



On Telling Images of China

Essays in
Narrative Painting
and Visual Culture

Edited by
Shane McCausland and Yin Hwang

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Transcendence, Thunder and Exorcism

Images of the Daoist Patriarch Zhang Daoling in Books and Paintings

Noelle Giuffrida

Representations of figures from Chinese history, legend, literature and religion appear in a variety of pictorial forms including murals, scroll paintings, engraved steles and woodblock-printed books. These images range from imaginary portraits of individual figures in simple settings to fully elaborated pictorial biographies that unfold over a series of scenes featuring multiple figures, detailed settings and activities. As we see throughout the essays collected in this volume, though these pictures' semantic and physical relationships with textual sources vary, each connects with a narrative. Some images present what Susan Nelson and Kathlyn Liscomb have referred to as an 'iconic event', where an episode from a figure's biography is singled out, narrated and depicted in multiple forms.¹ On the other hand, imaginary portraits rely primarily on the visual language of iconography, attributes and setting to prompt viewers to recognize the figure, and also trigger memories of the individual's actions known through the oral and textual transmission of tales.

Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) pictures featuring the founding patriarch of Celestial Master Daoism,² Zhang Daoling (34–156), survive in many forms including illustrated scriptures and books, occasional and liturgical scroll paintings, and printed talismans. The initial impetus for my investigation into the patriarch came from a desire to situate Zhou Xun's (1649–1729) painting (see Figure 2.9), featured in the *Telling Images* exhibition, within the larger network of Zhang images. Woodblock-printed books from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century provide one of the richest reservoirs for studying stories about and representations of religious figures. The two collections of serried immortals and patriarchs, the pair of contemporaneous compendia of gods and the volume

of vernacular short stories addressed here include textual biographies and visual portrayals of dozens of figures, including Zhang. The links and variances between such printed images of the master highlight different aspects of his biography and exploits, while consideration of several small hanging-scroll paintings brings out connections and distinctions between representations of Zhang in different media. In the group of paintings and prints that I consider here, we find both imaginary portraits and images of an iconic event that operate on several levels. My aim is to explore how these diverse representations embodied, triggered and conveyed stories about Zhang, shaping audiences' understanding of his overlapping roles as immortal, patriarch and exorcist. The following examination will reveal efforts to claim, fashion and locate Zhang Daoling for viewers of the time, and contributes to the recovery of a more nuanced picture of engagement with this seminal Daoist patriarch.

Zhang Daoling's Biography

Zhang Daoling has inspired numerous biographies, tales and images over the many centuries since his association with the founding of the Tianshi Dao (Way of the Celestial Masters) in Han-era (206 BC–AD 220) Sichuan Province.³ Records indicate the circulation of stories about him and his exploits as early as the fourth century, and during the eighth century, he was canonized by Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56). The consolidation of the Celestial Masters on Mount Longhu (in Jiangxi Province) and the rise of thunder rites in the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) spurred the creation of more extensive biographies as well as visual representations of Zhang; most surviving pictures of the master, however, date to the Ming and Qing.

The first substantive textual account of Zhang Daoling turns up in the *Shenxian zhuan* (*Biographies of Divine Immortals*), which is traditionally credited to Ge Hong (283–343). Robert Campany convincingly claims that even though Ge was probably aware of the Celestial Masters, the passage about Zhang was likely added in the Song.⁴ Du Guangting's (850–933) collection of miracle tales, the *Daojiao lingyan ji* (*Record of the Numinous Efficacy of Daoist Teachings*), includes a chapter about Zhang as well.⁵ The locus classicus for his biography, however, is the late thirteenth-century *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (*Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages*).⁶ Preserved in the Ming Daoist canon, it includes a chapter-long account of Zhang. While the text of the *Comprehensive Mirror* is too extensive to summarize here, I summarize the main episodes based on the comparatively shorter biography in the

later *Youxiang liexian quanzhuan* (*Complete Biographies of Serried Immortals with Illustrations*), and highlight particular elements' links to Zhang's roles as immortal, patriarch and exorcist that will be important in my discussions of pictures.⁷ His biography incorporates many conventional tropes: miraculous conception and birth, precocious childhood that includes mastery of classical texts, refusal of an official position and departure from home to engage in rigorous practice. The remainder relates a series of roughly chronological events detailing his alchemical mastery; repeated vanquishing of malevolent spirits; encounters with Laojun (the divinized form of Laozi) and various celestial beings; receipt of registers, talismans, scriptures, sacred weapons and accoutrements; visits to celestial realms; and his eventual ascension as an immortal. The revelation of scriptures and the receipt of registers and talismans are common leitmotifs in Daoist tales. Indicative of celestial favour, these materials gave the recipient special access to powerful methods, and allowed one to summon potent forces. Revealed texts served as guides and tools for practice, and their divine bestowal also legitimized the recipient, setting one up to determine future transmission. Zhang was granted sacred materials on several occasions. Initially, a celestial messenger guided him to a cave on Mount Song, where he found three scriptures that revealed techniques for successfully refining an elixir of immortality, including the *Taiqing dan jing* (*Cinnabar Scripture of Supreme Purity*) and *Huangdi jiuding* (*The Yellow Emperor's Nine Crucible [Elixir] Method*).⁸ As a result, sexagenarian Zhang shaved thirty years from his appearance and mastered the ability to be in more than one place at one time. Laojun then appeared and granted the *Zhengyi mengwei miaolu* (*Miraculous Register of the Awe-Inspiring Covenant of Orthodox Unity*), the *Sanqing danjing* (*Cinnabar Scripture of the Three Pure Ones*), two swords and a seal to reward his defeat of malevolent spirits in Shu (Sichuan), and commanded Zhang to vanquish legions of malicious spirits at Mount Qingcheng (Sichuan). Zhang also attained the ability to walk through fire, pass through rocks and control the weather. He was thus established as a master alchemist, an effective exorcist and, through his possession of a Zhengyi register, as patriarch of the Celestial Masters.

Next, Zhang mastered the *jiuhuan qifan* ('nine cycles and seven returns') alchemy method, while at Mount Yuntai (Jiangsu). There, Laojun granted him a new title, Jiuzhen shangxian (Supreme Immortal of the Nine Perfected), but chastised him for his overzealous actions in defeating forces in Shu. Returning there, this time to Mount Heming (west of Chengdu), Zhang successfully exorcized a poisonous dragon and thwarted the advances of twelve devious female spirits in order to construct a salt well for a certain village. Another ten years passed before

he was summoned to an audience with the Yuanshi Tianzun (Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning), when he received another title, Renjian tianshi (Worldly Celestial Master). Zhang's date of ascension was revealed, and he commenced a series of actions aimed at ensuring his legacy and establishing him as the patriarch of the Celestial Masters. First, he rode a white crane to Chengdu. As a vehicle of immortals and as a symbol of immortality on its own, the crane served as another signal of his impending ascension. Then, because he wanted to leave physical traces behind, he returned to Mount Yuntai; there, he jumped off a cliff, passed through walls of solid rock, and emerged at the top of the cliff, creating two caverns within the mountain. Afterward, he arrived at Mount Qiuting (Sichuan), where a divine messenger presented him with jade albums and revealed his ascension time to all so that they could witness it. Zhang received his *hao*, Zhengyi zhenren (Perfected Being of Celestial Unity), further certifying his role as patriarch.

Just prior to his ascension, Zhang asserted his authority as patriarch by transmitting scriptures, registers, swords and seals to his eldest son. This action established the precedent for hereditary transmission in accordance with Celestial Masters traditions still maintained in the Ming. In a final move that demonstrated his benevolence and rewarded his most devoted disciples, he offered them his remaining elixir so that they would be able to join him in ascension. Precisely at noon, a host of immortals and attendants gathered with Zhang and his disciples on the peak of Mount Yuntai, where, in customary Daoist fashion, they all ascended in broad daylight. As further evidence of his effective practice and resulting longevity, we learn that Zhang was 123 years old. The final lines of the biography remind readers that in their own time, Zhang's descendants live on Mount Longhu.

