Imagining the Supernatural Grotesque: Paintings of Zhong Kui and Demons in the Late Southern Song (1127-1279) and Yuan (1271-1368) Dynasties

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ABSTRACT

Imagining the Supernatural Grotesque: Paintings of Zhong Kui and Demons in the Late Southern Song (1127-1279) and Yuan (1271-1368) Dynasties

Chun-Yi Joyce Tsai

This dissertation is the first focused study of images of demons and how they were created and received at the turn of the Southern Song and Yuan periods of China. During these periods, China was in a state of dynastic crisis and transition, and the presence of foreign invaders, the rise of popular culture, the development of popular religion, as well as the advancement of commerce and transportation provided new materials and incentives for painting the supernatural grotesque. Given how widely represented they are in a variety of domains that include politics, literature, theater, and ritual, the Demon Queller Zhong Kui and his demons are good case studies for the effects of new social developments on representations of the supernatural grotesque. Through a careful iconological analysis of three of the earliest extant handscroll paintings that depict the mythical exorcist Zhong Kui travelling with his demonic entourage, this dissertation traces the iconographic sources and uncovers the multivalent cultural significances behind the way grotesque supernatural beings were imagined.

Most studies of paintings depicting Zhong Kui focus narrowly on issues of connoisseurship, concentrate on the painter's intent, and prioritize political metaphors in the paintings. This study expands understanding of these images by contextualizing them within contemporary beliefs in the supernatural world, which are reconstructed through a heterodox array of thirteenth-century sources encompassing *nuo* exorcist rituals,

physiognomy manuals, joke books, codes of law, and writings on weddings. This study also examines the psychological impact images of grotesque supernatural beings had on their pre-modern viewers by analyzing original translations of inscriptions written in response to these paintings. This study reveals that paintings depicting Zhong Kui are heavily influenced by religious, social, and cultural currents at the time, despite their better-known political readings; that images of demons share interesting iconographic traits with portrayals of humans of foreign origins and in abject conditions; that and that aside from provoking feelings of disgust and fear, demons served as comic relief and spectacles in paintings which had been largely interpreted as moralistic.

This study fills a gap in Chinese demonology—which had focused largely on visual and textual sources before the Six Dynasties and after the Ming dynasty—by examining images of demonic creatures from the Song and Yuan periods. It enriches cross-cultural studies of monsters and the monstrous by offering an analysis of comparable Chinese examples. It contributes to studies of Song-Yuan painting by focusing on a category of images that have been understudied because they were at odds with literati taste. Finally, it adds to scholarship on Zhong Kui by offering new readings on three well-known paintings of the Demon Queller and synthesizing studies on him in literature, religion, and folklore.

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DEDICATION

For my family, my source of strength and joy during the making of this project.

INTRODUCTION

Chinese art is dominated by images of magnificent mountains and rivers, blossoming flowers and colorful birds, serene deities, beautiful ladies and elegant scholars, fine horses, palaces, and gardens. There exists also a domain of images that are ugly, bizarre, and grotesque, and most notable among these are representations of the Demon Queller Zhong Kui 鍾馗. This dissertation focuses on the creation and reception of the iconography of Zhong Kui and his demonic companions reflected in three handscroll paintings of the late Southern Song (1127-1279) and Yuan (1271-1368) dynasties, which I will show to be a pivotal moment in the evolution of the legend, pictorial tradition, and symbolism of Zhong Kui.[1] These scrolls are not only fascinating works of art but also windows into Chinese religious beliefs, folk customs, and political ideology during a time of dynastic crisis and transition.

Although Zhong Kui has been the subject of a number of art historical studies, most have focused on issues of connoisseurship and style or have dealt narrowly with the symbolic import of images of the Demon Queller, especially his role in imagery associated with New Year celebrations. The present study aims to deepen our understanding of Zhong Kui and his demons by placing them in the context of beliefs in grotesque supernatural creatures that permeated the imaginations of Chinese of the Song and Yuan dynasties. Ranging beyond purely religious contexts, this study also illuminates the relationship between demonic imagery and conventionalized ideas

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[1] Sherman E. Lee believes the relief carving at the foundation of the Six Harmony Pagoda in Hangzhou, China to be the earliest extant representation of Zhong Kui on a procession with his demons; see his “Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year,” *Artibus Asiae* 1.2 (1993): 212-214. I argue against this identification in Chapter One, where I discuss the dates of the three scrolls.

about various marginal or abnormal human beings, including the ill, foreigners, and theatrical professionals who populated real and imaginary realms. In addition, this dissertation relates representations of Zhong Kui traveling seen in the three scrolls to trends in secular genre painting (*fengsu hua* 風俗畫). Finally, it proposes alternative readings of Zhong Kui paintings by contextualizing the characters and activities depicted within political and intellectual developments of the Song-Yuan transition and by calling attention to the subversive nature of certain images painted under Mongol rule.

Writing about Zhong Kui and his demons poses complex problems of terminology that should be addressed at the outset. Demonic beings in China have been referred to as *gui* 鬼 ("ghost"), *guai* 怪 ("anomalies"), *wu* 物 ("creature"), *yao* 妖 ("monsters"), *jing* 精 ("spirits"), *mei* 魅 ("phantoms"), and designated also by compounds such as *guiwu* 鬼物, *chimei* 魑魅, *jingguai* 精怪, *guiguai* 鬼怪. Given the variety of terms that could refer to the demonic, my decision to use the compound term *guiguai,* which I translate as "supernatural grotesque," requires explanation. Historically, Zhong Kui and his demons have been considered to be *gui*, usually translated as "ghost." For instance, in legends and in inscriptions on Zhong Kui paintings from the Song and Yuan dynasties, he is called *dagui* 大鬼 ("big ghost") and *guixiong* 鬼雄 ("ghost hero"), while his victims or attendants are called *xiaogui* 小鬼 ("little ghosts") or *guizu* 鬼卒 ("ghost soldiers"). Paintings of this group of figures have been categorized as *guishen hua* 鬼神畫 ("images of ghosts and gods") in pre-modern catalogues and literary compilations, such as *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 ("Catalogue of Paintings in the Xuanhe Collection," preface dated 1120).

The word *gui,* also commonly translated as "demon" or "devil," suggests further the ugliness and frightful appearance of Zhong Kui and his attendants.[2]

It is important to know, however, that the nature of Zhong Kui, his demons, and other comparable supernatural beings I discuss is more complex than is suggested by the words "ghost" or "demon." For instance, despite the fact the common name for Zhong Kui's attendants is *xiaogui* 小鬼 ("little ghosts"), their appearance is more akin to beings referred to as *wu* 物 or *guai* 怪—hybrid evil spirits that dwelt in the wilderness, made mischief or inflicted illnesses, and had to be subjugated by various means.[3] Despite being frequently referred to as *dagui* ("big ghost"), Zhong Kui, the

[2] See Shen Jianshi 沈兼士, "'Gui' zi yuanshi yiyi zhi shitan" 鬼字原始意義之試探, *Guoxue jikan* 國學季刊 5.3 (1935): 45-60. According to Shen, the word *gui* was initially coined to refer to a hideous, simian-like beast *yu* 禺, which explains the association of *gui* and ugliness in China (p.50). Soon, *gui* became a referent for foreigners and ethnic minorities of faraway lands, as in the case of Guifang 鬼方, which explains why demons often display stereotypic traits for barbarians (55-57). The term was further transformed from a noun into an adjective, describing the sentiments of fear (*wei* 畏) and awe (*qi wei gui ju* 奇偉詭譎) upon encounters with these unfamiliar humanoid forms; this explains why demons were often said to evoke such feelings in spectators. Only much later did the term assume its best known reference to spirits of the human dead.

[3] Along with *tianshen* 天神 ("heavenly gods"), *diqi* 地祇 ("earth spirits"), and *rengui* 人鬼 ("souls of dead humans"), these anomalous creatures comprise the Chinese supernatural world. But unlike *tianshen* or *rengui*, who inhabit a separate realm from that of mankind, *wu* and *guai* were believed to co-exist with mankind and form part of our reality. For studies of *wu* and *guai*, see Tu, Cheng-sheng 杜正勝, "Gudai wuguai zhi yanjiu shang—Yizhong xingtaishi he wenhuashi de tansuo" 古代物怪之研究(上)——一種心態史和文化史的探索, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 104.1 (2002): 1-14; 104.2 (2002): 1-15; 104.3 (2002): 1-10; and Lin, Fu-shih 林富士, "Spirits among Humans: Tales of Fairies in Early Medieval China," in *Behind the Ghastly Smoke: Rethinking the Idea of Ghost in World Religions, conference proceedings* (Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C. November 4-6, 2005): 1.

ghost of a humiliated scholar with a hideous face in Song legends, was later deified and given the task of purging the human realm of evil spirits—a promotion that carried him into the domain of *shen* 神 ("god"). The Demon Queller thus partook of attributes of *gui*, *guai,* and *shen*—ghost, goblin, and god—three types of beings in the Chinese supernatural world. Therefore in this study, I will use the compound term *guiguai* or "supernatural grotesque" to refer to Zhong Kui and his demonic underlings to avoid the misrepresentation that the word *gui* alone might suggest and to draw on the rich etymological connotations of the term *guai*, which evokes things strange and grotesque.[4] The use of the term "grotesque" to refer to demons in China is appropriate, since it reflects well their fanciful and monstrous appearances.

