang 趙元郎 to give you a Heavenly Text. Now I am ordering him to give you an audience again.' The next day I dreamed once more of a spiritual being who transmitted these words from the Incomparable Ancestor: 'My seat is in the Western Dipper. Set up six places and wait.' That day, in the Basilica of Extended Mercy, I set up a ritual area, with musicians playing five drums and a single flute. First we smelled a peculiar fragrance. A second later, a yellow light filled the basilica, and the Incomparable Ancestor arrived. As I repeatedly made obeisance before him, I saluted him from below the basilica. Six men suddenly arrived. The Incomparable Ancestor said, 'I am one of the nine rulers of humans. I am in fact the earliest ancestor of the Chao clan. I have repeatedly descended as Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti 軒轅黃帝 [i.e., the Yellow Emperor]. In the later T'ang, I descended again and took charge of the clan of Chao. It is now one hundred years since then. You (the emperor) are most able at protecting and nourishing the people. Do not neglect my former aims.' Then he left the seat, mounted a cloud, and disappeared."<sup>17</sup>

After his announcement, the emperor received official congratulations. It was decided henceforth to impose a total taboo on the graphs making up the Incomparable Ancestor's personal name, and the emperor proclaimed a general amnesty. During the intercalary tenth month of 1012, the emperor ordered work started on a palace for the Incomparable Ancestor and another for the Incomparable Ancestor's mother. He had images made of them both and conferred on them new honorific titles. Further, he ordered that Taoist temples throughout the empire add a belvedere (kuan 觀) dedicated to the Incomparable Ancestor.

In the sixth month of 1013, all five planets appeared in the sky at once, all bearing the same color. Both facts were treated as the best possible omens, signifying the coming of T'ai p'ing 太平, "Great Peace." At this time, 3,380 people came to the capital to request that the emperor visit Lao Tzu's temple, the Palace of the Realm of Great Purity (t'ai-ch'ing kung 太清宮).<sup>18</sup> Sun Shih once again memorialized against the venture, holding before the emperor the tragic example of T'ang Hsüan-tsung. In his argument, Sun, even blamed the An Lu-shan rebellion on Hsüan-tsung's Taoist beliefs, while again suggesting the influence of a nefarious entourage. The emperor, however, disagreed, and this time he refuted Sun's objections point by point. Yet again the scenario of the great sacrifices is repeated, if on a lesser scale. An elaborate imperial procession and ceremony, with implications of grandeur and well-being for the dynasty, is planned. And again there are signs of dissension in official circles over the advisability of the venture. In the first month of 1014, the emperor once again realized a controversial religious mission, paying a formal visit to Lao Tzu's temple in Po-chou 亳州 (Po-hsien in northern Anhwei). At this time, Ting Wei submitted a white deer and 5000 pieces of fungus: good omens continued to appear. After the emperor returned from his visit to the Palace of the Realm of Great Purity, there was a great celebration and another general amnesty.

In the tenth month of the same year, the palace devoted to the Heavenly Text was completed. It was named the Palace Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity (yü-ching chao-ying kung 玉清照應宮), a name of Taoist religious origins.<sup>19</sup> This Taoist palace, built at vast expense in money and labor, had been finished in half the projected time because of the cruel exactions of Ting Wei, the official in charge of construction. He was said to have turned night into day making the workers labor around the clock to complete the building. Despite the rush, he was reputed to be a perfectionist; if a piece of work were not perfect, even though it might be completed down to the surface ornamentation, he would order it ripped down and redone.

At the beginning of 1015, the emperor paid a visit to the Palace Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity. He had the Heavenly Text carved in jade and installed in a special place -- The Treasure-Talisman Pavilion (pao-fu ko 寶符閣) -- another Taoist name. Chen-tsung also ordered an image of himself to be made and placed next to the jade carving of the Heavenly Text. Around this time, the emperor began to write essays about the heavenly tokens and talismans he had received. He kept writing these essays at regular intervals and showing them to his court and family until his death.