Modelling Transcendence

The preceding synopsis comes from Zhang's biography in a high-quality commercial edition created during the book-publishing boom of the Wanli era (1572–1620): the *Complete Biographies of Serried Immortals with Illustrations* contains almost 600 entries on different immortals and 222 pictures in nine chapters. Though its title asserts affinity with the original *Liexian zhuan* (*Biographies of Serried Immortals*) attributed to Liu Xiang (77–6 BC), Wang Yunpeng's (act. 1573–1620) 1600 edition draws upon many centuries of immortal biographies for its textual content.⁹ The style and quality of the calligraphy as well as the half-folio illustrations mark this as an appealing edition for discerning buyers.¹⁰ Huang Yimu (1586–1641), a member of the twenty-seventh generation Huang clan of renowned engravers from Huizhou, carved its pictures.¹¹

Zhang Daoling appears in Chapter Three, and receives one of the most extensive treatments. While his biography recounts many episodes that seem ripe for illustration, his depiction is an imaginary portrait that fashions him as a Daoist immortal (Figure 2.1). He dons the ubiquitous white, wide-sleeved scholar's robe worn by a host of immortals. He is shod in cloud shoes and strikes a familiar pose, folding his forearms in front of his waist and tucking his hands into his sleeves. Zhang is distinguished by his face and head: Huang depicts him with the bushy eyebrows, large bulbous nose and broad, high forehead described in his biography; he also has a long full beard, almond-shaped eyes and priestly lotus crown. This distinctive combination of details is all the more notable since many figures within the collection have similar faces. Zhang is the only immortal who wears a lotus crown here. His portrait prompts viewers to recognize him, and that recognition serves as a trigger for them to recall stories of Zhang's actions and practices as exem-

plary behaviour that led to his ascension as an immortal. His image embodies his actions. The picture is not merely a passive portrait intended to portray Zhang's physical appearance; it acts on the viewer, invoking these tales to not only to teach and remind them of his actions, but also to inspire them to reflect on their own behaviour.¹² Instead of illustrating a specific episode from his biography, this picture encourages viewers to tap into a whole host of narratives about Zhang.

The *Complete Biographies*' depiction of Zhang as an immortal contrasts sharply with liturgical and talismanic images that portray him as a fierce exorcist. Records indicate the existence of this latter type of image of Zhang as early as the tenth century. Though a few surviving examples of these types can be securely dated to the Ming, later works are more numerous and reflect typical

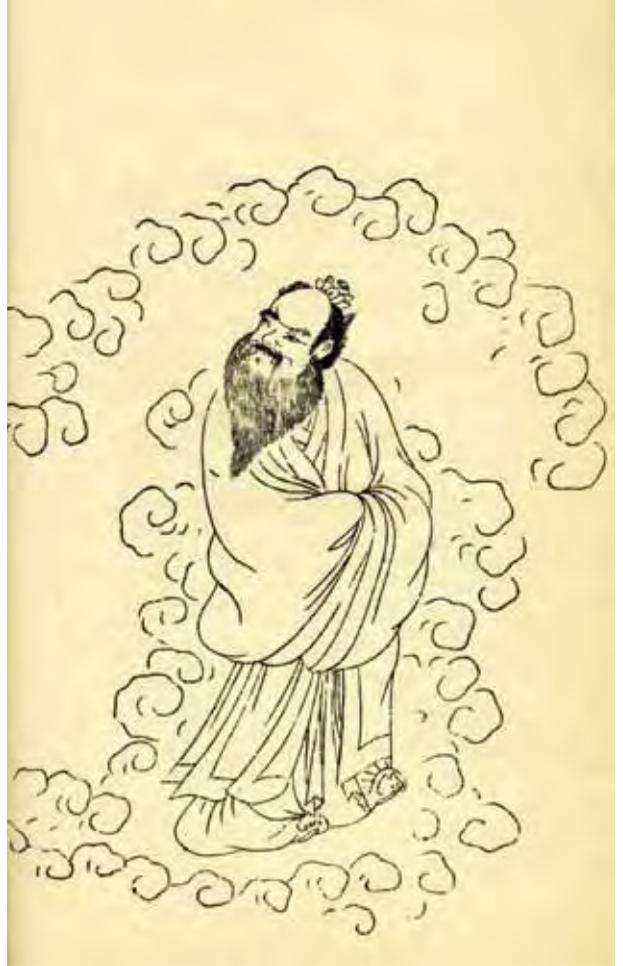


Figure 2.1
Youxiang liexian quanzhuan (*Complete Biographies of Serried Immortals*). 1600. Woodblock-printed book, ink on paper. 28 cm x 16.5 cm. After Zheng Zhenduo (comp.), *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959-60), vols. 37-39, 13.



Figure 2.2
Zhang Tianshi paper talisman. Colour on paper. 153 cm x 42 cm. National Museum of History, Taiwan. After Su Qiming et al. (eds.), *Daojiao wenwu* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1999), 198.

emphasized his identity as patriarch and exorcist. So why does Zhang Daoling look so different in print? Although the text of the *Complete Biographies* follows canonical accounts, retaining didactic and evidentiary characteristics and multiple references to his roles as exorcist and patriarch, Zhang's pictorial portrayal in the collection refashions him, removing the visual cues associated with those functions. He is identified by name—not by title—in the margin of the picture. This simple detail reinforces his status as an immortal, which would have been the main criterion for inclusion in the *Complete Biographies*. The swirling clouds

characteristics. He appears sitting on or accompanied by a tiger while wielding a sword (Figure 2.2). His seal of authority bearing his title Zhang tianshi (Celestial Master Zhang) often floats upon a nearby cloud. Many of the talismanic works include the character *chi* ('order') near the top, and incorporate talismanic writing. They were customarily affixed to doors or pasted in the form of sheets on walls inside a residence, where they emphasized Zhang's role as an active exorcist poised to protect people from harm and, when necessary, fight and repel evil forces. In a practice that continues in contemporary altar arrangements, a scroll featuring Zhang as Dafa tianshi (Celestial Master of the Great Method) customarily hangs to one side of images of the supreme Daoist deities known as the Sanqing (Three Pure Ones). In many such liturgical images, Zhang is depicted with a fierce expression, wearing a priestly robe and attended by a tiger.

It is unlikely that the publisher and carver for the *Complete Biographies* were unfamiliar with the visual conventions for portraying Zhang in paper talismans, liturgical paintings and registers, which

surrounding Zhang in the picture suggest a glimpse from a vision or a dream. His portrayal also reverberates with the emphasis on the immortals' return from paradise and reappearance in the terrestrial world expressed in the *Complete Biographies*' preface and echoed in other pictures in the book. Zhang's image is not rooted in a specific time or place, so his presentation as a cloud-borne figure can also be read as an image of descent back to the mundane world for a visit. His appearance on the page before the viewer thus evokes yet another narrative: his miraculous materialization and arrival.

Huang Yimu's picture of Zhang in the *Complete Biographies* is one of the earliest surviving portrayals of him as an immortal. Paintings that resemble it are largely unknown. Since many of the immortal pictures in the collection *do* correspond to surviving paintings from the Yuan and Ming, we can surmise the existence of paintings representing Zhang that served as models for his appearance in the book. His inclusion is a sign of his status as an important Daoist figure in the late Ming. Fostered, in part, by Zhang's promotion via the Celestial Masters institution on Mount Longhu, his popularity likely spurred his inclusion, even though he was not always chiefly identified as a transcendent. The visual recasting of Zhang as an immortal whose deeds served as a model for behaviour represented an added dimension of engagement with Zhang for late Ming audiences.

Communing with the Northern Dipper

In 1602, just two years after the *Complete Biographies*, Hong Zicheng (act. 1572–1620) published the *Xianfo qizong* (*Marvellous Traces of Immortals and Buddhists*) in Nanjing.¹³ Dividing its contents between sixty-three Daoist immortals and sixty-one Buddhist patriarchs, the *Marvellous Traces* mimics Zhang's biography in the earlier book. However, significant changes to the setting, elements, facial features and pose point to additional pictorial models for its representation of Zhang (Figure 2.3). Instead of materializing as a cloud-borne immortal, here he has his feet on the ground in a conventional landscape setting. His presentation in three-quarter view looking to one side conforms to established pictorial standards for depicting immortals in painting and prints. The setting does not reflect a specific locale, but acts as a seemingly remote and inaccessible place. The slightly elevated and close-up perspective contributes to the privileged view of these transcendents, an intimacy which is also enhanced by the book format itself. Even though multiple copies of the book likely circulated throughout the Jiangnan region, the experience of reading and looking was essentially private. In *Marvellous Traces*, Zhang turns his head, and this time we see the object of his gaze: the constellation of the



Figure 2.3
Xianfo qizong
 (Marvellous Traces
 of Immortals and
 Buddhists). 1602.
 Woodblock-printed
 book, ink on paper.
 21.1 cm x 14 cm. After
 National Central
 Library, *Guojia*
tushuguan cang xiqu
xiaoshuo banhua
xuancui (Taipei: Guojia
 Tushuguan, 2002), 29.