The Three Scrolls

At the core of my study are three handscroll paintings depicting Zhong Kui and his demons traveling in processions: *Zhong Kui Travelling* (中山出遊圖卷) by Gong Kai 龔開 (1222-1307) in the Freer Gallery (fig. 1; hereafter the "Freer scroll"); *New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui* (鍾進士元夜出遊圖卷) by Yan Hui 顏輝 (ca. 1258-1340)[5] in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 2; hereafter the "Cleveland scroll"); and *Zhong Kui Giving Away His Sister in Marriage* (鍾馗嫁妹圖卷)

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[4] According to *Hanyu da cidian* (Dictionary of Chinese Language), the term *guiguai* was used collectively to refer to ghosts and monsters by the fifth-century A.D. In "Luan Ba zhuan" 欒巴傳 from *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), for instance, it was mentioned that commoners often exhaust their riches to worship the numerous *guiguai* of the mountains and rivers that populate the territory (郡土多山川鬼怪，小人常破貲產以祈禱。).

[5] See theories of Yan Hui's dates of activity in Appendix I.

attributed to Yan Geng 顏庚 (active thirteenth century) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3; hereafter the "Met scroll"). Not only are these scrolls the earliest extant images of Zhong Kui,[6] they are also uniquely rich compendia of demonic imagery that endured for many centuries in Chinese art. The scrolls are valuable in that they depict demons of various ranks, ranging from the great Demon Queller himself to the minor goblins he commands, all of whom are intimately tied to religious practices, folk customs, theater, literature, and visual arts of various kinds.

Pictures of Zhong Kui began to be produced by no later than the ninth century,[7] but the significance of this iconography changed radically over time, and the meanings associated with Zhong Kui imagery were tied to specific historical circumstances. The Song-Yuan transition, when the three handscrolls were painted, was marked by the heightened political tensions between Han and non-Han Chinese groups,[8] competition among folk deities fueled by the establishment of new cults and

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6 See discussion in Chapter One.

7 See Chapter Three for a brief history on the origins and development of Zhong Kui images in China up to the Yuan dynasty.

8 This is evident in the political threats posed by the nomadic Khitan, Tangut, and Jurchen peoples during the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, the kidnapping of Northern Song Emperors Huizong (r. 1101-1125) and Qinzong (r. 1126-1127) in 1127 by Jurchens and early Ming Emperor Yingzong (r. 1436-1464) in 1449 by Mongols, and the discrimination against Han-Chinese of southern origins by the Mongols in the Yuan dynasty. These must have heightened the sense of "us" and "other" in the minds of the artists and their clients, making it an interesting backdrop for studying *guiguai,* which seems to have been consciously employed by Chinese artists to express the ideology of the "other." For a discussion on how Song-Yuan-Ming is seen as a cultural continuum, see Paul J. Smith and Richard von Glahn's *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

by syncretism among old ones,[9] and the emergence of new social types that accompanied the spread of commerce and urbanism. Diseases and warfare also shaped the way people responded to demonic imagery, making sights of the sick and the dead commonplace. These contexts resulted in a heightened sense of the "other" or the "stranger," a higher number and acceptance of gods with sinister and frightening qualities, and a greater visibility, especially in cities, of laborers, theatre professionals, the poor, the ill, and the dead, all of which impacted the creation and interpretation of the supernatural grotesque.

Significance of the Supernatural Grotesque in Chinese Culture

The supernatural grotesque features widely in literature, religion, and visual culture throughout Chinese history. Literary accounts of *guiguai* can be traced to the pre-Qin period (prior to 221-206 BC). Mozi's chapter "Ming Gui" 明鬼 (Explaining ghosts) from the Warring States period (475-221 BC) contains the first recorded Chinese ghost story. Accounts of curious creatures in the bestiary *Shan hai jing* 山海經 (Guideways through mountains and seas) make it an early masterpiece of demonology dated to the early Han dynasty (206 BC-8 AD).[10] In the Six Dynasties

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[9] These centuries witnessed the expansion of lay religious cults, the maturation of older native religions, and the indigenization of imported religions, as well as the syncretism of various religious traditions. This flourishing religious scene resulted in higher competition between cults and an increased number of unorthodox "demonic" folk gods deified from the ranks of ghosts and demons. See Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990) and Richard Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

[10] See Richard E. Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas [Shan hai jing]* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); see also Li Feng-mao 李豐楙, "Shan hai jing de biancheng yu neirong" 山海經的編成與內容, in *Shan hai jing* 山海經, Li Feng-mao 李豐楙 and Weng Ningna 翁寧娜 (eds.) (Taipei: Jinfeng chubanshe, 1987): 4.

period (220-581), literature on *guiguai* flourished along with the increasing popularity of Buddhism and Daoism and their interaction with traditional beliefs in gods, ghosts, and ancestors. Among the most famous are the fourth-century *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (In search of the supernatural)—a compilation of short tales of *guiguai*. *Guiguai* continued to feature in Tang (618-907) tales of the marvelous (*chuanqi* 傳奇), and they appear in *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記 (Extensive records of the Taiping Era), a tenth-century encyclopedic collection predominantly of supernatural tales from the Han through the Song that inspired literary works about *guiguai* in the subsequent Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, including *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West) and *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (Strange stories from a Chinese studio).

The supernatural grotesque is also at the core of Chinese religious beliefs. Anthropologist Arthur P. Wolf considers gods, ghosts, and ancestors to be three pillars of Chinese folk beliefs.[11] Since gods can be deified ghosts, and since ancestors are essentially ghosts of blood relatives, these spirits are at the heart of Chinese folk religion. As a result, worship of, protection from, and salvation o f ghosts and demons concerned people of all social strata throughout Chinese history. The oldest known manual of Chinese exorcism is from the Shuihudi manuscripts (睡虎地秦簡) excavated from a third-century BC tomb in Hubei Province.[12] *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (He who embraces simplicity) from the fourth century AD details the protective measures

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[11] Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 131-182.

[12] Donald Harper, "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century BC," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 2 (December 1985): 461, 498.

required to keep demons and evil spirits at bay during one's travels, while texts such as the *Nüqing zhaoshu lüling* 女青詔書律令 (Statutes and ordinances of the imperial decree of Nüqing) were regularly employed as Daoist death ritual documents, evincing widespread concerns about protecting the deceased from harm by underworld spirits and tomb demons.[13] From the Han through the Tang dynasty, *Da Nuo* 大儺, the grand ceremony of exorcism that later became central to the cult of Zhong Kui, was performed regularly at court, demonstrating apprehensions about the ghostly and demonic worlds at the highest levels of society.[14]

Creatures of the supernatural grotesque are also recurrent in Buddhist, Daoist, and mythological figure paintings and sculptures from all dynastic periods and all regions of China. Examples from the Buddhist tradition are particularly rich. These include the monstrous army employed by Māra, the god of death and desire, against the Buddha in *Māra's Attack of the Buddha* (*Xiangmo chengdao tu* 降魔成道圖) paintings (fig. I-1); the devilish jailers operating instruments of torture in illustrations of the courts of the *Ten Kings of Hell* (*Shiwang tu* 十王圖) (fig. I-2); the pot-bellied hungry ghosts and their equally gaunt Demon King overlord in *Six Wheels of Existence* paintings (*Liudao tu* 六道圖) (fig. I-3); and the demonic acolytes aiding the goddess Hārītī in rescuing her captive son from the Buddha in *Raising the Alms Bowl* paintings (*Jiebo tu* 揭鉢圖) (fig. I-4). Images of the supernatural grotesque also

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[13] Chi-Tim Lai, "The Demon Statues of Nüqing and the Problem of the Bureaucratization of the Netherworld in Early Heavenly Master Daoism," *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002): 256.

[14] Christine Mollier, "Visions of Evil: Demonology and Orthodoxy in Early Daoism," in *Daoism in History: Essays in Honor of Liu Ts'un-yan*, ed. Benjamin Penny (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 76.

abound in the art of Daoism and of other mythological systems as well. These include the fiendish warriors and the bestial goblins they hunt in the *Searching the Mountain for Demons* scrolls (*Soushan tu* 搜山圖) (fig. I-6) and the grotesque nature spirits who populate paintings for Water and Land salvation rituals (*Shuilu tu* 水陸圖) (fig. I-4).