In the ninth month of 1015, the last testament of a certain Chang Yung created a stir at court. Chang requested that Ting Wei be executed for his crimes against the people and that his severed head be publicly displayed. These "crimes against the people" certainly included his complicity in the Heavenly Text incident, the sacrifices, and the harsh measures used in building of the palace intended to house the texts. Chang's last request backfired; his own corpse was beheaded and his head hung outside the Ting family gate in posthumous expiation for his accusations. But Chang's gesture, we are told, made an impact on emperor and officials alike.

In the following year a peculiar reference occurring only in a single source suggests that the emperor may have begun to doubt the auspicious curiosities which his ministers continuously reported to him. For in 1016, he forbade the presentation of auspicious objects (ju-wu 瑞物) as tribute.<sup>20</sup> This unexplained exception to his normal behavior may have been an act of austerity, a ceremonial gesture of humility, or a quickly forgotten concession to some of his advisors. Or perhaps Chen-tsung, seen as gullible, had been inundated with "omens" and now attempted to curb indiscreet reporting of them. Yet, in the same year he demonstrated his continued support for Taoism by setting up the post of Coordinator of Numinous Belvederes (ling-kuan shih 靈觀使).

In 1017, Chen-tsung visited the palace which housed the Heavenly Text, where he set up tablets of investiture for the Jade Emperor, the Incomparable Ancestor, and the recorded ancestors of the Chao clan, thus establishing a lineage for himself which went back through the founder of the clan to a high Taoist divinity. In the third month of the same year, Wang Tseng 王曾, an upright minister, refused to take a post which would put him in charge of Taoist establishments. He was disgraced and demoted after Wang Ch'in-jo attacked him and incited members of the royal family to bring charges against him. When Wang Tan heard about the case, he praised Wang Tseng for his uncompromising loyalty, his frankness, and his refusal to become involved in dishonest plots. Here the "dishonest plots" referred to are most likely the Heavenly Text incident and the sacrifices which it legitimized. For soon afterwards, when Wang Tan lay on his deathbed, he confessed to his sons his regret over his own involvement with Wang Ch'in-jo in the Heavenly Text affair. He felt that this one mistake had stained his entire life. Although he requested to be buried with shaven head and clothed in the robes of a Buddhist monk, his sons were permitted to do no more than place monastic robes into his casket with him.

The historians' assessment of Wang Tan varies.<sup>21</sup> In general, Sung scholars thought well of him, considering him a virtuous minister. But many later observers criticized him severely for his role in the Heavenly Text affair and the subsequent imperial sacrifices. As the only official holding the supreme office of chief councilor of state during the period when these great ceremonies were planned and carried out,<sup>22</sup> it was only with his implicit approval that they could be performed at all. After his death, many critics compared him with Feng Tao 馮道 (882-954), whose service under five dynasties made him appear the very prototype of the faithless, opportunistic official.<sup>23</sup> Comparison with Feng was truly a devastating criticism. Wang Fu-chih 王夫之, the tough-minded Ch'ing historian, presents a somewhat more sympathetic picture of Wang Tan. Wang suggests that by staying in office Wang Tan was able to restrain the influence of corrupt officials such as Wang Ch'in-jo and thus exert at least a somewhat positive effect on the government. If he had denounced the Heavenly Text and the performance of the sacrifices, he would merely have lost his job and forgone any chance of influencing the government.<sup>24</sup>

In the tenth month of 1017, our sole source reporting the emperor's 1016 prohibition against continued presentation of auspicious objects as tribute records another enigmatic incident. The emperor declared that henceforth failure to report calamities and visitations would be considered a crime.<sup>25</sup> Chen-tsung seems here to be assuming the role of emperor as ritual scapegoat which had its origins in very early times. But if Chen-tsung underwent a change of heart at this time, it did not last long. Already in 1018, it was reported to him that a sweet spring suddenly gushed up out of the Shrine of the Perfected Warrior (chen-wu tz'u 真武祠) and that those who drank from it were instantly cured of the plague. The emperor ordered a belvedere established there. Yet, a countercurrent to this search for signs and omens continued strong, as evidenced by a petition submitted at this time which called it inappropriate to brag to the ignorant folk about spirits and curiosities. If the emperor remained as receptive as ever to such reports, some officials were not hesitant to express their reservations.