Northern Dipper (*beidou*).¹⁴ Thus one experience of the picture is contained within the frame, prompting viewers to recall layered biographical and visualization narratives that connect Zhang and the Dipper.

Usually depicted with seven stars,¹⁵ the constellation is associated with several Daoist figures. On one level, the Northern Dipper's appearance here connects to biographical narratives of Zhang. His conception was supernatural and immaculate: his mother dreamed of the Polestar deity Kuixing, a star in the Northern Dipper who brought incense that filled the room with fragrance, causing her pregnancy. Accounts even trace Zhang's ascension to the Northern Dipper.¹⁶ On the other hand, its presence suggests that Zhang may be visualizing and communing with the constellation and its deities as part of his self-cultivation practice. In Daoist meditation and ritual, the Dipper opens the way to celestial realms through its seventh star, *tianguan*

(‘heavenly pass’).¹⁷ The process of visualizing the stars of the constellation descending above one's head or visualizing deities associated with those stars coming down from the sky and entering organs of the body were two methods employed by adepts to help them achieve immortality. In this sense, the appearance of the Dipper above the clouds can be seen not merely as an asterism in the sky, but as a tangible sign of the visualization practice potentially taking place in the picture. What viewers see is the stage in the visualization narrative when the adept conjures up the Dipper in his mind, prior to its descent into his body. Thus, the presence of the constellation serves as a trigger for viewers to recall stories about Zhang's conception and ascension, while also referring to visualization practice, encouraging viewers in *their* efforts toward longevity and immortality.¹⁸ The pref-

ace of the *Marvellous Traces* even stresses the potential power of the reading and viewing experience to enable people to commune with the immortals featured in the book. Despite Zhang's many associations with the Northern Dipper, the image in *Marvellous Traces* is one of the earliest examples of the visual connection. Cranes, phoenixes and dragons customarily materialize in the skies above immortals, yet the appearance of the Northern Dipper is unusual. There are several possible pictorial precedents for the composition. A few other late Ming Daoist and Confucian images position the constellation in the upper left above clouds, and the stars cause miraculous objects to appear.¹⁹ I know of only one instance of another immortal that is represented with the constellation—the Yuan figure Song Youdao appears in the *Complete Biographies* standing atop a structure looking up at the stars.²⁰ The carvers of the *Marvellous Traces* may have decided to use elements from Song's image in their picture of Zhang.

Zhang's facial features and pose in the *Marvellous Traces* also connect with the visual traditions for representing some Buddhist patriarchs. With a larger nose, rounder head and more intense gaze, Zhang looks less ethnically Chinese than he did in the *Complete Biographies*. His face strongly resembles depictions of the Chan patriarch Bodhidharma, especially since he no longer wears a crown identifying him as a Daoist. With hands raised in front of the chest and hidden in his robe, his pose also connects him with Bodhidharma, who strikes this pose in paintings that show him miraculously crossing the Yangzi River on a reed.²¹ Other aspects of Zhang's image in the *Marvellous Traces* have parallels with pictures of the ultimate Buddhist patriarch, Shakyamuni. Paintings created for Chan contexts depict the historical Buddha emerging from the mountains after his period of intense meditation. In many of those images and in the depiction of Zhang, the figure is captured pausing as he proceeds down a mild slope, and in those also, the hands are hidden in a robe and held up in front of the chest.²² In Chan contexts, this hand gesture is believed to signify the patriarch's silent possession of truth.²³ While the application of the gesture to a Daoist patriarch can serve as a visual reference to Zhang's own unspoken authority, it also relates to distinctively Daoist ritual practices associated with *bianshen* ('transformation of the body'). In general, these practices aim to transform the mundane body of the priest into an immortal, cosmic body that can communicate with the celestial world.²⁴ One aspect involves the priest performing *shoujue* ('hand instructions'), in which he touches points on his left hand in a ritually prescribed sequence in order to exteriorize the energies of the spirits residing in his body. In some cases, *shoujue* are performed while the priest raises his hands, holding them together while covered

by the long sleeves of his robe. Thus the gesture can be read as a reference to Daoist ritual narratives of *bianshen* generally, as well as to specific *bianshen* practices in which Celestial Master priests temporarily transform themselves into their founding patriarch Zhang.

The facial features, setting, pose and gesture in the *Marvellous Traces* portrait have the potential to evoke several layers of authority and narrative associated with Zhang's role as patriarch. The carvers and readers of the book were probably both familiar with Chan visual precedents.²⁵ By tapping into traditions for depicting Buddhist patriarchs, Zhang becomes visually linked with founder-figure images associated with exemplary practice and stories of miraculous deeds. The shared visual vocabulary between Zhang, Bodhidharma and Shakyamuni demonstrated by this picture highlights his role as founder and patriarch of the Celestial Masters. The visual references to *bianshen* practices connect it with ritual narratives that are distinctively Daoist, compounding contemporaneous efforts by the Mount Longhu Celestial Masters to reassert Zhang's role as founder. The *Marvellous Traces* type of Zhang image seems to have been the most widely transmitted in woodblock-printed books. For instance, such pictures can be found in the *Sancai tubui* (*Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*) from 1609 and the *Jiezi yuan huazhuan siji* (*Supplement to the Painting Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden*) published in 1818, providing evidence that this representation had considerable lasting power.

Commanding Thunder

Zhang's appearance in two other late Ming editions demonstrates his incorporation into a larger, more inclusive pantheon of figures that incorporated Daoist immortals and deities, local gods, Buddhist deities and historical figures. The *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* (*Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist Patriarchs of the Three Religions*, hereafter *Compendium*) and *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* (*Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural*, hereafter 1593 *Compendium*) share a lot of content.²⁶ While most details of Zhang's exploits are left out, one event is embellished with a specific location, and another is added outright. In both compendia, his birth occurs at Mount Tianmu (Zhejiang), and he remarks on the exceptional qualities of Yunjin Brook in Yu'an (Shandong). Neither place is mentioned in other biographies. The omission of references to Mount Heming and Mount Qingcheng in Sichuan, and the siting of events in 'new' places such as Zhejiang and Shandong, probably

reflect local beliefs and practices of the time. In effect, the compendia reoriented Zhang as a figure that many locales could claim. The use of his title, Celestial Master Zhang, asserts his role as founding patriarch and reinforces the authority of the entire lineage since all share that title. The closing lines of his biography point out his transmission of scriptures, talismans and seals to his son and the hereditary lineage of the masters living on Mount Longhu. Other Ming texts even more emphatically pronounce Longhu to be not only the home of the current Celestial Masters, but also the residence of the entire lineage back to Zhang himself.²⁷ However, historical evidence reliably establishes the school on the mountain only as far back as the tenth century.²⁸ The prominence of this revisionist narrative concerning Zhang and Mount Longhu thus demonstrates its successful promotion by the Celestial Masters of the time.²⁹

Zhang's visual portrayal closely corresponds to his image in the *Complete Biographies*, suggesting an early seventeenth-century date for the *Compendium*.³⁰ Two seemingly minor changes signal a meaningful shift in his visual presentation that connects with ritual narratives (Figure 2.4). Firstly, instead of hiding his hands in his sleeves, Zhang holds a *lingpai* ('command tablet') that says '*lei ling*' ('thunder command').³¹ Daoist priests hold a *lingpai* when they perform thunder rites (*lei fa*) to summon members of the thunder department. Therapeutic and exorcistic thunder rites rose to prominence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as part of new Daoist traditions such as Tianxin (Celestial Heart) and Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean).³² By the early thirteenth century, many of these new traditions were subsumed under the Celestial Masters. Accordingly, ritual texts and biographical collections declared the authority of the founding patriarch of the school as the ultimate transmitter of key scriptures, registers, talismans and seals employed in thunder rites.³³ Several manuals mention the ritual master's transformation into Zhang in order to serve as celestial envoy and produce sacred talismans.³⁴ Though stories about Zhang as



Figure 2.4
Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan (*Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist Patriarchs of the Three Religions*). Late Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Woodblock-printed book, ink on paper. 19.5 cm x 11.5 cm. After Li Fengmao and Wang Qiugui (eds.), *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1989), vol. 3, 315.