Despite having played a significant role in the literature, religion, and visual culture throughout Chinese history and being a recurrent element in Buddhist and Daoist figure paintings, demonic beings remain understudied by historians of Chinese art. While there is no shortage of studies examining paintings featuring these supernatural grotesque figures, the studies to date tend to focus on the presiding deities instead of their accompanying demonic entourage.[15] For instance, in her study of *Searching the Mountain for Demons* paintings, Carmelita Hinton focused on the changing identity of the main deity presiding over the hunt rather than on shifts in the iconography or style of the subjugated demons depicted with him, who are responsible for much of the tension, drama, and spectacle that have lent the episode its

[15] A notable exception to this rule is Julia Murray's work on *Raising the Alms Bowl* scrolls, where she attempted to trace the iconographic sources of the demonic beings in the scroll to scriptures on the demoness protagonist Hariti. Liu Hsin-Yi's master's thesis on *Searching the Mountains for Demons* scrolls is also one of a handful which focused on demonic underlings of presiding deities. However, she focused on the collective symbolism of female mountain goblins persecuted in the scroll instead of the components of their individual iconographies. While her investigation is helpful in understanding the transmission of motifs, it doesn't offer insight into their origins, an area of focus for this study. See Julia K. Murray, "Representations of Hariti, the Mother of Demons and the Theme of 'Raising the Alms-Bowl' in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 43 (1981/1982): 253-284; and Liu Hsin-Yi 劉欣宜, "Soushan tu zhuayao tuxiang yanjiu" 搜山圖抓妖圖像研究 (A study of demon hunting scenes in *Soushan tu* scrolls) (MA thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University 國立台灣師範大學, 2009).

long-lasting appeal.[16] Wang Zhongcheng's work on Tang-Song period *Ten Kings of Hell* scrolls also focuses on exploring how the scrolls document the gradual integration of the bodhisattva Ksitigarbha into folk religion rather than analyzing the animal-headed demon wardens, whose methods of torturing penitent souls are often the only way to identify the otherwise indistinguishable Ten Kings.[17]

One might argue that this is because ghosts and demons are no more than foils of the deities that they accompany, given their low rank in the pantheon, the menial tasks they perform, and their placement in the margins of the composition. However, this curious silence persists even in cases where ghosts and demons outnumber the deities, occupy a larger portion or a more prominent place in the composition than the deities, or are crucial to the identification of the deities themselves and the visual narrative in which they appear.[18] This illustrates the fact that historians of Chinese

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[16] See Carmelita Hinton, "A Mountain of Anomie: Transformations of the *Soushan tu* Genre" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).

[17] See Wang Zhongcheng 王鍾承, "Iconography of Ksitigarbha and the Ten Kings" 地藏十王圖像之研究 (MA thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan College of Arts 國立藝術學院, 1998).

[18] For instance, in the tenth-century scroll painting of *Māra's Attack of the Buddha* in Musée Guimet, the demonic hordes attacking the Buddha on behalf of his archenemy Māra appear in a wild array of shapes and sizes, occupy an overwhelming portion of the painting, and are a major clue to identifying the scene. Nonetheless, this diverse group of supernatural figures received only a sentence's worth of mention in the Guimet catalogue entry, which notes that "[t]he devils that make up the army are depicted in grotesque or horrible forms that probably were conjured from the imagination of the artist." Even Lilla Russell-Smith, who dedicates an entire chapter to the painting in her book on Uygur art, focuses largely on images of deities in the scroll, including the Buddha, his nemesis Māra, and a few Zoroastrian deities, to make her point that the iconographic and stylistic anomalies of the painting were due to its possible Uygur patronage and Esoteric Buddhist connections. See *The Arts of Central Asia: The Pelliot Collection in the Musée Guimet*, edited by Jacques Giès, translated by Hero Friesen in collaboration with Roderick Whitfield (London: Serinda Publications, 1996), 54; and Lilla Russell-Smith, *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang:*

religious art have tended to focus their studies on major deities, while ignoring "the prevalence and importance of the minor, supporting cast characters […] without whom the narrative fabric and visual continuity would not flow,"[19] an imbalance the present study hopes to address.

With strange faces and exaggerated expressions, as well as bestial members, disheveled clothing, and exposed torsos, humanoid supernatural grotesque figures contrast dramatically with aspects of the goddesses, sage kings, military heroes, scholars, and virtuous women who populate Chinese paintings. Instead, they resemble representations of humans of foreign origins or lower socio-economic status. Often perceived as strange, ugly, fearsome, and even comic by pre-modern viewers, images of *guiguai* are inversions of what were understood in Chinese culture to be normal or desirable traits and behavior. For example, that *guiguai* figures often display bare torsos, violating social norms that kept this part of the human body hidden from view, associated them with undesirables from non-Chinese ethnic groups or members of scorned classes such as beggars or madmen.[20] At the same time, there is no doubt that the grotesque faces and deformed bodies of *guiguai* creatures, which embodied

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Regional Art Centres on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[19] Gail Hinich Sutherland, *The Disguises of the Demon: The Development of the Yaksa in Hinduism and Buddhism*, SUNY Series in Hindu Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 8.

[20] See John Hay's seminal article, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" in *Body, Subject, and Power in China*, edited by Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, 42-77 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). For a discussion of how the Chinese body is only exposed as a marker of ethnicity, social class, eccentricity, and erotic activity, see Francoise Julien's *The Impossible Nude: Chinese Art and Western Aesthetics*, trans. Maev de la Guardia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

notions of supreme ugliness, though ostensibly frightening, were also perceived to be comic[21]—an aspect of Chinese visual culture that will be addressed in chapters that follow.

The Three Zhong Kui Scrolls and Related Studies

Because Zhong Kui plays a role in religion, folk customs, theater, literature, and art, studies of this supernatural exorcist have been written by scholars in many fields. But the types of sources they use, the topics on which they focus, and the interpretations they have reached leave unanswered many questions regarding the origins, transformations, and reception of images of Zhong Kui and his demons in the three scrolls featured in this study.

Surprisingly, images of Zhong Kui are only occasionally cited in studies outside the discipline of art history. Research by historians of theater and literature, as well as by students of religion and folklorists, have been based primarily on textual sources. When scholars in these fields do cite images of Zhong Kui images, these are treated as supplements to or illustrations of texts instead of as primary in their own right that potentially challenge information transmitted in texts. An exception to this text-oriented approach is a study of the evolution of Zhong Kui's persona by Zheng Zunren, a scholar of Chinese literature, who cites a number of Zhong Kui paintings to argue that many themes that became standard in literary accounts of Zhong Kui first

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[21] According to James Cahill, "[t]he cultivated artist…limited his repertory generally to themes that were harmonious or charged with auspicious meanings" while collectors "tended to follow the same preference for the aesthetically pleasing." See Cahill's *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 115.

appeared in paintings, an observation reconfirmed by my own research.[22] Although Zheng does not address the authenticity or dates of paintings he cites, his work demonstrates that engaging visual sources can lead to significant breakthroughs in tracing the history of how Zhong Kui was imagined by people at different moments in Chinese history.

Art historical scholarship on Zhong Kui has its own biases in the choice of sources, topics, and approaches. Many art historians tend to focus on the connoisseurial aspects of Zhong Kui images instead of their iconography and cultural significance. Most studies of the Freer, Cleveland, and Met scrolls take the form of entries in museum catalogues where the nature of the publication restricts extended discussion of aspects beyond style and composition.[23] Jennifer Purtle, for instance,

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[22] See Zheng Zunren 鄭尊仁, *Zhong Kui yan jiu* 鍾馗研究 (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji 秀威資訊科技, 2004).

[23] For scholarship of this kind on the Freer scroll, see Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1973) and Shan Guoqiang 單國強, "Lun Gong Kai 'Zhongshan chuyou tu' de chuangzuo niandai," in *Hanmo huicui: Tuxiang tu yishushi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen tiyaoji* 翰墨薈萃: 圖像與藝術史國際學術研討會論文提要集, 35-36 (Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 2012).

For scholarship on the Cleveland scroll, see Sherman E. Lee, "The Lantern Night Excursion of Chung K'uei," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 49.2 (February 1962): 36-42; and an entry on this painting in Wai-Kam Ho, et. al. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980).

For scholarship on the Met scroll, see Wen Fong, "Buddhist and Taoist Themes," *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th-14th Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 367-377; Maxwell K. Hearn, "Painting and Calligraphy Under the Mongols," in *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art of the Yuan Dynasty*, James C. Y. Watt, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010): 181-242; and more recently, a catalogue entry in Judith Zeitlin and Yuhang Li, eds., *Performing Images: Opera in Chinese Visual Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

devotes most of her unpublished paper on the Met scroll to stylistic analysis of the demons, discussing how the contour lines and shading employed in the delineation of the demons' bodies compare with those of demons in religious paintings from the Tang-Song periods.[24]

In terms of textual sources, art historians focus largely on texts directly related to the creation, dissemination, and function of images of Zhong Kui, such as inscriptions on Zhong Kui paintings and records of paintings in imperial and private collections. Non-art historical sources on the cult and legend of Zhong Kui are often cited as background information, while sources not directly related to Zhong Kui that in fact shed light on conceptions of his persona and on how he was pictured generally have been overlooked. This results in failure to contextualize Zhong Kui imagery within broader socio-cultural currents. This is true of the study by Liu Fang-ju, the primary author of the 1997 Zhong Kui exhibition at the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Liu was among the first to identify Zhong Kui in processions as a subgenre among the

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[24] Jenny G. Purtle, "Yan Geng's 'Zhong Kui Leading His Sister to be Married': Professional Style, Literati Preference, and Political Allegory in a Playful Painting," unpublished paper for Seminar in Song Painting, Yale University, 1990. Accessed through Yan Geng *Zhong Kui jia mei* scroll object file at the Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

corpus of Zhong Kui paintings.[25] But she did not explain the reasons behind the recurrence and popularity of this theme in the Song and Yuan periods.[26]

When art historians discuss the iconography in Zhong Kui paintings they tend to focus on Zhong Kui himself and his female companion, usually identified as his sister, leaving the iconographic and stylistic origins of the numerous demons that accompany the couple unexplored.[27] They describe the Demon Queller's looks and costume but do not probe deeply into the cultural and religious significance of features such as his beard and disheveled clothing, which, as I will show, should be understood in relation to *nuo* exorcist practices. In addition, although many art historians have linked Zhong Kui's ugliness and his female partner's black make-up,

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[25] Liu Fang-ju [Liu Fangru] 劉芳如, "Gugong jicang Zhong Kui xiangguan huihua zhi yanjiu" 故宮庋藏鍾馗繪畫之相關研究 (Studies on paintings of Zhong Kui in the National Palace Museum), in *Yinsui jifu—yuancang Zhong Kui minghua tezhan* 迎歲集福—院藏鍾馗名畫特展 (Blessings for the New Year: Catalogue to the Special Exhibition of Paintings of Chung K'uei [Zhong Kui]) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1997), 98.