In the next year, in the third month, a third Heavenly Text (or fourth if the one reported in 4/1005 is accepted) was discovered at Ch'ien-yu-shan 乾祐山.<sup>26</sup> As soon as this text was presented to the throne, the persistent Sun cited the famous hoax of Han Wu-ti's reign which failed when the handwriting on a "miraculous" text found in the belly of an ox was recognized, resulting in the execution of the forger. He also once again brought up the example of

T'ang Hsüan-tsung -- an emperor reputed to have been taken in by all manner of forgeries. Sun warned Chen-tsung not to follow his example, lest he too bring his dynasty to ruin. Sun also criticized the emperor for his pride, accusing him of ignoring the advice of his loyal ministers, believing in dubious hierophanies, and allowing himself to be misled by greedy and power-hungry officials. "How are precious talismans going to help you?" he demanded of the emperor. He requested that the emperor follow the wise and perceptive model of the Han emperor, rather than that of the T'ang. If the emperor would begin to behave sensibly, Sun promised, then visitations, calamities, and rebellions would not occur. The emperor, as before, ignored such counsel.

Not surprisingly, factional maneuvers surrounded the discovery of this last text. K'ou Chün, the proponent of the Shan-yüan Treaty who had lost power after 1008, made a minor comeback, while Wang Ch'in-jo was demoted. But K'ou's return was clearly predicated on his support for the authenticity of the new text among whose authors -- on the only occasion when their names have been transmitted -- figured that of his son-in-law, Wang Shu 王曙.<sup>27</sup> Amid the continuing factional struggle, however, Wang Ch'in-jo was soon restored to power. Three years later, in 1022, the emperor died in the palace compound, in the Basilica of Extended Felicitations (yen-ch'ing-tien 延慶殿). He died in the second month and was buried in the tenth month at the Ever Secure Tumulus (yung-ting ling 永定陵), the Sung imperial burial ground. His son and successor, Jen-tsung 仁宗, buried the Heavenly Text with his father. Eight years later, in the sixth month of 1030, a great storm arose, causing the Palace Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity to catch fire, and, except for two small basilicae, suffer complete destruction. In the seventh month of the same year, Jen-tsung dismissed the officials in charge of various Taoist palaces and establishments. So ends the tale of the Heavenly Text, the emperor who was so affected by it, and the building in which it was to be preserved.

The core of the problem of interpreting the Heavenly Text affair, and related episodes, lies in understanding the attitude and motivation of Chen-tsung himself. Our historians are of only limited value for this purpose, for, while they have no doubts about the self-seeking motives of those surrounding him, they remain guarded and ambivalent about the royal figure himself. The "Critical Essay" appended to the Annals of this reign in the Sung-shih intriguingly sidesteps the hard questions regarding Chen-tsung and focuses attention on his ministers. While we shall find it useful to take this

statement under consideration, we fortunately have further information available on which to draw in forming a reasoned view of the emperor's conduct.

The "Critical Essay" reads as follows.

Chen-tsung was a splendid and enlightened ruler. When he first stepped up on the throne, his chief councilor Li Kang was anxious on account of his perspicacity and concerned that he might try to do too many things. Li memorialized on several occasions about visitations and oddities in order to restrain the emperor's passions. Probably some of what he said received the emperor's attention. (But) once the Shan-yüan Treaty had been concluded and the feng and shan sacrifices performed, auspicious signs accumulated in great quantities and Heavenly Texts repeatedly descended. In welcoming (these remarkable things) and treating them with reverence, ruler and officials alike acted with an insane passion. Alas! How strange!

At a later time when compilation of the Liao History was in progress, (features of the) old Khitan customs were observed. This permitted discovery of subtle implications in the Sung histories. From the time of T'ai-tsung's defeat at Yu-chou, the Sung hated to discuss warfare. As for the Khitan, their ruler relied upon Heaven and their consorts praised earth. In a single year they sacrificed to Heaven innumerable times. When upon hunting they were able to seize flying wild geese with their hands, or when the wild birds seemed to spread themselves on the ground of their own accord, they considered all these things to be gifts from Heaven. In their sacrifices they would report such things and praise and glory in them.