Figure 2.5

Section of introductory procession, from the *Yushu jing* (*Scripture of the Jade Pivot*). Mid-Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Woodblock-printed accordion-folded book, ink on paper. 36 cm x 13 cm. © The British Library Board (ORB99/161).

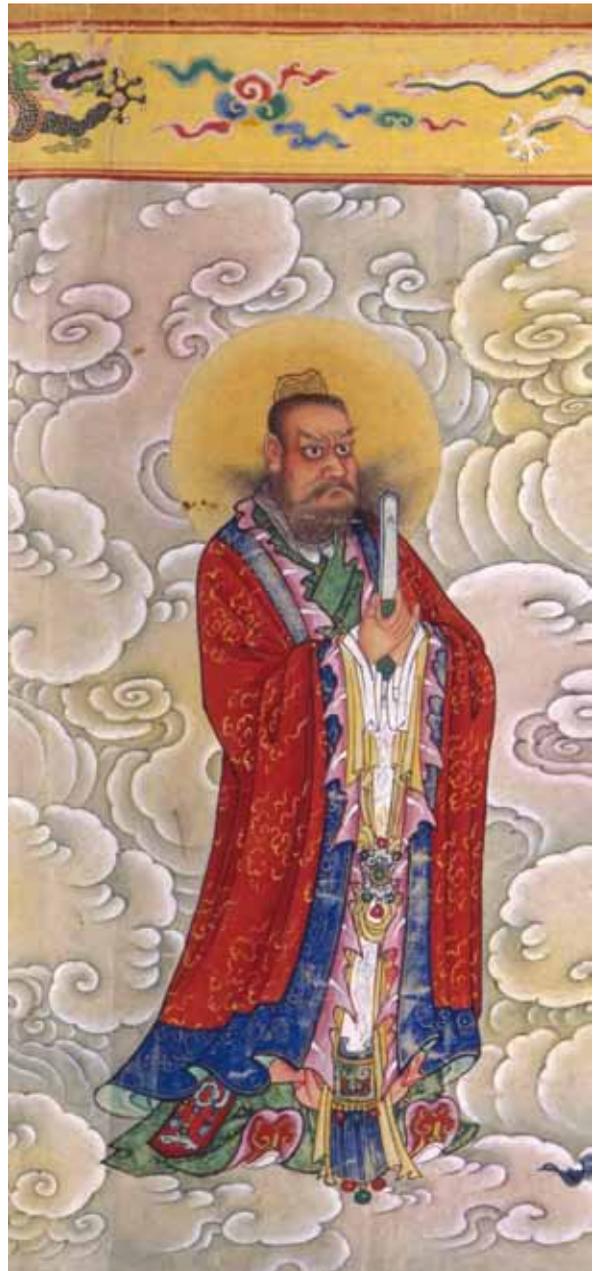


the progenitor of thunder rites are chiefly apocryphal, their prevalence demonstrates his prominent identity as a thunder exorcist. His possession of the implement points to his authority as the ultimate transmitter of the keys to thunder rites. His appearance with the *lingpai* in the *Compendium* corresponds with ritual narratives in which Celestial Master priests of Zhang's lineage, holding the title Zhang tianshi, summon thunder forces. Pictures of these ritual narratives were also presented in Ming compendia of dramas such as Zang Maoxun's (act. c. 1580–1615) *Yuanqu xuan* (*Collection of Yuan Dramas*), suggesting audiences' familiarity with the visual cues in such scenes and their connection to thunder rites.³⁵

In another nod to Zhang's association with thunder, his hair resembles pointed wings. Many

martial and thunder deities are customarily depicted with gravity-defying flaming or winged hair. The pictorial procession that opens the British Library's mid-Ming version of the thunder scripture *Yushu jing* (*Scripture of the Jade Pivot*) features many figures with these hairstyles, including Zhang (Figure 2.5).³⁶ His presence and hairstyle clearly associate him with thunder, while his priestly cloud robe, lotus crown, halo, cloud-borne setting and title Dafa tianshi (Celestial Master of the Great Method) assert his role as patriarch. Zhang's inclusion in the line-up provides visual evidence of the Celestial Masters' success in absorbing thunder traditions and claiming Zhang as ultimate progenitor of those traditions.³⁷ A comparable image of Zhang as a priestly patriarch appears within the procession of figures included in the 1493 ordination scroll of Empress Zhang (1470–1541), now in San Diego (Figure 2.6).³⁸ Occupying a similarly prominent position within the procession as in the *Scripture of the Jade Pivot*, he wears a red

robe and holds a *hu* ('audience tablet'). In the scroll, Zhang is part of a pictorial register (*lu*) of deities, patriarchs and immortals. The transmission of registers is a key element of ordinations that gives the ordinand the ability to summon these figures in ritual contexts. Although the scroll does not depict representatives from all of the transmitted registers, it does list those registers textually. The scripture and the scroll were intended to operate within Daoist contexts as documents of transmission and authority, hence Zhang's visual identities as a thunder master and patriarch are stressed. The iconographic distinctions between the printed images of Zhang in the *Compendium* and the other books discussed in this essay, and depictions in registers and processions, are primarily the result of the different contexts for the entire pictorial object within which he appears.³⁹ His portrayal as Zhang tianshi in the *Compendium* combines elements of visual traditions for representing him as an immortal and a thunder master, while linking him with ritual narratives and declaring his authority as patriarch of the Celestial Masters.⁴⁰



Locating Zhang on Mount Longhu

Even though the two editions include the same textual biography, Zhang's depiction in the 1593 *Compendium* diverges to highlight his connection with Mount Longhu and his role as patriarch. Published by Fuchun tang of Nanjing, the book's preface dates it to 1593.⁴¹ Rendered in profile, Zhang has an extended beard, wears a long robe, and has tiny feet typical of many figures in the book. His priestly crown is sketchily rendered yet still recognizable because of its suspended jewel. Zhang's depiction in an architectural setting is typical of the book, yet several details distinguish it as a specific and significant place. A temple roof emerges from the clouds in the upper left. He stands before a gate bearing a plac-

Figure 2.6
Patriarch Zhang, from the ordination scroll of Empress Zhang. 1493. Handscroll, ink, colour and gold on paper. 54.6 cm x 2,743 cm (full scroll). San Diego Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Jeffers.

ard that says ‘Shangqing gong’ (‘Palace of Supreme Purity’) (Figure 2.7). Beginning in the Song and continuing through the Qing, the palace served as the main ritual complex on Mount Longhu. The nearby abode of the current Celestial Master known as the Zhenren fu (Residence of the Perfected Being) served as the administrative centre for the school.⁴² Priestly ordinations and communications with Daoists and officials throughout the country were coordinated there. Apotropaic talismans featuring Zhang that were distributed through an extensive network of temples also originated at Longhu. Depictions of Zhang at the Shangqing gong could suggest narratives of pilgrims and ordinands who journeyed there, or Zhang’s own arrival at the palace in response to a ritual request. In any case, this portrayal asserts his association with Longhu and visually participates in efforts to locate him there. Though such activities were fully elaborated *textually* in the late thirteenth-century biography of Zhang in the *Comprehensive Mirror*, his *visual* relocation comes to fruition only in the Ming.

