

# Daoist Visual Culture

Shih-shan Susan Huang 黃士珊

## Introduction

Daoist visual culture as an academic field is still in its infancy,<sup>1</sup> and many sources remain unexplored. Stephen Little, a pioneer in the field, attributes this to the relatively small number of surviving artworks clearly identified as Daoist, as opposed to the ample number of Buddhist images in East Asia.<sup>2</sup> Anna Seidel links the paucity of Daoist objects to their ephemerality and use in ritual: many scroll paintings, paper sculptures, and ritual objects were burnt or buried when symbolically transferred to the supernatural world.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, as Judith Boltz and other scholars observe, Daoist primary texts treating religious and ritual practices are often arcane and “chaotically abundant,”<sup>4</sup> thus tending to limit scholarly access to them.

Methodologically, this study responds to the growth of interest in material and visual culture—interdisciplinary trends that have significant impact on the study of Chinese art history. Increasingly art historians are focusing their attention on nonclassical styles and periods of supposed decline. They are shifting away from masterpieces and major artists to undistinguished artifacts, some of which even lack attribution.<sup>5</sup> Scholars from other disciplines, too, are showing an increased interest in material culture and promote the examination of visual products in a broader cultural landscape. The study of material culture

---

1 For a selected bibliography of Daoist art studies, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the true form: Daoist visual culture in traditional China* (Cambridge, 2012), endnote 5, p. 347; see also Stephen Little, “Taoist art,” in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism handbook* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 709–46.

2 Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the art of China* (Chicago, 2000), p. 709. For additional major exhibition catalogues on Daoist art, see Su Qiming, ed., *Daojiao wenwu* (Taipei, 1999); You Zi'an, *Shuzhai yu daochang: daojiao wenwu* (Hong Kong, 2008); Saitō Ryūichi, ed., *Dōkyō no bijutsu* (Osaka, 2009); Catherine Delacour et al., *La Voie du Tao: un autre chemin de l'être* (Paris, 2010).

3 Anna Seidel, “Chronicle of Taoist studies in the West, 1950–1990,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989–90), p. 272.

4 Ibid., p. 228; Judith Boltz, “Review of *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang*, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen,” *T'oung Pao* 92 (2006), p. 496.

5 For a selected bibliography of Chinese art studies, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, endnote 75, p. 350.

is a relatively young discipline; it investigates the “material, raw or processed, transformed by human action as expressions of culture” and searches for the “cultural belief systems, the patterns of belief of a particular group of people in a certain time and place.”<sup>6</sup> Within this framework, researchers have begun to unearth a wide spectrum of unpublished images, ranging from anonymous drawings, paintings, sculptures, and cave sites to textiles, clothing, furniture, ritual paraphernalia, and printed books. Echoing this tendency, scholarship on religious visual culture has blossomed: it treats visibility and materiality as essential aspects of religion. Some Sinologists are now examining issues of space, practice, and material culture in religion rather than focusing on doctrines or mental states. Others highlight religious exchanges and appropriations, revealing the more complex landscape of traditional Chinese religion.<sup>7</sup>

Beyond the field of Chinese studies, art historian David Morgan, who works primarily on Christian materials, expands the framework for thinking about belief and advocates fervently for the study of “material religion”. Endorsing anthropologist Webb Keane’s notion that “religions may not always demand beliefs, but they will always involve material forms,”<sup>8</sup> Morgan and his colleagues situate materiality and visibility squarely at the center of religion, as reflected in a series of thought-provoking studies that feature such key concepts as visual piety, the sacred gaze, visual religion, and the materiality of religion. In these discourses, visual materials are treated as primary sources for the study of religions.<sup>9</sup>

6 Jules Prown, “Mind in matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method,” *Winterthur portfolio* 17.1 (1982), 6. For the visual culture questionnaire proposed by nineteen art and architecture historians, film theorists, literary critics, and artists, see Svetlana Alpers et al., “Visual culture questionnaire,” *October* 77 (1996), 25–70. For more studies of visual and material culture, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, endnote 76, pp. 350–51.

7 Stephen Teiser, *The scripture of the ten kings and the making of purgatory in medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu, 1994); idem, *Reinventing the wheel: paintings of rebirth in medieval Buddhist temples* (Seattle, 2006); Paul Katz, *Images of the immortal: the cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of eternal joy* (Honolulu, 1999); Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: the Chinese transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York, 2001); Zhiru, *The making of a savior bodhisattva: Dizang in medieval China* (Honolulu, 2007); Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face: scripture, ritual, and iconographic exchange in medieval China* (Honolulu, 2008); Patrice Fava, *Aux portes du ciel, la statuaire taoïste du Hunan: art et anthropologie de la Chine* (Paris, 2014).

8 Webb Keane, “The evidence of the senses and the materiality of religion,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2008), 124; David Morgan, ed., *Religion and material culture: the matter of belief* (New York, 2010), p. 8.

9 See, for example, David Morgan, “Visual religion,” *Religion* 30 (2000), p. 51; and idem, “Toward a modern historiography of art and religion,” in Ena Giurescu Heller, ed., *Reluctant partners: art and religion in dialogue* (New York, 2004), pp. 16–47; S. Brent Plate, ed., *Religion, art, and*

Critical issues have been raised that challenge the mainstream scholarship of visual and material culture and facilitate a deeper integration of the studies of art and religion. For example, Morgan proposes a revisionist approach that not only examines “the physical objects” but also explores the immaterial and mental world to “evaluate objects in the broader register of mind, body, society, and culture.”<sup>10</sup> In addition, S. Brent Plate, who works primarily on religions and films and is a fervent advocate of religious visual culture,<sup>11</sup> identifies four themes for future studies in the expanding interdisciplinary field: intermediality and transmediality; the visibility and performativity of texts; synopticism; and ephemerality.<sup>12</sup> Intermediality and transmediality refer respectively to studies of the interrelationship and commonality of multimedia that “actively shape and reshape religions and cultures.”<sup>13</sup> The visibility and performativity of texts, on the other hand, highlights the visual dimension of sacred texts and stresses how sacred texts are “performed” and not just “read.”<sup>14</sup> Synopticism acknowledges the morphing and merging of religious traditions by way of the sharing of certain “symbols, icons, and designs.”<sup>15</sup> Last but not least, ephemerality calls attention to the now-lost visibility that entails a “multimedia, interactive dimension” of images for which “formal and iconographical approaches” may seem only to “scratch the surface of the meanings possible.”<sup>16</sup> The ephemeral ritual objects, intermediary and transmediary imagery, and performative actions that will be examined alongside the conventional domain of Daoist art, painting and sculpture in this chapter go beyond what Mircea Eliade called the “hard things” that make history.<sup>17</sup>

The following study will be divided into three main parts. In the first part devoted to the charts, illustrations, and talismans in the Daoist canon, we will discuss the inner and outer dimensions of Daoist visual culture, including visu-

---

*visual culture: a cross-cultural reader* (New York, 2002), pp. 10–11; and idem, “The state of the arts and religion: some thoughts on the future of a field,” in Heller, ed., *Reluctant partners*, p. 51.

10 Morgan, ed., *Religion and material culture*, p. 13.

11 For selected publications dealing with methodological issues, see Plate, *Religion, art, and visual culture*.

12 Ibid., pp. 51–62.

13 Ibid., p. 51.

14 Ibid., p. 57.

15 Ibid., p. 58.

16 Plate cites Navajo (Dineh) sand paintings and Tibetan sand mandalas as visual examples of ephemeral religious arts; see ibid., pp. 61–62.

17 Ibid., p. 60; Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in comparative religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (New York, 1958), p. 216.

alization pictures and ritual objects. The second part will shift to archaeology, focusing on selected case studies from the cliff sites, temples, and tombs (especially those associated with the Khitan rule). The third part deals with historically transmitted images that were either associated with imperial patronage or were made or viewed by Daoist priests. It is hoped that by exploring these diverse facets of Daoism we will expand the “tool box” of Daoist art studies, think more contextually about art, religion, and society, and begin to see the “true form” of Daoist visual culture.

### Charts, Illustrations, and Talismans in the Daoist Canon

The most comprehensive primary source for Daoist charts and talismans is the imperially sponsored *Daozang* (Daoist canon 道藏) printed during the Zhengtong 正統 reign in 1445. It contains a vast collection of material, including illustrations for visualization, body charts, ritual diagrams, cosmological maps, talismans, and magical scripts.<sup>18</sup> Of the nearly 1500 texts, many date from medieval times and were preserved in the now-lost 12th century canon compiled under Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25); over half of the manuscripts come from liturgical texts written between the 10th century and the 1445 printing. Although the canon contains the largest database of images related to religious Daoism, scholars have rarely studied them.<sup>19</sup>

From a visual perspective, the miscellaneous Daoist symbols and pictures (*futu* 符圖) preserved in the Daoist canon belong to Chinese *tu* 圖—a broad category of imagery that includes pictures, drawings, illustrations, charts, diagrams, maps, designs, and other nonlinear texts and the role of which, as a whole, is downplayed in knowledge transfer in traditional China. A systematic study of these Daoist images will not only help to better understand Daoism but will also assist in recognizing the function of *tu* in Chinese visual culture and knowledge transmission. Catherine Despeux and Franciscus Verellen,

18 For scholarship on the Daoist canon, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, endnote 139, p. 353.

19 For recent studies of graphic designs from the Daoist canon, see Catherine Despeux, “Talismans and sacred diagrams,” in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism handbook* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 498–540; Franciscus Verellen, “The dynamic design: ritual and contemplative graphics in Daoist scriptures,” in Benjamin Penny, ed., *Daoism in history: essays in honour of Liu Ts’un-yan*, (New York, 2006), pp. 159–86; Shih-shan Susan Huang, “Daoist imagery of body and cosmos, part I: body gods and starry travel,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 3 (2010), 57–90; “Daoist imagery of body and cosmos, part II: body worms and inner alchemical body,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 4 (2011), 33–64.

among others, have identified the common ground of Daoist *tu* as showing the adept “the interior structure” or “the true shape” of “the workings of the universe in its raw and undiluted state.”<sup>20</sup>

The *Daozang* editors placed illustrated pictures and symbols in different categories.<sup>21</sup> Images are part of miscellaneous documents classified under diverse headings: texts 本文, divine symbols 神符, jade instructions 玉訣, numinous charts 靈圖, rituals 威儀, techniques 方法, and miscellaneous arts 眾術, hagiographies 記傳—that is, eight out of the total of twelve categories in the collection. Images also appear in the Four Supplements 四輔, which include materials from lesser schools: Great Mystery (Taixuan 太玄), Great Peace (Taiping 太平), Great Clarity (Taiqing 太清), and Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi 正一).

Although such classifications make the *Daozang* a useful catalogue showing how Daoist imagery in general is associated with different functions and sectarian traditions, it does not provide much help in detecting the typologies of images sorted by visual features. Overall, this is challenging to modern readers, especially because certain symbols that would traditionally fall into the “image” camp when applying the image-text dichotomy are, in fact, treated by the Daoists as sacred texts. This reflects the unique Daoist intellectual framework that, as Franciscus Verellen puts it, shows “the interlocking relationship between textual and graphic elements in Daoist documents.”<sup>22</sup>

The other key concept of Daoist visual culture is the polarization of inner and outer images and the interconnectivity and tension between the two. The pictures associated with the inner system refer to the private and mental images generated in visualization, meditation, and breathing exercises, as well

20 Despeux, “Talismans and sacred diagrams,” p. 499. Despeux divides Daoist graphics into talismans, registers, and three other kinds of diagrams associated with the “true shape of a geographic feature”, the content of the *Yijing*, and the human body, respectively. See Despeux, “Talismans and sacred diagrams,” pp. 498–99. Verellen divides Daoist symbols into “visualization”, “pictorial metaphor”, and “dynamic symbols”. See Verellen, “The dynamic design,” p. 160. For a study of the talismans and symbols related to Celestial Masters (or Orthodox Unity) Daoism, see Li Fengmao and Zhang Zhixiong, “Shufu yu fuhao: Zhengyi fufa de tuxiang ji qi xiangzheng,” *Qinghua xuebao* 40.3 (2010), 327–64. For a study of Daoist ordinations and related registers, see Yu-ping Luk, “Picturing celestial certificates in Zhengyi Daoism: a case study of the *Ordination scroll of Empress Zhang* (1493),” *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao lishi yu shehui* 2011.3, 17–48.

21 For an index to the classification of *Daozang* texts, see Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds, *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang* (hereafter, *The Taoist canon*), 3 vols (Chicago, 2004), 3.1302–1438.

22 Verellen, “The dynamic design,” p. 160.

as the artifacts made to correspond to such internal experiences. The images associated with the outer system cover the multimedia materiality tied to the physical rituals and encompass diagrammatic designs of ritual space; ritual artifacts, including flags, banners, mirrors, writing utensils, written documents, and the mobile spectacle of ritual performance. Comparable to the dichotomy of inner and outer are other pairing ideas that include the esoteric and the exoteric, the private and the public, the microcosm and the macrocosm, the mental and the physical, the immaterial and the material, the invisible and the visible, and so on. Daoist images from the inner and the outer systems do not subscribe to an absolute dichotomy. The inner layer of Daoist ritual mirrors closely the physical ritual performance, and takes place in the adept's mind through visualization and meditation. This also prompts scholars to see the transmission of Daoist texts in inner and outer channels: the inner texts refer to those in internal circulation, whereas the outer texts are meant for general circulation.<sup>23</sup>

The miscellaneous visual materials in the Daoist canon call to our attention three modes of images central to Daoist symbolism: aniconic, immaterial/invisible, and ephemeral. Daoism's aniconic mode is its most significant contribution to the sphere of Chinese visual culture and distinguishes it from its icon-dominated Buddhist counterpart. It also reflects Daoism's fundamental respect for and obsession with writing, which is often deemed to be a sacred material form connected to the transforming cosmic energy. In Daoism, the immaterial and invisible are deemed to be most closely associated with true form, which is therefore superior to any other material object: the latter is always merely a reflection of the former.<sup>24</sup> In addition to the aniconic and the immaterial, one should also give due weight to the ephemeral creations of multimedia ritual objects, sacred space, and ritual performance—concerns that echo the methodological approach outlined by Plate.<sup>25</sup>

### *Inner Dimension*

Many symbols preserved in the Daoist canon and associated with the Song-Yuan context deal with the inner dimension of Daoist experiences. They can be further divided into three major categories: visualization, cosmology, and

23 Kristopher Schipper and Franciscus Verellen classify the *Daozang* texts in two main categories: "texts in general circulation" and "texts in internal circulation"; see Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 3,1347–92.

24 Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist meditation: the Mao-shan tradition of great purity*, trans. Julian F. Pas and Norman J. Girardot (Albany, 1993), p. 163.

25 Plate, "The state of the arts and religion," pp. 60–62.

attending life. While many images of visualization and cosmology may derive from still earlier meditative traditions before the Song, the massive repertoire of images associated with attending life should be viewed as a new visual development stimulated by the practice of internal alchemy.

### Visualization

Visualization is a key method by which adepts make invisible forms visible and vice versa.<sup>26</sup> Recent studies of images and the brain explain how visualization works.<sup>27</sup> According to Livia Kohn, internal imagery “is one of the earliest forms of cognition that connects to deep levels of the brain”; it creates a more direct vision than the “more distant experience conveyed by verbal communication or abstract thinking.”<sup>28</sup> Visualized images are located in the right brain hemisphere, which connects to the unconscious and the mythical, as opposed to the left brain hemisphere, which relates to the conscious and the abstract. More amazingly, as John Ratey notes, the cognitive action associated with visualization is “carried out by the regions of the brain responsible for actual movement.”<sup>29</sup>

Because mental images in practitioners’ visualization play an essential role in Daoist image making, Daoist masters produced illustrated meditation manuals intended to help the adept better understand “what it is” and “where it is” in his visualization practice. Even manuals without illustrations encouraged adepts to engage in active mental image making and to compare those images with actual images.<sup>30</sup> Of the many illustrations preserved in Daoist visualization and liturgical manuals, significant numbers are devoted to mapping Daoist cosmography, ranging from the inner body to the stars, heaven, the earthly paradise, and the underground.

26 The 4th century *Baopuzi neipian* (DZ 1185) includes good examples of metamorphosis; see Robinet, *Taoist meditation*, p. 163.

27 For studies of imagery and the brain, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, endnote 97, p. 351.

28 Livia Kohn, *Meditation works: in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Daoist traditions* (Magdalena, 2008), p. 130.

29 John J. Ratey, *A user's guide to the brain: perception, attention, and the four theaters of the brain* (New York, 2002), p. 147.

30 Franciscus Verellen calls attention to the “iconic narratives” evident in some medieval Daoist miracle accounts, which “served simultaneously as vehicles and as objects of devotion.” See Franciscus Verellen, “Evidential miracles in support of Taoism: the inversion of a Buddhist apologetic tradition in late Tang China,” *T'oung pao*, 2nd series, 78.4–5 (1992), 257.



### *Body Gods and Body Worms*

Among the earliest imagery recorded in the history of Daoism is that of body gods 身神, the divine entities believed to reside in various parts of the body, ranging from major centers such as the head, eyes, and navel to the five inner organs 五臟 of the heart, liver, lungs, kidneys, and spleen. Although body gods can and do travel in and out of the body, their prolonged absence may result in sickness or death. Hence, visualizing them and their associated body parts in detailed physicality is a powerful means of keeping them in place and thus promoting health and longevity.<sup>31</sup>

One of the most popular visual conventions in picturing Daoist body gods is to highlight their physical appearances as bureaucrats reporting to the stars. A good example is the Highest Clarity document on visualization, the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (Perfect scripture of the great cavern of highest clarity; DZ 6), collated by the Southern Song patriarch Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (d. 1281) on Mount Mao 茅山.<sup>32</sup> The scripture is meant to be recited while the adept visualizes body gods and cosmic divinities.<sup>33</sup> It emphasizes the relationship between the divinities residing in the body and those in the heavenly sphere, encouraging the adept to embark on ecstatic journeys, soaring into the sky, absorbing cosmic energies, and merging with the Dao. A common template shared by most of the text's fifty illustrations shows a seated adept positioned frontally or with his back to the viewer, visualizing a group of body gods floating on a cloud mass emanating from his head (Fig. 1). The planetary divinities, like Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the sun, and the moon, constitute the majority of the body gods.<sup>34</sup> Shown as officials, each holding a tablet in both hands before his chest,<sup>35</sup> they may also appear as kingly figures wearing imperial robes and caps decorated with pendants. Other body gods, including guardians and divine generals wearing armor and holding weapons, are military in character.<sup>36</sup> Their dress varies in style and color according to their rank and body location. The pictorial conventions of deities emanating from the head are comparable to pictorial motifs in Buddhist visualization

31 Robinet, *Taoist meditation*, pp. 64–65.

32 Ibid., pp. 97–117.

33 Ibid., p. 104.

34 The numbers of planetary deities associated with each star vary: Jupiter has nine, Mars eight, Venus seven, Mercury five, and Saturn twelve; see *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*, DZ 6, 1,516–18.

35 More illustrations are found in *ibid.*, 1,516–18, 521, 524, 527–29, and 543.

36 One particular trinity consists of a general “who resembles the great general of Tianpeng” 天蓬大將; see *ibid.*, 1,520a.



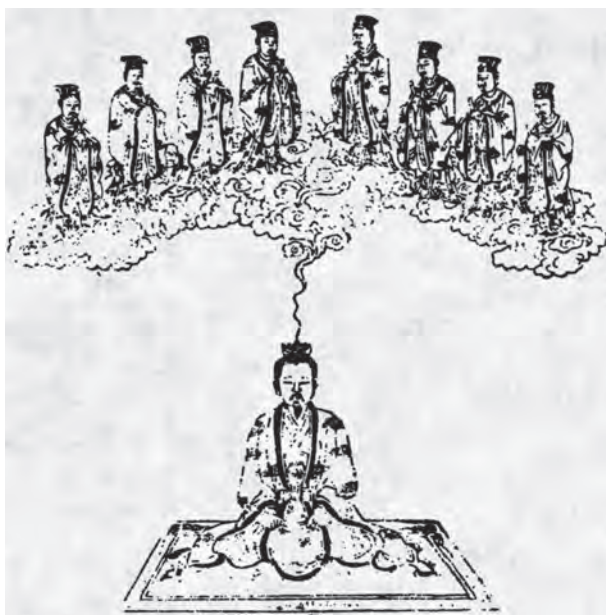


FIGURE 1 Visualization of the eight deities of Mars, from the Perfect scripture of the great cavern, DZ 6, 1.517a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

paintings, such as the 1180 Southern Song painting of *Amitābha's pure land* in the Chion'in 知恩院 collection, Kyoto.<sup>37</sup>

The counterpart of the positive bureaucratic body gods is the imagery of grotesque-looking souls and worms residing in the human body that can cause sickness or death. Daoists in medieval China developed a complex microcosmic system of body gods, spirits, and worms, which are leech-like creatures that gnaw through people's intestines (Fig. 2).<sup>38</sup> By visualizing such bodily spirits in their concrete form, one could control or expel them, a feature that led to the creation and proliferation of the images of such body entities. Examined as a group, these harmful souls and worms form a unique subcategory of Daoist

37 Ide Seinosuke, *Nihon no Sō Gen butsuga, Nihon no bijutsu* 418 (Tokyo, 2001), pp. 52–53 (pl. 8).

38 Kubo Noritada, *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū: Nitchū shūkyō bunka kōshōshi* (Tokyo, 1961); Livia Kohn, "Kōshin: a Taoist cult in Japan, part I: contemporary practices," *Japanese religions* 18.2 (1993), 113–39; "Kōshin: a Taoist cult in Japan, part II: historical development," *Japanese religions* 20.1 (1995), 34–55; Xiao Dengfu, *Daojiao yu minsu* (Taipei, 2002), pp. 258–371.



FIGURE 2 The nine worms, rearranged by this author from the Scripture for the protection of life, DZ 871, 18.700a–701c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

visual culture that also converges with the little-studied visuality of Chinese demonology and disease.

The earliest extant visual material detailing this subject is found in the 9th to 10th century Daoist illustrated handbook of “demonic entomology,”<sup>39</sup> *Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* 除三尸九蟲保生經 (DZ 871) (Fig. 2).<sup>40</sup> The text may stem from the Sichuan area; the original illustrations are attributed to a disciple of the Tang physician Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581–682).<sup>41</sup> The following discussion will draw on visual examples from this text.

The seven material souls and three deathbringers are two groups of bodily spirits that are depicted in semi-figural forms. The seven material souls are basically internal demons, which represent the intellectual, artistic, and spiritual aspects of mankind and grant adepts beneficial goodness. They also represent the instinctive needs for sleep, food, sex, and survival and tend to cause tension and sickness. All are individually named and are shown in semidemonic forms, with two exceptions: Devouring Thief 吞賊 looks like a man holding a rolled document and Expelling Filth 除穢 is shown as a female deity.<sup>42</sup> Sparrow of the Yin 雀陰 and Flying Poison 飛毒 are the most monstrous: they have

39 Mollier, “Visions of evil: demonology and orthodoxy in early Daoism,” in Benjamin Penny, ed., *Daoism in history: essays in honour of Liu Ts'un-yan* (New York, 2006), p. 86.

40 This illustration contains a series of illustrations rearranged from DZ 871, 18.700a–701c.

41 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 1.364. A 1225 Daoist stele from Sichuan known as *Taishang duanchu fulian beiming* 太上斷除伏連碑銘 also makes prominent references to the belief in the three deathbringers and nine worms; see Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin, *Zhongguo dao jiao kaogu*, 6 vols (Beijing, 2006), 4.1251–95.

42 The seven material souls are: Deathbringer Dog 尸狗, Hidden Arrow 伏矢, Sparrow of the Yin 雀陰, Devouring Thief 吞賊, Flying Poison 飛毒, Expelling Filth 除穢, and Smelly Lung 臭肺; see *Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing*, DZ 871, 18.697–98.

human legs and bird or demon heads.<sup>43</sup> In fact, they look quite like the other set of body demons, the three deathbringers. According to *Sanshi jing*, the upper deathbringer resembles a male Daoist scholar, the middle deathbringer is depicted as a Chinese lion, and the lower deathbringer has a deformed one-legged human body with an ox's head.<sup>44</sup>

The illustration selected here features the so-called nine worms, parasites in the body (Fig. 2).<sup>45</sup> Some reside in the inner organs (the heart, lungs, and stomach) and cause internal disorders such as stomachache, chest tightness, vomiting, diarrhea, coughing, asthma, tuberculosis, sore muscles, and backache. Others live in the skin and cause itching, acne, and ringworm. The nine worms look different from the figural-animal motifs of the body spirits. Some recall insects with tentacles and eyes, others resemble serpentine earthworms. Still others are similar to single-cell organic forms seen under a microscope. Parasites illustrated in both Daoist and medical texts are similar.<sup>46</sup> Altogether, they reveal the little-explored visual culture of disease preserved in Daoist and medical texts.

Between the 10th and the 13th centuries, more Daoist illustrations are devoted to picturing the control or elimination of the souls and worms by way of visualization and breathing practices. One such example is from the 12th century *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (DZ 220) associated with the Heart of Heaven 天心.<sup>47</sup> The image shows an assembly of the various souls and deathbringers on clouds. Since it appears after a series of pictures showcasing ecstatic journeys through the cosmos, it may affirm the idea that, with the successful practice of visualization, these spirits will come under the adept's control. Some visual changes are worth noting: there is only one entity with a one-legged human body, and his "legged body" is now attached to a human torso dressed in official attire.

### *Visualization of Stars*

A major type of Daoist visualization picture depicts the visualization of stars that enables the adept to "integrate self and Dao, body and cosmos on

43 Christine Mollier, "Talismans," in Marc Kalinowski, ed., *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale* (Paris, 2003), pp. 412 and 425; "Visions of evil," p. 99.

44 See *Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing*, DZ 871, 18.699b–c.

45 The illustration is synthesized from original illustrations in *ibid.*, 18.700a–701c; for the names of the nine worms, see 18.700a. See also Verellen, "The dynamic design," pp. 174–75.

46 For comparative examples, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 61–62.

47 DZ 220, 4.7b–c. For a plate, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 63.



FIGURE 3 Visualization of stars, from *Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu*, DZ 156, 3.128b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

a higher level.”<sup>48</sup> This rich repertoire can be further divided into four subcategories: narrative illustrations of the adept’s journeys to the Northern Dipper, imaginary star maps, stars in the human body, and star divinities as iconic forms. The common ground of these images highlights the role of the Northern Dipper, one of the most important constellations in Chinese visual culture, and extends even beyond the religious sphere.

*Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu* 上清洞真九宮紫房圖 (DZ 156) circulated in the Tang and Northern Song periods shows a horizontal series of illustrations that detail the adept’s visualization of stars (Fig. 3).<sup>49</sup> Laid out horizontally, it should be viewed from right to left like a handscroll. The illustrations signify the process of visualization and indicate the connection between body and cosmos. On the right, the adept’s torso appears first in profile, then frontally, showing his concentration on the nine palaces in the head. Two large towers following the torso images serve as elaborations of the nine palaces illustrated in the previous two torsos. As in some other Tang and pre-Tang visualization texts, the illustrations are accompanied by short clarifying notes.

Isabelle Robinet called attention to the unique illustrations of the descent of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper into the bodily organs from the Southern Song Heart of Heaven text, *Wushang santian Yutang zhengzong gao-ben neijing yushu* 無上三天玉堂正宗高奔內景玉書 (DZ 221) (Fig. 4).<sup>50</sup> By matching the swift flight of the stars from the sky to the practitioner’s mouth, the illustrations depict the adept’s magical absorption of the Northern Dipper. The seven stars illuminate the adept’s organs as well as his eyes, and six of the

48 Isabelle Robinet, “Visualization and ecstatic flight in Shangqing Taoism,” in Livia Kohn and Sakade Yoshinobu, eds, *Taoist meditation and longevity techniques* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 125–58; Livia Kohn, *The Taoist experience: an anthology* (Albany, 1993), p. 257.

49 DZ 156, 3.128b; Schipper, in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.612.

50 DZ 221, 4.133b–134c; Robinet, *Taoist meditation*, p. 208; Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face*, pp. 163–64. Poul Andersen in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.1073–74. For a similar description of “Reclining in the Northern Dipper” and the original layout of the illustrations, see DZ 221, 4.132a–134c.

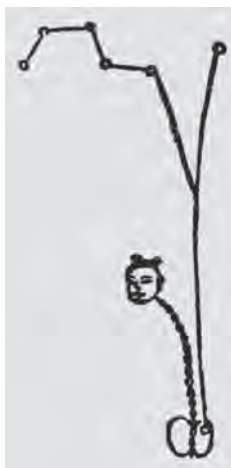


FIGURE 4

*The descent of the sixth star of the Northern Dipper into the kidneys, from Wushang santian Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu, DZ 221, 4.133b–134c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*



FIGURE 5 *The personified Northern Dipper as nine figurative icons, from Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu, DZ 221, 4.129b–130b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

images feature an imaginary torso with a head attached to the related organ. As illustrated here, the sixth image, which shows a relationship between the sixth star and the kidneys, consists of a head- and spinal-cord body chart with the kidneys highlighted in the lower body. Elsewhere in the same text, the Northern Dipper is personified as nine figurative icons (Fig. 5).<sup>51</sup> Seven are depicted as long-haired male deities in flowing robes, holding tablets in both hands in front of their chests. The other two, who follow the first seven, are depicted as imperial figures wearing royal caps with pendants and holding tablets in both hands. This echoes the concept of the Imperial and Honorable Stars noted in the accompanying text,<sup>52</sup> which identifies these two figures as the invisible eighth and ninth stars. Similar iconographies of the nine star deities of the Northern Dipper are illustrated in other Daoist texts dating to

<sup>51</sup> *Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*, DZ 221, 4.129b–130b.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.130b.

the 13th century.<sup>53</sup> An anonymous Southern Song painting from the Japanese Hōgonji 宝嚴寺 collection depicts the star deities of the Northern Dipper in a manner similar to that of the aforementioned religious texts.<sup>54</sup>

### *True Form Charts*

The most innovative symbols pertinent to the concept of true form in Daoist visual culture are the emblems known as the true form charts (*zhenxing tu* 真形圖). The two most important groups of true form charts circulating in the Tang-Song periods include the *True form charts of the Man-bird mountain* 人鳥山真形圖 (Figs. 6–7), associated with the imaginary Daoist paradise known as the Man-bird mountain, and the *True form charts of the five sacred peaks* 五嶽真形圖 that evoke China's sacred mountains.<sup>55</sup> It is likely that the early transmission of the true forms only existed within the internal Daoist community and not for popular audiences. Based on these prototypes, a new type of true form chart associated with the underground prison Fengdu was created largely in conjunction with Southern Song salvation rituals, a topic I will turn to later in this chapter.

Visually, true form charts of mountains are the hybrid “image-texts” created by medieval Daoists, and they challenge the conventional dichotomy of text and image. Composed within a box-like structure filled with aniconic bizarre patterns, they blend the genres of text, image, talisman, magical script, and map. At first glance, their patterns call to mind clouds, flames, paisley, body parts of birds, claws and teeth of wild animals, and even phalli and eggs. Their aniconic and non-representational nature divorces them from the mainstream visuality as it was central to Chinese Buddhist art at the time.

The two versions of the *True form chart of the Man-bird mountain*, hereafter referred to as charts A (Fig. 6) and B (Fig. 7), are Daoist mystic symbols that were illustrated in Daoist texts and circulated in medieval China. The Daoists believed that contemplating these charts would lead them to achieve immortality and attain the inherent truth of the formless Dao.<sup>56</sup> Taken as a whole

53 Ibid., 4.10a–11a. Christine Mollier notes that this iconography seems to be shared with Buddhism, since the images of the seven star deities are close to those in the Buddhist sutra *Fo shuo beidou qixing yanming jing* 佛說北斗七星延命經 (T 21, 1307) dating to the Yuan dynasty, see Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face*, p. 157.

54 Ide Seinosuke, *Nihon no Sō Gen butsuga*, pp. 60–64.

55 For the discussion of these charts in the context of early medieval Daoist sacred geography, see Gil Raz, “Daoist sacred geography,” in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, eds, *Early Chinese religion*, part two: *The period of division (220–589 AD)* (Brill, 2010), pp. 1399–1442.

56 For more discussion of the Man-bird mountain and other ultimate mountains in early medieval China, see Raz, “Daoist sacred geography,” pp. 1438–41.





FIGURE 6 *Chart A of True form charts of the Man-bird mountain, from the Picture of the scripture of the mystic vision of the Man-bird mountain, DZ 434, 6.697c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*



FIGURE 7 *Chart B of True form charts of the Man-bird mountain, from the Primordial view of the mountain form of the Man-bird mountain, DZ 1032, 22.575b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*



the true form chart is a sacred scripture, and to learn the secret teachings contained by it, one should not only read but also visualize and recite it. Chart A is illustrated in an undated text known as *Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu* 玄覽人鳥山經圖 (DZ 434).<sup>57</sup> John Lagerwey sees the chart as “a mountain of *qi*,”<sup>58</sup> and dates this illustrated text to the 8th century.<sup>59</sup> From the visual angle, the chart’s text-image juxtaposition resembles the single-sheet design of Buddhist charms known as the *Dhāraṇī true words* 陀羅尼真言, which were popular in the 9th and 10th centuries.<sup>60</sup> Chart B (Fig. 7) is from a text preserved in the 11th century *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (DZ 1032).<sup>61</sup> Its overall design does not relate to other commonly used objects, though its archaically inspired patterns may derive from the visual conventions of antiquity. The box-like composition is filled with convoluted curvilinear patterns that evoke the mountain’s vaporous, soft, and light qualities and serve as a visual reference to its wondrous *qi*. This chart also introduces written elements in its design. The archaic-looking characters stretching across the center seem partially “revealed” through the cascade of convoluted forms. These illegible “words” reflect the Daoist visuality of heavenly writings, a basic concept of the Daoist scriptural tradition.<sup>62</sup> The script’s curvilinear strokes recall Numinous Treasure magical writs like the secret seal script 祕篆文, the true writs 真文, the celestial patterns 天文, the hidden language of the great Brahmā heaven 大梵隱語, and the spontaneously created jade characters 自然玉字—all interchangeable names referring to the cosmic scripts radiating from different parts of space.<sup>63</sup>

57 The chart is entitled 太上人鳥山形真形圖; see DZ 434, 6.697c.

58 John Lagerwey, “Zhongguo de wenzi yu shenti,” trans. Shi Kangqiang, *Faguo hanxue* 1997.2, 79.

59 John Lagerwey, *Le continent des esprits: la Chine dans le miroir du taoïsme* (Brussels, 1991), p. 136.

60 Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 139.

61 Zhang Junfang 張君房 (1004–7 *jinshi*), *Yunji qiqian* (Beijing, 2003), 80.1836–40; DZ 1032, 22.575b.

62 Hsieh Shu-wei, *Tianjie zhiwen: Wei Jin Nanbei chao lingbao jingdian yanjiu* (Taipei, 2010); Verellen, “The dynamic design,” p. 177.