Now the various ministers of the Sung, because they knew Khitan customs, and also because they saw that their own ruler was against warfare, accordingly advanced assertions about the established teachings of the divine Tao. Did they not hope to draw the enemy's attention through these devices and perhaps even cause his aggressive intentions to dissolve? However, they did not consider cultivating the fundamentals in order to bring the enemy under control. (Indeed) their imitations even exceeded their model and so their plans came to nought. Jen-tsung buried the Heavenly Text in a hillside tumulus. Alas! How wise!<sup>28</sup>

These Yüan historians believed that some of Chen-tsung's ministers had tactical motives for going along with the Heavenly Text program and the performance of the great sacrifices. That is, perceiving that he would not permit any aggressive military action, they sought to use this apparent miracle to awe an enemy whom they could not subdue by force. Their errors were that they did not keep their own actions and motives pure or do their duty of seeing that the emperor was following the correct path ("cultivating the fundamentals"), and that they went too far in their efforts ("exceeded their model"). Yet, even in what purports to be a critical evaluation of the emperor's reign, the historians cannot be specific about Chen-tsung's motivation. The essay, in



fact, gives the impression that they are reduced to shaking their heads. Are they suggesting a contemporary fear that he was obsessed with religion or even insane? (Note the euphemism in the first paragraph that "his perspicacity" frightened his chief councilor.)

Ssu-ma Kuang, an historian much closer to the events than the Sung-shih compilers, believed on the other hand that Chen-tsung knew about and approved of the fabrication of the Heavenly Text which he justified as a means of impressing the credulous Khitan.<sup>29</sup> Certain facts support the argument that the emperor wanted to awe his northern adversaries. For example, when he returned to the capital after his successful performance of the feng and shan, he made a symbolic visit to Shan-yüan. Was he simply flaunting the signs of Heaven's benediction in the face of the Khitan? Not necessarily, for being aware of the need to impress the Khitan and falsely performing solemn religious rituals to this end are two very different matters. In my opinion, the emperor was not reluctant to dazzle the foreigners with evidence of Heaven's favor and was fully aware of the tactical value of doing so. However, if he is allowed a grain of genuine religious commitment, then he almost certainly would not have lent himself to hypocritical performances of the most ancient and prestigious of rites.

Now, in order to perform the feng and shan, as mentioned above, the emperor needed heaven's explicit permission. One of the indications of whether or not he had it was the presence of omens and, traditionally, for the feng and shan sacrifices some kind of heavenly document was required. The performance of the great sacrifices closest to Chen-tsung's time had also been sanctified by the receipt of heavenly writings. This was the sacrifice performed in 725 by Hsüan-tsung (to whom Chen-tsung was so frequently compared). In the T'ang case, a heavenly text was found at T'ai-shan. According to Chiu T'ang-shu 23 in which the incident is recorded, Chang Yüeh 張詠 approached the throne and said that heaven had given the emperor a divine text from the Grand Ultimate in which it was written that one cycle was complete and a new one was beginning. In the new cycle there would be eternal peace for the multitude of mankind. The emperor, upon receiving this message, saluted and prostrated himself. Later, during a court discussion of the sacrifice, the emperor said, "Since the great writing was found there, how could I refuse to carry out the ceremonies?"<sup>30</sup>

The Sung performance of the feng and shan shows many similarities to the T'ang example. In both cases the emperor finally succeeded in carrying out a

difficult sacrifice after his predecessors had attempted and failed to do so. In both cases, court discussions, divine tokens, and requests from the people came before the sacrifice. In both cases, T'ai-shan itself showed approval of the venture by producing favorable omens. After the Sung ceremonies at T'ai-shan, Wang Tan said to the emperor, "Heaven has given Your Majesty the divine talismans of the Grand Ultimate. One cycle is completed and another is about to begin. There will be eternal peace for the multitude of men." The words are almost the same as Chang Yüeh's to Hsüan-tsung, and the intent -- to glorify the emperor and suggest that the dynasty is rejuvenated, a new cycle of history is beginning, and the Mandate of Heaven is reaffirmed -- is certainly the same.