Several factors suggest that Zhang’s representation in the 1593 *Compendium* contributed to prevailing popular beliefs and that the Celestial Masters of Mount Longhu also favoured this portrayal. The relative brevity of the texts and the birthday listings mark it as a practical edition, accessible to more potential buyers and readers than the more extensive editions with more refined pictures discussed earlier. Zhang’s short biography associates him with a range of places where local shrines likely existed. Compiled by the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang (d. 1611) by imperial order, the *Da Ming xu dao zang jing* (*Scriptures in Supplement to the Daoist Canon of the Great Ming*) included many books that reflected popular religious beliefs and practices. The selection and ordering of entries in the 1593 *Compendium* are the same as in the text of the *Soushen ji* (*Record of the Search for the Supernatural*) from the *Scriptures in Supplement*. Among the many collections of biographies of immortals and deities circulating at the time, it appears that Guoxiang selected the 1593 *Compendium* for canonization. Although uncredited, the preface from the 1593 collection leads off the canonical book. The visual representations in both late Ming compendium editions not only added to the appeal of the books, but also emphasized different identities for Zhang. The portrayal in the *Compendium* refashions him as an immortal and an exorcist with the ability to command the thunder department, while the 1593 *Compendium* claims Zhang as patriarch of the Celestial Masters and locates him at their base on Mount Longhu.



Figure 2.7
Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan (Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural). 1593. Woodblock-printed book, ink on paper. 26.4 cm x 16 cm. After Li Fengmao and Wang Qiugui (eds.), *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1989).



Thunder, Protection and Exorcism

A small, dynamic painting by Chen Huai (n. d.) from the imperial collection of Qianlong (r. 1735–96) also represents Zhang’s overlapping roles of patriarch and thunder master (Figure 2.8). An encircled portrait of Zhang appears at the top. A sword emerges from behind his robe, and its swirling streamer leads up to his glowering face, with unkempt hair, eyebrows, moustache and beard. Following his gaze and the sweep of his hair leads the viewer to his left shoulder, where the dark hem of his robe flows along the curve of the circle. The churning cadre of thunder lords below him echoes the streamer wound around Zhang’s sword. Known as the *Leiting si da tianjun* (Four Great Celestial Lords of the Thunderclap), this cadre of four was very common in the Ming.⁴³ Celestial Lord Xin appears at the bottom wearing an ox-eared cap, and holding a fire brush in one hand and a scroll with the register of the thunder department in the other.⁴⁴ Above him, Celestial Lord Zhang has three eyes, a bird’s beak and wings. He carries a flag in his right hand.⁴⁵ Second from the top, Celestial Lord Deng also has three eyes and avian features.⁴⁶ He wields a mallet and a spike. The uppermost celestial lord is probably Tao. Ritual manuals indicate that Tao should have avian features, and hold a gourd and a sword in his left and right hands, respectively. Actual visual representations of Tao vary widely. In Chen’s painting, he holds a banana leaf in his right hand while grasping a faintly rendered double gourd in his left. Five drums punctuate the descending cadre serving as a visual reference to *wu lei fa* (‘five thunder rites’). The combination of these four thunder lords suggests a Ming date for the painting, and expresses Zhang’s link with thunder rites and deities.⁴⁷

Chen's portrayal of Zhang within a circle taps into portraiture conventions for Buddhist and Daoist priests and patriarchs.⁴⁸ The three-quarter view, bust-length portrait in a circle identifies Zhang as a patriarch. We can read his appearance in a circle above the thunder lords on several levels. As he hovers over the swirling cadre, he presides over and has the authority to command them. His presence in the floating circle may also suggest the practice of Daoist meditative visualization or *neidan* ('inner alchemy').⁴⁹ As weapons of exorcism, Daoist swords vanquished demons and other malevolent forces, literally when wielded by deities and immortals, and figuratively when employed by priests in ritual practice. Because Zhang is a commander and supervisor here, he does not wield the sword; it merely appears with him. From the haloed image of Zhang at the top and continuing down through the swirl of thunder lords, the dynamism and directional flow of the imagery imply his dispatch of the thunder lords on an exorcistic mission. Liturgical paintings featuring arrays of thunder marshals are customarily larger in size, arranged in a more orderly fashion and brightly coloured. The small size, creative arrangement of descending thunder lords and lack of colour in Chen's painting, point to its use as a private apotropaic work.

The painting by Zhou Xun in the *Telling Images* exhibition also suggests the appeal and use of paintings of Zhang beyond liturgical contexts in the seventeenth century (Figure 2.9). Similarly garbed and posed as in the image in the *Marvellous Traces* (see Figure 2.3), his appearance in Zhou's scroll resonates with Chan's *wanliang hua* ('apparition painting') from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Since Chan patriarchs are the subjects of many such works, Zhou's adaptation of this style for his depiction of the Daoist patriarch taps into an established visual tradition for representing founders. In line with the style, Zhou presents Zhang as an isolated figure on a blank ground using extremely pale strokes to define one side of the robe and a few thickly brushed dark strokes to mark its edges.⁵⁰ Zhou highlights Zhang's prominent forehead and large nose, while lavishing attention on individual strands of hair in his wispy beard and bushy eyebrows. The meticulous and expressive face attracts the viewer's eye, and imbues Zhang with a lifelike quality.⁵¹ Dark strokes near his hands draw attention to a thin sword emerging from under his robe, suggesting Zhang's own exorcistic powers. A sketchily brushed bat (*fu*) in a shape resembling the Northern Dipper maintains the link with the constellation while functioning as a rebus for good fortune (*fu*) and exorcistic talismans (*fu*).⁵² Zhou used a variety of styles for his paintings of other subjects, such as Zhong Kui, Buddhist *luohan* (arhats) and gatherings of Daoist immortals.⁵³ His application of the apparition style to portray Zhang was

Figure 2.8

Portrait of Zhang Tianshi with the Four Great Celestial Lords of the Thunderclap. By Chen Huai (act. mid-to late Ming dynasty). Hanging scroll, ink on silk. 97 cm x 29.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Changsheng de shijie: Daojiao huihua tezhan tulu* (Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1996).



probably not a random choice, but one intended to connect not only with painted images of patriarchs but also with woodblock-printed images of Zhang from earlier collections such as the *Marvellous Traces*. The artistic quality, style, small size, hanging-scroll format and inclusion of the bat and sword signal that Zhou's painting was intended as an occasional painting to be displayed around the time of Duanwu. Occurring on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month and marking the beginning of summer when malevolent forces and disease prevailed, Duanwu was considered the most poisonous day of the year. Paper talismans that explicitly refer to Zhang's ability to exorcize the 'five poisons' (*wudu*) are the most common representation of him (see Figure 2.2).⁵⁴ They were authorized and empowered by Zhang's seal which was supposedly passed on from generation to generation. During the Ming and Qing, the Celestial Masters of Mount Longhu had a monopoly on the printing of these paper talismans. Issuing these talismans was another avenue for them to continue to reclaim Zhang as their patriarch, and to relocate him and associate his powers with the Celestial Master institution on Mount Longhu.

From Zhou's refined painting to paper talismans, Zhang materialized in a wide variety of images that explicitly referred to his exorcistic role. Both Daoist priests and regular households have long employed talismans featuring Zhang and the five poisons at Duanwu.⁵⁵ In Zhou's painting, Zhang as patriarch-exorcist has materialized sword-in-hand for a brief moment, poised to thwart the pernicious threats associated with Duanwu. Images of fellow demon-queller Zhong Kui, often similarly featuring a bat, were also routinely displayed at Duanwu as well as at New Year. While he and Zhang are easily distinguished by their distinct footwear and headgear, it is likely that paintings of Zhang such as this one were modelled, in part, on representations of Zhong Kui. Though the calendar for displaying scrolls found in Wen Zhenheng's (1585–1645) seventeenth-century *Zhangwu zhi* (*Treatise on Superfluous Things*) does not explicitly mention images of Zhang, it does call for the display of charms written by Daoist masters and scrolls of the five poisonous creatures on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month.⁵⁶ Wen's suggestion to display Daoist apotropaic and exorcistic imagery supports the idea that Zhou's painting would have been appropriate for domestic interiors at Duanwu. Composed to include an inscription at the top that was never added, Zhou's painting may even have been a gift on the occasion of Duanwu.⁵⁷ The depiction satisfied the desire for a unique and refined representation of Zhang that could serve as an effective apotropaic image.