[26] Other examples include Stephen Little, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Ch'iu Ying," *Artibus Asiae* 46.1/2 (1985), especially 22-41. Little thoroughly compiled and translated records of Zhong Kui paintings up to the Ming dynasty trace the pictorial tradition of Zhong Kui to which Qiu Ying and Wen Zhenming's Zhong Kui in wintry grove paintings belong. However, the point of his article was less on why Zhong Kui was portrayed as a scholar type by these Wu School painters but as an example of the social connections among painters through their inscriptions of and replications of paintings of the same theme.

[27] Examples include Peter Charles Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change: Painting after Mongol Reunification of North and South China," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 35, Intercultural China (Spring 1999): 142-169; Chun-mei Tschiersch, "Die Ikonographie des Zhong Kui," PhD diss., Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, 1988; and Luk Yu-ping, 陸於平, "Ren Bonian's Zhong Kui Paintings" (MA thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2004), accessed September 3, 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.5353/th_b3056831. The Freer scroll is among the main case studies discussed in Sturman's and Tschiersch's articles; Luk discusses the scroll in her appendix.

they focus on the power of his alarming face to avert evil and bad luck as well as the *nuo* undertones of the curious make-up, but fail to discuss their connotations of abnormality, the reversal of standards of beauty, their usages as markers for demonization or emphasis of righteousness.

Art historical interpretations of Zhong Kui paintings have taken into account certain political implications of these works. The Demon Queller drunken, asleep, or tricked by his demons, has been interpreted as a symbol of powerless scholars, negligent officials, and corrupt government in the wake of social vices and foreign invasions. This was the reading offered by Ginger Hsu in her study of Zhong Kui paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[28] Demons, on the other hand, tend to be seen as symbols of political threats, social chaos, or evil individuals. Wei Yang takes the Freer scroll to be a metaphor of the Mongol invasion of the Song dynasty in which Zhong Kui's female companion represents the effeminate Song state and demons who carry her away represent the foreign conquerors.[29] While these intriguing political interpretations are historically grounded, they fail to recognize the fact that Zhong Kui was essentially a religious figure and that whatever hidden political messages the paintings may have conveyed, these rested atop, as colophons on the Freer scroll make clear, a foundation of beliefs about the supernatural world.

Research Design

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[28] See Ginger Cheng-Chi Hsu's articles: "The Drunken Demon Queller: Chung K'uei in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Painting." *Taida Journal of Art History* 3 (1996), 141-175; and "Demise of a Hero: Pictorial Presentation of Chung K'uei Since the Eighteenth Century," *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 23:2 (Winter 2005): 129-159, 206.

[29] Wei Yang, "Gender and Ethnicity in Yuan-Dynasty (1269-1368) Painting," (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2005).

My dissertation brings to the study of Zhong Kui four methodological innovations. First, unlike earlier studies of Zhong Kui that focus almost exclusively on the Demon Queller and his female companion, I devote equal attention to the demons who accompany the couple, placing them within traditions of demonology and demonic imagery in China. This approach is warranted as Zhong Kui himself was understood to be a demon, and his demonic underlings are crucial to the identification of the mythical exorcist and the visual narratives in which he appears.

Second, instead of focusing on the formal aspects of Zhong Kui paintings, my study focuses on iconographical analysis and iconological interpretation.[30] I dissect the motifs of Zhong Kui and his supernatural grotesque companions into elements of physiognomy, physique, costume, and behavior, and interpret the cultural connotations of recurring traits in each category. I identify the activities performed by these demonic figures and analyze the cultural associations these would have evoked for the original viewers of the scrolls. I treat images of Zhong Kui and his demonic attendants not only as works of art but also as embodiments of diverse social, political, and religious currents of the Song and Yuan.[31]

Third, to support my analysis of the historical context for the production and consumption of Zhong Kui paintings, I draw on a variety of textual and visual sources that have thus far been neglected. To understand Yuan viewers' responses to images of the supernatural grotesque, I mine the sixteen Yuan dynasty colophons on the Freer scroll, the majority of which are here translated in full and analyzed in-depth for the

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[30] See Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 26-54 (University of Chicago Press, Phoenix edition 1982).

[31] Purtle, 2-3.

first time. In addition to the Freer colophons, I tap into a new range of sources beyond the art historical, literary, and folkloric materials on which earlier studies have been based. These new sources include the medical classic *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 (The Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic), the physiognomy manual *Yuguan zhaoshen ju* 玉管照神局 (Jade Office Instructions on How to Clarify Spirit),[32] compilations of jokes, as well as the legal statutes in *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 (Legal Statutes of the Yuan Dynasty), writings on wedding customs and discussions of gender relations from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Turning to visual sources, although past scholarship has compared Zhong Kui images with other religious figure paintings, I broaden the range of comparative images to include depictions of foreigners, actors, beggars, workers, and slaves from paintings. Based on close study of these images, I argue that these marginal secular figures share many formal aspects and cultural connotations with the supernatural grotesque and may have served as sources of inspiration for painters of the Zhong Kui scrolls. I also compare the scrolls with genre paintings (*fengsu hua*) with which they share many pictorial motifs.

Finally, this study addresses the reception of images of Zhong Kui and his demons. To show that these supernatural grotesque beings provoked not only fear but awe and laughter as well, as their monstrous counterparts in other parts of the world were known to do,[33] I cite the Freer scroll colophons, noting references to

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[32] Translation after Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 258.

[33] Noel Carroll, "Horror and Humor," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 57. 2, Aesthetics and Popular Culture (Spring 1999): 145-160.

relationships between Zhong Kui and his demons and barbarians, villagers, clowns, and the deformed—figures ridiculed in jokes and comedy skits of the Song and Yuan as well as the reception of the activities they perform.[34] I conclude that in addition to being seen as didactic, satirical, and fearsome, supernatural grotesque beings were also considered marvelous and comic by viewers.

Summary of Chapters

My dissertation consists of four chapters. Chapter One introduces the three Zhong Kui handscrolls and their artists. The chapter also surveys the themes, compositions, iconography, style, and condition of the scrolls and summarizes the contents of inscriptions that accompany them.

Chapter Two examines the visual and textual sources painters may have used to represent demons in the three scrolls. I argue that they, like the majority of demons in Chinese paintings, conform to a fixed repertoire of characteristics. I show how aspects of their hair, complexion, body, and accessories were associated with ideas of ethnicity, class, disease, and misfortune. I explain also the tendency for Zhong Kui's demons to be depicted as less bestial and more humanoid compared with images of demonic creatures of earlier periods.

Focusing on the character of Zhong Kui, Chapter Three explores the sources, typologies, and conceptions of his iconography in comparison with that of his demons. I show how his signature traits relate to notions of abnormality and comedy in China, and discuss the religious and cultural significances of these characteristics. I

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[34] Henri Bergson, Cloudesley Brereton, and Fred Rothwell, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (København: Green Integer, 1999).

also propose a new theory of why Zhong Kui gradually was transformed into a symbol of a frustrated member of the literati class (*shiyi wenren* 失意文人).

Chapter Four is divided into three parts. The first focuses on the Freer scroll by the loyalist amateur painter Gong Kai. I uncover religious, political, and social implications of the scroll based on the artist's inscription, the viewer's colophons, and the rich cultural connotations of a specific demonic creature that has gone unnoticed but is, I argue, at the core of the multivalent readings of the scroll. Part Two of Chapter Four focuses on the Cleveland scroll by the professional workshop artist Yan Hui. I reconstruct how Yuan viewers would have perceived the painting based on colophons written for paintings that refer to demons taking part in competitive sports and performing acrobatic stunts, poems and memoirs concerning the *nuo* exorcist parade, and the Mongol government's attitude towards similar religious festivities. Finally, Part Three of Chapter Four focuses on the Met scroll, which is attributed to a little-known professional painter, Yan Geng. I assign a new date to the scroll based on analyses of both the style and content of the painting and its inscription. I propose that the painting was by a professional artist who appropriated motifs from popular genre paintings of the thirteenth-century. I show also how the Met scroll reflects new conceptions of folk deities, and the high frequency of travel experienced by people during the Song-Yuan transition.