The most important difference between Chen-tsung's performance of the feng and shan and that of earlier emperors was, as Chen-tsung's critics did not fail to point out, the state of the empire. Sung in 1008 was in no position to give thanks to Heaven for its blessings: quite the contrary. Perhaps, by performing the sacrifice at just this time, the emperor intended to bring about, by acting as if they were already in existence, the conditions under which the sacrifice was properly performed. If he could succeed in securing heaven's permission through omens, then carrying out the rites themselves would signify that Heaven approved his reign, and blessings would surely follow.

Aside from a natural enough predisposition to believe in heavenly omens which would confirm his right to perform the feng and shan and thus affirm both the legitimacy and potency of his rule, Chen-tsung had an even more compelling reason to accept attested (as it were) messages from heaven. He was a devout and practicing Taoist. All indications are that his intentions were deeply colored by his religious convictions. An examination of the patronage accorded Taoism in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries reveals that it occupied a place of exceptional importance at the Sung court virtually from the beginning.<sup>31</sup> The Mao-shan order, in particular, which had flourished during the T'ang, remained influential under the Sung.<sup>32</sup> Following the example set by the T'ang emperors, Sung T'ai-tsung (r. 976-997) had extended official patronage to Mao-shan and was personally interested in the collection of Taoist texts. The great encyclopedia T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, compiled upon his command and presented to him in 983, contains a large section devoted to Taoist texts of which Mao-shan scriptures predominate. T'ai-tsung also ordered a search for Taoist writings and had the resulting accumulation of 7,000 chuan fully edited. With duplicates eliminated, the final compilation still totaled 3,737 chuan.

Chen-tsung emulated his grandfather's encouragement of text collection and editing. In 1008, he ordered Wang Ch'in-jo to catalogue the imperial collection of Taoist writings. Wang, assisted by civil officials and Taoist scholars collected 4,357 chuan of Taoist texts and compiled a catalogue entitled The Comprehensive Register of Treasure-Texts (pao-wen t'ung-lu 寶文統錄). In the winter of 1012, on the advice of Wang Ch'in-jo and others, the emperor ordered Chang Chün-fang 張君房 to reclassify the whole body of materials and add new titles. The new collections, entitled The Great Sung Heavenly Palace Treasure Store (Ta-Sung t'ien-kung pao-tsang 大宋天宮寶藏), contained 4,564 titles. Chang also edited a shorter collection, containing a selection from the major works of Taoism, entitled Seven Slips from a Bookbag of Clouds (yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 雲笈七籤), which was only 120 scrolls long.<sup>33</sup>

As his role in the Taoist editorial undertakings suggests, Wang Ch'in-jo was clearly something more than the plotting minister or cunning magician portrayed by our sources. He was a major figure in the Taoist circles of his day, and the author of an important scripture which was included in the Taoist Canon: Transmissions Concerning the Realized Lord Subservient to the Paragon, Conserv-er of Virtue (I-sheng pao-an chen-chün chuan 翊聖保德真君伝).<sup>34</sup> This text, which gives an account of early Sung revelations of one of the Perfected Lords (真君), was selected for inclusion in the above-mentioned Seven Slips from a Bookbag of Clouds, where it opens the hagiographic section. Incidentally, this text shows Jen-tsung, whom the historians praise for his wisdom in burying the Heavenly Text with his father, as a devout supporter of Taoism. After examining the evidence of Wang's scholarly and religious activities, one may suspect the orthodox historians -- in their portraits of him as a political actor -- of painting the man to fit the role their plot required.

In addition to sponsoring the composition and compilation of texts, Chen-tsung granted patronage to many Taoist establishments. In the tenth month of 1008, for example, he ordered that Belvederes of Heavenly Fecilitations (t'ien-ch'ing kuan 天慶觀) be set up all over the empire. And he continually funded and endowed monasteries, shrines, and temples throughout his reign. He also patronized individual Taoists. Thus, in 1015 he granted land to Chang Cheng-sui 張正隨, a putative descendent of Chang Tao-ling 張道陵, founder of the Han Heavenly Masters order. He also conferred on him the designation Master of Perfected Tranquility (chen-ching hsien-sheng 真靜先生) and the right to assume the title of Heavenly Master (t'ien-shih 天師), Chang Tao-

ling's title which had subsequently been applied to monarchs and to magi of other families. Chang Cheng-sui's lineage founded the Taoist order of Cheng-i Chiao 正一教. Chen-tsung also made many benefactions to Mao-shan, patronizing its twenty-third patriarch Chu Tzu-ying 朱自英 (d.1029), who became a familiar figure at the court of Kai-feng.