Tests and Transcendence

While most extant representations of Zhang qualify as imaginary portraits, one episode from his biography was singled out as an iconic event. Before he became one of Zhang's most accomplished disciples, Zhao Sheng proved himself by passing a series of tests. 'Zhang Daoling Tests Zhao Sheng Seven Times' is the title of Chapter Thirteen of Feng Menglong's (1574–1646) well-known collection *Quanxiang gujin xiaoshuo* (*Stories Old and New, Completely Illustrated*).⁵⁸ Published in Nanjing in 1620–21, a pair of pictures is dedicated to each of the forty chapters. The illustrations were created by the talented Jianyang engraver Liu Suming (1595–1650). The second illustration depicts a scene from the seventh and final test (Figure 2.10). Some of the earliest accounts include this episode, and it was also one of the first to be the focus of pictures. In the story Zhang and his disciples climb up to the top of a cliff, where Zhang points to a peach tree growing from a deep crevasse on the side. He tells his disciples that whoever can retrieve the peaches will receive special instruction. Among the many assembled, only Zhao trusts in Zhang's protection enough to literally take a leap of faith to

Figure 2.9
Celestial Master Zhang. By Zhou Xun (1649–1729). 1685. Hanging scroll, ink and slight colour on paper. 116.7 cm x 55.4 cm. Shanghai Museum.

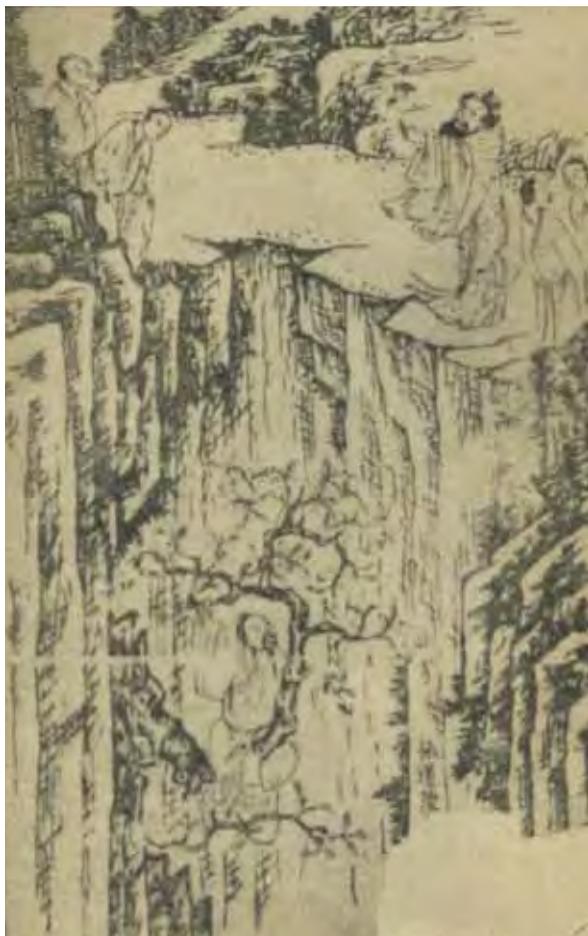


Figure 2.10
Quanxiang gujin
xiaoshuo (*Stories Old*
and New, Completely
Illustrated). 1620–21.
 Woodblock-printed
 book, ink on paper. 18
 cm x 12.2 cm. After
 Beijing Wenxue Guji
 Kanxing She, 1955
 reprint edition.

The Heavenly Master [Zhang Daoling] sits on this peak ... in the gorge, a peach tree grows sideways from amidst the rocks. I will paint the Heavenly Master with emaciated form but far-reaching spirit vitality. Leaning over the gorge, he points to the peach while turning his head to talk to the disciples. Among these are two who approach the edge, their bodies all atremble, perspiring, and pale. I will render Wang Chang sitting deep in thought, answering the question, and Zhao Sheng lively in spirit and alert in attention while leaning to gaze at the peach tree. Then, I will repeat Wang and Zhao hastening [to leap after the Celestial Master into the gorge].⁵⁹

Gu's painting has not survived, but a recreation of the composition suggests how it may have looked (Figure 2.11). Featuring a continuous narrative in two main

reach the tree. He lands safely in the tree, and proceeds to pick some peaches and toss them up to everyone. But the rock face is too sheer for him to climb back up, so Zhang miraculously extends his arm down into the crevasse to retrieve his faithful disciple. Once Zhao is back with the group, Zhang announces that he will now take the plunge to try and get an even larger peach. He leaps, but no one can see if or where he has landed. Distressed by their master's disappearance, Zhao together with Zhang's other main disciple, Wang Chang, dive off the cliff after him. Zhang rewards their willingness to risk their own lives for him by teaching them many of his secrets, and eventually gives them some elixir so that they can ascend with him.

Records indicate that artists created pictorial representations of the seventh test as early as the fourth century. The painter Gu Kaizhi (c. 344–406) describes how he painted this episode in his *Hua Yuntai shan ji* (*Record on Painting Cloud Terrace Mountain*):



Figure 2.11
 Gu Kaizhi's rendering
 of the seventh test
 at Mount Yuntai.
 Re-creation after
 Kiyohika Munakata,
*Sacred Mountains in
 Chinese Art* (Urbana-
 Champaign, IL:
 Krannert Art Museum,
 University of Illinois
 Press, 1991), 39.

scenes, first Zhang presents the test, and then the two disciples leap into the gorge after him. On the other hand, Liu depicts the events in the tale that transpire in between the two moments in Gu's design. Two pairs of disciples positioned near the edges of the cliff on opposite sides draw and direct the viewer's attention. Peering down into the gorge, one disciple on the left directs the viewer to follow his gaze leading directly down to Zhao. Hanging on to the branches of the fruitless tree, Zhao looks up toward Zhang, who is standing near the edge of the precipice on the right. Liu's detailed rendering of the interior of the crevasse makes it clear that there is no way Zhao could safely climb up or down its sheer sides, making his leap and eventual rescue all the more impressive.⁶⁰ A disciple to Zhang's left gestures toward the gorge, while turning back to converse with another figure behind him. Following his gesture also leads one to notice Zhao's predicament. Next to this pair, we recognize the bearded figure wearing a priestly Daoist cloud robe and crown as Zhang. The sleeves and bottom hem of his robe billow toward the edge of the cliff as he raises his left arm and extends his hand from his sleeve. The motion of the drapery creates a sense of momentum and anticipation. We imagine the pair on the right saying, 'Look, the master is going to rescue Zhao.' The disciple on the far left of the picture also directs his gaze over the head of his companion and toward Zhang. Liu's picture of the seventh test recreates the moment just before Zhang's miraculous rescue of his disciple. The details of the composition and the lively interactions between the figures create a

compelling scene, drawing viewers in and inviting them to join in the anticipation of Zhang's miraculous feats and the rewards Zhao will reap for his faith.

Despite its early provenance attested by Gu Kaizhi's record, much of the visual tradition for representing the iconic event of the seventh test has been lost in the intervening centuries. Liu's picture emphasizes Zhang's role as patriarch and soon-to-be immortal. He serves as teacher and as exemplar for his disciples. Capable of extending his arm down into the gorge, he has magical abilities. The story takes place shortly before his ascension. Though not conveyed in the picture, Feng's text relocates this seventh test episode from its traditional site at Mount Yuntai to Mount Heming in Sichuan. Feng also grants Mount Longhu a privileged place, retroactively establishing the mountain as a site of importance. He proclaims Zhang's connection to Mount Longhu and his role as patriarch at the beginning of his chapter, in addition to its customary position near the end. The revelation of the scripture that enabled Zhang to successfully refine an elixir of immortality traditionally occurs at Mount Song, whereas Feng moves the episode to the Bilu Cave at Mount Longhu, and repeatedly returns Zhang to that mountain. The increased emphasis on Mount Longhu demonstrates the success of Celestial Master campaigns to associate Zhang with the mountain. These relocations correspond to late Ming local popular beliefs. For instance, Feng recounts a story about Zhang vanquishing an evil white-tiger spirit through his alchemical mastery of fire near Mount Heming. Feng states that local people built three new halls to hold images of Patriarch Zhang to show their gratitude for his intervention. This story is mentioned in other standard biographies, but its more extensive treatment here likely echoes local worship and beliefs about Zhang. The same can be said of the relocation of the seventh test and the ascension to Mount Heming.