63 Wang Chengwen, “The revelation and classification of Daoist scriptures,” in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, eds, *Early Chinese religion*, part two: *The period of division* (220–589 AD) (Brill, 2010), pp. 775–888; Wang Yucheng, “Tang Song daojiao mi zhuanwen shili,” *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guan kan* 15–16 (1991), 82–94. For samples of the *zhenwen*, see Bokenkamp in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism* (New York, 2007), p. 1061. According to Stephen Bokenkamp, the *dafan yinyu* are the “words and phrases found in the Numinous Treasure scriptures that are said to be powerful words from the language of the Thirty-two Heavens in past kalpas.” See Bokenkamp in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia*

Based on the scripts appearing on charts A and B, one can further speculate that these two charts represent two fragmented signs containing the Man-bird mountain's secret messages, which together form a symbol set. Chart A contains 244 characters, with the 124 words of the outer text and the remaining 120 words facing right. Together, the two texts of chart A reflect the full revelation of the 244 "characters in the void inscribed *outside* the mountain" 山外空虛之字, with "124 facing left and 120 facing right" 向左百二十四向右百二十, as stated in the *Daozang* text that illustrates the diagram.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, the magical script on chart B may reflect another group of "eleven spontaneous words *inside* the mountain" 山內自然之字一十有一: "[when] arrow-shaped dragons move around [and] deities manifest themselves, dreadful calamities will be eliminated and the ominous will be dispelled" 弓龍行神出除凶殃辟非祥.<sup>65</sup> Assembling fragmented signs in sets has the advantage of allowing for the addition of more layers of "security code" to the already esoteric transmission, which was intended to be passed on to select few so that it would not be leaked to undeserving outsiders.<sup>66</sup>

### Cosmology

The Song and Yuan texts in the Daoist canon have more charts and diagrams that shed light on Daoist cosmology than do the earlier texts. The following

---

of *Taoism*, p. 297. For more references, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, endnote 30, p. 376.

64 *Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu*, DZ 434, 6.698a. For a translation of the two texts, see Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history* (New York, 1987), p. 165; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 147–49. For further discussions of their references to the mythological mountains first mentioned in the 4th century *Baopuzi*, see Lagerwey, *Le continent des esprits* (Brussels, 1991), p. 136; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 148–49; Raz, "Daoist sacred geography," p. 1440.

65 *Ibid.*; these eleven words are also recorded in another Six Dynasties text featuring collections of magic words; see *Taishang qiuixian dinglu chisu zhenjue yuwen* 太上求仙定錄尺素真訣玉文, DZ 128, 2.865a. The current illegibility of chart B's script may be intentionally so, to screen the text from untrained eyes. At the same time, it may also result from mistakes made by transcribers of the chart over multiple transmissions. Looking at the script from right to left, one can vaguely make out that the dark vertical coiling patterns divide the horizontal layout of the magical script into four sections, and that these four sections consist of three, two, three, and three writs respectively. Together these words form eleven magical characters that may well symbolize the "eleven spontaneous words inside the mountain."

66 The majority of Daoist symbol sets come in groups of three and five. For more visual examples, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 153.

discussion will use selected charts and diagrams from these sources to elaborate the Daoist concepts of creation, heavens, and the underground.

Daoists endeavored to map the complex origin and structure of the world to facilitate their ecstatic soul journeys and communicate with the gods and spirits. Of the many illustrations preserved in Song and Yuan visualization and liturgical manuals, significant numbers are devoted to mapping Daoist cosmography, ranging from the inner body to the stars, heaven, the earthly paradise, and the underground. After all, mapping entails controlling, thus generating power. Daoist cosmic maps provide outlines that allow practitioners to roam in the world, empowering them to control the cosmos. In spite of this, the Daoist cosmography reflected in these assorted images is by no means a systematic complex.<sup>67</sup> It blends the real and the imaginary, the representational and the nonrepresentational into a “heterotopia”, a term coined by Michel Foucault to counter the idea of utopia and to refer to “effectively enacted utopias” where other real places found within the culture “are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.”<sup>68</sup> As a whole, these images help to bring to the fore the multiple perspectives concerning Daoist creation; they also shed light on the Daoist formation of heaven and the underworld.<sup>69</sup>

#### *Daoist Creation*

Song Daoists introduced new visual idioms to illustrate Daoist creation. As a result of Emperor Huizong’s promotion and expansion of the *Lingbao Scripture of salvation* (DZ 1),<sup>70</sup> *tu*, or diagrams, were widely perceived as

67 This is in line with Raz’s study of Daoist sacred geography in early medieval China; see Raz, “Daoist sacred geography,” p. 1441.

68 Michel Foucault, “Of other spaces,” trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 1986, 16 and 24.

69 For more discussion of Daoist earthly paradise and sacred geography, including the ten continents and three isles, the five sacred peaks, and the grotto heavens, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 105–19; Raz, “Daoist sacred geography.”

70 The *Scripture of salvation* preserved in the *Daozang* has sixty-one chapters; see DZ 1, 1.1a–417a. Except for the first chapter, which can be connected to the Six Dynasties *Lingbao* literature, the other sixty chapters appear to be a Song creation under the leadership of Huizong and the influential Shenxiao Daoist master Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (ca. 1076–1120). See Michel Strickmann, “The longest Taoist scripture,” *History of Religions* 1978.17, 331–54; Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist scripture* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 373–438. For more on Lin Lingsu, see Patricia Ebrey, “Taoism and art at the court of Song Huizong,” in Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China* (Chicago, 2000), pp. 104–07; Shin-yi Chao, “Huizong and the Divine Empyrean palace temple network,” in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds, *Emperor Huizong and late Northern Song China* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 327–38.



FIGURE 8 Diagram of the chant of the azure sky, from the *Talismans and diagrams of the highest scripture of the universal salvation*, DZ 147, 3.64a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

symbols equivalent to the primordial heavenly scriptures. The *Diagram of the chant of the azure sky* 碧落空歌之圖 (Fig. 8) and the *Diagram of the great floating earth at dawn* 大浮黎土之圖 are found in the early 12th century *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經符圖 (DZ 147),<sup>71</sup> a commentary to *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (Wondrous scripture of the upper chapters on the limitless salvation of the numinous treasure tradition; DZ 1).<sup>72</sup> The two diagrams as a pair present the formation of heaven and earth as a result of cosmic *qi* dividing after the primordial chaos.<sup>73</sup> As illustrated here, the *Azure sky diagram* shows a net of curvilinear lines connecting with one another. Its dynamic patterns evoke the fluid, light, and transparent *yang qi* uplifting to form heaven. On the

71 For the two diagrams, see DZ 147, 3.64a–b. For a study of these charts, see Despeux, “Talismans and sacred diagrams,” pp. 511–13, 525–26.

72 Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist scripture*, pp. 373–438.

73 Ibid., p. 432 (n. 1). See also Hsieh Shu-wei, “Writing from heaven: celestial writing in Six Dynasties Daoism,” PhD dissertation (Indiana University, 2005), pp. 372–73.

other hand, the *Floating earth diagram* is filled with dark solid forms, mingled with little crescent shapes in the void. The dark solid forms signify *yin qi* sinking down to form earth. Since the preface is attributed to Emperor Huizong and the main text celebrates the supreme status of the Divine Empyrean school, Michel Strickmann and Catherine Despeux associate this text with the Divine Empyrean Daoists active at Huizong's court, especially Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153).<sup>74</sup>

### *Multiple Heavens*

Daoism developed a vertical cosmography featuring multiple heavens, some of which are adapted from Buddhist cosmology. The chart of *Two realms of the heaven of the grand network* 大羅二境 (Fig. 9) from the 13th century liturgical manual depicts the highest layers of Daoist heavens.<sup>75</sup> The highest heaven is the Heaven of the grand network, the abode of the Jade Capital mountain, and the palace of the Heavenly worthy of primordial beginning—a celestial site that also corresponds to the human head.<sup>76</sup> Below it are the Three Purities 三清天, with Jade Clarity on top, Highest Clarity in the middle, and Great Clarity at the bottom.<sup>77</sup> In Chinese art, many devotional works bearing the title of the Heavenly Worthy depict Daoist deities from these heavens.<sup>78</sup> As the diagram notes, the Heaven of the grand network and the Three Purities are “beyond the

74 According to Michael Strickmann, the preface of this commentary attributed to Emperor Huizong and the many diagrams imbedded in this text further suggest that it is a Shenxiao product closely associated with Huizong's milieu. More precisely, Strickmann proposes that the text was authored by the Shenxiao Daoist Wang Wenqing in 1120. See Strickmann, “The longest Taoist scripture,” pp. 344–46. See also Despeux, “Talismans and sacred diagrams,” pp. 511 and 525; John Lagerwey, in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.1084.

75 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, DZ 1221, 30.733a.

76 A painting entitled the *Painted image of the Heavenly worthy of the grand network* 大羅天尊畫像 was commissioned at the Tang court; see Li Fang 李昉 (925–96), *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 781.16a–b.

77 The names of the heavens of the Three Purities as inscribed on this diagram reflect the synthesized notions of the Three Purities (Sanqing 三清)—Jade Clarity, Highest Clarity, and Great Clarity—and the three heavens (Santian 三天)—Pure Tenuity (Qingwei tian 清微天), Leftovers of Yu (Yuyu tian 禹餘天), and Great Scarlet (Dachi tian 大赤天). For more on the formation of the heavens of the Three Purities, see Kohn in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 840–44, especially Table 18 on p. 841.

78 *Xuanhe huapu*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 14 vols (Shanghai, 1992–99), 1.65–67, 70, 75, 110. For the iconic trinity of the Three Purities painted on the wall behind the main altar of the Chongyang hall in the 14th century Daoist temple Yonglegong, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua* (Beijing, 2008), pp. 352–54. For a set of Qing paintings of the







FIGURE 10 *Thirty-two heavens surrounding the Mountain of jade capital in a circle, from Sancai dingwei tu, DZ 155, 3.125a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

medieval period.<sup>81</sup> As Stephen Bokenkamp explains, the thirty-two heavens form a circle below the realm of the Heaven of the grand network, where the Jade Capital mountain is located. They “are divided into four groups of eight, one in each of the four directions.”<sup>82</sup>

The notion of the thirty-two lateral heavens underlies the cosmological model depicted in the Northern Song *Sancai dingwei tu* 三才定位圖 (Illustrated pantheon of the three spheres; DZ 155) (Fig. 10), recently studied by Wan Chui-ki.<sup>83</sup> The illustrations from this text may be based on a large scroll submitted to Emperor Huizong by grand councilor Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121) in 1100.<sup>84</sup> The image shows thirty-two radiating celestial palaces perching on clouds and forming a circle. At the center is a sacred mountain with a vertical pillar and a wide platform housing the palace of the Jade Emperor. Divine administrators traveling from all directions come toward

81 See Miller in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 847–48, esp. Table 19, 848; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scripture*, pp. 382–83.

82 Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scripture*, p. 383.

83 Wan Chui-ki, “Zhengtong daoang ben Sancai dingwei tu yanjiu: Bei Song Huizong chao de daoiao yuzhou shenpu,” *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 2012.33, 113–62; for the discussion of lateral heavens, see pp. 116–20.

84 *Sancai dingwei tu*, DZ 155, 3.125a. For a record of Zhang Shangying’s submission to Huizong, see “Jin Sancai dingwei tu zou” 進三才定位圖奏 in *Quan Song wen* 102.140. I would like to thank Patricia Ebrey for sharing this source with me. For other Southern Song and Yuan references documenting Zhang Shangying’s painting version of *Sancai dingwei tu*, see Wan Chui-ki, “Zhengtong daoang ben,” p. 116.



this central peak, identified as the Jade Capital mountain,<sup>85</sup> to pay tribute to the Jade Emperor. As Wan Chui-ki argues, the *Sancai dingwei tu* as a whole functions as “a pantheon that represented the union of various Daoist sects and the state,” and at the same time “highlighted the characteristic of the Holy Ancestor 聖祖 of the Zhao ruling family that brought salvation to mankind and prosperity to the state.”<sup>86</sup>

### *Underground Prison*

Hell is located at the bottom of the tripartite Daoist cosmography, beneath the earthly paradises and multiple heavens.<sup>87</sup> Mount Fengdu 酆都, which by the 13th century had become hell central, is the most significant contribution to the development of Daoist hells. Like heaven, the underworld is filled with bureaucratic offices and gods to supervise its prisoners. The labyrinthine hell, which is comparable to the earthly paradise with its microcosmic grotto heavens 洞天, is noted for its under-sea geography. Deep within this realm, a vile space is reserved for suffering women, whose images are often paired with the souls of children in pictorial art depicting the underground court.

The most striking talismanic map of the underworld associated with Mount Fengdu in the Southern Song is the *True form chart of Mount Fengdu* (*Fengdushan zhenxing tu* 酆都山真形圖) (Fig. 11).<sup>88</sup> It shows the labyrinthine landscape in black, dotted by open tunnels and caves of various shapes. The map's inscriptions serve as location markers for an impressive hell bureaucracy, with grotto bureaus indicated in a hierarchical order. Among the eight samples preserved in the *Daozang*, seven are from Southern Song and Yuan liturgical manuals.<sup>89</sup> It is likely that such map-like charts were utilized by Daoist masters in a salvation ritual during an underworld journey.

85 *Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法, DZ 220, 4.6b–c.

86 Wan Chui-ki, “Zhengtong daozaog ben,” p. 344.

87 Daoist hells are a bit like Catholicism's purgatory, “a temporary abode” for “those who are not yet part of the celestial hierarchy.” See Lynn in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, p. 69.

88 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀, DZ 508, 9.609c; Sandrine Chenivessé, “A journey to the depths of a labyrinth-landscape: the Mount Fengdu, Taoist holy site and infernal abyss,” in A.W. MacDonald, ed., *Mandala and landscape* (New Delhi, 1997), pp. 41–74; “Fengdu: cité de l'abondance, cité de la male mort,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998), 287–339.

89 Although these eight versions have slightly different titles, they share a similar template. See *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.298b; *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法, DZ 219, 3.1030a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.346c–347a; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, by Ning Quanzhen 寧全真 (1101–81), 30.815b and 31.5b;



FIGURE 11 *True form chart of Mount Fengdu, from Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi, DZ 508, 9.609c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

The *True form chart of Mount Fengdu* was quite popular, as is evident from its reproduction in liturgical manuals as well as from the archaeological identification of two almost identical diagrams carved in stone. One, a stele from a tomb in Jiangxi and discussed by Bai Bin 白彬 in this book,<sup>90</sup> is dated to 1179; the other is an epitaph from a tomb in Zhejiang, which dates to 1238.<sup>91</sup> In both cases, the true form charts share the location designations characteristic of the printed samples preserved in the *Daozang*.<sup>92</sup>

*Shangqing lingbao dafa*, by Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25), DZ 1223, 31.597a; *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* 太上元始天尊說北帝伏魔神咒妙經, DZ 1412, 34.420b–c. For more study of these diagrams in ritual and funerary contexts, see Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin, *Zhongguo daojiao kaogu*, 4.1239–50.

90 Chen Xingyi, “Fengdu luoshan baku chaosheng zhengui zhenxing bei kaoxi,” *Jiangxi wenwu* 1989.3, 86; Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin, *Zhongguo daojiao kaogu*, 4.1239–50, esp. 1240.

91 Zheng Jiali and Guo Yong, “Yifang kanyou ‘Fengdu shan zhenxing tu’ de Nansong muzhi,” *Nanfang wenwu* 2006.4, 31 and 41.

92 The 1238 diagram has an additional place marked as the Black Pond. This is the same as the *Daozang* example reproduced in *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.609c.



FIGURE 12

*Diagram of lamps imitating the blood lake, from Lingbao yujian, DZ 547, 10.350b.*

*Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

A special underground space in the grotto hell of Mount Fengdu is reserved for women who died in childbirth. Known as the Blood Lake hell 血湖獄, a filthy lake underneath the cracks of the hell beneath the rock 硤石獄. Prisoners here include women who died in childbirth or as the result of abortion, accident, or disease. Even children who died during their mothers' deliveries end up here.<sup>93</sup> Diagrams in liturgical manuals locate the Blood Lake in relation to other abodes in hell,<sup>94</sup> placing it near the hell beneath the rock and to the left of the Northern Yin hell 北陰獄, the Dark Cold hell 冥冷獄, and the Large iron wire mountain 大鐵圍山 (Fig. 12).<sup>95</sup> Fengdu headquarters is marked in

93 *Taiyi jiuku tianzun shuo badu xuehu baochan* 太一救苦天尊說拔度血湖寶懺, DZ 538; Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao zhajiao keyi yanjiu* (Chengdu, 1999), p. 225.

94 *Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑒, DZ 547, 10.350b. Cf. the similar diagrams in *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.5a; *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (early Ming), *Zangwai daoshu* (Chengdu, 1992–94) 698, 17.89a.

95 The Small and large iron wire mountains appearing at the vicinity of the Blood Lake hell are named after the mountains encircling the Buddhist cosmography; see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 122.

the northwestern corner of the diagram. The Blood Lake's irregular contours evoke the sensation of a fluid realm where female sinners who died in child-birth crawl, move through its cracks, suffer from poisonous liquids that penetrate body and mind, and endure incessant torture at the hands of thousands of demonic jailors.<sup>96</sup> The increased emphasis on the Blood Lake hell in the Southern Song may have to do with the ongoing competition over salvation rites between Buddhists and Daoists.<sup>97</sup> The 13th century Daoist Jin Yunzhong 金允中 singles out this hell as a new invention by his contemporaries in western Zhejiang that was intended to "threaten pregnant women so that they pay fees to commission ritual services."<sup>98</sup> It is, on the other hand, quite obvious that Daoists adapted this hell from the Buddhists who describe it in a group of texts under the rubric *Blood bowl sutra* 血盆經.

### Attending Life

More and more Song-Yuan texts aiming at providing ways to achieve longevity and nourish life (*yangsheng* 養生) bear innovative diagrams and illustrations. The following will highlight selected symbols associated with internal alchemy, and illustrations accompanying Daoist pharmacopoeia.

### Internal Alchemy

Between the 10th and 14th centuries, various treatises on internal alchemy used pictures and charts to explain the complex inner visions concerning the macrocosmic/microcosmic processes and the circulation of *qi*.<sup>99</sup> This visual strategy departs from Tang treatises, which mainly advocate text-based inner observation.<sup>100</sup> Many Southern school works on internal alchemy contain visual images.<sup>101</sup> Sometimes they pair single motifs to symbolize the inner blending of *yang* and *yin*,<sup>102</sup> for example, when a tiger is paired with

96 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.350b–c.

97 Lagerwey in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2, 983 and 2.993; Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao zhajiao keyi yanjiu*, p. 225; Alan Cole, *Mothers and sons in Chinese Buddhism* (Stanford, 1998), pp. 192–225; Hank Glassman, "At the crossroads of birth and death: the blood-pool hell and postmortem fetal extraction," in Mariko Walter and Jacqueline Stone, eds, *Death and the afterlife in Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu, 2008), pp. 175–206.

98 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1223, 31.597.

99 See the chapter on Daoist internal alchemy by Yokote Yutaka in these volumes.

100 Livia Kohn, "Taoist insight meditation: the Tang practice of *neiguan*," in Livia Kohn and Sakade Yoshinobu, eds, *Taoist meditation and longevity techniques* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 193–224.

101 Baldrian-Hussein in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.780 and 2.812–34.

102 For a textual study of the symbolic elements and allegorical terms used in internal alchemy, see Clarke Hudson, "Spreading the Dao, managing mastership, and performing

a dragon<sup>103</sup> or a tripod with a furnace.<sup>104</sup> The trademark image symbolizing the end result of internal alchemy, moreover, is a naked baby inside a circle.<sup>105</sup> The motif of a tortoise swimming in water or the presence of a toad symbolizes the sublimation of pure *yin*.<sup>106</sup>

The *Chart of the formula of the reverted elixir* 還丹訣圖, contained in the Song-dynasty *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu* 修真太極混元指玄圖 (Illustrations of the mystery of the cultivation of perfection; DZ 150) (Fig. 13),

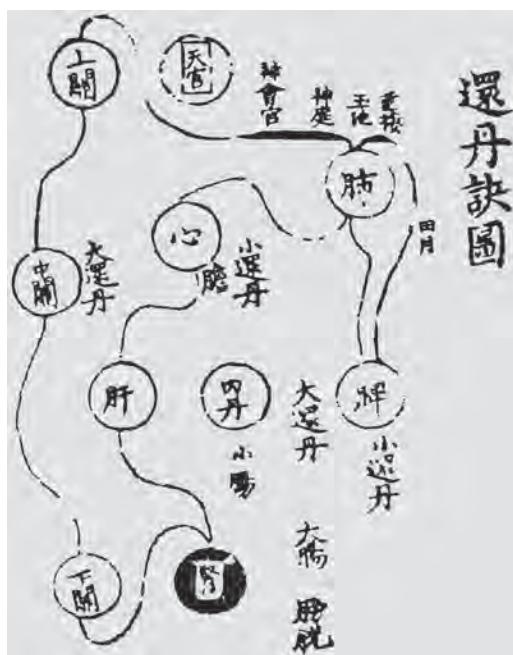


FIGURE 13  
Chart of the formula of the reverted elixir, from *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu*, DZ 150, 3.100c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

salvation: the life and alchemical teachings of Chen Zhixu," PhD dissertation (Indiana University, 2007), pp. 328–50.

103 *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書, DZ 263, 4.712c; *Shangyangzi jindan dayao tu* 上陽子金丹大要圖, DZ 1068, 24.72c. See also Hudson, "Spreading the Dao," p. 344.

104 *Jinye huandan yinzheng tu* 金液還丹印證圖, DZ 151, 3.104b.

105 *Ibid.*, 3.107b. Cf. similar motifs of a baby enclosed by circle(s) in *Shangqing dadong zhenjing*, DZ 6, 1.553a; *Sancai dingwei tu*, DZ 155, 3.124c–25a.

106 In *Yuqing jinsi qinghua biwen jinbao neilian danjue* 玉清金笥青華祕文金寶內鍊丹訣, DZ 240, 4.371b, the illustration has a tortoise in water, though the accompanying inscription refers to the image as the "circle of the illumination of a toad." Also, see Baldrian-Hussein in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.829. For a motif of a toad symbolizing the power of *yin*, see *Jinye huandan yinzheng tu*, DZ 151, 3.105b. For the pairing of a "gold (or metal) crow in the sun" and a "jade toad (or rabbit) in the moon" in alchemical discourses, see Hudson, "Spreading the Dao," p. 346.

maps the imaginary “lesser” and “larger” energy conduits, the microcosmic and macrocosmic orbits, which both begin at the kidneys.<sup>107</sup> A circle at the lower center of the chart bears an inscription that reads “internal alchemy” (*neidan*) and denotes an imagined site where the elixir forms. Overall, the interrelated locations of the five organs and the imaginary elixir call to mind another “instructive chart” in the same text, showing the bureaucratic body gods emanating from the associated organs (Fig. 14).<sup>108</sup>

Perhaps the most intriguing visual products associated with internal alchemy are the *Charts of the inner realm* 內境圖, which feature the magico-realistic inner torso in sectional views, with or without the head.<sup>109</sup> The earliest known creator of this kind of depiction is the 10th century Daoist Yanluozi 煙蘿子, who compiled a series of six body charts highlighting the head and the trunk viewed from different angles (Fig. 15).<sup>110</sup> In the 13th century, the *Side-view chart of the inner realm* 內境側面圖 (Fig. 16) synthesized Yanluozi’s sectional analyses into a single rendition.<sup>111</sup>

107 DZ 150, 3.100c. See also J. Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 5, *Chemistry and chemical technology*, part 1: *Paper and printing* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 77; Sakade Yoshinobu, “Naikeizu to sono enkaku” 「内景図」とその沿革, in Yamada Keiji, ed., *Chūgoku kodai kagaku shiron*, besatsu (Kyoto, 1991), p. 74. Baldrian-Hussein classifies this text as a 12th century text of the Zhongli Quan 鍾離權—Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 *neidan* tradition in general circulation; it may be related to another Northern Song treatise on a similar subject. See Baldrian-Hussein in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.802–4 and 2.1368. For more on the lesser reverted embryo (or recycled elixir), see Hudson, “Spreading the Dao,” p. 339.

108 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu*, DZ 150, 3.101c; Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 5.1, p. 80; Yoshinobu, “Naikeizu to sono enkaku,” p. 75; Kohn, *The Taoist experience*, p. 322; Catherine Despeux, “L’éllixir d’immortalité, l’éllixir de longue vie,” in Catherine Delacour et al., *La voie du Tao* (see above, note 2), p. 69.

109 Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, 5.1, pp. 80 and 107–10; Catherine Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain: le Xiuzhen tu* (Paris, 1994), pp. 31–38; “Talismans and sacred diagrams,” pp. 519–23. Sakade Yoshinobu calls these diagrams *Neijing tu* 内景圖; see Sakade, “Naikeizu to sono enkaku.”

110 The chart reproduced here refers to the third body chart, featuring the left side of the inner body. For a complete layout of Yanluozi’s six body charts, see *Xiuzhen shishu*, DZ 263, 4.690a–b. Also, see Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, 5.1, pp. 108–10; Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, pp. 32–36; Sakade, “Naikeizu to sono enkaku,” pp. 58–59 (fig. 6); Pregadio in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, p. 77.

111 For the chart preserved in a Daoist text, see *Huangdi bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie* 黃帝八十一難經纂圖句解, DZ 1024, 21.595a; Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, pp. 40–43; Despeux in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.773–74. For the chart preserved in



As Catherine Despeux and others have shown, these charts not only map out the Daoist vision of a cosmic body but also reveal the sophisticated anatomical knowledge of medieval Daoism.<sup>112</sup> Yanluozi's two side-view charts place alchemical symbols in the thorax and abdomen. Framing both charts is the bone of the heavenly pillar 天柱骨, the main support of the body, which is composed of the arch-shaped spinal column and its twenty-four vertebrae.<sup>113</sup> The numerology of twenty-four not only accurately reflects anatomical structure but also corresponds to the *qi* of the twenty-four solar periods of the



FIGURE 14 (left) Chart of the refinement of energy and perfection, from *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu*, DZ 150, 3.101c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.



FIGURE 15 (right) Chart of the right side of the inner realm, from *Xiuzhen shishu*, DZ 263, 4.690a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

the Southern Song encyclopedia *Shilin guanji* 事林廣記, see Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, 5.1, p. 112; Sakade, "Naikeizu to sono enkaku," p. 61.

<sup>112</sup> Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, 5.1, pp. 107–10; Sakade, "Naikeizu to sono enkaku," pp. 57–65; Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, pp. 31–38, 110–33, and 149–50; "Talismans and sacred diagrams," pp. 519, 521–23.

<sup>113</sup> Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, p. 32.





FIGURE 16 Side-view chart of the inner realm, from *Huangdi Bashiyi nan jing zuantu jujie*, DZ 1024, 21.595a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

year (two per month), also known as the twenty-four energy nodes 節氣.<sup>114</sup> Three animals marked as the goatcart, deercart, and oxcart are moving up the path of the spinal column from bottom to top. The animal motif originally derives from the Buddhist scripture *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Lotus sutra), where it serves as a metaphor for expedient means, that is, teaching at different levels.<sup>115</sup> Shifted to the Daoist context of the human body, the animals now symbolize the internal mechanism of moving energy upward against the

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp. 32 and 38.

<sup>115</sup> T 262, vol. 9, 12c. In order to persuade his three sons playing inside the burning house to exit, an elder man allures them with the goatcart, deercart, and oxcart outside the gate. For a translation of the parable, see Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the lotus blossom of the fine dharma* (New York, 1976), pp. 59–61. For the representations of the three carts in later inner alchemical illustrations, see the 17th century 元道一炁 reproduced in Sakade 1991, 79 (fig. 15); Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, p. 151; 2010, 68. See also Zangwai daoshu (Chengdu, 1994) 314, 9. 566b (texts are numbered according to Louis Komjathy, *Title index to Daoist collections* [Cambridge, MA, 2002], pp. 83–105).

natural current.<sup>116</sup> At the end of the spinal column is a circular configuration with a tortoise emanating radiant light amid waves. This is the drinking tortoise 飲龜 that symbolizes the sublimation of true *yin*. In addition to the spinal cord, other prominent symbols of internal alchemy cluster in the central abdomen. These include the naked baby or imaginary embryo and the intermingling dragon (*yang*) and tiger (*yin*). Both are situated below the crescent-shaped area marked as the yellow court 黃庭 and above the lower cinnabar field 下丹田.<sup>117</sup> Daoist knowledge of the internal body may well have had an impact on medical studies in Song times, as seen in a 13th century copy of Yang Jie's 楊介 1113 text, *Charts of the true circulatory vessels* 存真環中圖.<sup>118</sup>

The 13th century *Side-view chart of the inner realm* (Fig. 16) incorporates many stock motifs from Yanluozi's sectional body charts.<sup>119</sup> It uses a bold approach in adopting old motifs in a new framework in which a human head in three-quarter view is attached to a torso supported by the crescent-shaped spinal cord to the left, leaving the border of the body open on the right. The almost-transparent quality of its appearance evokes "a feeling of cosmic flow" and ignores "the fleshy body of humanity", in stark contrast to the flesh and muscles dominating body charts produced in the European tradition.<sup>120</sup> This body structure, moreover, is the direct compositional forerunner of later illustrations, such as the multiple versions of the Qing-dynasty *Chart of the internal passageways* 內經圖 and *Chart of cultivating perfection* 修真圖.<sup>121</sup>

A very innovative type of alchemical body chart developed in the Southern Song and Yuan periods features a landscape chart to symbolize an adept's cosmic body. Such body landscape charts exist in two versions. One entitled

<sup>116</sup> Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, pp. 149–50.

<sup>117</sup> Anatomically, this crescent-shaped area where the yellow court is marked represents the diaphragm, which separates the thorax from the abdomen. The couple residing in the yellow court are the Old mother of the yellow primordial 黃元老母 and the Sire of the yellow primordial 黃元老公; see *ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>118</sup> See *Xuanmen maijue neizhao tu* in Jin Shiying and Jin Pu, "'Cunzhen tu' yu 'Cunzhen huanzhong tu' kao," *Ziran kexue shi yanjiu* 1996.3, 273.

<sup>119</sup> Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, pp. 40–43. For a similar version, see Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, 5.1, p. 112.

<sup>120</sup> Catherine Despeux and Livia Kohn, *Women in Daoism* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 177.

<sup>121</sup> Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 72; Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the art of China*, p. 350; David Teh-Yu Wang, "Nei jing tu: a Daoist diagram of the internal circulation of man," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991–92), 141–58; Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*; Louis Komjathy, "Mapping the Daoist body, part I: the *Neijing tu* in history," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 1 (2008), 67–92; "Mapping the Daoist body, part II: the text of the *Neijing tu*," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2 (2009), 4–108; Xu Yilan, *Daojing tuxiang yanjiu* (Chengdu, 2009), pp. 213–17.



FIGURE 17 Illustrated ascent and descent of the yin and yang energies in the body, from *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi*, DZ 90, 2.334b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

*Illustrated ascent and descent of the yin and yang energies in the body* 體象陰陽升降圖, is preserved in the Southern Song commentary to the *Scripture of salvation* (DZ 1) by Highest Clarity master Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟 (ca. early 1200s) (Fig. 17).<sup>122</sup> The other entitled *Picture of the primordial qi in the body* 元氣體象圖, appears in the Yuan treatise by the Yuan Daoist Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 (1290–ca. 1368).<sup>123</sup> The inclusion of body landscape charts in these texts suggests that alchemists of the 13th and 14th centuries were the primary

<sup>122</sup> *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 元始無量度人上品妙經內義, DZ 90, 2.334b; Judith M. Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature, tenth to seventeenth centuries* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 206–7; Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, pp. 38–40; Despeux and Kohn, *Women in Daoism*, pp. 185–87.

<sup>123</sup> *Shangyangzi jindan dayao tu*, DZ 1068, 24.71a. Also, see Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain*, p. 41; Verellen, “The dynamic design” (see above, note 19), p. 173. For more information



FIGURE 18

*Inner vision of flying to the sun with the dragon on fire in the yang grotto, from Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu, DZ 221, 4.124b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

audience for such landscape illustrations. Xiao's landscape chart serves as the prototype of the one in Chen's treatise. The picture shows a grand view of myriad hills piling up frontally from the sea. Roofed edifices, including an impressive multistoried tower on the left, denote imaginary nodes which facilitate the circulation of inner energies, depicted as meandering rivers encircling the hills at the center like a loop.<sup>124</sup> Many loci marked in this mountain diagram reflect the standard internal alchemical vocabulary shared by similar images. Xiao's frontal mountain differs drastically from the visual norm of Daoist sacred mountains which typically show Mount Kunlun in its classical form, with a narrow base and wide top that resemble a hanging bowl, as depicted in the 12th century illustration (Fig. 18) of the visualization practice of "flying high" 高奔 from Lu Shizhong's 路時中 (ca. first half of the 12th century) text.<sup>125</sup>

about Chen Zhixu, see Pregadio in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 262–63; Hudson, "Spreading the Dao."

<sup>124</sup> Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, 5.1, p. 107.

<sup>125</sup> *Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu*, DZ 221, 4.124b. For more information about this text, see Andersen in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.1073–74.

*Daoist Pharmacopoeia*

The Daoists were fervent students of Chinese medicine and pharmacology. This is perhaps why the Daoist canon preserved a monumental catalogue of *materia medica* 本草, which is based on a Northern Song catalogue compiled by the medicinal officer Kou Zongshuang 寇宗奭 (ca. early 12th century) and published under Huizong's patronage in the early 12th century.<sup>126</sup> The *Daozang* illustrations are probably faithful to the Song original, since they are quite similar to those found in the 13th century reprint of the *bencao* catalogue by Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 (ca. 1056–1136), the seminal model for Kou's version first issued by the Northern Song government in the late 11th century.<sup>127</sup> What is less well known is Kou's connection to Daoist circles in Kaifeng. The leading Divine Empyrean master Zhang Xubai 張虛白 (ca. early 12th century) included Kou's catalogue in the now-lost Daoist canon compiled under Huizong and also kept Kou's original manuscript in a Daoist temple in the capital.<sup>128</sup>

The *Daozang* illustrations include a whole pharmacy of medicinal minerals, herbs, woods, flowers, animals, insects, and so on,<sup>129</sup> depicted in diverse shapes, from rocky to liquid and from flower-like cubes to yam-like loaves. Many minerals sought after by Daoists for alchemical and medicinal purposes are included here, including “stone-gall” blue vitriol 石膽, “flowing yellow” sulphur 流黃, copper carbonate 曾青, “sky-blue” copper 空青 (Fig. 19), stannic oxide 石桂, and jade 白玉/蒼玉. These *Daozang* illustrations complement the funeral finds of the so-called “five essence directional stones” 五方五精石 discussed by Bai Bin in this book.

Another comprehensive extant and uniquely Daoist illustrated handbook of magical mushrooms and fungi is the Northern Song *Taishang lingbao zhicao*

126 Tang Shenwei 唐慎微, *Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao* 重修政和經史証類備用本草 (1249; repr. Beijing, 1957); Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 6: *Biology and biological technology*, part 1: *Botany* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 283, 286–87.

127 The original edition of Tang Shenwei's *bencao* catalogue was printed in 1080–90. The oldest extant reprint is the 1249 edition printed by Zhang Cunhui 張存惠 in Pingyang 平陽. The table of contents in this reprint divides the *bencao* into the following subcategories: jade and stones 玉石, herbs 草, woods 木, wild animals 獸, birds 禽, insects and fish 蟲魚, fruit 果, rice and grains 米穀, vegetables 菜; see Tang Shenwei, *Chongxiu Zhenghe*. Also, see Michela Bussotti, “Woodcut illustration,” in Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métailié, eds, *Graphics and text in the production of technical knowledge in China: the warp and the weft* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 469–73.

128 Needham et al., *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 6, part 1: *Botany*, p. 287. Needham does not provide the primary source.

129 For illustrations, see *Tu Jing yanyi bencao* 圖經衍義本草, DZ 768–69, 17.289b, 290a, 290c, and 303a.





FIGURE 19 (left) “Sky-blue” copper, from *Tujiang yanyi bencao*, DZ 768–769, 17.290a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.