In addition Chen-tsung recognized a new founder of Taoism to take the place of Lao Tzu, the traditional founder. Lao Tzu had been claimed as an ancestor by the Li clan, the imperial family of the T'ang. The T'ang dynasty gained great prestige and augmented their legitimacy through their connection with the founder of the native religion, whose cult they supported generously.<sup>35</sup> In 669 Kao-tsu had given Lao-tzu the titles of Divine Theocrat of the Grand Supreme Mysterious Origin (t'ai-shang hsüan-yüan huang-ti 太上玄元皇帝) -- a combination posthumous imperial title and name of a Taoist divinity of the highest order. Not to be outdone, Chen-tsung set up a new founder who was also the original ancestor of his own Chao clan. After the emperor's dream in which he saw a spiritual being who called himself the earliest ancestor of the Chao clan and described certain of his past avatars, this newly revealed deity was declared anterior to and more potent than Lao-tzu. The Sung gave this ancestor the title of the Grand Supreme Theocrat of Great Heaven, Who Opens the Heavens, Controls Talismans, Regulates the Calendar, Contains Perfection, and Embodies the Way (t'ai-shang k'ai-t'ien chih-fu yü-li han-chen t'i-tao huang-ta t'ien-ti 太上開天執符御歷含真體道皇天大帝), another even more extravagant posthumous name, plus a divine title.<sup>36</sup>

The emperor's adoption of a powerful Taoist divinity as a dynastic ancestor suggests the strong possibility that he sought, as had Hsüan-tsung and others before him, to borrow the charisma of a potent religious figure to lend legitimacy to his rule and lineage. This interpretation both supports and sheds light on the emperor's treatment of the Heavenly Text. He regarded the text as a dynastic treasure, which proved not only his right to perform the highest sacrifices but also to rule. The Taoists, it has been established,<sup>37</sup> had borrowed some of the paraphernalia of dynastic legitimation from the temporal rulers of China during the Han and Six Dynasties periods. The Taoists, too, had their treasure swords, talismans, registers, and texts, the possession of which testified to the owner's knowledge and power. In the Heavenly Text incident, the Sung ruler takes back an ancient symbol of legitimacy which, if anything, has acquired increased potency through association with the Taoist religion. The revealed documents which made up the Heavenly Text, both as

precious objects, in a class with the River Chart and the Lo Text, and literally as texts as well, supported the emperor's claims of possessing the mandate to rule. The first one stated that the Chao had the Mandate, had used it well, and must preserve it in the legitimate line; as long as they did so, they would be secure almost indefinitely. The second text (or the third, depending upon the count) praised the emperor and his rule and promised that the country's good fortune would be extended indefinitely. Clearly its function as dynastic talisman and potent treasure is a major part of the total meaning of the Heavenly Text.

Even after his death, Chen-tsung's special relationship to Taoism was affirmed by his posthumous title, "Perfected Ancestor," an explicit reference to the Taoist practitioner who has achieved his goals, the "perfected person" (chen-jen). His close identification with the Heavenly Text was repeatedly demonstrated throughout his reign and, as we have seen, receives considerable attention in the standard accounts. However, the implication in the Sung-shih's "Critical Essay" that Jen-tsung symbolically banished Taoism from the court by burying the text with his father is misleading, for he was himself a patron of Taoism. In fact, the influence of Taoism was to grow from the time of the Heavenly Text to an eventual high point in the reign of Hui-tsung (1101-1126).