Conclusion

All of these paintings and prints of Zhang draw upon visual vocabulary shared between different types of figures such as Buddhist patriarchs, Daoist immortals, thunder deities and exorcists. Intimate landscape settings, three-quarter views, winged hairstyles and scholars' robes are elements common among religious figures in paintings and prints. These ingredients, familiar to both artists and audiences, were selected and combined with more distinctive elements to distinguish Zhang. As embodiments of Zhang, such portraits do more than merely depict him; they visually refer to narratives of his biography, practices, actions and behaviour. In this way, they serve as a sort of wordless anecdote that mirrors the function of Buddhist portraits of priests and patriarchs.⁶¹ These pictures not only

relate stories about him; when examined in context, they also tell us stories about those who looked at them and how they may have understood these images. Multiple copies of the printed books existed and circulated, providing individual viewers with the opportunity to intimately commune with Zhang the immortal, model their practices on those of Zhang the successful transcendent, recognize and call upon exorcist and thunder-commander Zhang for protection from evil forces, observe the events of the seventh test prior to his ascension, and visualize faraway sites of Celestial Masters' authority like Mount Longhu.

Despite the relative continuity of his textual biography among the group of printed books, the portraits vary in how they combine iconography, attributes and setting to highlight his roles as immortal, patriarch and exorcist. Far from being mere illustrations, these printed pictures often played a leading role in representing him. Positioned in a section of *guantu* ('capping pictures') at the front of the first volume or on the page immediately preceding the biographical text, these pictures told their own stories about him. Paintings of Zhang tapped into all three of his overlapping identities, and evoked a variety of narratives. They satisfied the desire for a distinct and refined representation of him that encapsulated his major roles and could serve as effective apotropaic images. As telling images, the pictures examined here claim, fashion and locate Zhang by visually prompting viewers to recall biographical and ritual narratives.

Notes

1. For use of the term 'iconic event' in relation to Tao Yuanming and Li Bai, see Susan Nelson, 'What I Do Today Is Right: Picturing Tao Yuanming's Return', *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998): 61–90; and Kathlyn Liscomb, 'Iconic Events Illuminating the Immortality of Li Bai', *Monumenta Serica* 54 (2006): 75–118.
2. Also referred to in English as Heavenly Masters and, in the Yuan and later, as the Zhengyi order.
3. Some early accounts call him Zhang Ling. For more on the early history of the Celestial Masters, see Terry Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1998). For a discussion of the scholarly issues surrounding Zhang's historical status as a founder of Daoism, see Stephen Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 14–15.
4. Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).
5. On Du Guangting, see Franciscus Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933): taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes écoles chinoises: En vente, De Boccard, 1989); and Verellen, "Evidential Miracles in Support of Taoism": The

- Inversion of a Buddhist Apologetic Tradition in Late T'ang China', *T'oung Pao* 78 (1992): 217–63. For other early references to Celestial Masters lineage, see T. H. Barrett, 'The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the T'ang Dynasty', *Asia Major* 7 (1994): 89–106.
6. Another point of reference for Zhang's biography in the Ming is the *Han tianshi shijia* (*Lineage of the Han Celestial Master*), which records the lives of the Celestial Masters from Zhang Daoling all the way to the forty-ninth master in the sixteenth century.
 7. Though the significance of several changes to his biography will be discussed in conjunction with my analysis of prints within books, a detailed comparison of the differences between Zhang's textual biographies is beyond the scope of this study.
 8. For a translation into English, see Fabrizio Predagio, *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Medieval China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
 9. Peter Stephen Bumbacher, *Fragments of the Daoxue zhuan: Critical Edition, Translation and Analysis of a Medieval Collection of Daoist Biographies* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000), 349–421.
 10. Publisher Wang spuriously claimed that Wang Shizhen (1526–90) compiled the book. *Guang liexian zhuan* (*Expanded Biographies of Immortals*) compiled by Zhang Wenjie (1583) is the likely source for the book. The preface credited to Li Panlong (1514–70) is also lifted from the 1583 book. *Expanded Biographies* has no pictures, and is carved in utilitarian craftsman-style script. On the authorship of the *Complete Biographies*, see Li Fengmao and Wang Qiugui, *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* (*Collected Source Materials on Chinese Popular Religion*) (Taibei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1989), vol. 1: 7–8; Philip K. Hu (comp. and ed.), *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (Beijing and New York, NY: Queens Borough Public Library, National Library of China and Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), 32–35; Liscomb, 2006, 112–13; and Katherine Carlitz, 'The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of Lienü zhuan', *Late Imperial China* 12, no. 2 (December 1991): 137.
 11. Yimu is listed as one of eight carvers of a 1609 edition of the *Gazetteer of She County* and one of five for *Jiandeng xinbua* (*New Tales Told by Lamplight*). For a genealogy of Huang carvers, see Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 2006), 176–77.
 12. My application of the role of viewer recognition and story recall in imbuing some portraits with instructive power is informed by Julia Murray's discussion of early Chinese illustration. See Julia K. Murray, 'Patterns of Evolution in Chinese Illustration: Expansion or Epitomization?', in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting*, edited by Cary Y. Liu and Dora C. Y. Ching (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 1999), 122.
 13. On Hong, see Robert Aitken and Daniel W. Y. Kwok (trans.), *Vegetable Roots Discourse: Wisdom from Ming China on Life and Living* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint Press, 2006), 165–216. *Marvellous Traces* does not include any comments by Hong.
 14. Known as Ursa Major in the West, the Northern Dipper is associated with the Pole Star as the celestial centre in Daoist cosmology. See Fabrizio Pregadio et al., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 224–26.
 15. The constellation has nine stars, two of which can only be seen by specially-talented adepts.
 16. Chapter 18 of the *Comprehensive Mirror* ends with an account of Zhang's ascension to the Northern Dipper.

17. For a translation of an illustrated text about this practice in English, see Livia Kohn (ed.), *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology* (New York, NY: SUNY Press, 1993), 257–64.
18. One might also read Zhang's gaze at the Dipper as a reference to his power to summon thunder forces to exorcize demons. Canonical biographies mention the *Taishang xuanling beidou yansheng zhenjing* (*Scripture of the Northern Dipper of Mysterious Power to Prolong the Lifespan*) as one that he received from Laojun. As one of the most popular star-worship scriptures in the Ming and Qing, it was regularly recited during liturgical services. The Dipper's exorcistic powers are sometimes anthropomorphically represented in Daoist pantheons as seven long-haired figures armed with swords.
19. For an example of the Northern Dipper depicted in an episode from Confucius's biography, see Julia K. Murray, *Mirror of Morality: Chinese Narrative Illustration and Confucian Ideology* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 112, fig. 70.
20. Song is in the final chapter along with other recently recognized immortals like Zhang Sanfeng.
21. For representative examples, see Richard M. Barnhart et al., *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 196, fig. 12; and Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit, *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan* (New York, NY: Japan Society, 2007), 76–77. We also see this visual and narrative exchange in images of Bodhidharma with one sandal that connect with tales of Daoist immortals who leave behind a trace such as a sandal, when they ascend.
22. A well-known example of this type is *Shakyamuni Descending Down the Mountain* (dated 1244) in The Cleveland Museum of Art.
23. See Dietrich Seckel, *Das Portrait in Ostasien*, vols. 1–3 (Heidelberg: C Winter), 1997–2005.
24. For an elaboration on *bianshen* in practice, see Poul Andersen, 'The Transformation of the Body in Taoist Ritual', in *Religious Reflections on the Human Body* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press), 1995, 186–210.
25. Both Shakyamuni and Bodhidharma appear in the Buddhist section of *Marvellous Traces*. Their depictions do not resemble the types of images that share features with Zhang.
26. Many of the over one hundred entries concern the same figures with identical biographies. The content of neither corresponds to the 'original' *Soushen ji* attributed to the Eastern Jin figure Gan Bao (c. 340), which does not include Zhang.
27. Zhang's biography in the *Lineage of the Han Celestial Master* renamed Mount Yunjin as Longhu. The appearance of a dragon and tiger in conjunction with alchemy is a common trope, employed here as part of the ongoing relocation campaign championed by Celestial Masters and their supporters in the Ming.
28. See Verellen, 1992 and Barrett, 1994.
29. This revision of Zhang's biography to assert an early connection to Mount Longhu can be found in pre-Ming texts, so the project begins earlier.
30. This edition does not have a surviving preface or *fengmian* leaf. No compiler or publisher is listed. The widely varying figure types and quality of the pictures suggest that several different carvers modelled these pictures on diverse printed sources.
31. The *lingpai* is sometimes confused with the *hu* ('audience tablet'). Both are long, slender objects held by Daoist figures. Patterned on the tablet held by officials at court, a *hu* may be

plain, or include symbolic or pictorial decoration. It is often more slender and curved. The *lingpai* resembles imperial tallies presented to officials by the emperor. It is distinguished by the block-like shape and the appearance of the characters for thunder and command. Since the *lingpai* is a common ritual implement, it also appears resting on a table in pictures representing Daoist ritual performances.