FIGURE 20 (right) *Fungus of a daunting man*, from *Taishang lingbao zhicao pin*, DZ 1406, 34.319a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

*pin* 太上靈寶芝草品 (Catalogue of fungi and herbs; DZ 1406) preserved in the *Daozang* (Fig. 20).<sup>130</sup> The *Catalogue of fungi and herbs* features 127 kinds of *zhi* 芝, “some commonplace and others fantastic in form.”<sup>131</sup> Each picture bears a title on top and has text on the left explaining the name, shape, location, and

130 See also Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the art of China*, p. 341; Robert Campany, *To live as long as heaven and earth: a translation and study of Ge Hong's traditions of divine transcendents* (Berkeley, 2002), p. 28; Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.770; Despeux, “L'éllixir d'immortalité, l'éllixir de longue vie,” p. 67. For selected illustrations of *zhi* whose names correspond to those inscribed on the *True form charts of the five sacred peaks* or are mentioned in Ge Hong's picture collections, see *Taishang lingbao zhicao pin* 太上靈寶芝草品 (Catalogue of fungi and herbs), DZ 1406, 34.323a, 327a, 329b, and 330b.

131 Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the art of China*, p. 340.

efficacy of the *zhi*. Robert Campany sees *zhi* as a “generic word for protrusions or emanations from rocks, trees, herbs, fleshy animals, or fungi (including mushrooms).”<sup>132</sup> *Zhi* as such forms an essential part of Daoist “alternative cuisines”, kitchen feasts either visualized or enacted in rituals that were believed to lead to longevity and immortality. The Northern Song imperial bibliography lists this title under the subdivision “drug taking” 服餌 along with other illustrations and texts on medicinal herbs and fungi.<sup>133</sup> Judith Boltz dated it to the early Song, mainly because of its avoidance of the personal name of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022).<sup>134</sup> Most are not found in Song *bencao* literature, making it likely that the catalogue is a unique Daoist contribution. The anonymous author, furthermore, takes an explicitly Daoist tone in the preface, asserting that the work serves to “attain the path to perfection and immortality” 得臻仙路 and that one had better “take [the *zhi*] according to the illustrations” 依圖取服.<sup>135</sup> Like the *zhi* described by Ge Hong, those listed here will grant the adept magical powers like extending one’s life, making the body lighter, and becoming invisible.

In terms of compositional design, the illustrator depicts each *zhi* in a landscape setting featuring the so-called one-corner composition popular in the 12th and 13th centuries.<sup>136</sup> This pictorial convention often places a tree or shrub on an overhanging rock in one corner, from which the landscape extends diagonally across the picture plane into the far distance. The inclusion of a landscape background in the *bencao* pictures does not appear in the Northern Song prototype and may suggest a new trend in the Southern Song. It is likely that the present illustrations from the *Daozang* are based on a model dating from the 12th to 13th centuries. Some images celebrate Daoist mysticism by adding celestial guards to the settings, showing the *zhi* under the close watch of deities, humans, demonic guards, and animals such as a bird, deer, goat, ox, or tiger.<sup>137</sup> Representing this type is the yellow jade mushroom 黃玉芝, which has multiple cups and numerous branches and grows on Penglai 蓬萊.

132 Campany, *To live as long as heaven and earth*, pp. 25 and 27.

133 Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003–58), *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, SKQS ed. (Hong Kong, 1999), 10.3a–b.

134 Boltz, “Review of *The Taoist canon*” (see above, note 4), p. 508. Also, see Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the art of China*, p. 340.

135 *Taishang lingbao zhicao pin*, DZ 1406, 34.316.

136 For samples of the Song landscape paintings reflecting the one-corner composition, see Fong, *Beyond representations: Chinese painting and calligraphy, 8th–14th century* (New York, 1992), pp. 246–300.

137 For examples of *zhi* with guard(s), see DZ 1406, 34.316b–c, 318b–c, 319a, 324b, 325c, 327a, 328a, 329c, and 335a–c.



It is guarded by a tiger and a fish. The other type of *zhi* resembles a human form, perhaps referring to the flesh mushroom 肉芝 described by Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–363).<sup>138</sup> One such sample is the fungus of a daunting man 人威芝, which grows on the central sacred peak (Fig. 20).<sup>139</sup> Some *zhi* are efficacious in prolonging one's life to 90,000 or 100,000 years,<sup>140</sup> whereas others are noted for transforming one's faculties, including making the body lighter, training to disappear at will, and improving vision.

### *Outer Dimension*

The rapid expansion of Daoist ritual in the Song discussed by Matsumoto Kōichi 松本浩一 in his chapter in this book led to a growing demand for ritual objects and innovative designs of ritual space at that time. The following will shift the reader's focus to the "outer" dimension of Daoist visual culture, where the performative, visual, and material dimensions of Daoist ritual are investigated. The visual materials examined in this section range from diagrams and floor plans to illustrations of ritual offerings, liturgical paperwork, and ritual paraphernalia. They are from 12th-to-13th century liturgical manuals such as the *Lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑒 (Jade mirror of the numinous treasure; DZ 547), *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 (Golden book for universal salvation according to the sect leader of the numinous treasure tradition; DZ 466), *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (Complete protocols for the supreme yellow register fast; DZ 508), and the two versions of the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 (Great rites of highest clarity and numinous treasure; DZ 1221 and DZ 1223).

### *Ritual Performance*

In ritual contexts, objects were moved around or carried by practitioners to attract, invite, or communicate with the gods, souls, or demons. Similarly, temporary spatial constructions, for example, for altars for the gods or places for the souls, were usually dismantled after the rituals occurred. These specific spatial designs constructed Daoist ritual space as a microcosm reflecting the Daoist worldview and are charged with spatial and temporal meanings as well. Both ritual object and ritual space help to construct an interactive site for the theatrical ritual performance, whose fleeting spectacle is instrumental

138 For illustrations of *zhi* in anthropomorphic forms, see DZ 1406, 34.320c, 329a, and 334a–b.

139 DZ 1406, 34.319b.

140 DZ 1406, 34.316b, 319b. The *zhi* that grants the longest life span for humans is the fungus of a stone mortar (*shijiu zhi* 石臼芝). Those who eat it can live as long as 600,000 years; see DZ 1406, 34.318c.



FIGURE 21

Diagram of the ritual dance combining the steps that mimic the Northern Dipper (heaven) and the mystic spirals (earth), from Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao, DZ 1227, 32.103c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

to the understanding of Daoist visuality as represented in physical objects such as paintings or statues.<sup>141</sup>

John Lagerwey famously acknowledges ritual as alternative scripture in the form of choreography and oral transmission; he stresses Daoist ritual performance over Daoist texts, which are but “fragments transmitted

141 For selected studies of Daoist rituals, see John Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history* (New York, 1987); “Taoist ritual space and dynastic legitimacy,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995), 87–96; Liu Zhiwan, *Chūgoku dōkyō no matsuri to shinkō* (Tokyo, 1983); Charles D. Benn, “Daoist ordinations and zhai rituals in medieval China,” in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism handbook* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 309–39; Ōfuchi Ninji, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei: bukkyō dōkyō minkan shinkō* (Tokyo, 2005); Asano Haruji, “Girei to kumotsu 儀礼と供物: Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi o chūshin ni,” in Tanaka Fumio, ed., *Dōkyō no kyōdan to girei, Kōza dōkyō*, 6 vols (Tokyo, 2000), 2.116–43; Lü Pengzhi, *Tang qian dao jiao yishi shigang* (Beijing, 2008); “Daoist rituals,” in John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, eds, *Early Chinese religion*, part two: *The period of division (220–589 AD)*, 2 vols (Brill, 2010), 2.1245–1352. For the religious and ritual dimensions of Daoist paintings and statues, see Paul Katz, “The interaction between Ch’üan-chen Taoism and local cults: a case study of the Yong-lo kung,” in *Minjian xinyang yu zhongguo wenhua guoji yantaohui lunwenji* (Taipei, 1993), pp. 201–49; Hsieh Shu-wei, “Daojiao chaoyuan tu zhi tuxiang ji zongjiao yihan”; Shih-shan Susan Huang, “Summoning the gods: paintings of the three officials of heaven, earth, and water and their association with Daoist ritual performance in the Southern Song period (1127–1279),” *Artibus Asiae* 61.1 (2001), 5–52; “Cong Daozang de ‘tu’ tan Songdai dao jiao yishi de kongjianxing yu wuzhixing,” *Yishu shi yanjiu* 2011.13, 45–74; Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai: gongguan, zaoxiang yu zushi* (Beijing, 2012); Maruyama Hiroshi, “Dōtan to jinga,” in Saitō Ryūichi, Suzuki Takeo, and Tsuchiya Masaaki, eds, *Dōkyō bijutsu no kanōsei* (Tokyo, 2010), pp. 132–46.

piecemeal.”<sup>142</sup> An oft-cited diagram of the ritual dance showing the steps that mimic the Northern Dipper and the mystic spirals (Fig. 21) serves as a vivid example of the mobile context of ritual performance. This diagram is illustrated in the 1116 collection of ritual dance diagrams compiled by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 (active 1111–18), the Heart of Heaven master active during Emperor Huizong’s reign.<sup>143</sup> According to Poul Andersen, the Daoist ritual dances of walking along the guideline and treading on the stars of the Northern Dipper can be traced back to the 4th century.<sup>144</sup> The chart’s reference is comparable to the medieval choreographic diagram employed in a visualization practice.

### *Ritual Space*

The most important spatial construct for public rituals is the altar, whose visibility symbolizes “a combination of time cycles, a model of the universe.”<sup>145</sup> The 12th century *Daomen dingzhi* 道門定制 (Established order of Daoism; DZ 1224) shows the three-tiered altar used by the medieval master Zhang Wanfu 張萬福 (fl. 713) and by Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933) (Fig. 22).<sup>146</sup>

142 Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*, p. 276; “Scriptures are the dregs of the men of old: scripture and practice in comparative perspective,” in Poul Andersen and Florian C. Reiter, eds, *Scriptures, schools, and forms of practice in Daoism: a Berlin symposium* (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 55–56.

143 *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 太上助國救民總真秘要, DZ 1227, 32.103c. Also, see Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the art of China*, p. 200.

144 Poul Andersen, “The Practice of *bugang*,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989–90), 18 and 37; Andersen, in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.1060. For a diagram of the “Pacing method of breaking open hell” whose ritual choreography imitates the configuration of the Northern Dipper, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 256.

145 Kristofer Schipper, “Progressive and regressive time cycles in Taoist ritual,” in J.T. Fraser et al., eds, *Time, science, and society in China and the West* (Amherst, 1986), p. 189. For more studies of Daoist altars, see Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*, pp. 25–48; Tanaka Fumio, “Girei no kūkan,” in Tanaka Fumio, ed., *Dōkyō no kyōdan to girei, Kōza dōkyō*, 2. 93–115; Maruyama Hiroshi, *Dōkyō girei monjo no reikishiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo, 2004), pp. 223–45.

146 DZ 1224, 31.739c. Since this altar is modeled after the one used in the ancient imperial rite of heaven held on the round mound (*yuanqiu* 圓丘) outdoors, its simplicity preserves the sense of archaism (*guyi* 古意); see DZ 1224, 31.739b–c; Tanaka, “Girei no kūkan,” p. 109; Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature*, p. 52; Gesterkamp 2011, 163 and fig. 46. For more on the Daoist altar and its connection to the Han imperial altar, see Lagerwey, “Taoist ritual space and dynastic legitimacy.” For more on Zhang Wanfu, see Maruyama, *Dōkyō girei monjo no reikishiteki kenkyū*, pp. 417–57. It is helpful to examine this diagram with another detailed textual account by Zhang Wanfu documenting the altar made for the ordination ceremony of two Tang princesses and installed in the imperial Monastery of returning to immortality 歸真觀 in Chang’an in 711. The altar was replete with colorful pennants

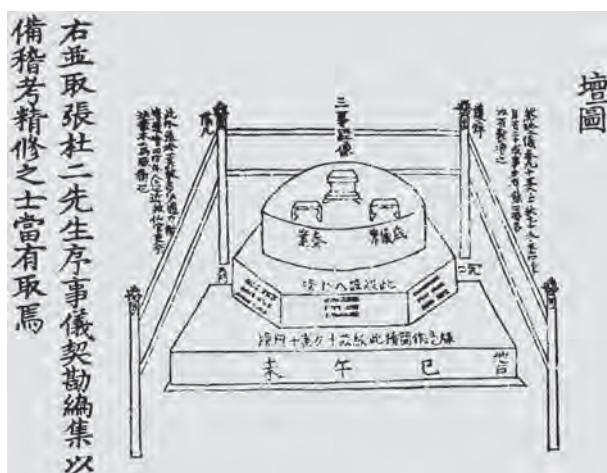


FIGURE 22 Diagram of a three-tiered altar, from Daomen dingzhi, DZ 1224, 31.739c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

Compared to the 6th century diagram for the purgation of the three origins 三元齋 from *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (DZ 1138),<sup>147</sup> this altar is surrounded by more artifacts, notably three Daoist statues displayed on the top level.<sup>148</sup> Two

and textiles of all sorts. The poles surrounding the altar were decorated with banners showing the auspicious motifs of “ethereal beings, sacred beasts and birds, numinous flora, radiant suns, flying clouds, precious metals and stones, and landscape.” Cushions and mats made from multicolored brocades covered the floors. See *Chuanshou sandong jing jiefu lu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法錄略說, DZ 1241, 32.196c–197c; Charles D. Benn, *The Cavern-mystery transmission: a Taoist ordination rite of A.D. 711* (Honolulu, 1991), p. 27. For more on the ordinations of Tang princesses, see Maruyama, *Dōkyō girei monjo no reikishiteki kenkyū*, pp. 432–37. For more information on the altar for the golden register retreat 金錄齋 associated with Du Guangting, see Tanaka, “Girei no kūkan,” pp. 107–8.

<sup>147</sup> For the altar diagram, see DZ 1138, 25.189b; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 194; Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Daozang de ‘tu’,” p. 49. Lü Pengzhi argues that the diagram from *Wushang biyao* is not necessarily related to the altar of the Northern Zhou because the same text transcribed in the Dunhuang manuscript bears no diagram; see Lü Pengzhi, *Tang qian dao jiao yishi shigang*, p. 167 (footnote 2).

<sup>148</sup> The placement of three statues on a Daoist altar can be traced back to the practice by the Northern Zhou Daoist Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365–448); see Wei Shou 魏收 (506–72), *Wei Shu* 魏書 114.37a–b; Richard B. Mather, “K’ou Ch’ien-chih and the Taoist theocracy at the Northern Wei court, 425–451,” in Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, eds, *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven, 1979), p. 115. For more study of the Daoist ritual associated with Kou Qianzhi, see Lü Pengzhi, *Tang qian dao jiao yishi shigang*, pp. 233–40.

tables for displaying written memorials to the gods and other documents on liturgical procedures are set next to the statues. Wooden placards of the eight trigrams are placed on the second tier of the altar, and placards indicating the ten directions and ten doors are placed on the lowest tier. The placards, written in green, yellow, red, and black to correspond to the relevant cardinal directions, are decorated on top with images of dragons and phoenixes on clouds or with simple lotus flowers.<sup>149</sup>

In the Song period, the noteworthy features of a typical three-tiered altar are the posts and lamps flanking the altar. A sectional altar diagram from a 13th century manual shows twenty-four posts “placed at the corner and at equal intervals along the sides” of the outer altar.<sup>150</sup> This number serves as a symbolic reference to the natural cycle of the twenty-four solar periods of the year crucial to Daoist liturgy.<sup>151</sup> The same manual also shows a lamp diagram with an array of 159 sets of lamps surrounding the outer altar (Fig. 23).<sup>152</sup> The lights are symbolic, representing heaven, earth, hell, the twenty-eight constellations, the five sacred peaks and so on.<sup>153</sup> On some occasions the layout of the lamps in the ritual space mimics the configurations of heaven and hell.<sup>154</sup> In the Song

149 *Daomen dingzhi*, DZ 1224, 31.739b. Cf. a similar altar diagram in *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*, DZ 220, 4.117c. *Wushang biyao* discusses the inscriptions of the ten doors at the three-tiered altar as well; see Tanaka, “Girei no kūkan,” pp. 102–3. For samples of the talismanic writs marked in different colors, see DZ 1224, 31.737c–739b.

150 This refers to the diagram of the outer altar; see *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.384c–385a. Cf. the diagram of the inner altar in idem, 9.384b; Schipper, “Progressive and regressive time cycles in Taoist ritual,” pp. 189–90.

151 Kristofer Schipper, “The Taoist body,” *History of Religions* 1978.17, 374–81; “Progressive and regressive time cycles in Taoist ritual,” p. 189.

152 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.385a; Schipper, “Progressive and regressive time cycles in Taoist ritual,” p. 191 (fig. 2). Cf. similar lamp charts in *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.26b; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 30.940c–941a; DZ 1223, 31.438c. Documentation of lighting in Daoist ritual space can be traced back to the 6th century; see Wang Chengwen, “Gu lingbao jing yu daojiao zaoqi lideng keyi he zhaitan fashi,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2001.2, 143–52; Li Yuanguo, “Lun Daojiao dengyi de xingcheng yu wenhua gongyong,” *Zhongguo daojiao* 2003.2, 34–38; Chen Yaoting, *Daojiao liyi* (Beijing, 2003), pp. 93–103.

153 For an altar diagram chart showing the lamps in the forms of constellations surrounding the main altar, see the *Model of all stars* 總星壇圖式 in *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.246a–b. Maruyama Hiroshi re-arranges this chart (omitting the lamps) and calls attention to the placement of the true writs in five tablets in the ritual space; see Maruyama, *Dōkyō girei monjo no reikishiteki kenkyū*, pp. 227 and 241 (fig. 1).

154 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.143c.

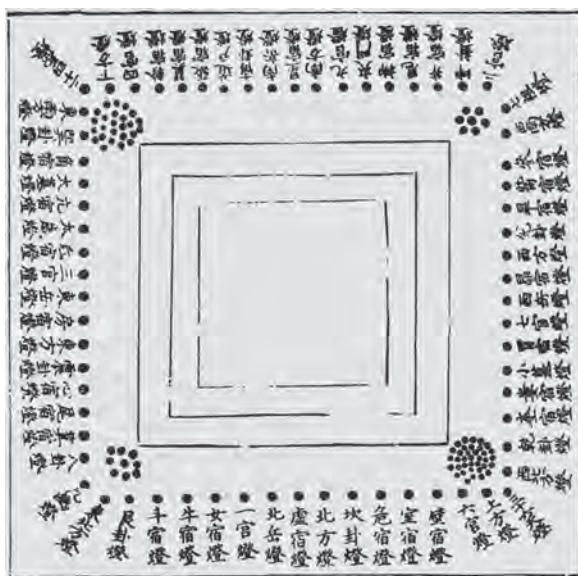


FIGURE 23 Lamp diagram, from *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*, DZ 508, 9.385a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

period, the lighting ceremony usually took place on the night before the ritual officially began.<sup>155</sup>

When the ritual space moved indoors, the main altar—even the three-tiered altar—was placed against the north wall, turning a full-circle altar into a one-sided, frontal one. To compensate for the limited space available at this point, additional stages were added on both sides, probably on the east and west walls of the interior space. As part of the development of the decentralized ritual area, a new spatial design that evolved in the late Tang and Song periods features multiple stations outside the main altar to serve as symbolic seats for gods and former ritual masters. These additional stages are called canopies 帳, seats 位, tents 幄, curtained tents 帳幄, chambers 堂, or curtains 幕.

Thirteenth-century liturgical manuals commonly refer to curtained stages as curtains 幕, and to the *daochang* as altars and curtains 壇幕.<sup>156</sup> I simply call them stages. Depending on the type of ritual being performed, a variety

155 For more studies of Daoist lighting rituals, see Kristofer Schipper, *Le fen-teng: rituel taoïste* (Paris, 1975).

156 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.20c–31b; *Wushang huanglu dazhai lichengyi*, DZ 508, 9.384a–387b.



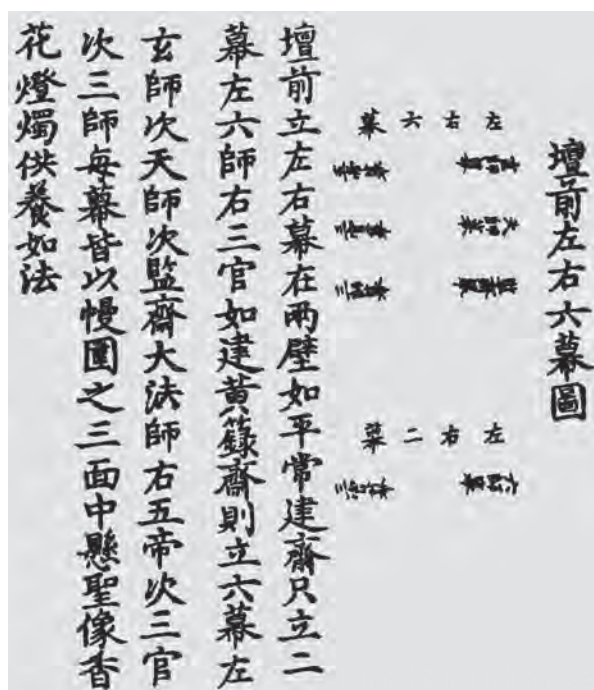


FIGURE 24 Six curtained stages, from *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.28a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

of curtained stages are erected to summon different divinities.<sup>157</sup> The ritual master calls the deities to assemble using the so-called curtain-rolling 卷簾 rite, visualized by him after all the lamps in the ritual space have been lit as a means of transforming the area into a sacred place.<sup>158</sup> Borrowing from the political practice of the court, where the emperor received an official's report after the curtains surrounding the throne had been raised, the curtain-rolling rite marks the gods' descent to their designated stages.<sup>159</sup>

Daoist multiple stages come in two types: those with two-curtained stages and those with six.<sup>160</sup> Those with two are for ordinary purifications, whereas those with six are for the yellow register fast (*Huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋), a major

157 Chen Yaoting, *Daojiao liyi*, pp. 186–91.

158 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.189b.

159 Chen Yaoting, *Daojiao liyi*, pp. 161–62.

160 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.28a, 45b–46a.

salvation ritual popular in the Song.<sup>161</sup> A diagram from the *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (DZ 466) shows their positions in relation to the main altar (Fig. 24).<sup>162</sup> The accompanying text not only identifies the divinities on each stage but also states that the scrolls with the images should be hung at the center of each stage:

In front of the [main] altar, set curtained stages on the right and left walls. For fasts held on ordinary occasions, only two curtained stages are necessary: the stage for the six masters on the left; and the stage for the three officials on the right. For the yellow register fast, six curtained stages are required: stages for the master in the dark sky 玄師, the heavenly master, and the master of the ritual inspection 監齋大法師 on the left; and stages for the five emperors, three officials 三官, and three masters on the right. Each stage should be covered with curtains on three sides. In the center hangs the sacred image 懸聖像. Offerings include flowers, lamps, and candles.<sup>163</sup>

Judging from the phrase “hangs” in reference to the sacred image, it is plausible that the deity was represented in painted, not sculpted, form.<sup>164</sup> The six curtained stages mentioned above are identical to those mentioned in other 13th century manuals, which suggests that they were standard at the time.<sup>165</sup> It is likely that the new expansion of multiple curtained stages in turn stimulated the growing production of sets of devotional paintings in hanging scroll format in the Southern Song and Yuan periods.<sup>166</sup>

On the basis of a diagram in the *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (DZ 466) (Fig. 25),<sup>167</sup> the image of the Northern Dipper was to be suspended on the east [left] wall of the outer altar area next to images of the nine heavens 九天, six

161 The 13th century ritual master Jin Yunzhong criticizes contemporary usage and insists that two curtained stages are the only authentic formula for ritual; see DZ 1223, 31.440b. Jin probably thinks of the model by Zhang Wanfu and Du Guangting stated in *Daomen dingzhi*, DZ 1224, 31.739b.

162 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.28a; Huang, “Summoning the gods,” pp. 14–15, and 24 (fig. 5).

163 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.28a.

164 Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Daozang de ‘tu,’” p. 52.

165 The following texts provide similar descriptions of the six curtained stages, though no ritual diagram is included; see *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.595c–596a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.246; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 30.942a–b.

166 Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Daozang de ‘tu,’” pp. 52–54.

167 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.27c–28a.

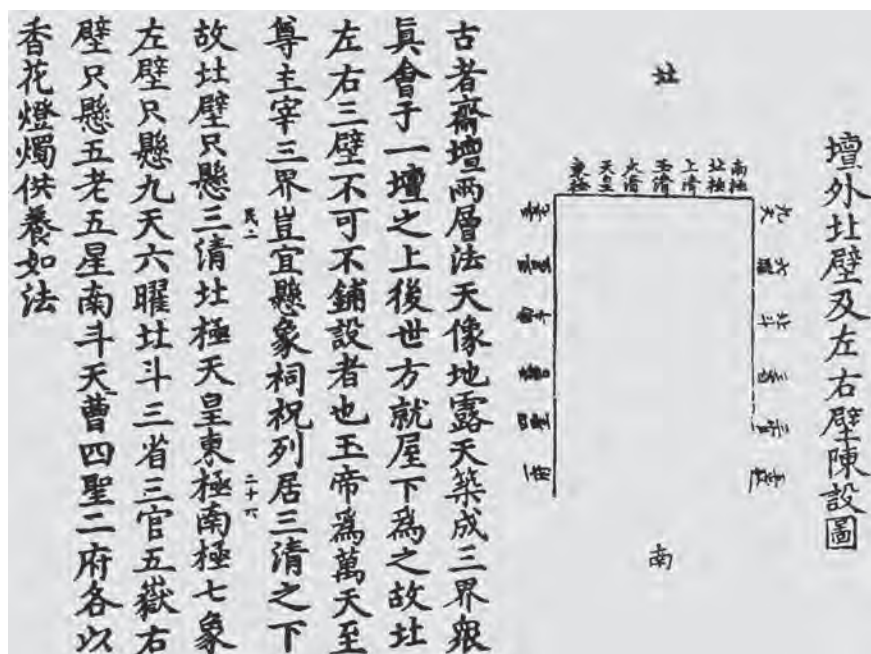


FIGURE 25 Diagram of the image display on the north, west, and east walls of the outer altar, from *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.27c–28a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

planets 六曜, three chancelleries 三省, three officials, and five sacred peaks 五嶽.<sup>168</sup> The diagram does not specify the number of scrolls on display, but non-Daoist sources suggest that the standard format for liturgical paintings like these consists of multiple scrolls to represent each group of pantheons, such as the set of three scrolls of the three officials from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that will be discussed later in this chapter.<sup>169</sup>

The decentralized ritual space allows for expansion of the enclosure of the Dao so that its multi-staged area can not only encompass numerous seats for Daoist gods, but also include a separate section for deceased souls. Daoist salvation rituals grew exponentially in the Song, adding rites such as attacking the hells, rescuing imprisoned souls, bathing and feeding them, refining and reshaping them, and finally sending them off to heaven.<sup>170</sup> To accommodate

<sup>168</sup> Huang, "Summoning the gods," p. 13.

<sup>169</sup> Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Daozang de 'tu,'" p. 54. For a case study, see Huang, "Summoning the gods" and *Picturing the true form*, pp. 292–339.

<sup>170</sup> Edward L. Davis, *Society and the supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, 2001), pp. 227–36.

these rituals, an area outside the main altar space was created, separate from the places for the gods. Whereas curtained stages house the divine gods, the separate ritual space reserved for the souls consists of earth mounds marked by lamps and banners to symbolize the multichambered underground prisons in which the suffering souls were trapped. In the salvation ritual performance that would release the incarcerated souls, the ritual master started from the area far away from the main altar, then gradually moved toward it while leading the summoned souls onto the path of purity and salvation.

The elaborate *Chart of the offering for the ninefold darkness* 九幽醮圖 from the Southern Song *Huanglu jiuyou jiao wuaiye zhai cidi yi* 黃籙九幽醮无碍夜齋次第儀 (DZ 514) provides a map showing the layout of the offering for the ninefold darkness 九幽醮 associated with the yellow register fast (Fig. 26).<sup>171</sup> The diagram maps out a labyrinthine space with diverse terrains of gods and ghosts and heavens and hells placed on a north-south axis. The gods' places are near the northern end, whereas the souls' places are in the south: the sacred and the dead thus do not mingle.

The most sacred space is the square area near the northern border. The Three Purities are assigned the noblest position in the center of the northern area, flanked by twelve manifestations of the Heavenly worthy who saves from suffering (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊).<sup>172</sup> The west and east borders house six stations for lesser divinities. They are placed symmetrically, three on each side, perhaps on curtained stages: altars for the five sacred peaks, the three officials, and the Fengdu emperor are joined by other stages dedicated to various masters of the past. In the middle of the chart, next to the six stages, twenty-four tablets of hell officials 獄官 are set symmetrically on both sides of the north-south axis, marking the symbolic presence of the deities in charge of the underground prisons.

Contrary to the places for gods in the northern border, the southern end of the ritual space is reserved for the souls. The seat of the dead is in the lower left (western) corner of the chart, possibly indicating that the subjects of the ritual

171 DZ 514, 9.755b–c. For dating of this text, see Schipper in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.1001–2.

172 For studies of Jiuku tianzun, see Yusa Noboru, “Tōdai ni mirareru Kyūku tenson shinkō ni tsuite,” *Tōhō shūkyō* 73 (1989), 19–40; Lin Sheng-chih, “Nansō no dōkyō ni okeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku: denryō Ryō Kai ‘ōteikeizukan’ kō” 南宋の道教における地獄救済の図像学:傳梁楷「黃庭經図卷」考, *Bukkyō geijutsu* 268 (2003), 93–118. For comparative studies of Jiuku tianzun and Buddhist deities such as Dizang 地藏 and Guanyin 觀音, see Zhiru, *The making of a savior bodhisattva* (see above, note 7), pp. 212–16; Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism face to face*, pp. 174–208.

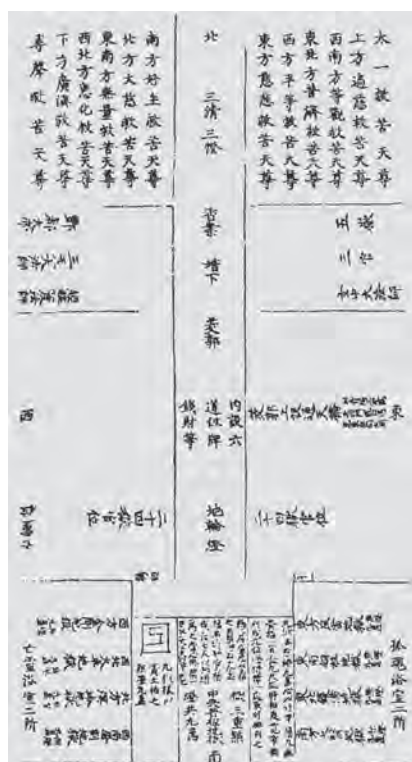


FIGURE 26

Chart of the offering for the ninefold darkness,  
from *Huanglu jiuyou jiao wuaiye zhai cidi yi*,  
DZ 514, 9.755b–c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445.  
Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

are not only individual souls but also all those imprisoned in hell, whose symbolic seat occupies the southern end. Hell is located at the southern extremity, at the far opposite end from the highest gods. A popular construction model in nonary form divides the square into nine subdivisions, a cosmological design that parallels that of the Song version of the Hall of Light 明堂.<sup>173</sup> The most sensational rite, the destruction of hell (*poyu* 破獄),<sup>174</sup> which usually takes place on the first night of the yellow register fast, is performed here. Next to the hell compound are two bathhouses, one at each side, which serve to clean newly exiting souls.

The *Chart of the offering for the ninefold darkness* can be understood as a temporal-spatial map useful for ritual performers. During the daytime, the ritual master performed rites associated with the gods in the northern border.

173 DZ 1223, 31.2c–3a; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 120–21.

174 For selected documentations of the rite of breaking open hell, see *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*, DZ 219, 3.892–906c; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.182b–199a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.335c–350c; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.63c–71c.

At night, he moved to the southern end for soul-saving rites, including attacking hell and soul-bathing. The final rites of feeding and sending off the souls took place in the middle of the sacred space, in a feeding room called the grass hut 茭郭, and on a man-made bridge set across the top of the hut, marking the final departing path for the souls to ascend to heaven.<sup>175</sup> Thus the word *du* 度 for “crossing” also means “saving” and “releasing”.<sup>176</sup>

*Talismans, Registers, and True Writs*

The Song-Yuan period saw a rapid expansion of the productions of talismans and talismanic writs. Catherine Despeux has provided the most substantial and updated survey of Daoist talismans and diagrams, analyzing the history, related texts, practices, and so on, although the vast amount of visual materials preserved in the Daoist canon still awaits more systematic visual analysis.<sup>177</sup>

Directly pertinent to ritual development of the Song and Yuan period are those visually innovative talismanic designs associated with the rite of the destruction of hell, salvation through refinement (*liandu* 鍊度), and the thunder rite.<sup>178</sup> Departing from the earlier visual language of talismans, which was based more on archaic forms of writings, quite a few new talismans of this period show the visual interests in integrating pictorial elements to Daoist writing, further highlighting the interlocking relationship of text and image of Daoist talismans. Among numerous talismans used by a Daoist priest during the destruction of hell, for example, are the true form chart of Mount Fengdu

175 The man-made bridge as indicated in this chart seems to form an essential part of the “ritual stage props” in the Southern Song, as we also see its presence in other ritual diagrams. When the master sends the souls to heaven across the bridge, this is clearly a metaphor for salvation, such as the curtained stage of refinement for salvation (*Liandu mu* 鍊度幕) or the altar of the Heavenly worthy of nine refinements (*Jiulian tianzun tan* 九鍊天尊壇) associated with the yellow register fast. See Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 99 (fig. 2.9) and 211 (fig. 4.23).

176 Huang, “Summoning the gods,” pp. 40–41.

177 Despeux, “Talismans and sacred diagrams.”

178 For studies of the *liandu* rite, see Judith M. Boltz, “Opening the gates of purgatory: a twelfth-century Taoist meditation technique for the salvation of lost souls,” in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist studies in honour of R.A. Stein*, 3 vols (Brussels, 1983), 2:487–511; Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*, pp. 233–35; Liu Cunren, *Hefengtang wenji* (Shanghai, 1991), pp. 771–74; Matsumoto Kōichi, “Sōdai no sōgi—ōrokusai to jukyō no sōrei” 宋代の葬儀—黄籙齋と儒教の葬礼, *Toshokan Jōhō Daigaku kenkyū hōkoku* 20.1 (2001), pp. 53–56; Sōdai no dōkyō to minkan shinkō (Tokyo, 2006), pp. 168–75; Davis, *Society and the supernatural in Song China*, pp. 234–35; Zhu Yiwen, “Song Yuan shiqi dao jiao liandu wenxian jianjie,” *Xiang'gang zhongwen daxue dao jiao wenhua yanjiu zhongxin tongxun* 2010.20, 1–3.



(Fig. 11) and the talisman of the Green mystery heavenly worthy pardoning the sinners and destroying Fengdu 青玄天尊救苦破酆都符 (Fig. 27), which is in the shape of a bureaucratic deity with talismanic writs residing in his body.<sup>179</sup>

In addition, a new group of talismans evoking the body can be viewed as products of the *liandu* rite popular in the Southern Song. Southern Song liturgical manuals preserve a large repertoire of bodily talismans alluding to the five organs and six viscera and other body parts, including the sense organs, the brain, the hair, the fingers, the toes, the veins, the cells, the embryo, as well as the essence, *qi*, the spirit, and so on.<sup>180</sup> The talisman for the kidneys,<sup>181</sup> for example, comes with a semisymmetrical pair of elongated shapes, each with a circular design at the center and two leg-like motifs at the bottom, whereas the talisman for the heart resembles a blossoming flower in a candle stand.<sup>182</sup> Unlike these designs, the talisman for the brain is based on linear graphics that resemble the tissue patterns of a brain (Fig. 28).<sup>183</sup> Still other talismans assume the form of a standing man or a woman<sup>184</sup> and resemble those used in the destruction of hell; their common visual grammar consists of seal-script-inspired talismanic writs transcribed within the contours of a standing human figure.<sup>185</sup>

The newly formulated thunder rites inspired the creation of talismanic true forms for the thunder troops, making a specifically Daoist contribution to the visual culture of thunder in Song and Yuan China. The thunder gods are often described as the Black Killer 黑糾 or messengers or marshals working

179 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.69b. Cf. *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.609c.