A short conclusion discusses the implications of my findings, which extend beyond sinology and Chinese art history and will be significant for studies of demonology and religious customs in other cultures. The crux of the entire dissertation is the recognition of the multivalence of demonic motifs and pictorial themes in which demons appear.

CHAPTER ONE:

The Three Scrolls—Description and Documentation

This dissertation focuses on three of the earliest surviving visual representations of Zhong Kui handscrolls in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Freer Gallery, and Metropolitan Museum of Art.[35] The Cleveland and Freer scrolls are widely accepted by modern art historians as authentic works by the early Yuan painters Yan Hui 顏輝 [暉] (ca. 1258-1340)[36] and Gong Kai (1222-1307).[37] Although neither is dated, they

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[35] Other depictions of Zhong Kui in the forms of relief carvings or scroll paintings have been given a date of Yuan or earlier, but their identification as images of Zhong Kui and their dates can be disputed. For instance, Sherman Lee claimed that a deteriorated relief carving in stone on the foundation of the Pagoda of Six Harmonies (*Liuhe ta*) in Hangzhou, China, to be a Southern Song depiction of Zhong Kui on an excursion likely to have derived from "a professional artist's handscroll depicting the New Year's exorcism activities" (fig. 1.1) (see Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year," 212, 215). The relief shows a lean figure in a robe and a tall hat, who is followed by muscular men carrying coral and other treasures, as well as a horse with a flaming jewel on its back. However, since the pagoda is a Buddhist establishment, the carving is more likely to be a depiction of barbarian kings, donor-patrons, or even Vasu the Brahman paying tribute to the Buddha instead of Zhong Kui and his demons on procession scene, especially since no textual source has ever associated tribute-bearing scenes with Zhong Kui, and the figure with the tall hat identified as Zhong Kui does not correspond to the *putou* headscarf he is often described as wearing in Song sources. Another famous painting of Zhong Kui on a hunting procession with his demons previously in the Yunhuizhai collection was formerly attributed to the early Yuan painter Yan Hui but re-dated to the second half of the fourteenth century (fig. 1.2) (see Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year," 216).

[36] HJBY, 6.

[37] Sherman Lee convincingly argues the Cleveland scroll to be Yan Hui's work based on stylistic affinities it shares with a hanging scroll of the Daoist Immortal Li Tieguai (蝦蟆鐵拐圖), an Important Cultural Property of Japan which is believed to be an authentic work of Yan's in Chion-in (知恩院), Kyoto. Among his evidence, Lee cites the comparable shading technique employed on a vessel handled by a demon in the Cleveland scroll and on the gourd fastened to the immortal's waist in the Chion-in scroll; he also points out how the face of a demon musician in the Cleveland scroll is

are believed to have been painted shortly after the Mongol conquest of South China in 1279.[38] The date and authorship of the Met scroll have been topics of debate.[39] Based on stylistic analyses of the painting and the accompanying colophon, I believe that it dates no later than the late-Yuan period.[40]

The Freer scroll is titled *Zhongshan [Zhong Kui] Travelling* and is described in a colophon by the painter as a depiction of Zhong Kui travelling with his family. The Cleveland scroll is referred to as *First Scholar Zhong Kui Goes on an Excursion on New Year's Eve* in a colophon written for it in 1389 by a late-Yuan scholar, Jiang Hui 蔣惠 (dates unknown). Unlike that of the two other scrolls, the identification of the Met painting as a wedding procession is possibly a modern idea. It is identified as a painting of "a leisurely excursion and miscellaneous acrobatic games [or 'extensive play']" (*xianyou boxi* 閒遊博戲) by Huang Hui 黃輝 (*jinshi* 1589, active 1585-

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almost identical to that of the immortal's in the Chion-in scroll. See Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year," *Artibus Asiae* 1.2 (1993): 211-227.

For more on the Chion-in scroll, see "Ha-ma and T'ieh-kuai by Yen Hui," cat. no. 46, in Tokyo National Museum, ed., *Chinese Paintings of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties*, 8, 10 (Tokyo: Benrido, 1975).

[38] For an argument for an early Yuan date of the Freer scroll, see Shan, Guoqiang 單國強, "Lun Gong Kai 'Zhongshan chuyou tu' de chuangzuo niandai," in *Hanmo huicui: Tuxiang tu yishushi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen tiyaoji* 翰墨薈萃: 圖像與藝術史國際學術研討會論文提要集, 35-36 (Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 2012). For dating issues on the Cleveland scroll, see Chapter Four, Part Two, where I cite evidence of costume and vessel type to support an early Yuan date of the scroll.

[39] A few Chinese art historians have expressed concern over the proposed Southern Song date of the Met scroll. While one scholar thinks it could be dated to the Yuan dynasty, noting how the "sinuous, clean lines" of the image appear in other Yuan works of art, another suggest dating it to as late as the mid-Ming dynasty, citing stylistic affinities of the image to works by Tang Yin (1470-1524) or Qiu Ying (1494?-1552). I will discuss more of this in Chapter Four—Part Three.

[40] More on issues of dating in Chapter Four, Part Three.

1630) in its frontispiece (fig. 22) and referred to as a painting of *First Scholar Zhong Kui Goes on an Excursion* in a colophon attributed to Wu Kuan (1435-1504) (fig. 23). Nonetheless, as I will argue in Chapter Four, the association of the Met scroll with wedding processions is not without basis; in fact, the painting is a pastiche of various images of Zhong Kui popular in the Southern Song.

All three handscrolls depict Zhong Kui and his demonic attendants against an empty background. In each, Zhong Kui is shown using a mode of transport, be it a sedan chair, the shoulders of his demons, or a horse (figs. 1.3). All of the scrolls show him in the presence of human figures: in the Freer scroll, he is followed by a black-faced woman in a sedan chair identified as "Amei;" in the Met scroll, Zhong Kui is preceded by a fair-skinned lady—referred to as "Ayi"—on a water buffalo; there are no females in the Cleveland scroll, but there are two men in tattered clothing—possibly beggars—offering food and drink to Zhong Kui (fig. 1.4). In Chapter Four, I will explain how the theme of Zhong Kui on the move and as a family man was influenced by social and religious developments in the Song-Yuan period.

The Artists

The Freer scroll is painted by Gong Kai 龔開 (*zi Shenyu* 聖予, *hao Cuiyan* 翠巖, 1222-after 1304), a noted writer, painter, and calligrapher from Huaiyin (淮陰, modern-day Jiangsu) who served briefly on the Board of Salt Revenues (兩淮制置司監官) during the Southern Song.[41] A close friend of Lu Xiufu 陸秀夫 (1236-

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[41] On Gong Kai, see James Cahill's entry in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies*. 4 vols. Munchener Ostasiatische Studien, 16-17. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976. vol. 4: 64-49.

1279)—the hero of the Song resurrection movement—Gong was a much-admired loyalist who was associated with leaders in the final defense against the Mongols in the Huai River area.[42] After the fall of the Song, he became a recluse who led an impoverished life and occasionally exchanged painting for a living.[43] The Freer scroll and another handscroll entitled *Noble Steed* (*Jungu tu* 駿骨圖, literally, "the bones of a noble steed") in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art (fig. 1.5) are the only two surviving paintings from his oeuvre, though he is known to have painted landscapes, figures, and horses.[44] Both the Freer and the Osaka scrolls were understood by Gong Kai's contemporaries as self-referential, expressive of the indignation and regret of the artist under Mongol rule, a sentiment that underlies many of Gong's paintings and writings.[45] In addition, both the Freer and Osaka scrolls bear inscriptions by Gong

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[42] Maxwell K. Hearn, "Painting and Calligraphy Under the Mongols," in *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art of the Yuan Dynasty*, edited by James C. Y. Watt, esp. 182-183 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010).

[43] In his colophon on the Freer scroll, Gao Shiqi mentioned how Gong Kai was so poor that when the inn where he and his son stayed ran out of food, he would "unroll paper on his son's back and paint pictures in exchange for rice" (攤紙於其子之背，為圖易米). See Appendix II for full translation of Gao's colophon.

[44] See a range of Gong Kai's painting as recorded in pre-modern colophons written for them in Xiao Xiangkai 蕭相愷, "Gong Kai ziliao jilu" 龔開資料輯錄, *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小说研究 1 (1986): 392-414; and Yuan Shishuo 袁世碩 and Abe Shinichiro 阿部晋一郎, "Jieshi Gong Kai" 解識龔開 (Interpreting Mr. Gong Kai), *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 5 (2003): 84-96, 143.