32. See Poul Andersen, 'Taoist Talismans and the History of the Tianxin Tradition', *Acta Orientalia*, 57 (1996): 141–52; Florian C. Reiter, 'The Name of the Nameless and Thunder Magic', in *Scriptures, Schools, and Forms of Practice in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*, edited by Poul Andersen and Florian Reiter (Berlin: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 97–116; Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); and Li-liang Lee, 'The Shenxiao Movement and Lin Lingsu in the Northern Song', PhD dissertation (Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2006).
33. *Shangqing Tianxin zhengfu* (*The Rectifying Rites of the Celestial Heart of Highest Purity*) (DZ 566) claims that Zhang transmitted twelve talismans known as the Gusui lingwen (Spinal Numinous Writ). The biography of Lin Lingsu (1076–1120) in the *Comprehensive Mirror* professed that Zhang owned a collection called *Shenxiao leishu* (*Thunder Arts of the Divine Empyrean*) and that its lost volumes were re-revealed to Lin.
34. Davis provides several examples of this practice from the *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (*Secret Essentials of the Most High Principal Zhenren Assisting the Country and Saving the People*) (DZ 1227) and *Shangqing Tianxin zhengfu*. See Davis, 2001, 273, n. 33.
35. The illustration for *Zhang Tianshi duan feng hua xue yue* (*Celestial Master Zhang Judges Wind Flowers Snow and Moon*) features such a ritual performance. *Yuanqu xuan* (*Collection of Yuan Dramas*) compiled and published by *Zang Maoxun* (1615–16). See Scarlett Jang, 'Form, Content, and Audience: A Common Theme in Painting and Woodblock-printed Books of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)', *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 16.
36. This version includes a colophon by the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng (d. 1344) dated 1333. The Tenri Central Library in Nara holds another printed version of the scripture (in colour) dated 1527. The stylistic similarities between the two versions have led some scholars to suggest a Ming date for both. For more on the British Library version of the scripture, see Maggie Wan, 'Daojiao banhua yanjiu: Da Ying tushuguan cang *Yushu baojing* sizhu ben zhi niandai ji chahua kao' (Research on Daoist Prints: Examination of the Illustrations of the *Scripture of the Jade Pivot* in the Collection of the British Library), *Daoism: Religion, History, and Society* 2 (2010): 135–83; Chapter 2 of my dissertation 'Representing the Daoist God Zhenwu [the Perfected Warrior] in Late Imperial China' (The University of Kansas, 2008) and Stephen Little, with Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago, IL and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 237–39. Poul Andersen has also studied multiple versions of the *Yushu jing*, see his *Icon and Deity: The Life of Images in Daoism* (forthcoming).
37. Zhang is even credited with a commentary to the *Yushu jing* (*Scripture of the Jade Pivot*).
38. For an exploration of this scroll, see Yu-ping Luk, 'Picturing Celestial Certificates in Zhen-gyi Daoism: A Case Study of the Ordination Scroll of Empress Zhang (1493)', *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 3 (2011): 17–48.
39. Rather than asserting a clear-cut distinction between elite and popular or paintings and prints, these images reflect the measured diversity of Zhang images designed for a variety of contexts, from formal scriptures and registers to more informal illustrated compendia.

40. Schipper has characterized early-mediaeval portrayals of Zhang as patriarch and exorcist as a northern tradition, and images of him as an immortal and alchemist as a southern tradition. See Kristofer Schipper, 'The True Form: Reflections on the Liturgical Basis of Daoist Art', *Sanjiao wenxian* 4 (2005): 91–113. While these distinctions are reasonable for periods up to the early fourth century, the blending of many Daoist traditions during the succeeding centuries washed away such regionally oriented roles for Zhang and other figures.
41. The style of the illustrations is consistent with the work of Nanjing carvers even though a specific engraver is not credited. A mixture of styles points to the contribution of pictures by several carvers, probably using models from at least two different sources.
42. For more on the history of Celestial Master institutions on Mount Longhu, see Vincent Goossaert, 'Bureaucratic Charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in Late-Qing China', *Asia Major* 17, part 2 (2004): 121–59.
43. Temple gazetteers record donations of statue sets representing the four thunder lords, and the group is also noted in Ming liturgical texts. For instance, they appear in the *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* (*Golden Book of Perfect Salvation of the Lingbao of Highest Purity*), *juan* 35: 55a. As Meulenbeld and Andersen have pointed out, Daoist thunder rituals and thunder deities permeated Ming Daoist ritual practice. For more on the *Golden Book*, see Marc Meulenbeld, 'Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature', PhD dissertation (Princeton University, 2007), 219–35.
44. In colour images, Xin has blue skin and flaming red hair.
45. Zhang's iconography also includes dark skin and green hair. His flag is black and he holds a rectangular plaque in his other hand.
46. Though Deng's iconography normally calls for blue skin, his black face here emphasizes his three eyes and provides contrast with the paler faces of the others.
47. In his inscription, Chen says that he painted the scroll in a *xinmao* year when he was an old man of seventy-nine years. This narrows the possible dates to 1411, 1471, 1531 or 1591.
48. This practice is most common in Chan and Zen portraiture, where the encircled portrait was believed to show the true features and mind of the sitter. See Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae, 1996), 49–51, 256–67 and 260–61.
49. The inscriptions accompanying two circular portraits of the Daoist priest Wu Quanjie (1269–1346) in a fourteenth-century handscroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston refer to them as *neiguan xiang* ('portraits of inner observation') or *niwan xiang* ('portraits of the uppermost cinnabar field'). See Little, with Eichman, 2000, 220–23.
50. Thanks to Shane McCausland for suggesting I pursue this direction. On apparition painting, see Yukio Lippit, 'Apparition Painting', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (Spring/Autumn 2009): 61–86.
51. Among the few extant paintings by Zhou, realistically delicate renderings of hair seem to be one of the hallmarks of his style.
52. Since the bat is upside down, its presence also signals Zhang's appearance as the arrival of good fortune (*dao fu*).
53. There are two handscrolls by Zhou in the collection of the Pacific University Library and one painting in the Chazen Museum at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Thanks to Ellen Laing and Julia Murray for pointing out these works and to Gregory Seiffert for shar-

- ing his unpublished paper on the Chazen painting. For a Zhong Kui by Zhou, see Shane McCausland and Ling Lizhong, *Telling Images of China: Narrative and Figure Paintings, 15th–20th Century, from the Shanghai Museum* (London: Scala, 2010), 155.
54. The five poisons are represented as a snake, spider, toad, centipede and scorpion.
 55. Such talismans are ephemeral by nature since they are burned or eaten during the course of their use. Some talismans were also printed on yellow paper and distributed for posting on doors and in homes during Duanwu.
 56. See Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art* (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1980), 4–6 and Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 20–28.
 57. Zhou's *Picture of Carrying a Youngster* in the Chazen Museum features a similar composition with an accompanying inscription. Zhong Kui images survive in far greater variety and numbers than those of Zhang Daoling.
 58. For a complete translation of the stories into English, see Yang Shuihu and Yang Yunqin, *Stories Old and New: A Ming Dynasty Collection* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000).
 59. Translation from Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 34–36.
 60. The chapter title is cleverly carved into the rock face to the right of Zhao to confirm the subject without distracting from the narrative of the picture.
 61. The idea of a portrait as a wordless anecdote originated in a discussion of Zen *chinsō* (priest portraits) by Sylvan Barnet and William Burto. See Barnet and Burto, 'Thoughts on a Japanese Zen Portrait', *Orientalism* (September 2008): 103–07.

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香港大學出版社

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Chinese Art

ISBN 978-988-8139-43-9



9 789888 139439

Printed and bound in Hong Kong, China