180 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.309a–314b, 335a–338b; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.622a–626a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.417a–423c; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.179b–182b.

181 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.421a; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.622b; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.335b.

182 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.335a; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.622a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.421b.

183 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.622a. Cf. *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.335a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.422b.

184 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.347c–348a; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.168a–b.

185 *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.69b. It is likely that they were associated with the Divine Empyrean Daoist Liu Hunkang 劉混康 (1036–1108), who worked closely with Emperor Huizong. See DZ 1223, 31.582a. Chen Yaoting, *Daojiao liyi*, p. 107; Boltz, “Opening the gates of purgatory,” p. 490. For a study of the Emperor Huizong and Liu Hunkang, see Patricia Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong* (Cambridge, 2013).



FIGURE 27 (left) *Talisman of the green mystery heavenly worthy pardoning the sinners and destroying Fengdu, from Shangqing lingbao dafa, DZ 1221, 31.69b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

FIGURE 28 (right) *Talisman for the brain, from Wushang huanglu dazhai li cheng-yi, DZ 508, 9.622a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

for the department of exorcism (*Quxie yuan* 驅邪院),<sup>186</sup> the office in charge of the thunder rite. A typical talisman shows one or more dynamic thunder gods drawn in solid black (Fig. 29),<sup>187</sup> here cited from the 14th century *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (Daoist method, united in principle; DZ 1220), often with

186 For a list of the martial deities working for the department of exorcism, see *Wushang xuanyuan santian yutang dafa*, DZ 220, 4.111a–b; DZ 1220, 29.152b–c. For a sample seal issued by this department, see *Daofa huiyuan*, DZ 1220, 29.829c.

187 DZ 1220, 29.385a. For a variety of talismans with the motif of a black messenger, see the references in Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 329; for more references to similar visual examples in the *Daozang*, see endnote 272, p. 417.



FIGURE 29

*Talisman of obtaining water from the heavenly river, from Daofa huiyuan, DZ 1220, 29.385a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

one leg bent and the other in the act of springing forward. This highlights the warrior-like action of the god: “moving his left foot, thunder and lightning arise; moving his right foot, wind and rain arrive.”<sup>188</sup> In addition, the black figure is often accompanied by a coiling line that symbolizes the expedient delivery of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain.<sup>189</sup> Often the talismanic figures also have birdlike features, such as a beak<sup>190</sup> or a pair of wings.<sup>191</sup> As shown in Fig. 29, the black figure holds two short nail-like sticks or a sharp knife.<sup>192</sup> This talisman evokes rain, as it shows the thunder god encircled by a coiling line that ends in the character *shui* 水 (water); above this configuration is the scoop-shaped Dipper, the source from which the rain falls.<sup>193</sup>

188 DZ 1220, 29.384c.

189 Ibid., 29.385a.

190 Ibid., 29.163c, 369c, and 385a.

191 Ibid., 29.385a.

192 See a talisman evoking Guan Yu 關羽 in the form of a black marshal holding a sharp knife in *ibid.*, 30.589c.

193 Ibid., 29.369c.

### Ritual Objects

The following discussion introduces other kinds of ritual objects. It begins with the most eye-catching flags and banners raised in the ritual space, and then it moves on to smaller objects that may not be so visible to the audience at first glance, like mirrors and writing utensils, and to the ephemeral artifacts like written documents to the gods. Far from being merely static objects displayed in the ritual space, they form an active part of the material ritual performed by the priests, and are touched, moved around, or carried by the ritual participants. It is through the ritual participants' use of the objects that their liturgical power is activated.

### *Banners and Flags*

The ritual implements all exhibit different designs. The five-tiered flag 節 made of five-colored silk is suspended from a bamboo pole, whose top hook is in the form of a golden phoenix supporting the silk strips in its mouth. A beaded net covers the surface of the octagonal canopy 幢. The three-tiered flag 旌 made of five-colored silk is similar to the *jie* but does not have silk strips. The beaded banner 珠旛 comes with beaded brocade; its jade pendants are suspended from a hook in the form of a golden phoenix. The fan of fivefold brightness 五明扇 suspended from a pole is made of wood and is coated in gold; it bears painted images of the constellations, the five sacred peaks, and the oceans. Last but not least, the crane feather 鶴羽 refers to a kind of red wooden pole decorated with a sculpted image of crane feathers.<sup>194</sup> Although no illustrations of these items are available, the *Lingbao yujian* offers a visual repertoire of the flag, the canopy, the fan, the banner, and so on (Fig. 30).<sup>195</sup> Except for the fan,<sup>196</sup> all items have a similar design of strip-like pendants hanging from hooked poles and resemble the ritual paraphernalia at the Daoist celestial court. It is likely that Daoist pennant makers were inspired by imperial paraphernalia; for this reason some of the illustrated models resemble examples of pennants and flags used in state rites, some of which are depicted in the 10th century *Sanlitu* 三禮圖 (Illustrations of the three ritual classics).<sup>197</sup>

Like flags, banners in traditional Daoism were efficacious objects that served to "invite good fortune, extend auspiciousness, improve life expectancy,

194 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.27c.

195 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.243a–b.

196 *Ibid.*, 10.243a.

197 Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (ca. 10th century), *Xinding Sanlitu* (961), *juan* 9, Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan ed., 4 vols (Shanghai, 1988), 1.123 and 1.126–27. For a study of the *Sanlitu* ritual manual, see Ding Ding, *Xinding Sanlitu* (Beijing, 2006).

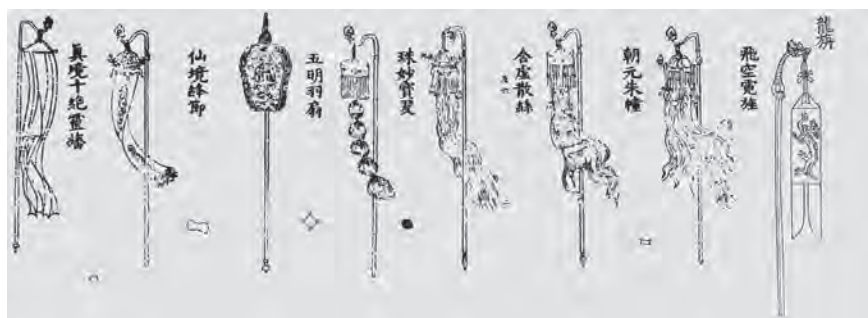


FIGURE 30 Selection of Daoist banners, *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 466, 7.27c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

protect long life, and ease old age.”<sup>198</sup> Thirteenth-century manuals document many Daoist banners, describing them as anthropomorphic objects with body parts comparable to those of humans.<sup>199</sup> The triangular part at the top of the banner is called the head, the elongated section at the center is its belly, the two narrow, vertical strips flanking the belly are the arms, and finally, the two elongated streamers attached to the bottom are the legs. Like a human, a banner also has a front and back.<sup>200</sup>

Daoist banners have more space for writings, in clear visual contrast to the strong iconic and figurative depiction of the Buddhist bodhisattva. The non-figurative and aniconic features evident in the Daoist banner highlight Daoist reliance on writings when in contact with the supernatural world. The fully inscribed banners function as moving texts that help the master communicate with gods and souls.<sup>201</sup> Made of yellow silk and completely covered with writing, the precious banner of great mercy 大慈寶幡 is a typical example of a

198 Livia Kohn, *Monastic life in medieval Daoism: a cross-cultural perspective* (Honolulu, 2003), p. 168. The early Tang *Fengdao kejie* (DZ 1125) records twenty-one kinds of banners; see Livia Kohn, *The Daoist monastic manual: a translation of the Fengdao kejie* (Oxford, 2004), p. 116.

199 For samples of Daoist ritual banners, see *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.577b–582a; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.602c–605c; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.159c–170b.

200 For example, see the notions of “the belly of the banner,” “left hand,” “right hand,” “right foot,” “left foot” as references to different parts of the banner in *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.161–63.

201 For more samples of talismans to be inscribed on Daoist banners, see Ren Zongquan, *Daojiao zhangbiao fuyin wenhua yanjiu*, pp. 177–89.

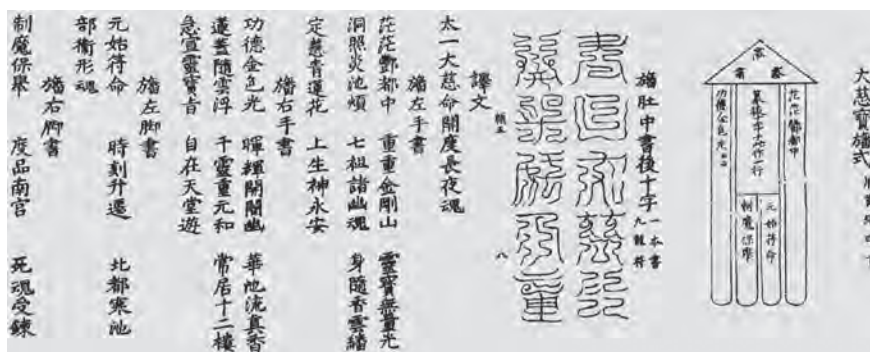


FIGURE 31 *Precious banner of great mercy, from Lingbao yujian, DZ 547, 10.162a–c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

Daoist written banner for soul saving (Fig. 31).<sup>202</sup> On its belly are ten evenly distributed magical writs in cloud seal script invoking the Great One to save souls.<sup>203</sup> Two five-character regulated poems are inscribed on its arms, and two four-character verses appear on its legs. These texts evoke the vastness of the underworld of Fengdu, including its layered mountains and its hot and cold ponds. Most important, they call forth the infinite light of the gods to illuminate the dark abyss, from which ancestral souls would follow the banner to ascend to heaven.

### Mirrors

In Daoist public rituals, mirrors are often juxtaposed with swords, implying a defensive or protective purpose.<sup>204</sup> Besides, mirrors were often paired with lamps, and water basins. To subjugate demons the priest would at times “enact” the mirrors along with talismans. Samples of Daoist mirrors illustrated in Song Daoist texts suggest that talismans or inscriptions were the preferred surface decoration, as opposed to figural or iconic motifs.<sup>205</sup> The close relationship

202 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.162a–c. For more similar examples, see *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.581a; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.65a.

203 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.162b.

204 A Song Daoist text describes the construction of a Daoist altar as filling with “mirrors and swords”. See *Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳, DZ 1285, 32.651a. For a classic study of Daoist mirrors and swords, see Fukunaga Mitsuji, “Dōkyō ni okeru kagami to ken: sono shisō no genryū,” *Tōhō gaku* 45 (1973), 59–120.

205 For a classic study of Daoist-inspired inscriptions on medieval bronze mirrors, drawing on extant examples from the Freer Gallery of Art as the main visual source, see



between mirrors and talismans in Daoist subjugating rituals is highlighted further in the visual conventions for Daoist mirrors illustrated in Song Daoist texts (Fig. 32).<sup>206</sup> A predominant design shows talismanic writings arranged in eight strips that radiate out from the center of the mirror like the spokes of a wheel. Indeed, the dominant talismanic patterns in Daoist mirror designs differ from those of mainstream Chinese bronze mirrors: Han mirrors are noted for their geometric designs, cosmic symbolism, and other auspicious images of gods and divine creatures, whereas the most popular designs for Tang mirrors are filled with a plethora of dragons, sea creatures, and grapes.<sup>207</sup> Daoist talismanic mirrors also differ from Liao and Song Buddhist mirror types, some of which show iconic images incised on their reflecting sides.<sup>208</sup> It is important to note the interactive nature of mirrors with talismanic inscriptions in some Daoist rituals. To invoke the power of the mirror, the practitioner holds the inscribed side upward, recites spells, and blows cosmic *qi* onto it.<sup>209</sup>

### *Writing Utensils and Written Documents*

Because the priest, like a bureaucrat in charge of paperwork, is “first and foremost a scribe” who employs writing as “his prime means of command over the spirit world,”<sup>210</sup> writing utensils consisting of brushes, paper, ink, and a writing knife form a crucial part of Daoist ritual objects.<sup>211</sup> All of these writing utensils were already venerated by the Daoist clergy in the 2nd century when they were used as “pure” offerings, distinct from animal flesh or money. Besides, all the petitions the Daoists submit to the gods are written memorials, just like official paperwork in the imperial administration, where the names of the gods as well

---

Suzanne E. Cahill, “The word made bronze: inscriptions on medieval Chinese bronze mirrors,” *Archives of Asian Art* 39 (1986), 62–70.

206 *Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo Beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing*, DZ 1412, 34.425a.

207 This is seen in Emperor Huizong’s collection of Han and Tang mirrors, as shown in *Antiquities illustrated*; see Patricia Ebrey, *Accumulating culture: the collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle, 2008), pp. 184–96, and 202 (Table 6.2). François Louis calls attention to Tang archaic bronze mirrors, whose designs recall ancient conventions; Louis also regards certain Daoist mirrors as examples of the archaic mirrors of the Tang; see François Louis, “Cauldrons and mirrors of yore: Tang perceptions of archaic bronzes,” *Zurich Studies in the History of Art* 13/14 (2006/2007), 202–36 (published in May 2009).

208 Hsueh-man Shen, “Image in a mirror, moon in the water: Liao period bronze mirrors incised with Buddhist images,” *Orientalia* 37.6 (2006), 58–64.

209 *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*, DZ 219, 3.806c.

210 Michel Strickmann, *Chinese magical medicine*, Bernard Faure, ed. (Stanford, 2002), p. 6.

211 The writing knife is also highlighted by Lu Xiuqing as one of the four “necessary objects” in an oratory; see *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略, DZ 1127, 24.780c.

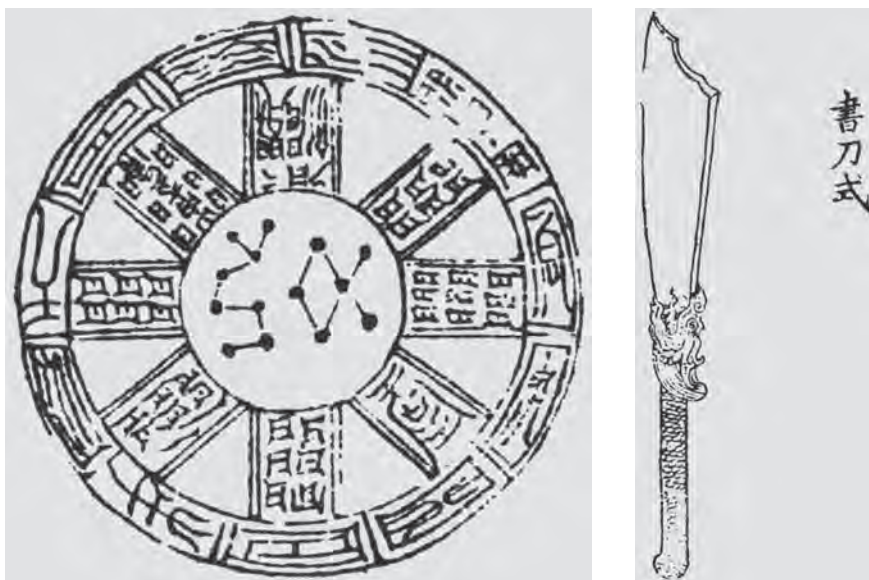


FIGURE 32 (left) *Illustration of a Daoist mirror, from Taishang yuanshi tianzun shuo beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing, DZ 1412, 34.425a. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

FIGURE 33 (right) *Sample of a writing knife used in ritual, from Shangqing lingbao dafa, DZ 1223, 31: 638b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.*

as the persons concerned are acknowledged. Most of these written documents are dispatched by burning at the end of the ritual.

Uniquely Daoist, the writing knife is also called the dragon-headed writing knife 龍頭書刀 and is thus distinguished from regular writing brushes in ritual inventories. The 13th century *Shangqing lingbao dafa* compiled by Jin Yunzhong shows it as being six *cun* long, made of steel, and with a dragon head made of silver attached to the handle (Fig. 33).<sup>212</sup> It is placed on the left of a memorial table, paired with a brush and other miniature artifacts such as the golden fish 金魚 and the jade wild goose 玉雁 on the right.<sup>213</sup>

Paper is another unique category among Daoist ritual items since it serves as a symbolic medium on which all communications with the gods—ranging

212 DZ 1223, 31. 638b. Also, see Asano, “Girei to kumotsu” (see above, note 141), 2.131.

213 DZ 1223, 31.503c. For further documentation of the golden fish and jade goose, see DZ 129, 2.866b; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.434a, 660b, and 664a; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.33b. Also, see Asano, “Girei to kumotsu,” 2.133–34.

from legible writings to purely magical signs—are to be recorded.<sup>214</sup> In order for a ritual to be efficacious, the written memorials had to be presented on good-quality paper; by no means were they to be done on dirty paper.<sup>215</sup> The Southern Song *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi* (DZ 508) lists a variety of papers for the yellow register fast.<sup>216</sup> Different sizes and qualities of memorial paper 狀紙, totaling more than one thousand pieces, are requested for writing memorials.<sup>217</sup> The yellow scripture paper 黃經紙, popular among Song art collectors for labeling paintings and calligraphic pieces,<sup>218</sup> is here employed toward the making of nine dragons talismans and registers of rebirth in heaven 生天寶籙.<sup>219</sup> Other miscellaneous kinds of paper include yellow paper 黃紙 and white ripe rice paper 白熟紙.<sup>220</sup> The most popular Daoist paper is perhaps blue-green paper 青紙, used for inscribing all kinds of talismans, including the true writs in five tablets and contracts for ascending to heaven 昇天券.<sup>221</sup> It is different from the so-called green-verses paper 青詞紙 used for writing memorials to the gods.<sup>222</sup> A special entry consisting of “thirty-eight sets of blue-green paper made in Fuzhou” 福州青紙三十八幅 may reflect a local specialty.<sup>223</sup>

214 Paper was invented in China in the late 1st century. For the history of Chinese paper, see Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper before printing: the history and impact of paper in the Islamic world* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 32–45, and 230–231.

215 See, for example, the twenty-third rule listed in *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.278c.

216 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.661b–662c.

217 *Ibid.*, DZ 508, 9.661b–662c.

218 Shao Bo, *Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 27.216; Shen Guo 沈括 (1031–95), *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* 夢溪筆談校證 (Shanghai, 1959), bubitan 補筆談 2.967.

219 For visual examples of the nine dragons talismans, see *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.111b; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.295b, 301b, 350c, 428c, 480b–c; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.6–9b. For visual examples of the register or coupon of rebirth in heaven, see *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.661b; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.481a. For a recent study of Daoist registers, see Luk, “Picturing celestial certificates.”

220 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.661b–c, 662b–c; for an example of a talisman for attacking hell written on yellow paper, see 631b.

221 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.661b; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.480c.

222 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 662a–c. The term *qingci* 青詞 in medieval China also refers to imperial edicts; see Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557–637), *Chenshu* 陳書 35.14b. For more on Daoist *qingci*, see Maruyama, *Dōkyō girei monjo no reikishiteki kenkyū*, pp. 171–208.

223 *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.662b.

The history of Daoist documents addressed to the gods can be traced back to the so-called handwritten letters to the three officials (*sanguan shoushu* 三官手書), a type of text first found among the Celestial Masters in the 2nd century.<sup>224</sup> These confessional documents are meant to be drafted, then delivered to the three officials of heaven, earth, and water to seek pardon.<sup>225</sup> The symbolic delivery takes place during a post-confessional ritual in three locations: the first document is buried (or burnt) at a mountain as a token of its delivery to the Official of Heaven, the second document is buried in the ground near the altar to symbolize its delivery to the Official of Earth, and the third document is thrown into a river or a lake as a communication with the Official of Water.<sup>226</sup>

Among the numerous divine documents prepared for a Daoist ritual, the three individual texts addressed to the three officials are the primary set compiled; these texts are delivered to the respective deities in a rite known as casting the dragon tablets (*toulong jian* 投龍簡).<sup>227</sup> This postritual practice, developed in the 5th century, merges with the earlier convention of sending handwritten letters to the three officials. During an excursion beyond the ritual site, Daoist practitioners bury written prayers in the mountains, grotto heavens, or blissful lands or throw them into sacred rivers and lakes. By the 13th century, a standard set of such written prayers comprised a mountain tablet 山簡, an earth tablet 土簡, and a water tablet 水簡; their writing conventions ranged from regular scripts to talismanic writs (Fig. 34).<sup>228</sup> In some cases, the tablets are packed with additional layers of other materials for more protection. First, they are sealed in three rectangular cloth pouches 袋.<sup>229</sup> Second,

224 Lai Chi Tim, "Tiandishui sanguan xinyang yu zaoqi Tianshidao zhibing jiezui yishi," *Taiwan zongjiao yanjiu* 2.1 (2002), 1–30; Lü Pengzhi, *Tang qian dao jiao yishi shigang*, pp. 18–20, 29, 33, 125; "Daoist rituals," 2.1251; Schipper has uncovered a 10th century petition titled *Daoshi tiandishui sanguan shoushu luzhuang* 道士天地水三官手書錄狀 (DZ 617) that attests to the long-lasting practice of submitting written confessions to the three officials; see DZ 617, 11.319b–320a; Schipper in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 1.482.

225 For other Lingbao fasts associated with the officials of heaven and earth, see Lü, "Daoist rituals," 2.1286.

226 Huang, "Summoning the gods," p. 8.

227 *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhongjian wen* 太上洞玄靈寶眾簡文, DZ 410, 6.563b–567b. For a classic study of this ritual, see Edouard Chavannes, "Le jet des dragons." *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale* 1919.3, 53–220. See also Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*, pp. 166–67.

228 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.333a–b. For a variety of designs, see *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.316a–c; *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*, DZ 219, 3.939a–941a.

229 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.316b–317a.

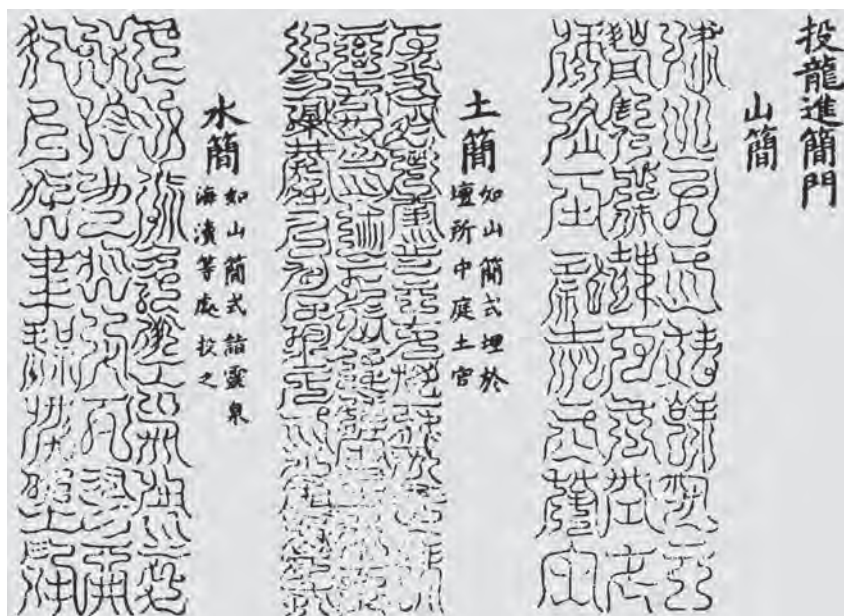


FIGURE 34 Sample of the written prayers to be cast to the mountain, earth, and water, from *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.333a–b. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

the pouches are bundled with blue silk threads, golden rings 金鈕, and jade *bi* disks of different shapes in blue, yellow, and black respectively (Fig. 35),<sup>230</sup> which replace human hair and blood given when making vows to form a covenant 盟 and when undergoing Daoist initiation.

Categories of written documents began to increase in the 5th and 6th centuries;<sup>231</sup> by the 13th century they included announcements 疏, proclamations 申, petitions 章, memorials 表, and reports 狀.<sup>232</sup> The written documents, once completed, are sealed in envelopes and placed in containers or

230 Ibid., 10.334c. The number of golden rings used in the *toulong* rite varies, ranging from nine to twenty-seven; see *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法錄略說, DZ 1241, 32.194a; *Taishang huanglu zhaiyi* 太上黃籙齋儀, DZ 507, 9.361b; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.584b–585a, and 659c–660a.

231 Benn, “Daoist ordinations and zhai rituals in medieval China,” p. 313.

232 Matsumoto Kōichi, *Sōdai no dōkyō to minkan shinkō* (Tokyo, 2006), pp. 143–53. For selected samples of the documents of various types, see DZ 1223, 31.513b–58c.



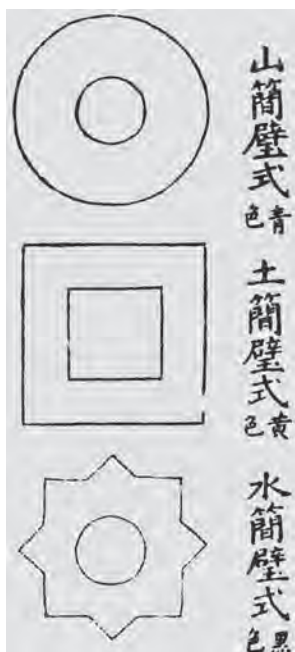


FIGURE 35

Jade disks for the dragon-casting tablets, from *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.334c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

boxes made of wood or textiles.<sup>233</sup> The *Lingbao yujian* illustrates some samples (Fig. 36).<sup>234</sup> The packing materials for a written memorial include the innermost perfect envelope 圓封, the three inner containers 內方函, and the outermost wooden box 木函.<sup>235</sup> On the envelope, the upper column is reserved for the name(s) of the recipient(s), whereas the space in the lower column is for the Daoist priest's signature, using the required appellation of officer as his title. The inner containers come in three colors—the innermost container is green, the middle yellow, and the outermost white—and their address format is similar to that of the envelopes. The outermost layer of the paperwork package is a wooden box that measures one *chi* two *cun* long and four *cun* wide and is made either of cypress or *Catalpa kaempferi* 梓木. The bottom of the wooden

233 For a study of Daoist written documents, envelopes, and containers, see Ren Zongquan, *Daojiao zhangbiao fuyin wenhua yanjiu*, pp. 274–335.

234 *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.281b–c.

235 As John Lagerwey observes from contemporary Daoist ritual in Taiwan, the gods who receive the documents in boxes are of a higher rank than those who receive the documents in flat rectangular envelopes. See Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*, p. 67.



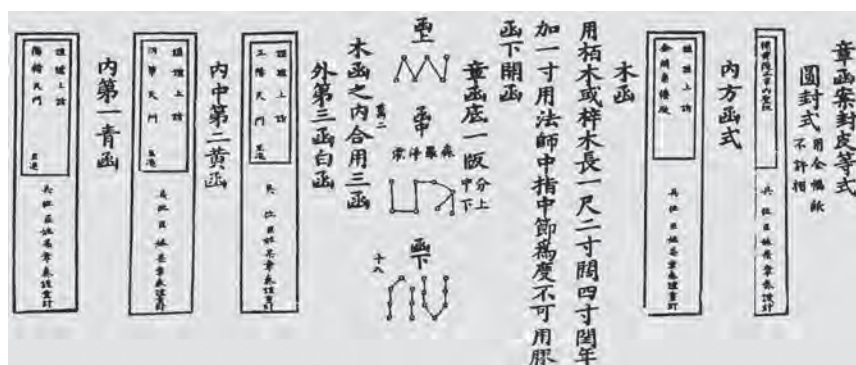


FIGURE 36 Models for envelopes, inner containers, and the outer box for sealing written memorials, from *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.281b–c. Ming dynasty, dated 1445. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

container is decorated with patterns of the constellations.<sup>236</sup> Additional seals are sometimes stamped on the documents as well as the envelopes,<sup>237</sup> and some seals, such as the one to be stamped on the box envelope 封函印, are still used today.<sup>238</sup>

Based on the study of these materials recorded in the *Daozang*, there appears a direct link between material ephemerality and religious efficacy: the fact that wooden and paper documents and paper spirit money burn easily (and thus become immaterial) symbolizes their effortless passage to the other world. Because wood and paper are flammable, they are transformed more easily than other, more enduring materials. Paper in particular is honored in Daoist rites as the major medium for ritual documents, spirit money, and divine messengers.

<sup>236</sup> *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.281b–c.

<sup>237</sup> For more instructions concerning the different uses of seals on various ritual documents, see *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 8.805a–806a; *Lingbao yujian*, DZ 547, 10.142b–c. For the method of worshiping seals, see *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1221, 31.9b. For more post-Tang samples of seals, see DZ 1220, 30.123b, 167b–168a; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, DZ 1223, 31.398b–399b; *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.629b–630a; Patricia Ebrey, “Huizong and the imperial dragon: exploring the material culture of imperial sovereignty,” in *Chaoyue wenben: wuzhi wenhua yanjiu xin shiye*, *Qinghua xuebao* 41.1 (2011), 63 (fig. 22).

<sup>238</sup> Some of these seal conventions are still preserved in modern Daoist seals; see Su Qiming, ed., *Daojiao wenwu*, pp. 178–79.

## Archaeology

Archaeological finds have provided new perspectives on the multi-faceted Daoist visual culture not available in historically transmitted texts or images. The following section on archaeology will feature three areas of inquiry: cliff carvings, temple art and architecture, and tombs. When discussing cliff carvings, selected topics are drawn from Song caves in Dazu, Sichuan, and Yuan caves in Longshan, Shanxi. Our focal point with regard to Daoist temples is the art and architecture at the Yuan-dynasty site Yonglegong. In the final part, the discussion of the funerary art under the Khitan Liao rule will also shed light on Daoism in the Liao, a topic less explored elsewhere in these volumes.

### *Cliff Carvings*

Compared to the abundant Buddhist cliff carvings, Daoist cliff carvings are few and little studied. Pertinent to the Daoist concept of grotto heavens, grottoes hosting sculptures carved out of natural rocks and cliffs should have a unique meaning in Daoism and deserve more attention. The following introduces selected sites that best testify to the changes of Daoist cliff carvings during the Song-Yuan period.<sup>239</sup> In particular, the grottoes in Dazu 大足, Sichuan, reflect the new pantheon, local workshops, and elite patrons in the Song period. On the other hand, the grottoes in Longshan 龍山, Shanxi, commemorate the history and patronage of Quanzhen 全真 Daoism in the Yuan.<sup>240</sup>

### Dazu, Sichuan

The most impressive region preserving rich surviving Daoist sculptures of the Song period is Dazu county, Sichuan. Nanshan 南山, Shimenshan 石門山, and Shuchengyan 舒成岩 are the main sites that bear Daoist cave carvings dated to the Northern and Southern Song periods. Most of these carvings have been published in color plates in China. Hu Wenhe, among others, has done extensive studies of these caves, focusing on dating, iconography, style, and related inscriptions and epigraphs.<sup>241</sup> In terms of the iconography, a notable change

239 Although not discussed in this article, Mount Qingyuan in Quanzhou, Fujian is another little-studied site with Daoist and Buddhist carvings, including a free-standing granite statue of Laozi that is more than five meters high. See Angela Howard et al., *Chinese sculptures* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 403–04.

240 Jing Anning mentioned other minor sites in Shandong, Hebei, and Shaanxi; see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 236.

241 Hu Wenhe, *Sichuan daojiao fojiao shiku yishu* (Chengdu, 1994); idem, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2 vols (Beijing, 2004), vol. 2.

that characterizes the Tang-Song transition is the significant expansion of the pantheon. Compared to such earlier icons as Lord Lao 老君 and Tianzun 天尊 whose statutes dominated the Tang and pre-Tang caves, the Song caves demonstrated a much more diverse assembly of gods, including the Jade Emperor 玉皇, the Song Holy Ancestor 聖祖, the emperor of the Northern Dipper 北極紫微大帝, the Emperor of the eastern sacred peak 東岳大帝, and his empress Shuming 淑明皇后. Furthermore, new additions of secondary deities such as the personified troops of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain 雷電風雨, and the paired attendant gods Thousand-*li* eyes 千里眼 and Down-wind ears 順風耳, appeal to popular cultures and religions, although they may not be exclusively Daoist.<sup>242</sup> Most donors or patrons of these Dazu carvings were local rulers or local gentry. Lay people donating money to sponsor cliff carvings exemplified a non-exclusive enthusiasm for Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.<sup>243</sup> Female donors for selected Daoist caves were sometime referred to as “female disciples” 女弟子.

#### *Family Workshops*

Based on the epigraphical evidence, scholars have identified professional carvers traveling in team in Sichuan to work on Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian carvings. These were family sculptors who had worked locally for generations during the 11th and 12th centuries.<sup>244</sup> The most important family workshop was the Wen 文 family from Anyue; their family tradition as professional sculptors spanned at least six generations, from 1052 to 1179.<sup>245</sup> For example, the Southern Song cave no. 2 (dated 1144) at Miaogaoshan 妙高山, Dazu,

242 For a chart comparing and summarizing the iconographies of Tang and Song caves in Dazu, see Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2.318–20.

243 For more on this, see Zhang Zong's chapter in this volume.

244 Thomas Suchuan's useful diagrams and maps outline the generations of two family sculptors and their areas of activities; see Thomas Suchuan, “The eternally flourishing stronghold: an iconographic study of the Buddhist sculpture of the Fowan and related sites at Beishan, Dazu ca. 892–1155,” PhD dissertation (Ohio State University, 2003), pp. 604–05. For more discussion of carvers' information, see Zhang Hua, “Songdai Dazu shike juanjiang liuming qianshuo,” in Chen Mingguang, ed., *Dazu shike yanjiu wenxuan* (Chongqing, 1995), pp. 207–22. See also Hu Wenhe, “Dazu Shizhuanshan Shimenshan Miaogaoshan Songdai shiku yu Wenshi juanjiang shijia de guanxi yanjiu,” *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 2001.14, 55–90.

245 It started with the first generation Wen Chang 文昌, continued to the second generation, Wen Chang's two sons, Wen Weiyi 文惟一 and Wen Weijian 文惟簡, and lasted until the sixth generation, Wen Mengzhou 文孟周 and others. See Suchuan, “The eternally flourishing stronghold,” p. 604.

Sichuan, which exemplifies the blending of the three teachings, bears a colophon on the entrance wall that designated the fourth-generation sculptor Wen Zhongzhang 文仲璋, and his nephews, Wen Tai 文珪 and Wen Zhu 文珠 of the fifth generation, as the sculptors.<sup>246</sup> The other well-documented family sculptors were the Fu 伏 family sculptors active in Dazu for three generations, from 1126 to 1154.<sup>247</sup> Fu Yuanjun 伏元俊 and Fu Yuanxin 伏元信, the first generation of the lineage, were carvers of the magnificent Emperor of the eastern sacred peak in Cave no. 2, Shuchengyan, dated 1153.<sup>248</sup>

### *Fusion of the Three Teachings*

Miaogaoshan Cave no. 2 carved by the Wen family sculptors features a seated Buddha on the central wall, Laozi 老子 on the west wall, and Confucius on the east wall.<sup>249</sup> The Wen family sculptors made a visual effort to distinguish Laozi's statue from the Buddhist and Confucian counterparts. The Laozi statue is noted for its Daoist iconographic features, especially the topknot and the triangular mustache. This forms a contrast to the Buddhist icon, which shows the Buddha seated on a lotus seat; it is also different from the Confucian icon noted for the archaic, rectangular imperial cap with pendants of pearls above the forehead. The hybrid iconic assembly of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism had its predecessor in Tang Dazu carvings, as demonstrated by Christine Mollier's study of the Buddhο-Daoist icons in Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 in Anyue, Feixiang 飛仙閣 in Pujiang 蒲江, and Niujiāozhai 牛角寨 in Renshou 仁壽.<sup>250</sup> In this case, Mollier suggests that the juxtaposition of a Laozi icon on the right and a Sakyamuni icon on the left reflected an inten-

246 Hu Wenhe, "Dazu Shizhuanshan Shimenshan." For a recent dissertation on the Dazu caves with three teachings themes, see Zhou Zhao, "The unified three teachings in the rock carvings of the Song dynasty in Chongqing and Sichuan," PhD dissertation (Heidelberg University, 2010), pp. 92–120; for the documentation of the carvers, see p. 95. I would like to thank Phillip Bloom for calling my attention to this new study. Cf. a Jin-dynasty stele bearing the text entitled "Sacred images of the three teachings" 三教聖像 on top and a triad of Buddha, Laozi, and Confucius below; for a rubbing, see Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the arts of China*, p. 27.