[45] It has been argued that Gong Kai identified with the bearded Zhong Kui in the Freer scroll, who failed to rid the Tang court of demons just as he failed to stop the Song dynasty from Mongol conquest; see Peter Charles Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change: Painting after Mongol Reunification of North and South China," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no.35, Intercultural China (Spring 1999): 142-169. It has also been said that Gong Kai projected himself onto the emaciated horse in the Osaka scroll, where, like the noble steed cast out from the imperial stables and left to starve, so Gong was on a self-imposed exile from the Mongol government, as his

Kai written in his signature *bafen* (八分) clerical script, an archaic calligraphic style characterized by strokes that are uniform in thickness and only occasionally flared (fig. 1.5; fig. 19).[46] The extremely coarse contour lines, the reference to archaic Tang models, and the fascination with grotesque forms that characterize Gong Kai's paintings are evident in both scrolls. Finally, both paintings were inscribed and collected by notable literary figures of the Yuan dynasty and beyond; these include Gong Kai's close friend Gong Su 龔璛 (1266-1331) and the Qing collector Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1703), who once owned the paintings.[47]

The Cleveland scroll was painted by Yan Hui 顏輝 (*zi Qiuyue* 秋月), a slightly later contemporary of Gong Kai, whose native place has been variously identified as Luling, Jiangxi (江西廬陵) and Jiangshan, Zhejiang (浙江江山).[48] Unlike Gong, a scholar-amateur painter who in theory focuses his principle energies on scholarship and public service and treats painting as a pastime or a means of self-cultivation

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loyalties lay with the Song dynasty; see Chu-tsing Li, "The Freer Sheep and goat and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings," *Artibus Asiae* 30.4 (1968): 306-7.

[46] See Shen C. Y. Fu's discussions on "Wu K'uan (1436-1504)" and "Clerical Script of the Yuan" in *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1977), 56, 263. Described by Feng Fang 豐坊 (active 1525-1576), a colophon writer for the Freer scroll, as an application of seal script techniques to clerical script writing, this calligraphy style is praised as being captive of the spirit of the archaic scripts of the Han and Wei dynasties (古隸得漢魏筆意).

[47] In both the Freer and Osaka scrolls, Gao Shiqi mentioned that in the winter of 1697 (*dingchou* year of the Kangxi era [r.1662-1722]), he bought a painting of an emaciated horse (*Yingma tu* 羸馬圖) by Gong Kai while he passed through Suzhou.

[48] Chun-chi Chen 陳俊吉, "Yuan dai Yan Hui de huihua fengge leixing tantao" 元代顏輝的繪畫風格類型探討 (A Study of Yan Hui [c.a 1258-1340] and His Painting Styles), *Zaoxing yishu xuekan* 造型藝術學刊 (2010): 3-4.

instead of a tool for material gain, Yan was a professional artist who openly painted for a living. A versatile painter, Yan's oeuvre encompassed figures, landscape, architecture, and flora-and-fauna.[49] He was best known for his figure paintings, leaving behind murals for Buddhist temples and Daoist shrines, religious icons for salvation rituals, and a corpus of Zhong Kui paintings (figs. 1.6-1.7).[50] While not necessarily known as a calligrapher like Gong Kai, Yan Hui is credited with a transcription of the *Classics of Filial Piety* (孝經) in small standard script and with the eulogy for a portrait of Confucius and his disciple Yan Yuan 顏淵 (521-481 BC) (孔顏像贊) inscribed on steles in the Ji'an Academy (吉安府學) in his hometown.[51]

Like Gong Kai, Yan Hui was admired by the scholar-elites of the Song-Yuan period despite his professional painter status; this critical acclaim may be associated with his transcriptions of Confucian classics and eulogies of Confucian worthies.

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[49] See a discussion of the themes of Yan Hui paintings in Chen, "Yuan dai Yan Hui de huihua fengge leixing tantao," 7-24.

[50] The Zhong Kui paintings attributed to Yan Hui include "Demon Hunting" (Guilie tu 鬼獵圖) inscribed by Ling Yunhan 凌雲翰 (active ca. 1372), "Zhong Kui going on an excursion" (鍾馗出遊圖) in the collection of Shen Shunchen 盛舜臣 inscribed by Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (1446-1499), two paintings of "Zhong Kui going on an excursion and marrying off his sister" (鍾馗出遊嫁妹圖二卷) in the collection of Mr. Yan (Yan Song 嚴嵩? [1480-1567]) and "First Scholar Zhong going on an excursion on lantern night" (鍾進士元夜出遊圖) inscribed by the Mountain Hermit of the Purple Fungus and Wu Kuan. The last painting is believed to be the Cleveland scroll.

[51] Originally in *Mochi bian* 墨池編 (Compilation of the Ink Pool), by Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1041-1100), *xiabian juan* 6. Expanded in the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and reproduced in *Li Shicheng Yangzhou chongkan ben* 李時成揚州重刊本 (1580). A facsimile of Li's edition included in *Yishu shangjian xuanzhen* 藝術賞鑑選珍, *Mochi bian xiabian* 墨池編下編. (Taipei: Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), 937.

According to Zhuang Su's 莊肅 (active 1250–1300) *Huaji buyi* 畫繼補遺 (A Supplement to "Painting Continued," completed in 1298), the *shidaifu* gentlemen elite of the late Southern Song "all loved and respected him [for his artistic talent]" (士大夫皆敬愛之).[52] Yan's work seemed to have continued to appeal to the scholar-elite class in the Yuan. This is evident from the fact that his Cleveland scroll was among the Tang, Song, Yuan masterpieces amassed by the noted late Yuan collector Sha Yende 沙彥德 (dates and biography unknown), whose connoisseurship was trusted by collectors of the time.[53] Yan's reputation remained high in the Ming dynasty. The calligrapher-critic Wu Kuan of the mid-Ming, who was believed to have left behind a colophon for the Cleveland scroll, praised him for displaying "the temperament of a Confucian scholar" (儒者風度).[54]

The Met scroll is attributed to a painter named Yan Geng 顏庚 or Yan Cungeng 顏存畊, who, according to the colophon attributed to Wu Kuan, was active in the Southern Song dynasty and whose paintings were rarely seen.[55] Some scholars proposed that Yan Geng might have belonged to the same workshop as Yan Hui, and

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[52] HJBY, 6.

[53] See colophon for the Cleveland scroll in Appendix II.

[54] See *Shanhu wang* 珊瑚網 (Coral net) by Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (active 1628-1643), in *Mingren huaxue lunzhu* 明人畫學論著, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962). For an extensive discussion on the reception of Yan Hui's work from the Song through Ming dynasties, see Chun-chi Chen 陳俊吉, "Yuan dai Yan Hui yu huashi shang dingwei yu pingjia zhi tantao" 元代顏輝於畫史上定位與評價之探討 (The discussion about Yan Hui's position and evaluation in Chinese drawing history at Yuan dynasty), *Shuhua yishu xuekan* 書畫藝術學刊 11 (2011): 147-182.

[55] See transcription of the colophon in Appendix III.

that the two might even be relatives in light of the uncommon surname they share.[56] While this cannot be ascertained since Yan Geng was not mentioned in common historical sources beyond the Met colophon and was not known to have left behind any other paintings, it is clear that the painter of the Met scroll belonged to a professional workshop.[57] This is evident from the iconographic and compositional affinities the Met scroll shares with that in Cleveland to be discussed below, as well as the hodgepodge nature of its images to be discussed in Chapter Four. Both these characteristics suggest the consultation of pictorial models circulating amongst workshop professionals. Also, instead of being a Southern Song creation as is claimed in the Met colophon whose authorship and date are questionable, the Met scroll should be dated to the late-Yuan based on a stylistic analysis presented in Chapter Four. The cultural connotations of the types of pictorial themes cited in the painting suggest that the painter was targeting a scholar-elite audience or an audience enamored of scholar-elite ways.

Signatures and Seals

All three scrolls bear their painters' signatures. Gong Kai signed his name "Gong Kai" in the *bafen*-style clerical script at the end of his colophon, which appears immediately after the painting (figs. 19-20). Three seals of Gong Kai can be found on the scroll: the first is a square intaglio seal with the epithet *Huaiyin Gong Kai* ("Gong Kai of Huaiyin") impressed over the character "Kai" in his signature; the other two are both rectangular intaglio seals that appear on the center paper join: they contain the phrases *Zhici lengxiao* ("Until now I have been chuckling sarcastically") and

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[56] See Fong, "Buddhist and Taoist Themes," 368.

[57] Ibid.

Xuegu wenyi ("Learning the arts and literature of the ancients") (fig. 25).[58] Yan Hui signed his courtesy name "Yan Qiuyue" in standard script in a similar location on the Cleveland scroll (fig. 26); there is an illegible seal affixed near the signature that may belong to the painter.[59] Yan Geng signed his name "Yan Geng" in standard script on the lower left corner of the Met scroll (fig. 27), stamped over the signature is a large round seal with the painter's courtesy name "Cungeng" in red seal script.

Composition and Iconography

The Cleveland and Met scrolls are almost identical in size and very similar in terms of media, composition, and iconography. Both are painted with ink on silk—the preferred medium for professional artists, although the Cleveland scroll also has light color. Both scrolls open with a demon striking a gong, followed by others displaying military skills and performing acrobatics with weapons, vessels, and rocks, followed by Zhong Kui and human figures towards the end of the scroll, before closing with a troupe of demon musicians (figs. 2-3). Among them, the gong-striking demons of the two scrolls are mirror images of one another; the spear-wielding demons that appear in both paintings have the exact same posture. Although holding different weapons, the demon with a buckler-shield in the Cleveland scroll is almost identical to another thrusting a two-pronged spear in the Met scroll because they are depicted in the same squatting posture (fig. 1.8). Many other instances can be cited from the two scrolls in

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[58] See Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art ed.,"Gong Kai, Zhongshan Going on [an] Excursion, F1938.4," 4, 6, in *Song and Yuan Dynasty Painting and Calligraphy* [online catalogue] (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Freer Gallery of Art), Last modified May 6, 2010. Accessed September 12, 2014. http://www.asia.si.edu/songyuan/F1938.4/F1938-4.Documentation.pdf.