The first decade of the eleventh century saw the first recorded instance of the Sung emperor and court struggling with the problem of the disparity between the ideal of a unified China as the center of a host of tributary nations and the reality of a divided state besieged by powerful adversaries without and threatened by factionalism within. The Heavenly Text was an important part of the Sung response to the political situation of the time. It provided evidence of heaven's blessing and made possible the great sacrifices, thus contributing to the impression of dynastic vitality which the latter conveyed. The Text and the sacrifices, in short, confirmed Sung's continued possession of the Mandate of Heaven. In addition to helping keep internal order at a time of crisis and strengthening the faith of the people and officials in their government, this demonstration of legitimacy also provided an opportunity for propaganda to impress the Khitan.

But the first decade of the eleventh century was not only the period of the first major political crisis of the Sung, a time when the solutions attempted were to have lasting consequences; it was also notable as the period

of the first major Taoist revelations of the Sung. For the emperor and others who took the Taoist religion seriously, the Heavenly Text and the visions which accompanied it were only in part a solution to the political problems of the day. Beyond that they were confirmation of the special status of the dynasty in being chosen for the revelation of new texts and new deities.

This preliminary study of the Heavenly Text affair shows the need for a thorough study of Taoism in early Sung China. The Taoist texts used here have provided new light; but someone must do a comparative analysis of all the relevant Taoist materials before we are able to envisage the whole picture. For surely the most meaningful perspective from which to view the Heavenly Text incident is as a pivotal event in the history of Taoism and the state.

#### Notes

1. T'o T'o, et al., Sung-shih (Po-na ed.) 7, 15b [hereafter SS]
2. For one such modern Chinese interpretation see Ch'eng Kuang-yü, "Shan-yüan chih meng yü't'ien-shu," Ta-lu tsa-chih 22: 6, 7 (1961), 177-226.
3. Otto Franke, Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches, v. 4 (Berlin: Walter Gruyter & Co., 1948), 177-226.
4. This narrative is based on the following sources:  
Feng Ch'i 馮琦, Sung-shih chi-shih pen-mo 宋史紀事本末, ch. 22 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed.) [CSPM]  
SS 7 & 8 (Annals of Chen-tsung) and 104 (Rites)  
T'o T'o, et al., Liao-shih (Po-na ed.)  
Hsü Sung 徐松, Sung hui-yao chi-kao 宋會要輯稿 (1936 reprint of 1809 ed.), sect. 52.  
Ch'en Chün 陳均, Huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao 皇朝編年綱目備要 (1966 reprint of Seikado ed.), ch. 7 [KMPY].  
Li Tao 李燾, Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-p'ien 續資治通鑑長編 (1881 Chechiang shu-chü ed.), ch. 66 [HCP].  
Wang Ch'eng 王稱, Tung-tu shih-lüeh 東都事略 (ed. of 1798).  
Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 Su-shui chi-wen 涑水紀聞 (Han-feng-lou ed. of Shuo-fu, 1927), ch. 6.  
My account utilizes mainly the version of events given by the GSPM, compared to and supplemented by versions provided by the other sources which are listed in order of frequency used.
5. The Treaty of Shan-yüan, its provisions and implications have been carefully studied by C. Schwarz-Schilling, Der Friede von Shan-yüan (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959). Other recent work provides a more realistic and complex picture of international relations in East Asia in the 11th century than the traditional sources. See, for example, the two papers presented at the 1978 conference on multi-state relations in the 10th - 14th

centuries held at Issaquah, Washington by Tao Jingshen ("Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Ch'i-t'an") and Wang Gungwu ("The Rhetoric of a Lesser Empire: Early Sung Relations with its Neighbors"). The conference volume containing these papers is in press.

For a careful study of changing Sung policies and intra-governmental relationships see Karl F. Olsson, "The Structure of Power under the Third Emperor of Sung China: the shifting Balance after the Peace of Shan-yüan," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974. On the Khitan side see the fundamental study by K.W. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese Society: Liao (New York: American Philosophical Society, 1949).

Unfortunately, none of these valuable studies, including Olsson's, makes an effort to reassess the role of Taoism at court in Chen-tsung's reign.