247 Suchuan, "The eternally flourishing stronghold," p. 605.

248 See Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2.151.

249 Ibid., 2.146–48.

250 Christine Mollier, "Iconizing the Daoist-Buddhist relationship: cliff sculptures in Sichuan during the reign of Tang Xuanzong," *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao lishi yu shehui* 2010.2, 95–133.

tional yet tacit choice by the commissioners, who placed Daoism in a role superior to Buddhism.<sup>251</sup>

*Daoist Pantheon Sanctioned by the Song Court*

A well-studied Song cave best attesting to the transformation of Daoist iconography is the Three Purities grotto (Sanqing gudong 三清古洞) in Nanshan, dated prior to 1154 in the Southern Song dynasty.<sup>252</sup> The cave is noted for its Buddhist-inspired central pillar with three-tier carvings. The lowest tier of the central pillar forms the base; its repetitive strip-like patterns makes this base look like a mock altar table.<sup>253</sup> Above this base are two tiers of figures carved into a niche. The pantheon is laid out in two registers. A recent study by Anning Jing sees this design as a Daoist altar, which was in turn fashioned after the traditional imperial ancestral altar.<sup>254</sup> In terms of iconography, the Three Purities are at the central top register, the other six deities flanking the Three Purities on the top and middle registers represent the highest and most important Daoist pantheon sanctioned by the Song court. These include the Jade Emperor (upper east wall) and the Earth Empress 后土 (middle east wall), the two celestial sovereigns of the North Pole 北極大帝 (upper west wall) and August Heaven 天皇大帝 (middle east), and the Holy Ancestor and Ancestress 聖祖母 of the Song (middle west).<sup>255</sup> An undated inscription at the center of the middle tier identifies the local elite Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 (died in 1154) and his wife Yang 楊氏 as donors who gave the land or prepared

251 Mollier, "Iconizing the Daoist-Buddhist relationship." "Right" and "left" are from the point of view of the observer. Normally, in China, space is hierarchized around the emperor (or the god), who "sits facing south," meaning the east (yang) is to his left and superior to the west (yin) to his right.

252 For plates, see Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2.99–115. For selected studies of this cave, see Hu Wenhe, "Dazu Nanshan Sanqing gudong he Shimenshan Sanhuang dong zaishi," *Sichuan wenwu* 1990.4, 42–46; Li Xiaoqiang, "Dazu Nanshan daojiao jiaotan zaixiang," *Zhongguo daojiao* 2003.1, 39–40; Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Jinlu zhaifa yu daojiao zaixiang de xingcheng yu zhankai," trans. Bai Wen, *Yishu tansuo* 21.3 (2007), 32–47; Anning Jing, "The Three Purities grotto at Nanshan, Dazu," in Jerome Silbergeld et al., eds, *Bridges to heaven: essays on East Asian art in honor of Professor Wen C. Fong*, 2 vols (Princeton, 2011), 2.495–510.

253 Jing, "The Three Purities grotto at Nanshan, Dazu." Other earlier studies supporting the ritual aspect of this cave design include Li Xiaoqiang, "Dazu Nanshan daojiao jiaotan zaixiang"; Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Dōkyō zōzō no keisei to tenkai: Shisenshō Menyō Andake Daisoku no magari dōkyō zōzō o chūshin ni," in Kobayashi Masayoshi, ed., *Dōkyō no saihō girei no shisōshiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo, 2006), pp. 223–79.

254 Jing, "The Three Purities grotto at Nanshan, Dazu," p. 495.

255 Ibid., p. 498; for plates, see pp. 502–05.



FIGURE 37 *Rock carvings of the god and goddess of the Eastern sacred peak and the celestial court, from the Shimenshan Cave no. 11. Southern Song dynasty, twelfth century. 299 × 386 cm. Dazu, Sichuan. After Chongqing Dazu shike yishu bowuguan et al., *Dazu shike diaosu quanji*, 4 vols (Chongqing, 1999), 4.86.*

the surface of the cliff for carving, and Zhang Quanyi 張全一 and his wife Zhao 趙氏 as chief patrons.<sup>256</sup> These donors' images may be represented at the center of the middle tier as two couples holding offerings.<sup>257</sup>

#### *Underground Bureaucracy of Mount Tai*

Elsewhere in Shimenshan, Dazu, another Southern Song cave (no. 11) staging the god and goddess of the eastern sacred peak and their entourage has received much attention in recent scholarship (Fig. 37).<sup>258</sup> Flanking the Emperor of the

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., p. 495.

<sup>257</sup> For an illustration of these lay donors, see *ibid.*, p. 501.

<sup>258</sup> For a plate, see Chongqing Dazu shike yishu bowuguan et al., *Dazu shike diaosu quanji*, 4 vols (Chongqing, 1999), 4.86. For more discussions, see Thomas Suchuan, "The cliff sculpture of the stone-gate mountain: a mirror of religious eclecticism in the art of twelfth-



eastern sacred peak and Empress Shuming at the center are seventy-five male figures dressed in official robes and divided into five tiers. Below the thrones is a horizontal arrangement of eighteen bureaucratic gods, who may represent the infernal officers. Seated at the center in front of a screen, the god and goddess are larger than the rest of the assisting male bureaucratic gods flanking the central icons in multiple rows to the left, above, and below. In the horizontal register below the god and the goddess two officials unfold a handscroll. They may represent the record-keepers at the court of the eastern sacred peak who document the sins and virtues of the deceased souls.

### Longshan, Shanxi

Longshan grottoes located in the southwestern suburb of Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi, were associated with Quanzhen Daoism prospering in north China in the 13th and 14th centuries.<sup>259</sup> Although the present sites have shown much damage and some head fragments of the sculptures from the sites were dislocated overseas in the 20th century, photographic documentations by the Japanese scholar Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定 and his team in the 1920s help to reconstruct the original appearance of the sculptural constructions.<sup>260</sup> According to Anning Jing's most updated study, caves nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7 were all commissioned under the supervision of the Quanzhen master Song Defang 宋德方 (1183–1247) and his disciples between 1235 and 1239.<sup>261</sup>

---

century Sichuan," *Archives of Asian Art* 57 (2007), 59. The icon of the goddess of Mt. Tai was introduced to Dazu cliff carvings in the Song. Cf. the statue of Empress Shuming in another Southern Song cave (cave no. 1) at Shuchengyan, Dazu; see Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2.150–51. For Mt. Tai's association with underground prisons in traditional China, see more discussion and references in Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 120 and 372 (endnote 187).

259 For the most updated study and review of past scholarship, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 235–273; Anning Jing, "The Longshan Daoist caves," *Artibus Asiae* 68.1 (2008), 7–56.

260 Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tadashi, *Shina bunka shiseki*, 10 vols (Tokyo, 1939–1941), vol. 1; Tokiwa Daijō et al., *Chūgoku bunka shiseki*, 13 vols (Kyoto, 1975–76), 1.111–32. For images of three fragments of head sculptures in the National Museum, Stockholm, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 246; Osvald Sirén, *Chinese and Japanese sculptures and paintings in the National Museum, Stockholm* (London, 1931), p. 35.

261 For a chart summarizing the themes and dates of these caves, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 245; for a historical study of Song Defang, including his biography, writings, and disciples, see pp. 53–84.

### *Quanzhen Identity*

Some carvings from these caves are particularly pertinent to the Quanzhen identity. For example, the procession of twenty figures on clouds in cave no. 1 may be associated with the twenty ancestors and teachers recorded by Song Defang in his “eulogy of the Quanzhen lineage” 全真列祖賦.<sup>262</sup> Equally telling is cave no. 3,<sup>263</sup> in which the main reclining figure inspired by but not identical with the iconography of Buddhist Nirvana may indeed represent the founding patriarch of Quanzhen Daoism, Wang Chongyang 王重陽.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, the seven headless seated statutes inside cave no. 7 may be dedicated to the so-called Qizhen 七真 (Seven Perfected), which refers to Wang Chongyang’s seven leading disciples.<sup>265</sup> The grouping of seven statues echoes the descriptions of the Hall of the seven perfected 七真殿, a standard hall within Quanzhen temples, recorded in numerous textual and epigraphic sources.<sup>266</sup>

### *Temple Art and Architecture: The Case of the Yonglegong 永樂宮*

Besides cliff carvings, extant Daoist temples provide cultural and social contexts to shed light on the religious meanings of art and architecture. The most important Daoist temple built in the Jin-Yuan period is the famous Yonglegong (Temple of eternal joy), originally built in Yongle 永樂, southwest of Ruicheng

262 See Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 254.

263 See Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2:369.

264 Jing Anning notes that this position is deliberately opposite to the standard Buddhist Nirvana iconography, which shows the reclining figure turning to the left side of the body, and not to the right side of the body; see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 266. Hu Wenhe also identifies the reclining figure as Wang Chongyang; see Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi*, 2:383–384. The statue’s reclining position in Longshan cave no. 3 is comparable to two Quanzhen pictorial productions showing the same scenario of Wang’s dying moment in bed; see the mural entitled “Four disciples carrying the coffin” 四子捧柩 from Chongyang hall, Yonglegong, reproduced in Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 345.

265 On the seven disciples see Pierre Marsone’s chapter in this volume. For a 1343 Yonglegong stele 元皇褒封五祖七真全真之辭 documenting the Yuan court’s edict recognizing these seven Quanzhen Daoists as the Seven Perfected with individual titles, see Xiao Jun, “Yonglegong gaishu” 永樂宮壁畫概述, in Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua* 永樂宮壁畫 (Beijing, 2008), pp. 66–67.

266 For an impressive list of recorded temples, halls, statues, and paintings associated with Quanzhen Daoism, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 215–34. It is not certain what Seven Perfected images these temples might have had, since the term *Qizhen* 七真 in Quanzhen Daoism may also refer to Wang Chongyang and his six male leading disciples; see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 345. For more on the Five Patriarchs and Seven Perfected 五祖七真 in Quanzhen Daoism, see Liu Ke, “Jin Yuan daojiao xinyang yu tuxiang biaoqian,” PhD dissertation (Central Academy of Fine Arts, 2012), pp. 136–48.

芮城 in the southern tip of Shanxi.<sup>267</sup> The following section will discuss its historical background, architecture, and selected murals.

Yonglegong is the Eastern patriarchal court (*dong zuting* 東祖庭) of Quanzhen Daoism.<sup>268</sup> Song Defang, the Quanzhen master supervising the Longshan grottoes discussed earlier, launched the temple construction on the site of a still earlier shrine (Lü Gongci 呂公祠) dedicated to the immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 in his birthplace Yongle. In 1959, the temple complex was moved upriver to its present location in Ruicheng to make way for a reservoir construction along the northern bank of the Yellow river.

The building process can be divided into two phases, namely the first phase between 1247 and 1262, which shows more connections with the capital, and the second phase in the first half of the 14th century, which reflects growing local connections.<sup>269</sup> The basic structure of the temple complex was completed during the first phase.<sup>270</sup> Around 1247, the renowned Quanzhen Daoist Pan Dehong 潘德冲 (1191–1256) active in Yanjing 燕京 was appointed to come to Shanxi to take charge of the temple construction. Central government and leading Quanzhen Daoists in Yanjing and Mt. Zhongnan showed fervent support.<sup>271</sup> The second phase of the temple construction started around 1294 and continued throughout at least the mid-1350s or till the end of the Yuan. Main projects executed during this period include the construction of the gate, and most importantly, the wall paintings of the temple halls. Besides

267 Katz, *Images of the immortal* (see above, note 7), esp. pp. 24–51. For more primary sources related to Song Defang's Daoist activities in Shanxi, see Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua tan Yuandai jinnan zhiye huafang de bihua zhizuo," MA thesis (National Taiwan University, 1995), pp. 130–33. For more recent art historical studies of the Yonglegong, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 286–344; Liu Ke, "Jin Yuan daojiao xinyang yu tuxiang biaoqian."

268 This is mentioned alongside the Western ancestral court 西祖庭, the Chongyang temple 重陽宮 in Mt. Zhongnan 終南山, Shaanxi; see Chen Yuan, *Daojiao jinshi lüe* (Beijing, 1998), p. 516.

269 For an in-depth discussion of imperial, elite, and Daoist patronage, see Paul Katz, *Images of the immortal*, pp. 121–30.

270 The oft-cited epigraphic evidence documenting the construction history of the temple is Wang E's 王鶚 (1190–1273) stele erected on the temple's platform. For a full citation and further interpretation of its content, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 292–97. For more discussion, see Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua tan Yuandai jinnan zhiye huafang de bihua zhizuo," pp. 134–35.

271 Wang E also composed essays for temple steles to commemorate the event. See Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 136–37.

support from the court and scholar officials,<sup>272</sup> temple inscriptions reveal that the majority of donors offering financial support during this period were local Daoist monks and lay devotees.<sup>273</sup>

### Architecture

Yonglegong's main extant structure is composed of a gate (Gate of the limitless ultimate 無極門) and three main halls laid out along a north-south axis.<sup>274</sup> Like many other Yuan Daoist temples recorded in local gazetteers and epigraphic sources,<sup>275</sup> Yonglegong's first and southernmost hall, Hall of the three purities (Sanqing hall 三清殿), is also the largest; it is dedicated to the Three Purities and symbolizes the highest heavenly realm in Daoist cosmology. The second hall in the middle, Hall of purified yang (Chunyang hall 純陽殿), which is smaller than the Sanqing hall, is dedicated to the Immortal Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, who was venerated by Quanzhen Daoism as "ancestral patriarch". To the north is the third hall, Hall of redoubled yang (Chongyang hall 重陽殿); it is the smallest and is dedicated to the Quanzhen founder Wang Chongyang 王重陽 and his seven leading disciples. Also called the Hall of the seven perfected 七真殿, this hall calls to mind many other temple halls sharing the same name and prominent in Quanzhen temples in Jin-Yuan north China.<sup>276</sup> By placing the Quanzhen patriarch behind the main Daoist

272 The connection with the court and high-ranking scholar officials is evident in the court-related artisans working on the temple gate and high scholar officials' calligraphy inscribed on temple plaques; the support from the capital may reflect the effort of the new Quanzhen patriarchs Miao Daoyi 苗道一 (1310–11; 1328–35) and Sun Deyu 孫德彧 (1243–1321) in Beijing; see Katz, "The interaction between Ch'üan-chen Taoism and local cults," p. 226; Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," p. 139.

273 According to almost forty names of donors 施花鈔名 inscribed on the south wall of the Chunyang hall, most of these donors were Daoist priests residing long term at Yonglegong, and the rest were Daoist monks from local temples and lay people in the neighborhood. See Wang Chang'an, "Yonglegong bihua tiji luwen," *Wenwu* 1963.8, 72–73; Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 146–47. For a thorough examination of temple inscriptions of all kinds in the Yonglegong site, including historical/commemorative, official document, hagiographical, and poetic inscriptions, see Katz, *Images of the immortal*, pp. 94–130.

274 For the construction dates of the temple, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 288–98. For diagrams of the halls, see Xiao Jun, "Yonglegong gaishu," pp. 26–37.

275 Many Jin-Yuan Daoist temples in recorded sources have the Sanqing hall as the primary hall; see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 216–32.

276 For temples with the hall of the Seven Authentics in Jin and Yuan periods, see the chart arranged by Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 216–34.

pantheon, the designer of the temple aimed at highlighting Quanzhen's role in orthodox Daoist transmission.<sup>277</sup>

The Yonglegong architecture reflects the imperial building standard in the Song and Yuan periods.<sup>278</sup> Its building features show a close adaptation to the standard architectural regulation established by the Song court—most notably recorded in the printed architectural manual *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 (Building structures), compiled by Li Jie 李誡 (1035–1110) under the reigns of emperors Zhezong (r. 1085–1100) and Huizong. As Nancy Steinhardt observes, many details of the Sanqing hall, such as the bracketing, roof type, and platform, all demonstrate high structural eminence of Yuan architecture.<sup>279</sup> The hall measures seven by four bays (28.4 by 15.3 meters) with a simple hipped roof. It is elevated on an enormous platform with side projections in front of it. Very likely, the spacious platform in front of the building is tied to ritual functions.<sup>280</sup> The bracket sets atop pillars across the front facade are composed of six fundamental parts or *puzuo* 鋪作, which is the highest bracket set number extant in Yuan architecture. The deliberate elimination of columns 減柱造 in the interior and the lack of doors at both sides of the building may be intentional designs to reserve more space for the wall painting program inside the hall.<sup>281</sup> The building's high-ranking structural feature is further evident in the ceiling's three elaborately decorated cupolas, the only such structure extant in Yuan architecture.<sup>282</sup>

As Jing Anning points out, the unique feature of the gate, built on an elevated platform with slopes on both sides serving as passageways connecting

277 Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, p. 6.

278 The supervisors of the temple gate, for example, were Zhu family carpenters (Zhu Bao 朱寶 and his son Zhu Yuan 朱元) working for the Yuan court; see *ibid.*, p. 310. See also the chapter by Tracy Miller in volume one of this set.

279 These features are comparable to the Yuan-dynasty Temple to the northern peak 北嶽廟; see Nancy Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese architecture* (New Haven, 2002), p. 234. For a study of the Temple to the northern peak, see Nancy Steinhardt, "The Temple to the northern peak in Quyang" *Artibus Asiae* 58.1–2 (1998), 69–90. Unlike the symmetrical layout of most Daoist temple complexes, which show main halls laid out along the central axis and secondary buildings at both sides, the present layout of the Yonglegong complex shows only secondary building on one side, to the west of the main halls. See Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 309–10.

280 Nancy Steinhardt, "Taoist architecture," in Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the arts of China*, pp. 57–75. p. 67; Nancy Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese architecture* (New Haven, 2002), p. 234; Katz, *Images of the immortal*, p. 44.

281 Steinhardt, "Taoist architecture," p. 67; Xiao Jun, "Yonglegong gaishu," p. 26.

282 Steinhardt, "Taoist architecture," p. 67; Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese architecture*, p. 235.

the ground and the platform, may be explained by interpreting the back side of the platform as a theatrical stage for those drama performances whose stories were associated with Daoist immortals and conversions.<sup>283</sup> This theatrical dimension of a temple gate reflects the prospering drama performance embraced by popular religion and culture in north China at that time.<sup>284</sup>

Selected elements of the temple structure highlight its Daoist character. A late Ming stele *in situ* concerning the renovation of the temple walls 純陽萬壽永樂宮重修牆垣碑記 compares the structure of Yonglegong to the configurations of the Northern Dipper and the eight trigrams. It states that the temple was “laid out according to the nine stars [of the Dipper] in the sky” 按天上之九星而羅列 and “structured on the basis of the eight trigrams on earth” 照地下之八卦而排成.<sup>285</sup> While it is not sure whether the actual temple design corresponds to the cosmological order, the hierarchical layout and sizing of the three main halls not only exhibits Daoist hierarchy but also legitimates Quanzhen Daoism as part of the orthodox Daoist lineage.<sup>286</sup>

### Inscriptions, Artisans, and Workshop Style

Precious inscriptions discovered on walls of the Sanqing and Chunyang halls document names of professional workshop artisans responsible for architectural decors and wall paintings.<sup>287</sup> The Sanqing hall inscription inscribed in ink on the upper corner of the wall inside the U-shaped altar niche bears a date of 1325. It records artisans who decorated part of the south wall and the east

283 Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 312–13. For more diagrams of the gate, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, pp. 27–29.

284 For a study of Quanzhen operas from the period, see David Hawkes, “Quanzhen plays and Quanzhen masters,” *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981), 153–70. For more extant cases of theatrical stages in Song, Jin, and Yuan periods, see Liao Ben, *Song Yuan xiqu wenwu yu minsu* (Beijing, 1989); idem, *Zhongguo gudai juchang shi* (Zhengzhou, 1997). For a study of the actor figurines in Jin tombs, see Jeehee Hong, “Virtual theater of the dead: actor figurines and their stage in Houma tomb no. 1, Shanxi province,” *Artibus Asiae* 71.1 (2011), 75–114.

285 Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Yonglegong bihua,” p. 134; for the full citation of the stele, see Xiao Jun, “Yonglegong gaishu,” p. 60.

286 Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Yonglegong bihua,” p. 134; Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 306–15.

287 For more discussion of the inscriptions associated with workshop painters working for the Yonglegong murals, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, “Zhu Haogu reconsidered: a new date for the ROM painting and the southern Shanxi Buddhist-Daoist style,” *Artibus Asiae* 48.1–2 (1987), 5–38; Li Song, “Yonglegong bihua wu ti,” in Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua* (Beijing, 2008), p. 19.



side of the building, and painted the “clouds and vapors” 雲氣 on the background of the wall of the niche. These artisans include Ma Junxiang 馬君祥 from Henan prefecture 河南府, his son Ma Qi 馬七 (with a professional title “daizhao” 待詔), his disciples Wang Xiuxian 王秀先, and a few others sharing the family name Ma.<sup>288</sup> Past scholarship has long taken these artisans as mural painters in charge of the wall paintings of the Sanqing hall.<sup>289</sup> A recent study by Meng Sihui, however, challenges this view. By citing another epigraphic source associated with the Baima temple 白馬寺 (Temple of the white horse) in Luoyang 洛陽, Henan, Meng argues that Ma Junxiang’s professional status was in fact not that of a mural painter but of a furnishing artisan decorating architectural parts and sculptures 裝鑲匠.<sup>290</sup> Seen in this way, it is more likely that Ma Junxiang and other artisans recorded in the Sanqing hall inscription were artisans whose main task was to furnish the building surface, including painting such decorative patterns as clouds on minor wall surfaces.

Painters working on the Yonglegong wall paintings were associated with the local workshop led by Zhu Haogu 朱好古, active in late 13th to early 14th centuries. According to later local gazetteers, murals by Zhu Haogu crowded local Buddhist and Daoist temples in southern Shanxi. Zhu was noted for his figure and landscape paintings, and collectors competed to collect his portable paintings.<sup>291</sup>

Two inscriptions dated to 1358 and elegantly inscribed in ink on the entrance walls of the Chunyang hall indicate that the Yonglegong mural painters were

288 For a reproduction and full citation of the inscription, see Meng Sihui, *Yuandai Jin’nan siguan bihuaqun yanjiu* (Beijing, 2011), p. 142.

289 Nancy Steinhardt, for one, proposes to associate the mural painters working on the Yonglegong with the so-called “Ma-Zhu school”; see Steinhardt, “Zhu Haogu reconsidered.”

290 Meng Sihui, *Yuandai Jin’nan siguan bihua qun yanjiu*, pp. 141–51. For further references, see Meng Sihui, “Yuandai Yonglegong yu Xinghuasi bihua,” in Li Song, ed., *Daojiao meishu xinlun: diyijie daojiao meishushi guoji yantaohui lunwenji* (Ji’nan, 2008), pp. 268–70.

291 For textual records of Zhu Haogu in *Xiangling xianzhi* 襄陵縣志, *Pingyang fuzhi* 平陽府志, *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通志, and *Taiping xianzhi* 太平縣志, all of which date to the Qing dynasty, see Meng Sihui, “Yuandai Yonglegong yu Xinghuasi bihua,” pp. 272–73; Meng Sihui, *Yuandai Jin’nan siguan bihua qun yanjiu*, pp. 187–88. For more studies of this topic, see Ka Bo Tsang, “Further observations on the Yuan wall painter Zhu Haogu and the relationship of the Chunyang hall wall Paintings to ‘The Maitreya Paradise’ at the ROM,” *Artibus Asiae* 52.1–2 (1992), 94–118; Anning Jing, “The Yuan Buddhist mural of the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), 147–166; Michelle Baldwin, “Monumental wall paintings of the assembly of the Buddha from Shanxi province: historiography, iconography, three styles, and a new chronology,” *Artibus Asiae* 54.3–4 (1994), 241–67.

indeed associated with Zhu Haogu's workshop.<sup>292</sup> These temple inscriptions list eight painters under such a collective title as "disciples of Zhu Haogu from Qinchang (today's Xiangling 襄陵)" 禽昌朱好古門人. The three painters listed on the east side of the south wall were Zhang Zunli 張遵禮 and (perhaps his disciple) Tian Dexin 田德新, and Cao Demin 曹德敏. The five painters listed on the west side of the south wall were Li Hongyi 李弘宜 and his disciple Wang Shiyan 王士彥, Wang Chuang 王椿 and his disciple Zhang Xiushi 張秀實, and Wei De 衛德. As noted by Nancy Steinhardt, while these painters did not share the same family name, they all came from three different districts within the neighborhood.<sup>293</sup> Sadly, except Zhu Haogu, whose name was recognized in local history, the rest of the workshop painters were never mentioned in standard Chinese painter references.

Meng Sihui compares many pictorial motifs depicted in the Sanqing hall wall paintings to several other mural fragments currently in Beijing Palace Museum and Royal Ontario Museum (hereafter, ROM), Canada, respectively. Some of these murals were directly associated with the workshop painter Zhu Haogu and were identified as murals originally decorating the now-lost Xinghua temple 興化寺 (Pingyang prefecture 平陽府, southern Shanxi).<sup>294</sup> Meng then concludes that the Sanqing hall murals may have been painted by Zhu Haogu's workshop artists as well.<sup>295</sup>

One can thus imagine the Yonglegong painters consisting of masters and disciples of different generations. They were active in 14th century southern Shanxi, and worked in team not unlike the Song-dynasty family sculptors in Dazu, Sichuan. They used preparatory sketches, drawings, sample templates,

292 For plates, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, pp. 269–70. For a full translation of the inscriptions, see Meng Sihui, *Yuandai Jin'nan siguan bihua qun yanjiu*, p. 143.

293 Steinhardt, "Zhu Haogu reconsidered," p. 7.

294 For telling visual comparisons of the figural facial details, miscellaneous decorative motifs such as rocks, floral arrangements, fungi, and incense burners, see Meng Sihui, "Yuandai Yonglegong yu Xinghuasi bihua," pp. 277–82; and idem, *Yuandai Jin'nan siguan bihua qun yanjiu*, pp. 168–83.

295 This supports my earlier study, in which I proposed that certain motifs may serve as stock motifs commonly shared by workshop artisans, while inconsistent drapery lines marked on different wall areas of the Sanqing hall suggest that workshop painters with individual drawing habits may in fact have worked on different walls. For similar visual comparisons, see Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 15–17 and 49–66 (figs. 2.29–2.38, and 2.42–2.49); for a discussion of three different drapery styles, which reflect different hands, see pp. 35–37 and figs. 1.79–1.93; for the detail of a mis-drawn hand on the western outer wall of the main altar, see fig. 1–95.

and copy books—all of which traditional records usually call *fenben* 粉本.<sup>296</sup> According to Chai Zejun, local elders interviewed in 1930s Yongle claimed that they had still seen the *fenben* previously kept by the Yonglegong and later lost during the war.<sup>297</sup>

### Audience before the Origin Painting in the Sanqing Hall

The wall paintings crowding the Sanqing hall are among the earliest extant murals of the so-called *chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 (Audience before the Origin painting), an important genre of Daoist painting that depicts Daoist deities' going in procession to an audience before the Origin (Fig. 38).<sup>298</sup> Scholars suggest that these murals may be tied to certain ritual functions.<sup>299</sup> The sweeping processions depicted on the east, west, and north walls show more than 290 mobile figures: those on the east and west walls move from south to north, and those on the north complete the movement by converging on the center.

- 296 Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 33–35; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 284–90. For a study of Dunhuang *fenben*, see Sarah Fraser, *Performing the visual: the practice of Buddhist wall painting in China and Central Asia*, 618–960 (Stanford, 2003), esp. pp. 54–130. For a study on the use of *fenben* in Liao tomb murals, see Li Qingquan, "Fenben: Cong Xuanhua Liaomu bihua kan gudai huagong de gongzuo moshi," *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao (meishu yu sheji ban)* 2004.1, 36–39.
- 297 Chai Zejun, "Shanxi gudai siguan bihua," in *Zhongguo meishu shi, siguanbihua* (Beijing, 1988), p. 53; Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," p. 35.
- 298 The *chaoyuan tu* can be traced back to an earlier visual convention of imperial processions, evident in pictorial tiles and relief carvings decorating early tombs and medieval caves, as well as Song scroll paintings. For selected studies of *chaoyuan tu*, see Hsieh Shu-wei, "Daojiao chaoyuan tu zhi tuxiang ji zongjiao yihan," MA thesis (Chinese Cultural University, 1994); Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 9–14; Lennert Gesterkamp, "The heavenly court: a study on the iconopraxis of Daoist temple painting," PhD dissertation (Leiden University, 2008); Lennert Gesterkamp, *The heavenly court: Daoist temple painting in China, 1200–1400* (Leiden, 2011); Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 302–05. Two mural fragments in the Royal Ontario Museum collection—perhaps also from southern Shanxi originally—are comparable to the Sanqing hall *chaoyuan tu* stylistically and thematically. Jing Anning argues that they were products made by Buddhists to glorify Buddhism; see Jing Anning, *Yuandai bihua: shenxian fuhui tu* (Beijing, 2002). Other scholars do not agree with Jing's theory and offer their own opinions, interpreting the ROM murals as part of the Daoist *chaoyuan tu* tradition; see Gesterkamp, *The heavenly court*, pp. 97–105; Meng Sihui, *Yuandai Jin'nán siguan bihua qun yanjiu*, pp. 160–167.
- 299 Paul Katz, "The religious function of temple murals in imperial China: the case of the Yung-le kung," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21 (1993), 45–68; *Images of the immortal*, pp. 142–49; Hsieh Shu-wei, "Daojiao chaoyuan tu zhi tuxiang ji zongjiao yihan," pp. 172–83; Gesterkamp, *The heavenly court*, pp. 160–89; Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 332–34.



FIGURE 38 *Daoist celestial procession, detail from the west wall of the Hall of the three purities, Yonglegong. Yuan dynasty, fourteenth century. Wall painting. Ruicheng, Shanxi.*

That is, two celestial processions move in parallel from the entrance of the hall toward the altar niche near the rear (north) wall. Together, these moving images “frame” the sacred space.<sup>300</sup> Iconography remains a thorny issue in the study of the Sanqing hall murals.<sup>301</sup> There are images that bear clear iconographic features, such as the thunder god on the west wall holding a circular chain of drums,<sup>302</sup> and the directional guardians of the green dragon and the white tiger appearing on the side walls at the south entrance.<sup>303</sup> One of the

300 I refer to Hsieh Shu-wei’s interpretation; see Hsieh Shu-wei, “Daojiao chaoyuan tu zhi tuxiang ji zongjiao yihan,” pp. 162–70; Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Yonglegong bihua,” pp. 142–43.

301 For selected studies, see Wang Xun, “Yonglegong Sanqingdian bihua tica shitan,” *Wenwu* 1963.8, 19–39; Hsieh Shu-wei, “Daojiao chaoyuan tu zhi tuxiang ji zongjiao yihan”; Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 317–21; Gesterkamp, *The heavenly court*, pp. 84–97; Deng Zhao, “Yonglegong Sanqingdian bihua nüzhusen shenfen bianxi: jianlun qita zhushen,” in Li Song, ed., *Daojiao meishu xinlun: diyijie daojiao meishushi guoji yantaohui lunwenji* (Beijing, 2008), pp. 283–310; Deng Zhao, “Yonglegong Sanqingdian bihua ershiba xingxiu tezheng tanyuan,” in Li Song, ed., *Shanxi siguan bihua xinzheng* (Beijing, 2011), pp. 103–14.

302 See Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 128.

303 *Ibid.*, pp. 178–79.

heated debates questions the identities of the main deities consisting of six gods and two goddesses, whose leading roles are suggested by their larger sizes in comparison to the rest of the gods.<sup>304</sup> Other fervent discussions concern the identities of specific figures depicted on the outer walls of the altar niche, and iconographies of the deities associated with stars, mountains, and other natural forces.

It is thought-provoking to consider that many visual features identified by earlier researchers as iconographic features may indeed reflect workshop artisans' schematic designs. For example, Deng Zhao 鄧昭 calls attention to the unique pendant with a decorative motif of a child's face worn by the leading goddess on the west wall. Because this special design is comparable to two other mural fragments associated with southern Shanxi, it may suggest that the pendant of a decorative motif of a child's face may not have any particular iconographic association, but rather be a stock motif repetitively used by the workshop painters.<sup>305</sup>

It is productive to examine iconographic features alongside with pictorial conventions. For example, two fierce-looking, multi-armed martial figures hold such ritual objects as a bell, a seal, swords, and other weapons.<sup>306</sup> They share common billowing hair, googled eyes, and open mouths and are dressed similarly in armory and some sort of scaled skin skirts. Painted on the corresponding positions at the end of the east and west walls respectively, they may be pairing guardians functioning like gate gods, who escort and protect the parallel processions painted behind them. Their overall visual features are compared to such martial figures as generals Tianpeng 天蓬元帥 and Tianyou 天猷元帥, and other star deities depicted in an undated professional drawing handbook in the Cleveland Museum collection.<sup>307</sup>

### *Daoist Hagiographies and Other Scenes in Chunyang and Chongyang Halls*

Different from the "ritual murals" in Sanqing hall, the majority of murals crowding the Chunyang and Chongyang halls are narrative paintings that tell

304 Emperor of the north pole 北極紫微大帝, Jade Emperor, King father of the east 東王公, Queen mother of the west 西王母, and Earth Empress 后土 are among the oft-cited candidates for these leading deities.

305 See Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 134. For a discussion, see Deng Zhao, "Yonglegong Sanqingdian bihua nüzhushen shenfen bianxi—jianlun qita zhushen," pp. 294–98.

306 See Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, pp. 178–79.

307 For examples from the Cleveland album, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 224; Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," figs. 1–28 and 1–29.

stories. Hagiography, religious competition, ritual activities, the convergence of Daoism and popular culture are among the major themes. Based on the colophons accompanying more than one hundred scenes in these two halls, it is clear that the murals depict hagiographical scenes that aim to serve didactic purposes.<sup>308</sup> Besides vivid figural depictions, artisans skillfully use architectural and landscape motifs to divide and connect different scenes.<sup>309</sup> For students of Chinese painting, these murals provide primary visual materials attesting to the versatile accomplishments of Yuan workshop painters in the blue-and-green landscape 青綠山水 style, the Li-Guo 李郭 monumental landscape style, and the architecture-inspired *jiehua* 界畫 tradition.

Paul Katz's ground-breaking study divides the hagiographical murals in the Chunyang hall into four types: biographical accounts of Lü Dongbin's life, stories highlighting Lü converting others, stories concerning those people who fail to recognize 識 Lü, and finally, miracles performed by Lü, especially concerning his power to cure diseases.<sup>310</sup> Among these four types, the Yonglegong Daoists and painters who "sponsored and worked on the murals" were mostly interested in "Lü's conversion of others and his miraculous powers."<sup>311</sup>

An excellent example illustrating the theme of conversion regards Lü's conversion of immortal He 度何仙姑 on the east wall (Fig. 39).<sup>312</sup> The muralists skillfully use the foreground and the background as two settings to illustrate three episodes from the story. The foreground featuring a pavilion under Li-Guo style pine trees serves as the setting for two episodes. The first episode takes place to the right of the pavilion. He Xiang appears as a young lady dressed in mountain outfit for herb picking and walking with her female companions. The second episode occurs under the pavilion, where He Xiang, in a different outfit of a long white skirt, listens to Lü's preaching. The story line

308 Katz, *Images of the immortal*, pp. 149–76. For more studies of hagiographical illustrations and didactic paintings, see Julia Murray, "The evolution of pictorial hagiography in Chinese art: common themes and forms," *Arts Asiatiques* 55 (2000), 81–97; idem, *Mirror of morality: Chinese narrative illustration and Confucian ideology* (Honolulu, 2007); Wan Chui-ki, "Daojiao banhua yanjiu: Daying tushuguan cang 'Yushu baojing' si zhu ben zhi niandai ji chahua ka," *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao lishi yu shehui* 2010.2, 135–83.