[59] Ju-hsi Chou, "Yan Hui (active 1270-1310)," *Silent Poetry: Chinese Painting from the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, forthcoming 2015), forthcoming.

which the demons operate the same equipment, assume the same posture, or appear in a similar sequence, showing a close relationship between the scrolls. Owing to these iconographic similarities, it is commonly believed that the Cleveland and Met scrolls derived from the same model.

The fact that both paintings display large spaces between demons in the first half of the scroll also suggest that they are products of professional painting studios (see fig. 1.9): because the demons do not overlap in space and rarely interact with one another, they apparently originated as independent pictorial modules common in painting workshops that could easily be eliminated, replaced, or reordered according to tastes and financial means of a patron. This shared feature of the Cleveland and Met scrolls is especially pronounced when compared with the Freer scroll. The way the characters frequently turn towards, look at, and overlap with each other in the Freer scroll makes it difficult to extract any figure without disrupting the composition and rendering certain parts of it incomprehensible (fig. 1). This implies that the Freer scroll resulted from more deliberate, original design, instead of being assembled from pre-existing pictorial units. This aspect again signals the different ways in which the same subject was treated by artists of scholar-amateur and professional-workshop backgrounds.

Compared with the Cleveland and Met scrolls, the Freer scroll is shorter in length, taller in height, and painted in monochrome with ink on paper—the medium of choice for literati-painting—instead of with light washes and color on silk preferred by professionals. The scroll can be divided into three parts of approximately the same length. Zhong Kui and his female companion are the focal points for the first two parts of the scroll. The two are seated in sedan chairs and accompanied by demonic attendants carrying their personal belongings, which include a large traveler's hat and

a sword for Zhong Kui, and a cat, a pillow, and a parcel believed to contain a cosmetic box for his female companion. The third part of the Freer scroll features a large group of demonic attendants carrying a rug, parcels, a gourd, and captive miniature demons. The miniature demons are identical to their larger demon handlers but only half their size and likely the food source for Zhong Kui as mentioned in Gong Kai's inscription. Treated brutally, the miniature demons are dragged by their limbs, tied to sticks, and stashed upside down in jars. Among them, a white creature with a bushy tail rides on the back of a demon. Slightly off center in this third and last part of the scroll, this creature is central to the multivalent meanings of the painting to be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

While demons in the Freer scroll share many features with those in the Cleveland and Met scrolls, they are much more diverse, encompassing demons of different genders, ages, physiques, sizes, and types—male and female, old and young, muscular and skeletal, large and small, generic and specific; the inventiveness of demons in the Freer scroll is a stark contrast to the more formulaic demons in the other two scrolls, a fact which probably stems from the literati background of Gong Kai.

Style

The Cleveland and Met scrolls are painted in distinct styles which derive from painting traditions popular in the Southern Song. The Cleveland scroll displays an abbreviated style painted in drier, lighter ink reminiscent of paintings by the Buddhist monk painter Liang Kai (fig. 1.11); the Met scroll is painted in a more elaborate, descriptive style with wetter, darker ink that recalls the style practiced in Ningbo, the Southern Song center for exports of Buddhist paintings to Japan (fig. 1.11). They also display different types of brushstrokes to represent creases in clothing: the Cleveland

scroll has lines that taper dramatically and end with a hook to depict folds in Zhong Kui's robe; the same feature is represented in the Met scroll with "nail-headed, mice-tailed" strokes, which look like a "T" on one end and are pointed on the other (fig. 1.12). Attention to details also differ: while Yan Hui merely suggested the muscular bodies of the demons through contour lines and delineated the sashes and costumes of the demons with a few suggestive strokes, the painter of the Met scroll carefully modeled their bulging muscles with ink washes and diversified their outfits (fig. 1.13).

While the quality of ink and lines in the Cleveland and Met scrolls are consistent within each scroll, those in the Freer scroll display an impressive variety of thickness and wetness. The lines range from thin, fluid, and even, as exemplified by the meticulous patterns on textiles throughout the scroll, to thick, scratchy, and tapering, as is evident from those delineating drapery folds, sedan chair poles, and the demons' hair and bodies (fig. 1.14). The ink tones used also range from silvery to jet-black. The face and body of the dwarfish demon with a shoulder bag trotting alongside Zhong Kui, the faces of Zhong Kui's female companion and some of her female servants, and the bodies of miniature demons being roughed up at the end of the scroll are examples where patches of opaque ink are employed in the Freer scroll. Since ordinary ink lines layered upon opaque patches of ink would be invisible, Gong Kai created white outlines by leaving areas between the opaque ink patches unpainted. The pictorial effect is akin to that of Chinese rubbings or white-line woodblock printing, both of which would have been familiar to Gong Kai and his viewers in the Southern Song dynasty, which witnessed the flourishing of these two techniques. These examples highlight Gong Kai's inventiveness and experimental nature as compared to the work of Yan Hui and "Yan Geng."

Inscriptions

Both the Cleveland and Met scrolls have inscribed frontispieces. The one on the Cleveland scroll is inscribed "Qiuyue's [Yan Hui's] ink fantasy" (*Qiuyue mohuan* 秋月墨幻) by the Qing scholar Niu Shuyu 鈕樹玉 (1760-1827).[60] The one on the Met scroll is inscribed "a leisurely excursion and miscellaneous acrobatic games [or 'extensive play']" by the late-Ming scholar Huang Hui as mentioned earlier in this chapter.[61] The Freer scroll does not have a frontispiece but has numerous colophons dated between the Yuan and Qing, a unique set of resources discussed briefly later in this chapter and cited throughout this study.[62]

All three scrolls have at least one colophon affixed to them or affiliated with them. These inscriptions belong to a long tradition of composing poetry and prose in response to paintings in China, a tradition that begun in the Six Dynasties, peaked in terms of quality and quantity in the Northern Song, and continued onto this day.[63] Usually written by friends of the artists or collectors in the margins of a painting or on additional sheets of paper and silk succeeding it, colophons offer important information on the creation, circulation, and reception of a painting. While their

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60 Ho, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting,* 111-112.

61 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, "The Demon Queller Zhong Kui Giving His Sister Away in Marriage, [by] Yan Geng (active late 13th century)," in *The Collection Online* http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/40294?=&imgNo=0&tabName=gallery-label. Accessed November 23, 2014.

62 Transcribed and translated in full in Appendix II.

63 See Ai-lian Liu, "Yang Weizhen and Social Art of Painting Inscriptions" (PhD diss, University of Kansas, 2011). For a survey on inscription writing practices in Chinese art history from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries, see her Chapter Four, "The Social Art of Painting Inscriptions in Historical Perspective."

contents differ, the colophons usually comment on one or more of the following aspects of a painting: they offer a biographical sketch of the painter, comment on the quality of the painting, offer moralistic interpretations and art historical contexts of its theme, record the circumstances that called for the viewing and inscription of the painting, and celebrate the relationship among the painter, collectors, and viewers. The Met, Cleveland, and Freer scroll colophons illustrate the aforementioned characteristics of colophons well.

All three scrolls have at least one colophon affixed to them or affiliated with them.[64] The Met scroll has one colophon affixed to it attributed to the Ming calligrapher Wu Kuan and dated to 1470. The colophon bears a signature of the calligrapher ("Wu Kuan") and two of his seals ("Wu Kuan" and "Yuanbo"). The colophon consists of a verse and a section of prose. The verse describes pictorial details in the scroll, alludes to Zhong Kui's mythical role as the protector of the throne during Emperor Xuanzong's time, and describes the painter Yan Geng's interest in painting ghosts and demons. Save for a few phrases, which are modified according to pictorial details, the verse is almost identical in content to one colophon on the Freer scroll written by the Yuan writer Wang Xiaoweng. Implications of this duplication on the authenticity of the Met colophon will be discussed in Chapter Four. The prose part of the Met colophon identifies the painter, his period of activity, and mentions the rarity of his work; it also identifies the theme as Zhong Kui on an excursion, which is different from the current identification of the painting as Zhong Kui giving his sister away in marriage. The prose section closes with the writer musing on how the painter knew how to paint demons, given that demons are amorphous and invisible.

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[64] Transcribed and translated in full in Appendix II.