6. Olsson, "The Structure of Power," ch. 6, provides thorough treatment of the rise of factionalism in Northern Sung.
7. Rolf Stein, "Jardins en Miniature d'Extreme Orient," Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme Orient 42 (1942); also see Michael Saso, "What is the 'ho-t'u'?" in History of Religion 17: 3 & 4 (1978).
8. CSPM 22, 129.
9. Ibid.
10. The sources which record this text are KMPY for 4th mo./1008 and Sung hui-yao chi-kao, "Auspicious Tokens and Oddities," ch. 1, 29. Since this particular text was not preceded by a dream in which a deity verified its authenticity, was received without ceremony, and has left no trace as to its contents, it is questionable whether it should be accepted as a Heavenly Text. It may simply be another auspicious token preparatory to the feng and shan sacrifices.
11. Hsi-shan has not been located. Was it not perhaps a mountain in Hsi County in modern Shensi?
12. CSPM 22, 130 [translation partly revised by the Editor].
13. Chao An-jen 趙安仁 (958-1018) who has a biography in SS 287.
14. This figure, Chou Ch'i 周起, is otherwise little known.
15. Fen-yin is located in modern Yung County, Shansi.
16. See CSPM 22, 132-133. Sun has a biography in SS 430.
17. CSPM 22, 134-135.
18. The name of the temple is one which originates in organized Taoist religion. The Realm of Great Purity (t'ai-ch'ing) is the lowest of the Three Pure Realms (san-ch'ing) of Taoism and the most accessible to human beings of any of the realms. This concept of the Three Pure Realms issues from the cosmology of the Mao-shan order of Taoism around the fourth century A.D. and had become a standard part of general Taoist cosmography by the fifth.
19. The name of the palace is again a Taoist one, the Realm of Jade Purity (yü-ch'ing) being the highest and most inaccessible of the Three Realms mentioned in n. 18. It is from this realm that the most sacred books of Taoism have been transmitted, bit by bit, to the human world.
20. KMPY, 1016.
21. See the biography of Wang Tan by Hsü Wen-hsiung in Herbert Franke, ed., Sung Biographies (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), 1147-1153.
22. See SS 210.

23. See Wang Gungwu, "Feng Tao: an Essay on Confucian Loyalty," in A.F. Wright and D.C. Twitchett, eds., Confucian Personalities (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 123-146.
24. Wang Fu-chih, Sung-lun (1973 Taipei reprint), 62.
25. KMPY, 1017.
26. I have not been able to identify this location.
27. The others were Chou Huai-cheng 周懷政 and Chu Neng 朱能.
28. SS 7, 24b-25a [translation partly revised by the Editor].
29. See his Su-shui chi-wen, ch. 6.
30. The section of the Chiu T'ang-shu devoted to the feng and shan sacrifices is translated by Edouard Chavannes, "Le T'ai Chan," Annales du Musée Guimet 21 (1910), 169-234.
31. For information on the history of Taoism under the Sung, including on the compilations mentioned, see Ho Peng-yoke, "Taoism in Sung and Yuan China," unpublished paper prepared for the Second International Taoist Conference, held at Tateshina, Japan, 1972. The legal position of Taoism in Sung is treated by W. Eichhorn in his Beitrag zur Rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus im Sung-Staat (Leiden: Brill, 1968).
32. On the history of the Mao-shan tradition, beginnings through Sung, see Michel Strickmann, "Etude sur le Taoisme du Mao Chan," doctoral diss., University of Paris, 1979 (and forthcoming, Presses Universitaires), 24-48. Also see Liu Ta-pin 劉大彬 Mao-shan chih 茅山志, no. 304 in the list of contents of the Tao-tsang analyzed by Weng Tu-chien, Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te, Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature, Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, v. 25 (1935).
33. Chang's work is no. 103 in the Harvard-Yenching index.
34. Wang's work is no. 1275 in the Harvard-Yenching index.
35. For a thorough account of the relations between Taoism and the state in the T'ang see Charles D. Benn, "Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of Emperor Hsüan Tsung," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977.
36. SS 7
37. Anna Seidel, "Dynastic Talismans and Taoist Lu Registers," paper presented at the International Conference on the Legitimation of Chinese Regimes, Asilomar, CA., 1975.