309 There are fifty-two stories depicted in the Chunyang hall, and fifty-two or fifty-five stories depicted in the Chongyang hall. For an updated argument concerning the numbers of stories depicted in Chongyang hall, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 298–305.

310 Katz, *Images of the immortal*, p. 173.

311 Katz, *Images of the immortal*, p. 173; for summaries of the hagiographic stories depicted on the Chunyang hall murals, see pp. 211–23. For more visual analysis, see Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 21–26.

312 For a plate, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 199; for a summary of the story, see Katz, *Images of the immortal*, p. 213.





FIGURE 39  
*Lü Dongbin's conversion of immortal He, detail from the Chunyang hall, Yonglegong. Yuan dynasty, fourteenth century. Wall painting. Ruicheng, Shanxi. After Xiao Jun, Yonglegong bihua (Beijing, 2008), p. 199.*

then moves to the upper right background of the pavilion, showing He Xiangzhi kneeling in front of Lü, who sits in meditative mode in a grotto that is part of the grand blue-and-green landscape setting.<sup>313</sup>

As for the murals of the Chunyang hall, most hagiographic depictions are devoted to Wang Chongyang and his seven disciples, including the story of digging the Cave of the colored clouds (Yanxiadong 煙霞洞) discussed by Pierre Marsone in this book.<sup>314</sup> Perhaps the most telling images are the scenes depicting Wang's conversion of his two disciples, Ma Danyang and his wife Sun Bu'er. The oft-cited scene on the western side of the north wall entitled "Lamenting on the skull" (*tan kulou* 嘆骷髏) depicts Wang Chongyang showing a hanging scroll painting of a human skeleton to the couple in order to enlighten them on the illusion of the flesh (Fig. 40).<sup>315</sup> Furthermore, a series of breath-taking

313 For more examples, see Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 22–23.

314 Marsone, *Wang Chongyang (1113–1170) et la fondation du Quanzhen*, p. 61. For a plate, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 318; for the accompanying colophon entitled "Opening the Cave of the colored clouds" 開煙霞洞, see Xiao Jun, "Yonglegong gaishu," p. 52.

315 For more on Wang Chongyang's use of the skeleton as a metaphor for the illusion of life, see Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 16 and 21; Liu Ke, "Jin Yuan daojiao xinyang yu tuxiang biaoqian," p. 115; Marsone, *Wang Chongyang (1113–1170) et la fondation*



FIGURE 40 *Lamenting on the skull, detail from the Chongyang hall, Yonglegong. Yuan dynasty, fourteenth century. Wall painting. Ruicheng, Shanxi. After Xiao Jun, Yonglegong bihua (Beijing, 2008), p. 311.*

hell scenes laid out horizontally on the upper register of the eastern side of the north wall show the couple's dream journey to hell where they witness sinners being punished severely, such as being boiled in a cauldron of hot broth, or tortured in fire. In each scene, Wang Chongyang is shown as a savior descending from a cloud to rescue the frightened couple.<sup>316</sup>

Not all illustrations focus on glorifying Quanzhen patriarchs. Some illustrations from the Chunyang and Chongyang halls depict scenes that reflect the temple's other ambitious agendas, such as celebrating Daoist victories in

*du Quanzhen*, pp. 204–05. For the accompanying colophon, see Xiao Jun, “Yonglegong gaishu,” p. 52. For a plate, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 311. Cf. the other scene entitled “Making a painting to demonstrate paradise” 畫示天堂 depicted on the neighboring area on the same wall, showing Wang Chongyang demonstrating a hanging scroll that depicts paradise. For a plate, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 310; for the colophon, see Xiao Jun, “Yonglegong gaishu,” p. 52.

<sup>316</sup> For plates, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, pp. 292–95, 299, and 301. For a full citation of the accompanying colophons, see Xiao Jun, “Yonglegong gaishu,” p. 51. For a comparison of these hell scenes to the pictorial convention of the ten kings of hell paintings, see Liu Ke, “Jin Yuan daojiao xinyang yu tuxiang biaoian,” pp. 114–15.



FIGURE 41  
*Daoist ritual performance in front of a five-tiered altar erected outdoors, detail, west wall of the Chunyang hall, Yonglegong. Yuan dynasty, fourteenth century. Wall painting. Ruicheng, Shanxi. After Shih-shan Susan Huang, Picturing the true form (Cambridge, 2012), p. 197.*

Buddho-Daoist competitions, and commemorating Daoist ritual activities. The illustration entitled “Journey to the Monastery at cold mountain” 遊寒山寺,<sup>317</sup> for instance, depicted on the north wall, shows that Lü miraculously stops the racket caused by the wind blowing the chimes inside the temple and frightens Buddhist monks there.

Selected scenes are devoted to ritual activities, such as the scenes on the east and west sides of the south wall of the Chunyang hall. Viewed as a whole, these scenes depict acolytes setting up offerings on altar tables, taking out scroll paintings and folded texts, and assembling flags, musical instruments, and other ritual paraphernalia as part of the preparation for a ritual.<sup>318</sup> Furthermore, an unusual scene on the west wall of the Chunyang hall features Daoist ritual performance in front of a five-tiered altar erected outdoors (Fig. 41).<sup>319</sup> The statue of a seated deity is set on the uppermost tier, and ritual

317 For a summary of the story, see Katz, *Images of the immortal*, p. 215. For a plate, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 216.

318 See Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, pp. 269–70.

319 Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 197.



FIGURE 42 *Eight immortals crossing the sea, detail from the north wall above the rear door of the Chunyang hall, Yonglegong. Yuan dynasty, fourteenth century. Wall painting. Ruicheng, Shanxi. After Shih-shan Susan Huang, Picturing the true form (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 320–21.*

implements such as banners and fans are suspended from poles surrounding the altar. The overall scenario calls to mind the aforementioned three-tiered altar with statues on the top level (Fig. 22). In the center of the ritual space stands a Daoist master on a mat; he holds a tablet and bows in front of the altar, as if he were performing the memorial submission to the gods. Far from merely illustrating the content of the accompanying cartouche, which is about the magical manifestation of Lü Dongbin at a Daoist feast, the mural depicts the meticulous materiality and ritual performance in a well-constructed Daoist ritual space, perhaps reflecting a Quanzhen ceremony performed at the Yonglegong.<sup>320</sup>

Some murals from Chunyang hall also shed light on the convergence of Daoism and popular culture. The well-studied “Eight immortals crossing the sea” 八仙過海 is an excellent example (Fig. 42).<sup>321</sup> This painting is depicted on the northern wall above the rear door of the hall dedicated to Lü Dongbin, who himself was depicted in the second place from the left. The eight immortals are lined up in horizontal formation as if walking on water, heading west, and each immortal stands on some sort of magical device, such as a drum, a fish, a tortoise, or a willow branch. The mural may have as its source a story about

320 Ibid., *Picturing the true form*, p. 196.

321 See Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, pp. 262–65. For more studies of the visual representations of the eight immortals, see Anning Jing, “The eight immortals: the transformation of Tang and Sung Taoist eccentrics during the Yuan dynasty,” in Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith K. Smith, eds, *Arts of the Sung and Yuan* (New York, 1996), pp. 213–29; Katz, *Images of the immortal*, p. 188; Huang Shih-shan, “Cong Yonglegong bihua,” pp. 28–31; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 320–21.



the immortals commonly featured in popular drama, folktales, and folk art.<sup>322</sup> In particular, the scene may refer to the popular story of the eight immortals crossing the sea to visit the Queen mother of the west for her birthday. The composition shows the eight immortals heading toward the left side of the picture plane, which corresponds to the west.<sup>323</sup>

### *Tombs: Cases from the Khitan Liao*

The growing excavations of Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan tombs have greatly expanded our understanding of Daoist visual culture of this period. This is especially evident in the monumental *Zhongguo daojiao kaogu* 中國道教考古 published by Zhang Xunliao 張勛燎 and Bai Bin 白彬 in 2006.<sup>324</sup> While the chapters by Bai Bin and Dieter Kuhn in these volumes deal with in-depth studies of the Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan tombs, the following section aims at tackling an understudied topic: the Daoist elements associated with Liao (907–1125) tombs, evident in selected tomb paintings and artifacts.

### Daoism in the Liao

The Khitan Liao rulers supported not only Buddhism but also Daoism. Yelü Abaoji 耶律阿保機 (died in 926), the founder of the Liao, “ordered the construction of Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist temples” in 918.<sup>325</sup> Abaoji’s eldest son, Yelü Bei 耶律倍 (899–937), better known as the king of Dongdan (Dongdan 東丹王), or the painter Li Zanhua 李贊華,<sup>326</sup> “had particular strong holdings of books on Daoism and medicine,” and knew well “the arts of acupuncture

322 For an earlier depiction of the eight immortals, see the Jin Cizhouware ceramic pillow reproduced in Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 321. For a series of newly-discovered tomb paintings of the eight immortals depicted on the ceiling of the tomb no. 1 (dated 1306) in Kangzhuang village 康庄村, Tunliu county 屯留縣, Shanxi, and now in the Changzhi municipal museum collection 長治市博物館, see Xu Guangji, ed., *Zhongguo chubu bihua quanji*, 10 vols (Beijing, 2012), 2.209–12.

323 For additional symbolic meanings of this painting, taking into consideration its position above the rear door of the hall, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 321.

324 Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin, *Zhongguo daojiao kaogu*, 6 vols (Beijing, 2006). Besides Bai Bin’s chapter in this volume, see also Bai Bin, “Sichuan Chengdu Houshu Yuanshi jiefu lie shike yanjiu,” in Wu Hung, ed., *Tenth-century China and beyond* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 212–35.

325 Tuo Tuo 脫脫, *Liaoshi* 遼史, 1.13b; Sun Meng, “Liaodai daojiao wenhua yu xinyang de kaogu kaocha,” *Zhongguo daojiao* 2010.5, 37.

326 For a recent study of Li Zanhua’s biographical record, see François Louis, “The cultured and martial prince: notes on Li Zanhua’s biographical record,” in Wu Hung, ed., *Tenth-century China and beyond*, pp. 319–49.

and moxibustion.”<sup>327</sup> According to the *Liao history*, he had even translated the medieval *Yinfu jing* 陰符經 (also known as *Huangdi yinfu jing* 黃帝陰符經, Scripture of the hidden contrasts, DZ 31).<sup>328</sup> This is a short and widely copied text, as reflected in a stele version dated 968 based on the elegant small regular script by the Northern Song scholar Yuan Zhengji 袁正己.<sup>329</sup> Yelü Bei may have been attracted to the *Yinfu jing* because of its general elaboration of cosmic principles. It is also likely that as a military leader he found the third chapter entitled “The martial arts of strengthening the troops and fighting victoriously” 強兵戰勝演術 particularly appealing.<sup>330</sup> Furthermore, Emperor Shengzong (r. 982–1031) who reigned the longest span of time among the Liao rulers, was said to be well versed in both Buddhism and Daoism.<sup>331</sup> Shengzong’s younger brother Yelü Longyu 耶律隆裕, the king of Qi 齊國王, admired Daoist learning from his youth as well. He later sponsored Daoist temples in the eastern capital 東京 (today’s Liaoyang 遼陽, Liaoning province) and was friendly with Daoist priests.<sup>332</sup> The Liao ruling class’ passion for Daoism continued well into the mid-11th century. According to *Qidan guozhi* 契丹國志 compiled by the Southern Song Ye Longli 葉隆禮 (*jinshi* 1247), Emperor Xingzong (r. 1031–55)

327 Louis, “The cultured and martial prince,” p. 331.

328 *Liaoshi* 72.3b; Sun Meng, “Liaodai daojiang wenhua yu xinyang de kaogu kaocha,” p. 37. For the *Daozang* version, see *Huangdi yinfu jing*, DZ 31, 1.821; for more information, see Florian C. Reiter in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 1.320–321.

329 This stele is now at the Xi’an beilin collection. The text is accompanied by an illustration at the beginning; it depicts a master transmitting the teaching to a disciple under the tree. A 16th century text identifies the illustration as a representation of the Yellow Emperor consulting the Dao with Guangchengzi (Huangdi wendao Guangchengzi 黃帝問道廣成子); see the listing entitled “Song Moli zhitian bing *Yinfu jing*” 宋摩利支天并陰符經 in Zhao Han, *Shi mo juan hua*, SKQS ed. (Hong Kong, 1999), 5.5a. For a rubbing, see <[http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/imgsrv/takuhon/type\\_a/html/sou0011x.html](http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/imgsrv/takuhon/type_a/html/sou0011x.html)>.

330 For more studies of the *Yinfujing*, see James Legge, *The texts of Taoism* (New York, 1959), pp. 697–706; Christopher C. Rand, “Li Ch’üan and Chinese military thought,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39.1 (1979), 107–37; Florian Reiter, “The ‘Scripture of the hidden contracts’ (Yin-fu ching): a short survey on facts and findings,” *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 136 (1984), 75–83; Xiao Dengfu, *Huangdi yinfu jing jinzhuzhuyi* (Taipei, 1996); Louis, “The cultured and martial prince,” p. 331.

331 Ye Longli 葉隆禮, ed., *Qidan guo zhi* 契丹國志 (Shanghai, 1985), p. 72; Sun Meng, “Liaodai daojiang wenhua yu xinyang de kaogu kaocha,” p. 37.

332 Ye Longli, ed., *Qidan guo zhi*, p. 153; Sun Meng, “Liaodai daojiang wenhua yu xinyang de kaogu kaocha,” p. 37.



once asked his concubines to dress up as female Daoist priests 易衣爲女道士 during a palatial banquet in 1047.<sup>333</sup>

Given the imperial court's support of Daoism, one can well imagine Daoist priests active on Liao soil. For example, Hu Qiao's 胡嶠 *Xianlu ji* 陷虜記 (Records by a captive), an unusual "eye witness report" written slightly after the mid-10th century, describes the Liao upper capital 上京 (today's Balin zuoqi, Inner Mongolia) as a multi-cultural metropolitan city filled with Daoist priests and other Chinese "workmen making silk products and other artifacts, eunuchs, acrobats, singers, wrestlers, scholars, Buddhist monks and nuns," most of whom came from such border places as Bingzhou 并州, Fenzhou 汾州 (today's Shanxi province), Youzhou 幽州, and Jizhou 薊州 (today's Hebei province).<sup>334</sup>

In sum, fragmentary literary sources analyzed above give us a glimpse of Daoism at the Liao court and capitals. This will complement the visual evidence discovered underground, which I will turn to in the following.

#### Daoist Elements in Liao Tombs

Past scholarship has touched upon the presence of Daoist elements in the hybrid Liao burial practices. In the following I will discuss selected tomb paintings and funeral artifacts, listed according to chronological order of their associated tombs: the mural from Baoshan 寶山 tomb 1, Inner Mongolia, dating to the 10th century; the crowns excavated from the the early 11th century tomb of the Princess of Chen 陳國公主 (1001–18) and her husband Xiao Shaoju 蕭紹矩 (before 983–1017/18), located near Naiman banner, Tongliao city, Inner Mongolia; the early 12th century murals depicted in the Zhang family tombs in Xuanhua 宣化, Hebei.

#### *The Queen Mother of the West Descending to Han Emperor Wu*

Excavated in 1994, Baoshan tomb 1 is located in Chifeng 赤峰, Inner Mongolia. An important tomb inscription dates the tomb to 923 A.D., making this tomb "the earliest known Liao aristocratic tomb yet excavated."<sup>335</sup> The same

333 Sun Meng, "Liaodai daojiao wenhua yu xinyang de kaogu kaocha," p. 37.

334 This was cited by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 in his *Wudai shi ji* 五代史記, *juan* 73; for the original citation and a translation in English, see Wu Hung, "Two royal tombs from the early Liao: architecture, pictorial program, authorship, subjectivity," in Wu Hung, ed., *Tenth-century China and beyond* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 119 and 125 (endnote 35).

335 Wu Hung, "Two royal tombs from the early Liao," p. 101. For more selected studies of this tomb, see Liang Wanlong, "Baoshan Liaodai huangzu bihuamu chukao," *Neimenggu shehui*

inscription also identifies the tomb occupant as the fourteen year-old Qingde 勤德, who was also referred to as “the second son of the great young master” 大少君次子, possibly a young prince associated with the royal Abaoji clan.<sup>336</sup>

The Daoist-inspired mural is depicted on the east wall of the inner stone chamber at the rear of the tomb, where the “coffin bed” is found (Fig. 43).<sup>337</sup> A cartouche that reads “Picture of the descending perfected” (*Jiangzhen tu* 降真圖) highlights the theme of the painting. A group of four goddesses descend diagonally on tapering clouds on the right side of the picture plane, moving toward a kingly figure seated on a short-legged couch on the left. Based on the cartouches still legible, the leading goddess is identified as the Queen mother of the west (Xiwangmu 西王母), and the kingly figure Han emperor Wu (Han Wudi 漢武帝).<sup>338</sup> The narrative scenario is thus linked to the story of Han Emperor Wu’s invitation of the Queen mother to his palace in order to seek her advice on immortality, an oft-cited story recorded in the late 4th to early 5th century Daoist text *Han Wudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳 (Inner biography of Han emperor Wu, DZ 292) and reiterated enthusiastically in later literature, especially Tang essays, hagiographies, and poems—by both Daoist and

kexue (hanwen ban) 2000.7, 54–57; Sun Jianhua, “Neimenggu diqu chutu Liaodai bihua gaishu,” in Sun Jianhua, ed., *Neimenggu Liaodai bihua* (Beijing, 2009), pp. 1–9. For recent and forthcoming studies of Baoshan tombs, see Wu Hung, *The art of the yellow springs: understanding Chinese tombs* (Honolulu, 2009), pp. 185–88; Li Qingquan, “Baoshan Liaomu: Qidan muzang yishu zhong de ‘guosu’ yu shenfen jiang’ou,” *Yishu shi yanjiu* 14 (2012), 399–464; Wu Hung and Li Qingquan, *Baoshan Liaomu: cailiao yu shidu* (Shanghai, 2013).

336 The tomb inscription reads, “In the second year of the Tianzan reign, Qinde, the second son of the great young prince, was fourteen years old and died on the twentieth day of the fifth month; [he was] buried here on the eleventh day of the eighth month in the same year” 天贊二年癸未歲大少君次子勤德年十四五月廿日亡當年八月十一日于此殯故記. See Sun Jianhua, “Neimenggu diqu chutu Liaodai bihua gaishu,” p. 2. Wu Hung cited *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 and argued that Abaoji’s youngest (third) son had the title Young Master (Shaojun 少君); see Wu Hung, “Two royal tombs from the early Liao,” p. 102; Liang Wanlong, “Baoshan Liaodai huangzu bihuamu chukao,” p. 54.

337 For the murals, see Sun Jianhua, ed., *Neimenggu Liaodai bihua* (Beijing, 2009), pp. 34–36; for plans of the tomb, see Wu Hung, “Two royal tombs from the early Liao,” p. 103. I would like to thank Professor Li Qingquan 李清泉 for granting me the permission to publish his photo and for giving me useful feedback regarding this study.

338 Unfortunately, the cartouches accompanying the other three female immortals following Xiwangmu on the clouds are badly damaged and thus illegible. It is likely one name begins with the character *dong* 董, while the two other names both end with the character *jun* 君; see Sun Jianhua, ed., *Neimenggu Liaodai bihua* (Beijing, 2009), p. 34.



FIGURE 43 Picture of the descending Perfected, detail from the east wall of the inner stone chamber at the rear of the Baoshan tomb 1. Liao dynasty, 923 A.D. Wall painting. Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. Photo courtesy of Li Qingquan.

non-Daoist authors.<sup>339</sup> In spite of the story's longevity in Daoism and widespread use in medieval literature, the wall painting in Baoshan tomb 1 remains the only extant visual example illustrating the narrative.

339 *Han Wudi neizhuan*, DZ 292, 5.47–57. For selected studies of this text, its circulation, and legacy, see Li Fengmao, *Liuchao Sui Tang xiandao leixiaoshuo yanjiu* (Taipei, 1986), pp. 21–122; Kristofer M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste* (Paris, 1965); Thomas E. Smith, "Ritual and the shaping of narrative: the legend of the Han emperor Wu," PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 1992). Du Guangting's 杜光庭 (850–933) *Yongcheng jixian lu* 壙城集仙錄 preserved in the Northern Song Daoist compilation *Yunji qiqian*, for example, also recounts this story in the hagiography of Xiwangmu; see Suzanne E. Cahill, *Divine traces of the Daoist sisterhood: "Records of the assembled transcendents of the fortified walled city" by Du Guangting (850–933)* (Magdalena, 2006), esp. pp. 49–50. For a classic study of Xiwangmu in medieval China, see Suzanne E. Cahill, *Transcendence and divine passion: the Queen mother of the west in medieval China* (Stanford, 1993).

Compare the textual narrative of the story recorded in Daoist literature to the visual representation in the Liao tomb painting, there are similarities and differences. Both text and image highlight the luxurious materiality of the emperor's palatial invitation. In *Han Wudi neizhuan*, the emperor "covered the floor with purple silks . . . burned hundred-blend incense" and "hung tapestries of cloud brocade" in preparation for the goddess' visit.<sup>340</sup> This sensuous materiality is echoed in the Liao tomb painting. For example, in front of the emperor is an offering table covered with the floral textile in red and light green. One can make out a partially damaged motif of an incense burner with intricate patterns still bearing traces of gold leaves.<sup>341</sup> More golden pigments are visible in the emperor's crown and the goddesses' headdresses. Secondly, the pursuit of immortality through elixir-taking and peach-eating is a recurrent theme in *Han Wudi neizhuan* and related literature.<sup>342</sup> It seems to correspond to the vermillion raindrop-shaped object held by the Queen mother in the painting, perhaps a reference to a peach, or perhaps a symbolic object of elixir reminiscent of the vermillion cinnabar. Thirdly, just like in numerous Shangqing Daoist texts, *Han Wudi neizhuan* stresses the Queen mother's role as a female scripture transmitter who reveals heavenly texts and charts to mortals, in this case Han emperor Wu.<sup>343</sup> This theme is gently expressed in the Liao tomb painting, as the fourth goddess traveling with Xiwangmu on the clouds holds a container in which the sacred text is about to be revealed. In terms of difference, what sets apart the Liao tomb painting from the mainstream literary accounts of Xiwangmu's encounter with Han Wudi lies in its arrangement of the setting for the story. Instead of portraying the encounter with the celestial beings in an indoor palatial space, as most literary works do, the Liao mural sets the narrative in nature, noted by such landscape motifs as a tall wintry tree in the foreground, a cluster of bamboos in the middle ground, and some repetitive round-shaped mountains in the upper right distance. The overall scenario calls to mind a now-lost painting entitled "Meeting the perfected amid the pine trees" (*Songlin huizhen tu* 松林會真圖) by the Tang painter Lu Hong

340 Smith, "Ritual and the shaping of narrative," p. 482.

341 Citing the early text *Han Wudi gushi*, Tang and Song texts record that the Han emperor Wu burnt a certain incense called *doumo xiang* 兜末香 from the exotic land Douqu guo 兜渠國 to welcome the Queen mother; this type of incense is particularly efficacious in eliminating stink. See *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, T 2122, vol. 53, 574a; Chen Jing 陳敬, *Chenshi xiangpu* 陳氏香譜, SKQS ed. (Hong Kong, 1999), 1.36b.

342 Li Fengmao, *Liuchao Sui Tang xiandao leixiaoshuo yanjiu*, pp. 90–96.

343 Ibid., pp. 87–88; for Xiwangmu's transmission of the *True form charts of the five sacred peaks* (*Wuyue zhenxing tu*) and the other twelve secret talismanic writs (*shi'er shi* 十二事), see pp. 52–67.

盧鴻, as recorded in the Northern Song imperial painting catalogue *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜.<sup>344</sup>

In terms of painting style, the anonymous painter who painted the “Picture of the descending perfected” in Baoshan tomb 1 may have been a Chinese artist familiar with the Tang figural painting tradition as well as the 10th century landscape tradition popular in the south. The painting may be based on earlier conventions, such as the Tang court painting bearing the identical title *Jiangzhen tu* by Zhou Fang 周昉 recorded in *Tangchao minghua lu* 唐朝名畫錄.<sup>345</sup> The motif of an emperor seated on the couch, as well as the use of color gradation along the linear ink drawing in creating a sense of volume in drapery folds call to mind Tang court painting, such as the *Thirteen emperors* 十三帝王圖 by Yan Liben 閻立本 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>346</sup> One can further speculate that this Liao tomb painter either came from the south or was fully informed of the painting style in the south at that time. This is especially evident in the long and parallel brushstrokes (*cun* 皴) repetitively applied to the surface of the distant arch-shaped hills, which altogether call to mind the 10th century Jiangnan 江南 landscape style represented by the Southern Tang (Nantang 南唐, 937–75) painter Dong Yuan 董源. This conclusion is in line with Wu Hung’s recent study of the wall paintings of Baoshan tombs 1 and 2. He suggests that the wall paintings from these two tombs may have been done by the same workshop, “although the depiction of the Queen Mother reveals a more skilled hand.”<sup>347</sup>

From the Daoist perspective, the pairing of a seated male figure and a group of animated gods or goddesses in the composition of the “Picture of the descending perfected” recalls the pictorial convention of Tang and pre-Tang Daoist visualization pictures. Prime examples range from the Six Dynasties Shangqing text *Shangqing jinque dijun wudou sanyi tujue* 上清金闕帝君五斗三一圖訣 (Illustrated instruction for visualizing the Three Ones in the five phases of the Northern Dipper, DZ 765), which illustrate the adept’s visualization journeys to and beyond the Northern Dipper,<sup>348</sup> to the Tang-dynasty

344 *Xuanhe huapu* (early 12th century), in Lu Fusheng, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (see note 78 above), 1.88.

345 Zhu Jingxuan 朱景玄, *Tangchao minghua lu* 唐朝名畫錄, SKQS ed. (Hong Kong, 1999), 5a.

346 For the most updated study of this painting and related bibliography, see Chen Pao-chen, “Tuhua ru lishi: chuan Yan Liben *Shisan diwang tu* yanjiu,” *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 16 (2004), 1–48.

347 Wu Hung, “Two royal tombs from the early Liao,” p. 117.

348 Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 40.



visualization manual *Taishang laojun da cunsi tu zhujue* 太上老君大存思圖注訣 (Secret instructions and illustrations of the great visualization by the Grand Supreme elder lord, DZ 875), which shows the body gods called out by the adept from his body, manifesting on tapering clouds in front of the adept seated in a meditative pose.<sup>349</sup> Pertinent to this are illustrations of individual images of body goddesses used by the Shangqing practitioners in private meditation. These pictures help the adept to visualize the goddesses' names, colors of garments, and their associated secret talismans.<sup>350</sup>

According to Wu Hung, the positioning of the "Picture of the descending perfected" in the inner stone chamber entails a more private space different from the "public" space associated with other wall paintings depicted on the outer walls of the stone chamber and the walls "along the central axis from the main gate to the gate of the stone room."<sup>351</sup> Seen in this way, the presence of "Picture of the descending perfected" in a tomb context may be a Daoist-inspired visualization picture, evoking the tomb occupant's wish to encounter female immortals in this stone chamber. Additional motifs of flying cranes amid auspicious clouds depicted on the ceiling, and a much damaged mural depicting what looks like images of recluses and rocks on the west wall further enhance the overall theme of immortality celebrated in the stone chamber.

Past scholarship has acknowledged the stone chamber as a common type of tomb construction in early Liao, although no specific origin of this practice has been identified.<sup>352</sup> In the case of Baoshan tomb 1, one may further consider its link to Daoist symbolism. The Daoist notion of a stone chamber or *shishi* 石室 is directly associated with the concept of grotto heaven (*dongtian* 洞天), where immortals live. In early China, the design of a cliff tomb resonates with the idea of a stone chamber, hence a symbolic grotto heaven. This is best exemplified in the oft-cited rubbing of what may be a 2nd century cliff tomb inscription in Jianyang, Sichuan. The inscription in clerical script refers

349 Ibid., pp. 35–38; for illustrations, see p. 38.

350 See, for example, the depictions of the body goddesses known as the *lingfei liujia yunü* (numinous flying jade maidens of the Six Jia), who are in charge of the cycle of time, depicted in the Shangqing text dated to the Eastern Jin dynasty; see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 33–34.

351 Wu Hung, "Two royal tombs from the early Liao," p. 107.

352 Baoshan tomb 2, which was built approximately around the same time as Baoshan tomb 1, also bears a similar stone chamber; see Wu Hung, "Two royal tombs from the early Liao." For an in-depth study of the stone chamber structure associated with Liao funeral architecture, see Nancy Steinhardt, "Shishi: a stone structure associated with Abaoji in Zuzhou," *Asia Major*, third series, 19.1–2 (2006), 241–66.



to the tomb as a site where the tomb occupant will “meet immortal friends” 會仙友.<sup>353</sup> This helps us to better understand the Daoist meaning of the “Picture of the descending perfected” in the stone chamber of the Baoshan tomb 1.

*The Tomb of the Princess of Chen and Her Husband*

The two gilded silver crowns discovered in the 11th century tomb of the Princess of Chen and her husband Xiao Shaojun show intriguing Daoist-inspired designs.<sup>354</sup> According to François Louis, the manufacture and shape of the crowns reflect “a typical Liao style”, as these crowns “consist of flat, ornately pierced metal sheets that were sewn together with silver wire in imitation of the manufacture of textiles and leather.”<sup>355</sup> The crown associated with the Princess of Chen is a hooded crown with attached side wings.<sup>356</sup> At the central top of her crown is a three-dimensional icon wearing a top knot and seated on a Buddhist-inspired lotus seat. This may be an icon of the deified Laozi<sup>357</sup> or a Tianzun 天尊<sup>358</sup> comparable to extant Tang Daoist sculptures and steles of similar iconographies. The Princess of Chen’s husband, on the other hand, had a different crown “assembled from multiple lobed panels.”<sup>359</sup> As indicated in the drawing traced by François Louis (Fig. 44),<sup>360</sup> his crown bears a set of Daoist-inspired motifs in the central panel. While the standing old man holding a staff may be a generic reference to an immortal commonly seen in bronze mirrors of the Song-Jin-Yuan periods, the hybrid creature resembling the snake-tortoise combination emanating vapor beside the old man calls to mind the iconography of Xuanwu 玄武 associated with the direction of the north in funeral art since ancient times. Since the Princess of Chen was the niece of

353 Wu Hung, “Mapping early Taoist art: the visual culture of Wudoumi dao,” in Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China* (Chicago, 2000), pp. 85–86.

354 For a classic study of Liao golden headdresses, see François Louis, “Shaping symbols of privilege: precious metals and the early Liao aristocracy,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 33 (2003), 89–102.

355 See Louis, “Shaping symbols of privilege,” p. 99.

356 For a plate, see Neimenggu zizhiq wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu* (Beijing, 1993), p. 66; Hsueh-man Shen, ed., *Gilded splendor: treasures of China’s Liao empire* (907–1125) (New York, 2006), p. 103.

357 See the entry of the crown by Hiromi Kinoshita, in Shen, ed., *Gilded splendor*, p. 102.

358 For Tang visual examples of Tianzun statues bearing the inscriptions identifying the icons, see Hu Wenhe, *Zhongguo dao jiao shike yishushi*, 1.183–200.

359 Louis, “Shaping symbols of privilege,” pp. 96–98.

360 Louis, “Shaping symbols of privilege,” p. 98. I would like to thank François Louis for his permission to reproduce his drawing here.

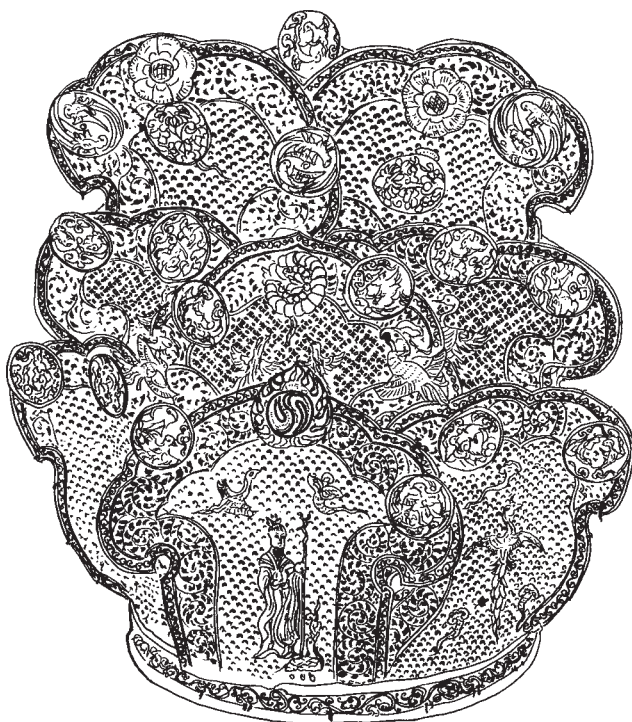


FIGURE 44 *Drawing of the Liao crown by François Louis. Based on the crown excavated from the tomb of Princess of Chen and her husband Xiao Shaojun. Liao dynasty, eleventh century. Naiman Banner, Tongliao City, Inner Mongolia. Photo courtesy of François Louis.*

Emperor Shengzong, who himself was well versed in Buddhism and Daoism, it is not surprising to find that the crowns buried with her and her husband also demonstrate hybrid Daoist and Buddhist elements.

#### *Zhang Family Tombs in Xuanhua*

At the Song-Liao frontier in Hebei, one observes additional Daoist elements in the tomb of the Chinese official Zhang Shiqing 張世卿 (d. 1116) (Xuanhua tomb 1), who was buried near other tombs of his family members.<sup>361</sup> Daoist elements were intermingled with the seemingly stronger Buddhist elements in Zhang's tomb. The most obvious material evidence is the mural on the east

<sup>361</sup> Hsueh-man Shen, "Body matters: manikin burials in the Liao tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei province," *Artibus Asiae* 65.1 (2005), 99–141.

wall of the rear chamber. In an interior scene depicting men and women, a pile of texts bearing the Daoist title that reads “Chang qingjing jing” 常清靜經 (Scripture of constant clarity and stillness) are juxtaposed with the Buddhist counterpart bearing the title of “Jingang banruo jing” 金剛般若經 (Diamond sutra) on a table.<sup>362</sup>

Scholars date the *Qingjing jing* to the Tang dynasty, associating it with a group of Daoist texts sharing the common theme of the dual cultivation of “clarity and stillness” (*qingjing* 清靜). *Chang qingjing jing* refers to the *Taishang laojun shuo chang qingjing miao jing* 太上老君說常清靜妙經 (Wondrous scripture on constant clarity and stillness, as spoken by the most high Lord Lao, DZ 620; hereafter, *Qingjing jing*) preserved in the Daoist Canon.<sup>363</sup> The *Qingjing jing* blends the worldview of the *Daode jing* with the practice of Daoist observation of the self, others, and the mind to obtain the Dao:

The human spirit is fond of purity,	人神好清
But the mind disturbs it.	而心撓之
The human mind is fond of tranquility,	人心好靜
But desires meddle with it.	而慾牽之
Get rid of desires for good,	常能遣其慾
And the mind will be calm.	而心自靜
Cleanse your mind,	澄其心
And the spirit will be pure. <sup>364</sup>	而神自清

The *Qingjing jing* was popularly copied in the Song. A stele dated 980 and now in the stele forest in Xi'an 西安碑林 is a refined carving example of the *Qingjing jing*. Transcribed by the early Northern Song calligrapher Pang Renxian 龐仁顯 (ca. 980) and carved by An Wencan 安文璨 (ca. 980) in small regular script, the text is accompanied by an illustration by Bai Tingcan 白廷璨 representing a Daoist triad with a seated Laozi at the center and two standing male attendants to both sides.<sup>365</sup> Additional inscriptions below the illustration

362 Shen, “Body matters,” pp. 108 (footnote 42) and 111; for a plate, see fig. 17. See also Wu Hung, *The art of the yellow springs*, p. 232.

363 For English translations, see Livia Kohn, *Taoist experiences* (Albany, 1993), pp. 25–29.

364 Ibid., pp. 25–27; Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, chapter 5.

365 For a rubbing, see <[http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/imgsrv/takuhon/type\\_b/html/sou0018x.html](http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/imgsrv/takuhon/type_b/html/sou0018x.html)>. The stele was recorded in Ming and Qing texts; see “Song Qingjing huming dedao jing” 宋清淨命得道經 in Zhao Han 趙嶠 (*juren* 1585), *Shimojuan hua* 石墨鐫華, 5.4b–5a. For more on Pan Renxian as a calligrapher noted for his small regular script, see Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1593–1676), *Gengzi xiaoxia ji* 庚子消夏記, 7.12; Zheng Zhen 鄭真, *Yingyang waishi ji* 滎陽外史集, 40.17b.

indicate that the carving was supported by a Daoist community led by Priest Huang and Priest Liu, bearing Daoist titles like Shangqing sandong daoshi 三清三洞道士 and Zhengyi mengwei daoshi 正一盟威道士 respectively. It is likely that the stele was initially carved to serve as a model for mass producing rubbings, as the inscription states that “members of the Buxu community wish to distribute [the carved material] to the public” 步虛社眾普願興行.<sup>366</sup> On the imperial level, Patricia Ebrey points out that Emperor Huizong once bestowed a copy of the *Qingjing jing* transcribed by himself on his beloved Daoist priest Liu Hunkang 劉混康 (1036–1108) as a farewell gift upon Liu’s return to Maoshan 茅山 after his first stay in the capital in 1102.<sup>367</sup> Within the Quanzhen Daoist tradition in the Jin and Yuan periods, the Quanzhen founders such as Wang Chongyang and Qiu Chuji identified it as one of the major reference texts required for adepts’ daily practice.<sup>368</sup>

It is not a coincidence that the *Qingjing jing* was depicted in Zhang’s tomb. First, the text shares similar content and structure with its Buddhist counterpart—the Diamond sutra—depicted on the same wall, for both texts urge to cultivate one’s purity and tranquility by understanding emptiness and getting rid of desire.<sup>369</sup> Furthermore, as stated in Zhang’s epitaph, he had once commissioned the *Qingjing jing* to be carved on a pagoda alongside other Daoist texts, including *Chisongzi zhongjie jing* 赤松子中誠經 (Principal advice by Master red pine, DZ 185), *Sun zhenren fushou lun* 孫真人福壽論 (Perfected Sun’s discourse on happiness and longevity, DZ 1426), and *Lingshu* 靈樞 (The spiritual pivot, in *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經),<sup>370</sup> all of which advocate longevity, immortality, Chinese medicine, and health.

The religious pluralism is highlighted in a mural in the neighboring tomb of Zhang Wenzao 張文藻 (Xuanhua tomb 7), dating to 1093.<sup>371</sup> This is depicted on the semicircular wall above the tomb occupant’s burial chamber (Fig. 45).<sup>372</sup>

366 I would like to thank Xue Lei for his input.

367 This is quoted from *Quan Song wen*, published in Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*.

368 See Pierre Marsone’s chapter in this volume; Shen Xiping, “*Qingjing jing* sixiang de dangdai yiyun,” *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 2008.4, 41–44.

369 Shen, “Body matters,” p. 111 (footnote 50).

370 Ibid., pp. 110–11. For more studies of *Huangdi neijing*, arguably the earliest medical book in ancient China, see Chuncai Zhou, *The Yellow Emperor’s medicine classic: treatise on health and long life* (Singapore, 1996); Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: historical artifacts and images* (New York, 2010), pp. 263–96.

371 He Xilin and Li Qingquan, *Zhongguo mushi bihua shi* (Beijing, 2009), p. 291; Li Qingquan, “Yemaotai Liaomu chutu shenshan huiqi tu zairenshi,” *Meishu yanjiu* 2004.1, 62–68; Li Qingquan, *Xuanhua Liaomu: muzang yishu yu Liaodai shehui* (Beijing, 2008), pp. 203–12; Wu Hung, *The art of the yellow springs*, pp. 232–33; Shen, “Body matters,” fig. 32 and p. 136.

372 Wu Hung, *The art of the yellow springs*, p. 232.



FIGURE 45 *Chess play. Drawing based on the wall painting depicted on the semicircular wall above the tomb occupant's burial chamber, tomb of Zhang Wenzao (Xuanhua tomb 7). Liao dynasty, 1093 A.D. Xuanhua, Hebei. After Wu Hung, The art of the yellow springs (Honolulu, 2010), p. 232.*

A Confucian-looking scholar official is shown watching chess play by what look like a Daoist hermit and a Buddhist monk. The scene calls to mind the immortality-evoking chess play motif depicted in the 10th century landscape hanging scroll known as “Shenshan qihui” 深山棋會 excavated from another Liao tomb in Yemaotai, Liaoning province,<sup>373</sup> although it adds a new layer of meaning stressing the fusion of the three teachings.<sup>374</sup> In Wu Hung’s words, the painting “declares that through practicing the Three Religions one could achieve post-mortem immortality.”<sup>375</sup>

### Historically Transmitted Objects

Selected images transmitted historically have helped us to build a foundational understanding of Daoist art. Most objects surveyed in the following section fall into two categories: first, those images associated with imperial patronage; and second, those images made by or for the Daoist community.

373 For studies of the Yemaotai scroll painting, see James Cahill, *Three alternative histories of Chinese painting* (Lawrence, 1988), pp. 44–45; Li Qingquan, *Xuanhua Liaomu*, pp. 203–12; Shih Shou-chien, *Cong fengge dao huayi: fansi Zhongguo meishu shi* (Taipei, 2010), p. 99.

374 Wu Hung, *The art of the yellow springs*, pp. 232–33.

375 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

### *Imperial Patronage*

Past scholarship of art and patronage paid attention to not only textual records but also extant objects. While none of the Daoist murals committed by the Song court in Kaifeng and Hangzhou survived, textual records detailing court painters' teamwork for the mural decoration of such imperially-sponsored Daoist temples as the Yuqing zhaoying gong 玉清昭應宮 in Kaifeng give us a glimpse of the splendor and massive scale of Daoist art visible in the temple setting in the metropolitan area at that time.<sup>376</sup> We will discuss selected extant Daoist paintings associated with Song imperial patronage in the following section.

#### Wu Zongyuan's *Immortals Going in Audience to the Origin*

The most exquisite example of a reduced drawing is found in a Daoist handscroll entitled *Immortals going in audience to the Origin* (*Chaoyuan xianzhang* 朝元仙仗) attributed to the Northern Song painter Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (fl. 1004–50), from the C.C. Wang family collection.<sup>377</sup> Executed in monochrome ink on silk, the painting survives as a long handscroll. It shows a sweeping procession of three celestial lords accompanied by an impressive parade of jade maidens, jade boys, golden girls, guardians, and officials. The celestial entourage is crossing a long bridge from the right to the left. Although most motifs throughout the painting are complete, some small details attest to its preparatory nature. They include the lotus leaves without venerations,<sup>378</sup> the abbreviated insignia painted on the ceremonial fan,<sup>379</sup> and the missing bridge tiles in certain areas.<sup>380</sup> The elongated plaque above each deity identifies him or her and highlights this handscroll's role as a visual instruction or guideline for a painting,<sup>381</sup> which

376 Wu Yu, "Beisong Yuqing zhaoying gong yu daojiao yishu," *Yishushi yanjiu* 2005.7, 139–48.

377 Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the art of China*, p. 241. The title of this painting is recorded in the *Xuanhe huapu*; see Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 2.75.

378 For example, see the empty leaves attached to the lotus stems held by the golden girls and jade maidens in Zhongguo gudai shuhua jian ding zu, ed., *Zhongguo huihua quanji*, in *Wudai Song Liao Jin*, vols 2–6 (Beijing, 1999), 2.62, 2.65, 2.78–79, and 2.84–85.

379 The symbol of the Jade Capital mountain depicted on the fan only shows the outline and does not reveal details; see Zhongguo gudai shuhua jian ding zu, ed., *Zhongguo huihua quanji*, 2.79. Cf. the completely painted symbols on a Daoist fan motif depicted on the mural of the Temple of eternal joy; see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 240.

380 Although most areas of the bridge bear triangular tile-like designs at the bottom, a certain section of the bridge is left undecorated; see Zhongguo gudai shuhua jian ding zu, ed., *Zhongguo huihua quanji*, 2.81.

381 Some leaves in the Cleveland album also bear inscriptions above the depicted deities identifying them; see Yu Yi, ed., *Tang Wu Daozi mo bao* (Taipei, 1979), pp. 5, 11–16, 19, and 24–26.



may not include the inscriptions. Nevertheless, unlike the majority of preparatory drawings that are rougher and more abbreviated, the overall execution of this painting is so polished that scholars have seen it as a reduced sample of a Daoist temple mural.<sup>382</sup> Scholars have also traced the lateral procession convention to the still earlier visuality of imperial processions,<sup>383</sup> as reflected in the 6th century stone carvings of imperial processions crowding the exit walls of some Buddhist cave temples in Longmen 龍門 and Gongxian 鞏縣, Henan.<sup>384</sup> In addition, the jade maidens' elaborate wheel-like hair style compares to the hairstyle of the goddesses depicted in the Liao-dynasty Baoshan tomb 1 dated to the early 10th century.

Strictly speaking, Wu's handscroll is not a mere "plain linear drawing" (*baimiao* 白描).<sup>385</sup> Rather, details such as the borders of the long sleeves, the hairstyles, and the caps are all gently done in ink wash, with additional linear outlines defining the motifs.<sup>386</sup> These details imitate the execution of a painting in color, in terms of its application of solid colors to certain areas and its further definition of colored areas with linear outlines. Moreover, this painting bears traces of mural practice. For instance, the leading guardians who open

382 Xu Bangda, "Cong bihua fuben xiaoyang shuodao liangjuan Songhua: Chaoyuan xian-zhang tu," *Wenwu* 1956.2, 56–57.

383 In his public lecture on the Shōsō-in treasures at the National Taiwan University in 1993, Marshall Wu linked many objects depicted in Wu Zongyuan's scroll to the Shōsō-in ceremonial objects originally bestowed by the Tang imperial house on Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (r. 724–49). See also Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Yonglegong bihua," pp. 12–13. For more comparison of the *chaoyuan* pictorial theme with earlier visual conventions related to Buddhist donors and procession scenes in the tombs in medieval China, see Gesterkamp, *The heavenly court* (see above, note 298), pp. 57–74.

384 For the two fragments of Northern Wei wall reliefs from the central cave of Binyang 賓陽中洞 at Longmen 龍門, Henan, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Nelson-Atkins Gallery, respectively, see Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: faith, politics, and patronage in medieval Chinese Buddhist sculpture* (Honolulu, 2007), pp. 38–44.

385 For studies of the *baimiao* paintings in Song painting history, see Richard Barnhart, "Survivals, revivals, and the classical tradition of Chinese figure painting," in National Palace Museum, ed., *Proceedings of the international symposium on Chinese painting* (Taipei, 1970), pp. 143–210; "Li Kung-lin's use of the past styles," in Christian Murck, ed., *Artists and traditions* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 51–71; Richard Barnhart et al. *Three thousand years of Chinese painting* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 73–155.

386 For selected comparable examples of monochrome paintings that also bear similar traces, like colored paintings or murals, see *Mahāprajāpatī nursing the infant Buddha* by the Yuan-dynasty professional painter Wang Zhenpeng 王振鵬 (ca. 1270–after 1330) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reproduced in Tung Wu, *Masterpieces of Chinese painting from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Tang through Yuan dynasties*, 2 vols (Boston, 1996), pp. 278–81 (pl. 107).

the road for the entourage, and thus appear at the very end of the painting, are fully equipped with meticulously designed metal armories. These heavily-loaded motifs evoke the thick, opaque, and relief-like textuality of armories often seen in religious murals.<sup>387</sup> In addition, the uninterrupted long lines dancing around the picture plane are so powerful that they possess a sense of *qi*. Such brushstrokes call to mind the legendary ability of some medieval mural painters, who drew oversized figures on the walls with continuous, unbroken, long brushstrokes. The confident and robust brushstrokes that are “as sharp as if carved by a knife”<sup>388</sup> also seem to preserve what Richard Barnhart calls the “drama and spirit” of the wall paintings of the time.<sup>389</sup> Given the visual evidence linking this monochrome painting to paintings in color and murals, it is thus plausible to assume that it reflects a reduced sample of a mural.

Textual records document Wu Zongyuan's active participation in major Daoist murals sponsored by the Northern Song court, including making mural paintings for the now-lost temple Palace of reflecting and responding to the realm of jade purity 玉清昭應宮,<sup>390</sup> the imperial temple associated with the descent of the “documents from heaven” 天書. Among the one hundred painters selected for the job, Wu Zongyuan was designated the head of the left team, which was to work in tandem with the right team led by Wang Zhuo 王拙.<sup>391</sup> Because Wang is credited with painting the walls with “five hundred numinous

387 For a visual example of the relief-like armory in the 14th century Temple of eternal joy mural, see Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 179.

388 The original comment derives from Mi Fu, who criticizes Wu Zongyuan for not being able to change his hard-mural brushwork habit when he paints on soft silk; see *Hua shi* 畫史, p. 981. For a study of Mi Fu's *Hua shi*, see Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, *Chūgoku garon no kenkyū* 中国画論の研究 (Tokyo, 2003), pp. 197–250.

389 Richard Barnhart, *Along the border of heaven: Sung and Yüan paintings from the C.C. Wang family collection* (New York, 1983), p. 52.

390 For selected historical documentation of Wu's participation in painting the murals of the Palace of reflecting and responding to the realm of jade purity, see Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (ca. 1041–98), *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌, in Lu Fusheng, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.477a; *Xuanhe huapu*, juan 4, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 2.75a. For a study of the arts of this Daoist temple, see Wu Yu, “Beisong Yuqing zhaoying gong yu dao jiao yishu,” *Yishushi yanjiu* 2005.7, 139–78.

391 Liu Daochun 劉道醇 (fl. mid-11th century), *Shengchao minghuaping* 聖朝名畫評, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.448b, 452b. It seems to have been standard practice in Song China to divide mural painters into two groups, in charge of the eastern and western walls respectively; see the case of the Temple of the central sacred peak in Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.480a.

officials and celestial ladies going in audience to the Origin,”<sup>392</sup> Wu probably painted similar or compatible topics on the corresponding walls.<sup>393</sup>

*Picture of the True Form of the Five Planets and Twenty-Eight  
Lunar Mansions*

The oft-cited *Picture of the true form of the five planets and twenty-eight lunar mansions* 五星二十八宿真形圖 (hereafter, the Osaka handscroll) once in Huizong’s collection<sup>394</sup> and now in the Osaka Municipal Museum collection, is attributed to the 6th century painter Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (ca. 500–50).<sup>395</sup> It is perhaps a Northern Song court copy based on an earlier work. The subject matter of the Osaka handscroll echoes the lost *True form chart of the five stars* 五星真形圖 listed in the *Daozang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目錄 (*Catalogue of missing scriptures of the Daoist canon*; DZ 1430).<sup>396</sup> It also relates to similar titles by the Tang court painter Zhou Fang 周昉 (ca. 730–800) and the Northern Song scholar-painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1041–1106), both recorded in the Northern Song *Xuanhe painting catalogue*.<sup>397</sup>

The star deities portrayed in the Osaka handscroll either “exposed the deity’s naked body” 裸袒其體 or showed the deity “residing in a jar” 甕缶以居.<sup>398</sup> These pictorial motifs may reflect the archaic visual tradition of stars before Emperor Huizong’s reformation in 1119, when he issued the official “Dress code of the caps and robes of the nine stars and twenty-eight lunar mansions for going in audience to the Origin” 九星二十八宿朝元冠服,<sup>399</sup> which

392 Liu Daochun, *Shengchao minghuaping*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.452a.

393 Xu Bangda, “Cong bihua fuben xiaoyang.” For an innovative reconstruction of the measurement of the temple mural whose size matches the ratio of length and width of Wu’s handscroll, see Gesterkamp, “The heavenly court: a study on the iconopraxis of Daoist temple painting,” pp. 160–61. Wu Yu suggests that Wu Zongyuan’s *Immortals going in audience to the Origin* may be associated with the mural depicting the four emperors of heavens, originally painted in the Hall of the three purities; see Wu Yu, “Chuan Beisong Wu Zongyuan ‘Chaoyuan xianzhang tu’ zhushen zuhe kaoshi: jianlun qi yu Tang Song daoguan diantang bihua de guanlian,” *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 2008.1, 80–92, 159.

394 Ebrey, *Accumulating culture*, p. 295.

395 See Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the art of China*, pp. 132–37. Recent studies associate this painting with the High Tang painter Liang Lingzan 梁令瓚; see Meng Sihui, “‘Wuxing ji ershibaxiu shenxing tu’ tuxiang kaobian,” *Yishushi yanjiu* 2000.2, 517–56.

396 DZ 1430, 34.512a.

397 *Xuanhe huapu*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 2.83a.

398 *Song da zhaoling ji* 宋大詔令集 (Beijing, 1962), 136.482.

399 Ibid., 136.482; Ide, *Nihon no Sō Gen butsuga*, p. 63.

aimed to rectify the “eccentric” and at times “disrespectful” earlier depictions of star deities.<sup>400</sup>

#### Emperor Huizong and the *Auspicious Cranes*

Another well-studied court masterpiece is *Auspicious cranes* 瑞鶴圖 in the Liaoning Museum. Attributed to Emperor Huizong himself, this painting documents an extraordinary crane sighting on the evening after Upper Prime 上元 in 1112.<sup>401</sup> Maggie Bickford praises this as “the most impressive” of the paintings of auspicious images attributed to Huizong on the basis of “its opaque beauty and compelling pattern.”<sup>402</sup> The painting captures the magical moment when twenty white cranes flocked above the Northern Song palace, trilling and warbling in harmony with the ritual music playing inside. “Citizens of the capital walking about all bowed in reverence, gazing from afar. They sighed deeply over the unusual spectacle.”<sup>403</sup> A woven counterpart to Huizong’s painting exists in the form of a Northern Song *kesi* 絳絲 tapestry;<sup>404</sup> it may have served as a prototype for the painting or may reflect a material transfer inspired by it.

#### *The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water*

By the Song dynasty, many liturgical paintings were executed on silk in hanging scroll format (*zhou* 軸). In marked contrast to murals, scroll paintings are portable and can be installed in different settings, thus catering to the changing context of ritual exhibition. The flexibility of the format—a selection of scrolls by different painters made at different times that can be assembled easily and quickly—allows for the display to be adapted to a variety of rituals, ritual spaces, and ritual dimensions. It is therefore not surprising to see that religious hanging scrolls—Daoist and Buddhist alike—occupy a prominent role in the Song imperial collection, best documented in Emperor Huizong’s

400 Huizong’s revised iconography may resemble the Southern Song minute stone carvings of the bureaucratic gods and goddesses of the twenty-eight lunar mansions at the Shimenshan grotto, cave no. 10. For plates, see Chongqing Dazu shike yishu bowuguan et al., *Dazu shike diaosu quanji* (Chongqing, 1999), 4.64–65, 68, and 85.

401 For studies of this painting, see Peter Sturman, “Cranes above Kaifeng: the auspicious image at the court of Huizong,” *Ars Orientalis*, vol. XX (1990), 33–68; Maggie Bickford, “Huizong and the aesthetic of agency,” *Archives of Asian Art* 53 (2002/03), 81–84.

402 Bickford, “Huizong and the aesthetic of agency,” p. 82.

403 Maggie Bickford, “Huizong’s paintings: art and the art of emperorship,” in Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds, *Emperor Huizong and late Northern Song China* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 461. Cf. Sturman, “Cranes above Kaifeng,” p. 33.

404 Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 298.

*Xuanhe huapu* issued in the early 12th century.<sup>405</sup> According to Patricia Ebrey, among the 6,397 paintings listed here, 376 items were Daoist. The most popular are those hanging scrolls depicting the three officials, the Three Purities 三清, the Heavenly worthy of primordial beginning 元始天尊, Lord Lao 老君, and the astral deities 星宿.<sup>406</sup> It is likely that the court collected these paintings not only for aesthetic reasons, but also for liturgical purposes. Some of these scrolls, which may have been transmitted to the Southern Song court, were also recorded in the 1199 imperial inventory *Zhongxing guange chucang tuhua ji* 中興館閣儲藏圖畫記 (Record of paintings from the Zhongxing Library).<sup>407</sup> Since liturgical paintings were consumable artifacts, they naturally wore out after being used repeatedly in rituals. It is partly for this reason that the court requested professional painters to make copies of old paintings on a regular basis.<sup>408</sup>

Although most Daoist liturgical paintings from Song imperial collections are lost, a rare and valuable set of the *Tian di shui sanguan tu* (Three officials of heaven, earth, and water; 天地水三官圖) (hereafter, the Boston triptych) dating to the Southern Song period reflects the tradition of imperial production and collection of Daoist art in the Song period.<sup>409</sup> Composed of three scrolls, the Boston triptych features the oldest Daoist judicial triad. The Boston triptych demonstrates a new pictorial trend in religious art, blending narrative pictorial motifs with iconic depictions. The dynamic Daoist deities represented in the set also reflect the new fashion in religious paintings of the time, highlighting close connections between the depicted images and the “mobile deities” summoned and visualized by the primary viewers in a ritual context.

405 For a recent study, see Ebrey, *Accumulating culture* (see above, note 207), pp. 257–310.

406 See Tables 8.1 and 8.4 in Ebrey, *Accumulating culture*, pp. 262, 294.

407 Paintings registered in this inventory were inspected by the court connoisseur Yang Wangxiu 楊王休 in 1199. In 1210, each collected item was further impressed with a documentation seal of the Imperial Library (Mishusheng 秘書省) on the reverse side; see Chen Kui, *Nansong guange lu*, *Nansong guange xulu*, 3.10a–11a.

408 For more information on the registration, mounting, and copying of religious paintings in the Southern Song court, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, “The triptych of *Daoist deities of heaven, earth, and water* and the making of visual culture in the Southern Song period (1127–1279),” PhD dissertation (Yale University, 2002), pp. 33–49.

409 For studies of this set, see Huang, “Summoning the gods”; *Picturing the true form*, pp. 281–339. For a reproduction of the triptych, placing the three paintings according to the relative positions in which they were exhibited, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, “Imagining efficacy: the common ground between Buddhist and Daoist pictorial art in Song China,” *Orientations* 36.3 (2005), 68–69 (figs. 9a–c); *Picturing the true form*, pp. 282–83.

Recent exhibitions displaying the Boston triptych in American museums showed the Official of Heaven at the center, the Official of Earth on the right (stage left), and the Official of Water on the left (stage right). The display of the set echoes the hierarchical order of the three officials in a ritual context. Modern statues in Chinese temples, as documented by Hachiya Kunio in the 1980s, confirm this.<sup>410</sup> The central position is always reserved for the highest god, and the right position is superior to the left.

Seen in this way, the Boston triptych is actually a portable Daoist altar. On the basis of the 13th century liturgical manual *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (DZ 466),<sup>411</sup> the ritual space associated with the yellow register fast is used to display portable images of the three officials, either on a side wall or on an additional stage (Fig. 24).<sup>412</sup> The diagrams do not specify the number of scrolls on display, but non-Daoist sources suggest that the standard format for the three officials paintings consists of three scrolls. The Boston triptych may well reflect the kind of painting set produced for such liturgical purposes. Primary beholders include the Daoist grand master and his assistants, who at the beginning of the ritual go to each stage and invite the gods to descend.<sup>413</sup> When arriving at the stage for the three officials, the master chants their hymns. As is the case with the mobile deities depicted in the Boston triptych, the invitation hymns implore the deities to be active and animated, not unlike the way Highest Clarity Daoists of early medieval times did.<sup>414</sup> The hymns to the three officials highlight the deities in dynamic motion, as if the gods' ability to come and go among different spheres determined their efficacy and power. The repetitive evocations of the gods' descent vividly echo the celestial descent in the heaven composition, the dynamic excursion in the earth scroll, and the sweeping exorcist parade in the water scroll. It is therefore plausible that the comprehensive array of the pantheon in the Boston triptych was meant to correspond to the beholders' ritual expectations: to see them summoned, exert their exorcist powers, and leave again for their supernatural abodes.

410 For example, see the altar arrangement of the Palace of the three primes 三元宮 in Shanghai reproduced in Hachiya Kunio, *Chūgoku no dōkyō: sono katsudō to dōkan no genjō*, 2 vols (Tokyo, 1995), 1.39, 2.20; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 334.

411 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7.27c–28a.

412 Huang Shih-shan, "Cong Daozang de 'tu' tan" (see above, note 141), p. 54.

413 For the procedure, see *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.590a–b.

414 The invitation eulogies to the three officials are recorded in two texts, see *Wushang huanglu dazhai li chengyi*, DZ 508, 9.586a; *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*, DZ 466, 7. 87b–c, 123a–b.



Liang Kai's *Liberating Souls from Hell*

A rare Daoist handscroll by the Southern Song court artist Liang Kai 梁楷 (ca. early 13th century),<sup>415</sup> now in the Wan-go Weng collection, depicts scenes reminiscent of the visualization associated with the rite of breaking open hell. Lin Sheng-chih re-identifies this painting as a representation associated with Daoist salvation; formerly it was identified as illustrations of the Daoist *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture of the yellow court).<sup>416</sup>

The Daoist god seated on a lotus seat at the center of the handscroll is identified by Lin Sheng-shih as the Heavenly worthy who saves from suffering.<sup>417</sup> Though extant sources are not sufficient to fully support this iconographic interpretation, the divinity is certainly a Daoist celestial savior, probably one of the numerous heavenly worthies evoked in Daoist salvation ritual. Flanking the main deity is a celestial entourage of officials, generals, and maidens, all floating on clouds and facing left. In front of the heavenly court is a kneeling figure in Daoist ceremonial robes holding a tablet; he may represent a Daoist priest submitting a report.<sup>418</sup> The central scene thus reflects a Daoist master's visualization journey to the heavenly court to invite the gods—an internal ritual he experiences while performing the public rite in the temple setting, which is depicted at the lower right corner of the picture.

The scene that relates directly to the narrative of breaking open hell appears in the lower left corner,<sup>419</sup> where the interior of an underground prison built around a cave with a locked gate and parapet walls is guarded by demonic jailors who stand at the door. It differs from typical hell scenes crowded with suffering sinners, however, in that there is no prisoner here. In addition, the cangues used to restrain prisoners are thrown to the ground, and even more magical, a boiling cauldron surrounded by flames is transforming into a

415 For a plate showing the complete painting, see Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the art of China*, pp. 178–79. For different interpretations of the iconography of the painting, see Lin Sheng-chih, “Nansō no dōkyō ni okeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku” (see above, note 172); “The iconography of Daoist salvation from hell: a thematic re-identification of illustration of the *Classic of the yellow court* (*Huangting jing*),” *Orientalism* 38.3 (2007), 66–68; Anning Jing, *Yuandai bihua: shenxian fuhui tu*, pp. 77–79; “Descent of the holy ancestor: a re-reading of illustration of the *Classic of the yellow court*,” *Orientalism* 38.3 (2007), 69–72.

416 Lin, “Nansō no dōkyō ni okeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku.” Cf. Anning Jing, *Yuandai bihua: shenxian fuhui tu*, pp. 77–79.

417 Lin, “Nansō no dōkyō ni okeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku,” pp. 96–98; “The iconography of Daoist salvation from hell,” p. 60.

418 Lin, “Nansō no dōkyō ni okeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku,” p. 94.

419 For a plate, see Jing, “Descent of the holy ancestor,” p. 71 (fig. 4).

lotus pond.<sup>420</sup> A layman who appears to be a Song scholar official (possibly the sinner) is ascending on clouds of steam that rise from the cauldron. He is greeted by a Daoist deity who stands on the cluster of clouds above, radiating beams of light. The scenario recalls how the Daoist master visualizes his own transformation into the Heavenly worthy who saves from suffering, breaking open hell with infinite light, and guiding the sinner to the ritual area.

### *Images Made or Viewed by Daoist Priests*

Throughout Chinese history, Daoist priests have participated in making paintings on a wide range of themes, including iconic paintings of deities and portraits of Daoist masters, narrative paintings of the immortals' hagiographies, dragons, birds, flowers, bamboo, and landscape.<sup>421</sup> Different from the majority

420 The scenario of a god descending to hell to rescue the imprisoned souls calls to mind the similar representation depicted in the Southern Song set of the *Five hundred arhats* made by the Ningbo workshop artists. See Lin, "Nansō no dōkyō ni okeru jigoku kyūsai no zuzōgaku," p. 111 (fig. 22).

421 Some Daoist priests such as Zhang Suqing 張素卿, Chen Ruoyu 陳若愚, Li Shouyi 李壽儀, and Li Bashī 李八師 active in the late Tang- to 10th century Sichuan region are noted for their paintings of devotional icons, portraits, and narrative themes of hagiographies; see Huang Xiufu 黃休復, *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫錄, in Lu Fusheng, *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (see note 78 above), 1.190b–191a, 198b, 200a; Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.472a, 481a. For a study of Zhang Suqing, see Evelyne Mesnil, "Zhang Suqing et la peinture taoïste à Shu," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996–97), 131–58. The Tang Daoist priest Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (or Hu Chao 胡超) (ca. 674–713) is also said to have painted a self-portrait on the rear wall of a Daoist temple; see *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑒, DZ 296, 5.259b. The 10th century Master Liu (Liu daoshi 劉道士) from the Jiangnan area is good at painting landscape in the style of Dong Yuan 董源. His signature landscape places a Daoist figure at the left of the landscape painting, contrasting that by the Buddhist monk painter Ju Ran 巨然, who places a Buddhist monk at the left of his landscape painting; see Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.481a; Richard Barnhart, "Figures in landscape," *Archives of Asian Art* 1989.42, 62–70. The late 10th century priest Lü Zhuo 呂拙 drafted an architectural sample drawing for the Daoist imperial building commissioned by the Northern Song Emperor Taizong (r. 976–97); see Liu Daochun, *Shengchao minghua ping*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.459a. Among the Daoist priests close to Emperor Huizong in the early 12th century, Li Derou 李德柔, who is noted for making personal pigment of red lead (*zhuqian* 朱鉛) from earth and minerals, specializes in narrative paintings of hagiographies; see Ebrey, *Accumulating culture*, pp. 296–97. This is comparable to another Daoist close to Huizong, Xu Zhichang 徐知常, who was also good at didactic paintings and narrative paintings depicting stories about immortals; see Ebrey, *Accumulating culture*, p. 296. In the Yuan period, some Daoist priests active in the modern-day Zhejiang area excelled at figure painting in the style of

of professional painters working within Daoist subject matter, the priest-painters in general approach painting as an integral part of their religious and ritual practice. In some cases, certain visual features of their paintings reflect the other ritual experiences in which they are actively engaged. For example, the late Tang Daoist priest-painter Li Shouyi 李壽儀 (ca. late 9th to early 10th century) from the Shu region would fast and burn incense before he painted the icons of Daoist deities.<sup>422</sup> The 9th to 10th century Shu region is noted for its miraculous records of the iconic imagery of the Celestial Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵.<sup>423</sup> Zhao Keyan 趙可言, another local priest-painter active in the Shu region at that time, painted a portrait of Zhang Daoling after his dream intervention with the Celestial Master. This portrait became an efficacious object helping him in prognostication prior to his performance of any healing, exorcism, or rain-making ritual.<sup>424</sup>

The following section will focus on selected extant paintings that have been either viewed by the Daoist priests or created by them. It will begin with a 10th century painting depicting goddesses in the immortal isle, once viewed by 14th century Daoists. It will then proceed to the examination of a series of Yuan paintings, including the dragon and landscape paintings produced by Daoist adepts in south China, illustrative prints commissioned by a wide network of Daoists to glorify the Quanzhen master, and a rare handscroll revealing the portraiture of a Daoist priest.

#### Ruan Gao's *Goddesses in the Palace Park*

Daoist temples were sites that held rich collections of Daoist art. One example reflecting this tradition is the breathtaking 10th century handscroll of *Goddesses in the palace park* 閨苑女仙 attributed Ruan Gao 阮郛, once in the Song imperial collection and now in the Palace Museum, Beijing.<sup>425</sup> The painting is one of the few extant pieces that bear a half title inscription, a coded

---

the Southern Song court painters Li Song 李嵩 (ca. 1200) and Ma Lin 馬麟 (ca. 1215–56); see the notes on Wang Jingsheng 王景昇 (priest of the Kaiyuan gong 開元宮) from Hangzhou 杭州 and Ding Qingxi 丁清溪 from Qiantang 錢塘; see Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (ca. 1312–70), *Tuhua baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 2.889b.

422 Huang Xiufu, *Yizhou minghua lu*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.200a.

423 Du Guangting devotes a chapter (*juan* 8) to the efficacy of the image of the Celestial Master; see *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記, DZ 590, 10.826c–829c.

424 Ibid., 10.29a; Mesnil, “Zhang Suqing et la peinture taoïste à Shu,” p. 153. For more anecdotes concerning the efficacy of the image of the Celestial Master, see *juan* 8 of *Daojiao lingyan ji*, DZ 590, 10.826c–829c.

425 For a plate, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 112–13.

cataloguing system associated with Emperor Huizong's imperial collection. It is also one of the few extant works that bears the registry marking derived from the *Text of one thousand characters* (*Qianzi wen* 千字文) system related to the Southern Song court. In the 14th century, this painting entered the collection of a Daoist temple sponsored by the Yuan imperial court.<sup>426</sup> A 1334 colophon by Shang Ting 商挺 indicates that the painting was viewed by the Daoist community in the Hall of perpetuated celebration 承慶堂 in the Temple for admiring perfection and longevity 崇真萬壽宮 in Beijing.<sup>427</sup>

The painting depicts an immortal island in the palace park 閼苑, a locale reserved exclusively for goddesses.<sup>428</sup> This setting is noted in the Southern Song Daoist diagram entitled *Diagram of the three isles and ten continents on the sea* preserved in the Daoist canon.<sup>429</sup> In this diagram, the palace park is paired with the Jade pond 瑤池 on Mount Kunlun, the residence of the Queen mother of the West.<sup>430</sup> The immortal isle is nevertheless not totally disconnected from the outside world, as is evident in the naturally formed rocky bridge in the lower right corner. By connecting the isle to the land on the other side of the ocean and highlighting the isle's accessibility, the bridge-like rock formation invites and arouses further interest in the attainment of immortality.

#### Dragon Painting and Mt. Longhu

Past scholarship has linked Daoist dragon paintings to ritual performances tied to rain-making. These dragon paintings were especially associated with the Orthodox Unity (Celestial Master) Daoists of Mt. Longhu (Longhushan 龍虎山, in modern-day Jiangxi province), who were active in the Southern Song and Yuan. Recorded priest-painters noted for their dragon paintings include the Southern Song Ouyang Chuweng 歐陽楚翁 and his son Xueyou 雪友, the Yuan dynasty Wu Xia 吳霞, as well as the thirty-eighth and

426 See Wang Yaoting, "Chuan Tang Wang Wei hua 'Fusheng shoujing tu' 伏生授經圖 de huali huawai," in Shanghai bowu guan, ed., *Qiannian danqing: xidu Zhong Ri cang Tang Song Yuan huihua zhenpin* (Beijing, 2010), pp. 118–19; and Richard Barnhart, "Fishing in an autumn river, a handscroll in the Freer Gallery of Art (back to the problem of Li Tang?)," *Ars Orientalis* 25 (1995), p. 93.

427 Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 111.

428 For a comparable painting depicting different islands amid panoramic seascape, see the Yuan-dynasty handscroll by Puguang 普光 in Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the art of China*, pp. 370–71.

429 See Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, p. 111.

430 For a Ming painting depicting the Queen mother of the west in the Jade pond from the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Republic of China, see Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the art of China*, pp. 156–57.



FIGURE 46 Beneficial rain, by Zhang Yucai, detail. Yuan dynasty, early thirteenth to fourteenth century. Handscroll. Ink on silk. 26.8 × 271.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Dillion, 1985 (1985.227.2). After Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the true form* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 291.

thirty-ninth Celestial Masters Zhang Yucai 張羽材/張與材 (ca. 1295–1316) and Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. ca. 1344).<sup>431</sup>

A rare dragon handscroll by the thirty-eighth Celestial Master Zhang Yucai entitled *Beneficial Rain* (Fig. 46) evokes the tradition of the eccentric untrameled painters.<sup>432</sup> It is especially comparable to the famous *Nine dragons* handscroll 九龍圖 by Chen Rong 陳容 (first half of the 13th century), who served earlier at Mt. Longhu as a Southern Song magistrate.<sup>433</sup> The mysterious dragons, some dissolving in the atmosphere and others emerging, add a level of visual dynamism that seems to enliven the painting surface. As Wen Fong observes, the rain-evoking magic of such dragon paintings derives from

431 See Xia Wenyan, *Tuhua baojian*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 2.877a–b, 2.889b. For studies of the Yuan dynasty landscape paintings by the Longhushan Daoist Fang Congyi 方從義 (ca. 1302–93), see Mary Gardner Neill, “Mountains of the immortals: the life and painting of Fang Ts’ung-I,” PhD dissertation (Yale University, 1981); Fong, *Beyond representations* (see above, note 136), pp. 472–73. Longhushan emerged as a significant Daoist center between the 8th and 9th centuries, when a Zhang family from the area claimed to be the heirs of Zhang Daoling, the founder of the Celestial Master Daoism in the Han dynasty. For more on this topic, see Goossaert in Pregadio, ed., *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 702–04.

432 Fong, *Beyond representations*, pp. 362–67; Shih Shou-chien, *Cong fengge dao huayi*, p. 336 (pl. 223).

433 Fong, *Beyond representations*, p. 367; Tung Wu, *Masterpieces of Chinese painting*, 1.223–30, 1.232–35 (pl. 83), and 2.77–79; *Tales from the land of dragons: 1,000 years of Chinese painting* (Boston, 1997), pp. 91–95, 197–201 (pl. 92); Stephen Little, “Taoism and the arts of China,” in Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China*, p. 22; Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 177. For more on the imagery of dragons, Emperor Huizong, and the Daoist connections, see Ebrey, “Huizong and the imperial dragon” (see above, note 237).

the painters' fantastic suffusion of ink onto the painting surface, "creating a tidal wave in an electric storm."<sup>434</sup> The magical power evoked by the Daoist dragon painting calls to mind Sun Wei's 孫位 (fl. 9th century) now-lost mural *Jiuhai shenlong* 九海神龍 (Divine dragons of the nine seas) inside the Yuju hua 玉局化 (Temple of the jade bureau) in the Shu region in Sichuan, for this mural is said to be efficacious in inducing rain as a response to local residents' prayers.<sup>435</sup> Alternatively, the Buddhist counterpart of the arhat paintings by the monk painter Guan Xiu 貫休 (ca. 832–912) are deemed efficacious in inducing rain.<sup>436</sup>

The abundant *qi* embodied in the ecstatic movement of the painter's brush, as evident in Zhang Yucai's scroll, recalls his similar trance-like state of *qi* transfer while drawing a dragon-evoking talisman. It is the ink and the brush—two essential objects for a Daoist priest—that act as the magical media enabling him to traverse freely between the practices of art and ritual. According to Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, the common technique of deploying splashing ink and speedy brushstrokes, as witnessed in the dragon paintings by Chen Rong and Zhang Yucai, may reflect a local visual tradition transmitted only among Daoists. To apply this idea even more broadly, such a Daoist-inspired style can be further observed in the landscape, bird-and-flower, and plant-and-insect paintings by both Daoist practitioners and followers.<sup>437</sup>

#### Landscape Painting and the Daoist Literati

Recent scholarship of literati painting 文人畫 has confirmed the artistic contributions made by members from the Daoist circle in south China in the Yuan dynasty. A loosely-defined "Daoist literati" circle can thus be proposed here by examining two painters active in the 14th century. The premier case, the renowned literati painter Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), was in fact a devout Quanzhen adept who "made a living as a diviner and *fengshui* master."<sup>438</sup> Fang Congyi 方從義 (ca. 1301–after 1378), on the

434 Fong, *Beyond representations*, p. 366.

435 Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qiqian* 122.2689–90; Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933): Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* (Paris, 1989), pp. 118–19; Mesnil, "Zhang Suqing et la peinture taoïste à Shu," pp. 151–52.

436 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 1.476a.

437 Shih Shou-chien, "Shenhuan bianhua: you Fujian huajia Chen Zihé kan Mingdai daojiang shuimohua zhi fazhan," *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 1995.2, 47–74.

438 Little, "Daoist art," p. 730. For recent updates of Huang Gongwang studies, especially his association with Daoism, see Zhang Xiqing et al., eds, *Huang Gongwang yu 'Fuchun shanju tu' yanjiu* (Beijing, 2011).





FIGURE 47 Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountain, by Huang Gongwang. Yuan dynasty, 1347–1350. Handscroll. Ink on paper, 33 × 636.9 cm. National Palace Museum.

other hand, was a Zhengyi priest at the Highest Clarity temple 上清宮 at Mt. Longhu.<sup>439</sup>

Huang Gongwang's oft-cited essay entitled "Instructions for painting landscape" 寫山水訣—a short essay that he probably wrote for his painting students, sheds light on his preoccupation with the *fengshui* element in landscape painting. Arguing that "*fengshui* exists in painting" 畫亦有風水存焉, Huang cited Northern Song landscape painter Li Cheng 李成, who rendered the mountain foot 坡脚 in layers of wet ink, a pictorial trait that was believed to lead Li Cheng's family to have prosperous offspring.<sup>440</sup>

Huang's well-studied handscroll, *Dwelling in the Fuchun mountain* 富春山居 (Fig. 47) from the collection of the National Palace Museum, provides a good visual example of how he applied *fengshui* to the making of a

439 For a classic study of Fang Congyi's paintings, see Neill, "Mountains of the immortals."

440 Huang Gongwang, *Xie shanshui jue*, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu*, 2.762. John Hay cites other sources from the Yuan literature to establish the relationship between landscape painting and *fengshui*; see John Hay, "Huang Kung-wang's 'Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountain': Dimensions of a Landscape," PhD dissertation (Princeton University, 1978), pp. 270–71.



FIGURE 48 Clearing after sudden snow, by Huang Gongwang. Yuan dynasty. Handscroll. Ink and color on paper. Beijing Palace Museum. After Yu Hui, ed., *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin daxi: Yuandai huihua* (Shanghai, 2005), pp. 66–67.

landscape painting.<sup>441</sup> This painting was Huang's personal gift to his Daoist friend Zheng Wuyong 鄭無用 (Zheng Chu 鄭樗), a Daoist priest who, like Huang, was the disciple of the southern Quanzhen master Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (?–1276).<sup>442</sup> The houses or villages depicted in the painting all cluster in the pocket-like inner space at the junctures of water and mountains. Applying the *fengshui* perspective, these locations correspond to the dragon lairs 龍穴, which are auspicious “acupuncture points” in the landscape which give access to underground *qi*.<sup>443</sup> Even the figures in the landscape suggest an ideal Daoist grotto heaven for eremitism. A scholarly figure leaning on the balustrade of a pavilion and gazing at the geese, and a fisherman drifting on a boat may refer to the hermits residing in the grotto heaven.

Indeed, many of Huang Gongwang's landscape paintings should be re-examined from the religious perspective by linking the paintings to his personal Daoist experiences. The famous snow landscape painting known as *Clearing after sudden snow* 快雪時晴 in the Beijing Palace Museum collection (Fig. 48),<sup>444</sup> for example, is likely to be an “inner landscape” reflecting the state of internal alchemy. Amid the snowscape executed in monochrome ink is an eye-catching sun painted in red, very likely from cinnabar. This may symbolize the state of pure yang or fire, contrasting with the snow, which symbolizes

441 For a complete reproduction of the handscroll, see Wen Fong et al., *Possessing the past: treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York, 1996), pp. 300–301.

442 Zhao Jing, “Huang Gongwang ‘Quanzhen jiashu’ kao,” in Zhang Xiqing et al., eds, *Huang Gongwang yu ‘Fuchun shanju tu’ yanjiu*, p. 219.

443 For more on the dragon lair and its manifestation in *fengshui* symbols, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 174–77.

444 For a plate, see Yu Hui, ed., *Gugong bowuyuan cang wenwu zhenpin daxi: Yuandai huihua* (Shanghai, 2005), pp. 66–67.



FIGURE 49

Boating on Mt. Wuyi, by Fang Congyi. Yuan dynasty. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. Beijing Palace Museum. After Richard Barnhart et al., *Three thousand years of Chinese painting* (New Haven, 1997), p. 183.

yin or water. The juxtaposition of yin and yang supports the notion of internal alchemy that stresses the intermingling of the fire of the heart and the water of the kidneys in order to reach purification. The snow landscape as a whole can thus be viewed as the cinnabar field 丹田, and the cinnabar-inspired sun at the center symbolizes the golden elixir 金丹, the end product of internal alchemy. This also further corresponds to such phrases as *yili jindan dingshang hong* 一粒金丹頂上紅 and *jinye huandan manding hong* 金液還丹滿頂紅 stated in the instructions for internal alchemy *Baoyizi sanfeng laoren dan jue* 抱一子三峰老人丹訣 (DZ 281) compiled by Huang Gongwang and preserved in the Daoist canon.<sup>445</sup>

The other Yuan painter from the Daoist community is the Longhushan Daoist Fang Congyi, whose landscape paintings are noted for their unconventional style.<sup>446</sup> His *Boating on Mt. Wuyi* 武夷放棹 (Fig. 49) dated 1359 depicts the transforming mountain scenery one sees by rafting on the Jiuqu 九曲 river, a

445 DZ 281, 4.978c–79a.

446 For more on Fang Congyi's landscape painting, see Neill, "Mountains of the immortals," pp. 96–137.

spectacular experience every tourist is eager to have when he visits Mt. Wuyi 武夷山 today.<sup>447</sup> The mountain takes an uncanny shape reminiscent of a towering mushroom, blossoming in the sky like vaporizing clouds.<sup>448</sup> From the *fengshui* point of view, this mushroom-like shape may be further linked to an auspicious landform, because it calls to mind the ancient stereotype of the immortal Mt. Kunlun in the shape of a pillar with a wide platform atop (cf. Fig. 18). The unusual shape of the mountain and the wet and animated brushstrokes altogether create a fantastic landscape filled with boundless *qi*.

Fang Congyi's landscape paintings reflect his personal experiences wandering in the Wuyishan and Longhushan areas linking northwestern Fujian and eastern Jiangxi. Mountains of these regions are noted for their rainbow-like quality referred to as the *danxia* landform 丹霞地貌. Some mountains show a colorful mixture of jade green and pinkish brown, while others bear distinct vertical strip patterns in light green, yellow, and pale blue. It is very likely that Fang Congyi intended to capture such splendid cosmic beauty in his *Cloudy mountains* 雲山圖 painted in a whimsical blend of light blue, green, and yellow.<sup>449</sup> These colors not only reflect the vivid spectacle of the *danxia* landform but also make references to the rich minerals possessed in a sacred mountain that are wonderful resources for Daoist alchemy. Richard Barnhart sees in this fusion of light and color an echo of "the idea of the dissolution of concrete things into spirit or ether—the [qi] of Chinese cosmic theory—and of ether into things, in an endless cycle of being and nonbeing."<sup>450</sup> The lofty mountain range stretching diagonally from the watershore to the void may be further appreciated applying the *fengshui* perspective. It evokes the long and turning dragon vein 龍脈, a metaphor used in the *fengshui* discourse to describe the turning contours and related *qi*-gathering geographic configurations of a geographic area.<sup>451</sup> The dragonlike mountain, in Wen Fong's words, "first levitating then flying off in a gust of wind, gives form to nature's elemental forces."<sup>452</sup>

447 For a plate, see Barnhart et al., *Three thousand years of Chinese painting*, p. 183. Currently mounted as a small hanging scroll, this painting "comprised part of a well-known album" collected by a private Qing collector before entering the imperial Qianlong court collection; see Neill, "Mountains of the immortals," p. 97.

448 For a possible connection between this particular mountain design and celebrated sites in Wuyishan, see Neill, "Mountains of the immortals," p. 98.

449 For a plate, see Fong, *Beyond representations*, pp. 472–73; Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China*, pp. 366–67. For more discussion, see Neill, "Mountains of the immortals," pp. 116–20.

450 Richard Barnhart, *Along the border of heaven*, p. 171.

451 Huang, *Picturing the true form*, p. 175.

452 Fong, *Beyond representations*, p. 472.

To wander in such a landscape is to “seek the true dragon” 覓真龍 or the “true form” of the mountain.

### Quanzhen Prints

Like Buddhism, Daoism also uses illustrated prints to spread its teachings. In spite of the Yuan government order to burn the Quanzhen-compiled Daoist canon in 1281 and the resultant great loss of Daoist texts, the refined illustrated print entitled *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* (Illustrations of the felicitous convocations of the sublime spirit [of the Dao], 玄風慶會圖) closely related to Quanzhen Daoism in the Yuan dynasty, survives as a rare exception.<sup>453</sup> Originally compiled by Shi Zhijing 史志經 in 1274, the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* consists of five volumes. The first four volumes are devoted to sixty-four hagiographic accounts of the Evergreen Master 長春大師 Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148–1227), and each account is accompanied by an illustration.<sup>454</sup> The extant print, an incomplete reprint made in 1305 and initiated by the Daoist priest Lu Daotong 陸道通 (date unknown) of the Changchun palace in the capital, Beijing, is now in the Tenri University library, Japan. The title of the print echoes a text with the same title called *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄 (DZ 176) by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244),<sup>455</sup> who recorded Qiu’s advice to Genghis Khan 成吉思汗 (1162–1227) concerning Daoist longevity and attending life when Qiu visited the Mongol ruler in the desert.<sup>456</sup>

The extant 1305 reprint bears an impressive list of names that shed light on the social and religious network of this reprinting project. Its financial support, as pointed out by Paul Katz and Lucille Chia, came from not only the

453 For the reproduction of the print, see *Gyosei shōyōei, Genpū keikaizu* 御製逍遙詠, 玄風慶會圖 (Tenri-shi, 1981).

454 Kang Bao (Paul Katz), “Yuandai Quanzhen daoshi de shiguan yu zongjiao rentong: yi *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* wei li, *Yanjing xuebao* 14–15 (2003), 95–107, especially 97–98; for more on Shi Zhijing, see pp. 99–103.

455 For the text, see DZ 176, 3.387c–390. For more introduction to the text, see Boltz, *A survey of Taoist literature* (see above, note 122), p. 159; Reiter in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist canon*, 2.1138.

456 Important studies by Paul Katz and Lucille Chia have illuminated various religious and social aspects of this print, including such issues as the identity of the Quanzhen Daoists and the use of print. See Paul Katz, “Writing history, creating identity: a case study of *Xuanfeng qinghui tu*,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001), 161–78; Kang Bao, “Yuandai Quanzhen daoshi”; Lucille Chia, “The uses of print in early Quanzhen Daoist texts,” in Lucille Chia and Hilde de Weerd, eds, *Knowledge and text production in an age of print: China, 900–1400* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 193–201.

Quanzhen sect but also “other Daoist groups in south China.”<sup>457</sup> The list of names attached to the end of the extant print shows that people involved in the printing project include not only donors from the Hangzhou area but also other fund-raisers and leading Daoists from Beijing, Mt. Wudang, and other Daoists affiliated with temples in Hebei and Shanxi. Among the people listed as “fund raisers” 勸緣 are Daoists outside the Quanzhen circle, including the Xuanjiao leaders Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1321) and Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269–1346), the thirty-eighth Heavenly Master Zhang Yucai (ca. 1295–1316), and the forty-fourth Shangqing patriarch of Maoshan Wang Daomeng 王道孟 (1242–1314), to name a few.<sup>458</sup>

The extant reprint contains only the first volume of sixteen illustrations and stories. Based on the colophons listed at the end of the reprint we know that “the blocks were engraved in Hangzhou,”<sup>459</sup> for the carvers working on both texts and illustrations were from “Old Hangzhou” 古杭, and that the reprinting project was supervised by the Daoist temple Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 in Hangzhou circuit 杭州路.<sup>460</sup> The original illustrator Liu Borong 劉伯榮 was a painter from Pushui 蒲水 holding a military official rank 忠翊校尉.<sup>461</sup> The copyist was Xu Zongru 許宗儒, whose name appears on ten of the sixteen illustrations.<sup>462</sup> According to Lucille Chia, Liu “was probably the original illustrator for the 1274 edition,” while Xu “retraced and redrew the pictures for the 1305 reprint.”<sup>463</sup> Sadly, neither Liu Borong nor Xu Zongru is mentioned in any mainstream painting records of that time.

The illustrations from the extant 1305 edition depict various episodes of Qiu Chuji’s biography, from his birth in Qixia 棲霞 and his self-cultivation along the Pan River 磻溪, to his later achievements as a Quanzhen leader in attracting disciples, building temples, and spreading Daoist teachings. The overall design of the illustrative prints adopts selected earlier templates. For example, the impressive mountains and grottoes depicted in the episodes of “Self-cultivation along the Pan river” 磻溪鍊行 and “Quanzhen Daoism in Longmen” 龍門全真 (Fig. 50) are comparable to the meticulous landscape

457 Katz, “Writing history”; Chia, “The uses of print,” p. 193.

458 *Gyosei shōyōei, Genpū keikaizu*, pp. 337–38.

459 Chia, “The uses of print,” p. 199.

460 *Gyosei shōyōei, Genpū keikaizu*, pp. 330–31.

461 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

462 Not every illustration bears the copyist’s name. For those illustrations bearing Xu Zongru’s name, see *Gyosei shōyōei, Genpū keikaizu*, pp. 254, 262, 270, 276, 282, 286, 289, 300, 306, 318. One page bears the name of Xu Zongjun 許宗君, see p. 250; the other page bears a blank cartouche, see p. 246.

463 Chia, “The uses of print,” pp. 199–200.





FIGURE 50 Daoist illustrated print entitled “Quanzhen Daoism in Longmen,” from Xuanfeng qinghui tu. Yuan dynasty, 1305 reprint. Woodblock print. After Gyosei Shōyōei, Genpū keikaizu (*Tenri-shi*, 1981), pp. 269–70.

illustrations in the Buddhist print *Yuzhi mizang quan* 御製秘藏詮 issued by the Northern Song court.<sup>464</sup> Two illustrations, such as “Reviving the ancestral temple” 振教祖庭 and “Building a temple in Bindu” 濱都創觀,<sup>465</sup> feature two construction scenes that depict builders moving or cutting logs, whose details reflect the knowledge of interlocking architectural parts illustrated in the Northern Song architectural printed manual *Yingzao fashi*.

The narrative details also share common grounds with other pictures of hagiographies, both within Daoism and beyond. For instance, the episode entitled “Accompanying friends to Bianliang” 附友汴梁 (Fig. 51), which depicts Wang Chongyang lying on his death bed with his body turning toward the left and

464 Gyosei shōyōei, *Genpū keikaizu*, pp. 261–62, 269–70. Cf. the Northern Song Buddhist prints reproduced in Max Loehr, *Chinese landscape woodcuts: from an imperial commentary to the tenth-century printed edition of the Buddhist canon* (Cambridge, 1968). For more on the comparison of the Quanzhen print and the Northern Song *Yuzhi mizang quan*, see Huang Shih-shan, “Tang Song shiqi fojiao banhua zhong suo jian de meijie zhuanhua yu zimo sheji,” in *Yishushi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song zhuanzhe* (Taipei, forthcoming).

465 Ibid., pp. 276, 300. See also Chia, “The uses of print,” p. 196.

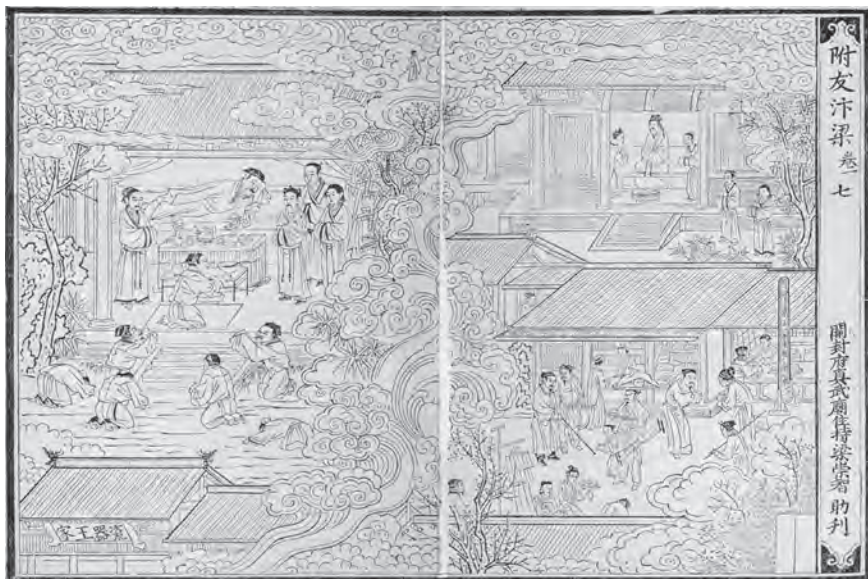


FIGURE 51 Daoist illustrated print entitled "Accompanying friends to Bianliang," from Xuanfeng qinghui tu. Yuan dynasty, 1305 reprint. Woodblock print. After Gyosei Shōyōei, Genpū keikaizu (Tenri-shi, 1981), p. 258.

his head resting on his left arm,<sup>466</sup> is comparable to the same detail depicted in the mural of the Chongyang hall (Fig. 52), Yonglegong.<sup>467</sup> The convergence of the Quanzhen print and mural is further attested in Lucille Chia's study, in which she shows that the first illustration of the print depicting the birth of Qiu Chuji compares closely to the mural of the Chongyang hall depicting the birth scene of Wang Chongyang.<sup>468</sup> Not restricted to Daoist hagiographies, these birth scenes are further linked to a standardized template widely shared in Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist hagiographies.<sup>469</sup> Seen in this way, it is plausible to suggest that the professional mural painters and print illustrators

466 Gyosei shōyōei, *Genpū keikaizu* (Tenri-shi, 1981), p. 258.

467 Xiao Jun, *Yonglegong bihua*, p. 345. Cf. my earlier discussion of Wang Chongyang's reclining scene in Longshan grottoes.

468 Chia, "The uses of print," pp. 195, 197–98. For the birth scene of Qiu Chuji, entitled "Fenrui Qixia," see Gyosei shōyōei, *Genpū keikaizu*, pp. 245–46. For more comparison of selected narrative scenes depicted in the Chongyang hall murals and the *Xuanfeng qinghui* print, see Liu Ke, "Jin Yuan dao jiao xinyang yu tuxiang biao xia," pp. 159–61.

469 Chia, "The uses of print," p. 198. For more on pictures of Confucian hagiographies, see Julia Murray's chapter in this book.



FIGURE 52

*Wang Chongyang lying on his death bed with his disciples surrounding him, detail from the Chongyang hall, Yonglegong. Yuan dynasty, fourteenth century. Wall painting. Ruicheng, Shanxi. After Xiao Jun, Yonglegong bihua (Beijing, 2008), p. 345.*

involved in the productions of Quanzhen art composed their pictures based on selected stock motifs commonly shared by Buddhist or Confucian art.

The mural of the Chongyang hall was painted later than the date of the reprint of the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu*. According to Jing Anning, the mural may be based on the illustrations of the biography of Wang Chongyang known as *Chongyang zhenjun minhua tu* 重陽真君憫化圖 circulated in portable print or drawings,<sup>470</sup> a title also mentioned in the preface of the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* by the renowned Daoist historian Li Daoqian 李道謙.<sup>471</sup> In this regard, the print may have served as the prototype of the Yonglegong mural. On the other hand, the print may make references to still another mural previously painted in a Quanzhen temple. As Paul Katz argues, one major motivation that prompted Shi Zhijing to produce the print of *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* was that Shi was disappointed with the insufficient illustrations of Qiu Chuji's biography depicted on the murals of the Changchunguan 長春觀 in Beijing. This further

<sup>470</sup> Jing Anning, *Daojiao Quanzhen pai*, pp. 85–86 and 298–305.

<sup>471</sup> Gyosei shōyōei, *Genpū keikaizu*, p. 220.

suggests the interlocking relationship between prints and murals within the Quanzhen context.<sup>472</sup>

### Daoist Priest Portraiture

*Fourteen portraits of Wu Quanjie between the ages of forty-three and sixty-three* (*Wu Quanjie shisi huaxiang* 吳全節十四畫像; hereafter, the Wu Quanjie handscroll) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts fourteen images of the Orthodox Unity priest Wu Quanjie laid out chronologically in a handscroll format (Fig. 53).<sup>473</sup> This painting is unique for two major reasons. First, from the perspective of the history of painting, it is a rare extant example of Daoist patriarch portraiture, providing a precious counterpart to the vast number of Song-Yuan Buddhist Chan patriarch portraits in Japanese collections. Second, in terms of the history of Daoism, the painting serves as an exceptional visual documentation that sheds light on the rise and fall of the so-called Xuanjiao 玄教, the “diplomatic” representation of the Longhushan Heavenly Masters in the capital reflecting the imperial support of the Mongol ruling class.<sup>474</sup>

The handscroll is a copy and re-assembly of fourteen portraits of Wu made separately over a span of forty years. The scholar official Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), who was Wu Quanjie’s disciple, played the major role in commissioning the portrait painter Chen Zhitian 陳芝田 (dates unknown) in making the Boston handscroll, a product of no later than the mid-14th century.<sup>475</sup> The painting serves the purpose of glorifying Wu by showcasing copies of Wu’s various portraits, whose prototypes were done along with the associated colophons originally written by renowned scholar officials of that time, such as Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), Yu Ji, and Ouyang Xuan 歐陽玄 (1283–1357).<sup>476</sup>

Among the fourteen portraits, the first scene entitled “Image of inner visualization” 內觀象 and the seventh scene entitled “Image of the head” 泥丸象 (Fig. 53) bear the most unique circular compositions, each framing a torso

472 Kang Bao, “Yuandai Quanzhen daoshi,” p. 100.

473 The painting (gift of Mrs. Richard E. Danielson, 46.252) is dated to the second half of the 14th century. It bears ink, color, and gold on silk, and measures 51.8 × 834.8 cm; see Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China*, pp. 220–21; for more analysis of the inscriptions accompanying each extant portrait, see pp. 222–23. For an in-depth study of this handscroll, see Hong Zaixin, “Ruxian xinxiang: Yuandai Xuanjiao huaxiang chuangzuo de wenhua qingjing he shixiang hanyi,” in Fan Jingzhong and Cao Yiqiang, eds, *Meishu shi yu guannian shi*, 2 vols (Nanjing, 2003), 1.93–180.

474 For a brief introduction to the Xuanjiao history, see Hong Zaixin, “Ruxian xinxiang,” pp. 95–101; Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China*, p. 221.

475 Hong Zaixin, “Ruxian xinxiang,” pp. 104, 108, 118.

476 Ibid., pp. 123, 131–43.





FIGURE 53

*Image of the head, detail from Fourteen portraits of Wu Qianjie between the ages of forty-three and sixty-three, traditionally attributed to Chen Zhitian. Handscroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. 51.8 × 834.8 cm. Yuan dynasty, second half of the fourteenth century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mrs. Richard E. Danielson, 46.252.*

portrait within a circle.<sup>477</sup> The visual device of placing an image within a circle calls to mind many circular symbols referring to an inner vision or a purified state of mind illustrated in the Southern Song-to-Yuan internal alchemy texts.<sup>478</sup> Other Daoist-inspired scenes feature Wu Qianjie as a renowned Daoist ritual master, wearing ceremonial garments and holding a tablet. Many such scenes commemorate Daoist rituals he performed in Daoist temples in Beijing. For example, “Image of visualization” 存思象 commemorated the Daoist master’s performance of a Daoist ritual in the Changchungong 長春宮 in 1313. According to the accompanying colophon, he also traveled to Mt. Song 嵩山 to throw the jade tablet 玉簡 as a closure of the ritual.<sup>479</sup> “Image of the Highest Clarity” 上清象 was originally made after Wu returned from the south and

<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>478</sup> For comparative illustrations of internal alchemy applying the circular motifs, see Huang, *Picturing the true form*, pp. 64–66, 237.

<sup>479</sup> See Little and Eichman, eds, *Taoism and the arts of China*, p. 222.

performed a court ritual in the Chongzhengong 崇真宮 in 1327.<sup>480</sup> The final scene entitled “Preaching image” 說法象 depicts the aged Master Wu sitting on a couch bed with his arm leaning on an three-footed armrest. The accompanying colophon, based on Yu Ji’s original remarks, states that this scene is related to his lecturing at Changchungong after a ritual held in 1331.<sup>481</sup>

Besides the Daoist-inspired scenes, selected scenes depicted in *Fourteen portraits of Wu Quanjie* make clear references to the painting style and taste of literati, depicting the Daoist master as a scholarly figure with long robes, either sitting meditatively on a rock or playing a *qin* under a tree, surrounded by cranes amid the lofty landscape. This is evident in the “Sitting picture” 燕坐圖 and “Picture of gazing at the spring” 觀泉象.<sup>482</sup> Hong Zaixin 洪再新 links this handscroll to the practice of Daoist portraiture at court and in the south.<sup>483</sup> Literary records show that the Yuan court sponsored the Xuanjiao patriarch portraiture. In 1317, Emperor Renzong (r. 1312–20) ordered the court artist to make a portrait of the Daoist priest Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248–1321) to celebrate Zhang’s seventieth birthday. Upon completion, Zhang’s portrait was displayed in the Daoist temple Wanshou chongzhen gong 萬壽崇真宮. Following this convention, Emperor Shundi 順帝 (r. 1333–68) had Wu Quanjie’s portrait made for Wu’s seventieth birthday in 1339 as well.<sup>484</sup> In the south, portraits of Daoist leaders of the southern school of internal alchemy such as the Shenxiao leader Mo Yueding 莫月鼎 and the Quanzhen master Jin Zhiyang had colophons by the elite of that time. In the north, Emperor Renzong had the court artist make a portrait for the Quanzhen patriarch Sun Deyu 孫德彧 (1243–1321) as a reward for Sun’s efficacious rain-praying ritual performed at court. Renzong also asked Zhao Mengfu to inscribe a eulogy on the portrait, which was in turn sanctioned by the imperial seal.<sup>485</sup>

## Conclusion

This survey has brought forth different facets of Daoist visual culture. From the rich visual materials preserved in the Daoist canon, we grasp the complex

480 Ibid., pp. 220, 223. Cf. the ninth scene entitled “Picture of going in audience to the Origin” (Chaoyuan xiang 朝元象), which documented a ritual occasion held in 1318; see pp. 221, 223.

481 Ibid., pp. 220, 223.

482 Ibid., pp. 220–21.

483 Hong Zaixin, “Ruxian xinxiang,” pp. 100–107.

484 Ibid., pp. 100, 108.

485 Ibid., p. 105.



making of Daoist symbols. Among the images associated with inner dimensions, visualization pictures and true form charts serve as visual aids for meditation and may be linked to earlier practices prior to the Song. On the other hand, various body charts detailing the underpinning of internal alchemy are newer creations of that time. Images associated with outer dimensions feature the plethora of ritual objects and artifacts necessary for liturgical functions. As Daoist rituals grew more complicated and Daoist priests compiled massive ritual compendia in the Southern Song and Yuan periods, the repertoire of ritual objects and symbols also increased dramatically. From the visual perspective, the huge pool of novel talismans accompanying the Song and Yuan liturgical treatises provide raw materials for a promising new field of visual study and deserve more systematic investigations in the future. Overall, the majority of images preserved in the Daoist canon and pertinent to our inquiries in this volume are aniconic images departing from the mainstream of icon-based Buddhist art. The interlocking relationship of talismans, words, and pictures marks another unique feature of Daoist visual culture.

Increasing archaeological finds offer a fresh database for the study of Daoist visual culture as well. Different from the images we know from the Daoist canon, which are largely aniconic symbols, most images found in the public rock carvings, murals in temples and tombs, are iconic representations of figurative Daoist pantheons or narrative illustrations of hagiographies and mythologies. Together, they form an excellent database for students of Daoist iconography. Notably, such iconic, figurative, or narrative images in Daoist art also converge most clearly with Buddhist art. One way to interpret this is perhaps because the making of iconic images in Daoism can be perceived as a “soft” area, which inevitably absorbs the stronger existing paradigms in Buddhism. Last but not least, the many Daoist-inspired artifacts found in Liao tombs provide accumulating evidence for Liao Daoist art.

The last section of our inquiry centers on art objects classified by earlier researchers as Daoist art. These are the historically transmitted paintings and prints, either commissioned by the court and Daoist clergies, or made by and for members of the Daoist community. These images are the prime examples of Daoist art manifesting to the public, and their underpinning references to esoteric Daoist symbolism and religious experiences will need to be researched more thoroughly in the future. When studying the paintings of gods, it is productive to go beyond the iconographic framework to contemplate the relationship between painting and ritual performance. After all, paintings of mobile deities in front of which priests perform the ritual also mirror the mental vision of the gods with whom the master is communicating. Also, Daoist painters have made tremendous contributions to Chinese landscape painting, elevating it to the art of inner landscape. This may be inspired by the Daoist use of

landscape as an esoteric symbol of the inner body in internal alchemy, compounded by the timeless veneration of mountains in Daoist sacred geography and cosmology.

To sum up, the rich visual materials of this period are valuable alternative primary sources for the study of Daoism and should be incorporated into Daoist scholars' "tool box". The complex interconnection of text and image in Daoism calls to mind the analogy of image and text as the warp and the weft so well stated by the Southern Song scholar Zheng Qiao 鄭樵:

Graphics (*tu*) are the warp threads and writings (*shu*) are the weft. As warp and weft alternate to form the pattern of a fabric (*wen*) [so graphics and writings alternate to form the meaning of a text]... To see writings without graphics is like hearing a voice without seeing the form; to see graphics without writings is like seeing a person but not hearing his words... Scholars in the past conducted their scholarship with useful methods. They placed graphics on the left and writings on the right. [Hence] they sought visions in graphics, and principles in writings.

圖，經也，書，緯也，一經一緯，相錯而成文... 見書不見圖，聞其聲不見其形；見圖不見書，見其人不聞其語... 古之學者爲學有要，置圖於左，置書於右，索象於圖，索理於書。<sup>486</sup>

Indeed, only by integrating the studies of images and texts can we begin to see the "true form" of Daoism.

486 Zheng Qiao (1104–62), *Tong zhi* 通志, 72.1b–2a. Cf. Francesca Bray's translation in Francesca Bray et al., eds, *Graphics and text in the production of technical knowledge in China: the warp and the weft* (Leiden, 2007), p. 1.