No colophon is currently affixed to the Cleveland scroll, but two believed to have been written for it are recorded in *Shanhu wang shuhua ba* 珊瑚網 (Coral Net, dated 1643), a compilation of colophons on paintings and calligraphy by the Ming collector Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (active 1628-1643), and in *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (completed in 1682), a compilation of paintings and calligraphy heard of, seen, and collected by Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1644-1712). One of the colophons written for the Cleveland scroll is authored by Wu Kuan, the Ming calligrapher to whom the Met scroll colophon was attributed. The colophon introduces the painter Yan Hui, praises his skill in depicting demons, attributes the life-like quality of Yan Hui's demons to his experience of being revived from death and to his understanding of nature. The other colophon is signed by Zizhi shanren 紫芝山人 ("Mountain Hermit of the Purple Fungus"). The author of the colophon was previously identified as Yu He 俞和 (1307-1382) because his style name Zizhi 紫芝 ("Purple Fungus") was a close match to Zizhi shanren; but since Yu would have been dead by the date of the colophon in 1389, it is now attributed to another late-Yuan writer Jiang Hui whose style name was Zizhi shanren 紫芝山人.[65] According to the

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[65] Scholars who have written on the Cleveland painting generally accept that a colophon dated to the *yisi* year of the Hongwu era (1389) under the Ming Emperor Taizu (r.1368-1398) by a person with the alias "Mountain Man of the Purple Fungus" (*Zizhi shanren* 紫芝山人) that exists now only as a record in *Shigutang shuhua huikao* (1682). The colophon writer was previously identified as Yu He 俞和 (1307-1382) who was active in the late-Yuan and early-Ming periods, a native of the Qiantang region in Zhejiang Province. But Yu died in 1382 before the colophon's date in 1389. Also, Yu's alias was "Purple Fungus" (*Zizhi* 紫芝), instead of "Mountain Man of the Purple Fungus." Thus, Ju-shi Chou suggests Jiang Hui 蔣惠, another Yuan individual whose alias was "Mountain Man of the Purple Fungus," to be an alternative candidate for the colophon's author. Unfortunately, Jiang's dates of activity

colophon, the painting was in the collection of Sha Yende, a famous collector and trusted connoisseur of painting in the late Yuan period according to the colophon,[66] when Jiang was invited to inscribe "at the end of the picture." The colophon specifies the season—"the [sixth] month of summer"—in which Jiang was shown the painting; this indicates that although the painting depicts a festival that occurred during the Lantern Night Festival in winter, the viewing of the painting was not restricted to that period. The colophon then describes the content of the painting in great detail; all of the characters in the Cleveland scroll are accounted for in the exact order in which they appear, save for two pairs of characters: in the scroll, the two demons carrying Zhong Kui's belongings appear first, followed by two human figures paying tribute to Zhong Kui; but in the colophon, the tribute-bearers were mentioned first. This description matches the content of the Cleveland scroll closely and this colophon is believed to have been originally written for it. The colophon recounts the legend of Zhong Kui in detail and refers to Zhong Kui's demon as "Xu Hao." It ends with the writer's statement that the painter intended demons to be metaphors of human behavior and used the painting to convey a "profound critique" of this world. The fact that the painting was in the collection of a leading connoisseur of Tang, Song, Yuan

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are unknown.

For identification of the colophon writer as Yu He, see Ho, "Yan Hui: The Lantern Night Excursion of Chung K'uei," in Ho et. al, *Eight dynasties of Chinese Painting*, 111-112. For biographical information of Yu He, see *China Biographical Database Project (CBDB)*, accessed January 24, 2014. http://db1.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/cbdbc/ttsweb?@0:0:1:cbdbkm@@0.626770966919139.

For identification of the colophon writer as Jiang Hui, see Chou, "Yan Hui (active 1270-1310)," no page number.

[66] No information can be found on the collector Sha Yende 沙彥德 in the Yuan or Ming biographical indexes.

masterpieces and that the writer of the colophon praised the painter as a "good craftsman" reveals the favorable attitude of gentlemen elites towards religious figure paintings and professional workshop painters.

The Freer Scroll Colophons

The Freer scroll has a total of twenty-two colophons affixed to it. This includes one by the artist, which is not dated; sixteen additional colophons by Yuan writers, none of which are dated; one Ming dynasty colophon dated to 1527; and four Qing dynasty colophons, three of which were inscribed in 1700, 1702, and 1837.[67] As colophons on handscrolls are generally inscribed in chronological order after the painting—with the ones located closer to the painting being inscribed earlier in time, the content of the colophons and the dates of activity of their writers are useful in determining the date range of undated paintings and colophons. For instance, although none of the Yuan dynasty colophons are dated, they were likely composed after Gong Kai's death in 1307 because the first colophon to appear after the artist's own inscription mentioned how "It's been a long time since Old Yan [Gong Kai] has passed away."[68]

The Freer scroll colophons are a unique resource for the study of the scroll and Zhong Kui paintings in the Yuan dynasty because not only is it rare to have such a large number of early colophons still attached to a scroll, but the colophons include both the artist's manifesto and records of contemporary viewers' responses to the painting, offering first-hand information on what the painter intended to express

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[67] See Smithsonian Institute Freer Gallery of Art, "Gong Kai, Zhongshan Going on [an] Excursion, F1938.4," in *Song and Yuan Dynasty Painting and Calligraphy*. Last modified May 6, 2010. Accessed September 12, 2014. http://www.asia.si.edu/songyuan/F1938.4/F1938-4.Documentation.pdf.

[68] See Appendix II, Colophon No. 2, line 31.

through his art and how the viewers interpreted the piece. The fact that the Freer scroll bears an inscription by the artist, the text of which will be analyzed in Chapter Four, is yet another marker that identifies it as a painting by a scholar-amateur artist instead of a professional painter. In addition, because both the painting and the colophons survive, one can compare the contents of the painting with descriptions in the colophons, checking whether the pictorial scene is described accurately, seeing firsthand what was considered ugly or strange, understanding what elements provoked laughter and fear, and examining if there are text-image discrepancies. Since colophons from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing are represented, it also enables the comparison of changes in conventions of colophon writing over time.

Most of the Freer scroll colophons contain a combination of the following elements: they describe the content of the painting, elaborate upon the legends of Zhong Kui, Emperor Xuanzong, and Consort Yang, cite cultural references to demons, praise the painter for his talent, provide information on the painter's life and career, record reactions to paintings of demons, offer interpretations of the moral of the painting, and reveal the occasions during which the painting was viewed.

Many colophons briefly describe the characters and scenes in the Freer painting. Among them, the inscriptions by Song Wu 宋无 (1260–after 1340) and Feng Zizhen 馮子振 (1257-1348) go into the greatest detail.[69] While reading them may seem redundant from the perspective of a pre-modern viewer in the presence of the scroll, it serves modern viewers and scholars well. Not only does it confirm that the colophon

[69] See Freer scroll colophons no. 9 and no. 23 in Appendix II. Although the colophon by Feng Zizhen is not affixed to the Freer scroll, it is very likely written in response to it as the content of the painting it describes is almost identical to that of the Freer scroll.

is paired with the right painting, it also helps with the identification of iconographic details, and helps to determine whether the painting was in the same condition now as it was when the colophon was written. For instance, currently the right edge and lower right corner of the Freer scroll are damaged. The demon carrying Zhong Kui's sedan chair at the beginning of the painting is missing his feet. Furthermore, the third section of the Freer scroll in which large demons are roughing up smaller demons is illustrated on a different piece of paper than the previous section, in which female demons trail behind Zhong Kui's female companion. The detailed inscriptions of Song and Feng assure us that the painting was in its current state when they viewed it.

Besides describing the content of the painting, the Freer scroll colophons also record common reactions to paintings of demons and document the viewers' understandings of the significance of the painting. It seems that the demonic beings were considered strange and ugly, and they surprised and amused the viewers. The repeated defense of the worthiness of Gong Kai's painting reveals the persistent stigma of paintings of demons as vulgar and frivolous in his time. Many writers elaborated upon Gong Kai's allusion to Emperor Xuanzong in the painting. Finally, the inscribers cite various allusions to demons in Chinese culture which may or may not be associated with Zhong Kui originally. They alluded to demons cast on Yu's magical cauldron, the poverty demons described in an essay by Han Yu (768-824), demons who teased people for lackluster careers in Liu Yiqing's story, and demons that populate the Chinese Ghost Capital Fengdu.[70] In many of the colophons, demons

[70] For references to Yu's cauldron, see Freer scroll colophons no.7 and no. 23; for references to Han Yu's poverty demons, see Freer scroll colophon no.11; for references to Liu Yiqing's story, see Freer scroll colophon no. 10; for references to Fengdu, see Freer scroll colophon no.9.

were used as a metaphor for the strange things happening in the world and the evil people who populate it.

The Freer scroll colophons also record valuable information on the life, career, and perceptions of the painter. Some comment on the artistic and literary merits of Gong Kai; others comment on his poverty; still others show admiration for the painter's loyalty to his ruler and lament his unrequited ambition to serve his country.[71] The inscription by Chen Fang is especially interesting because it conflates Gong Kai with Zhong Kui, saying that like his subject, the painter has a distinct appearance and had also hoped to protect the throne and expel evil from the nation.[72]

The inscriptions also provide clues to the dates and occasions during which the painting was viewed. It is likely that all colophons by Yuan writers on the Freer scroll were inscribed after Gong Kai's death in 1307 because the first colophon to appear after the painter's own inscription on the Freer scroll already mentions that Gong Kai had been dead for some time.[73] Nevertheless, the Yuan colophons would be written no later than 1328, as this was the year in which Bai Ting (1248-1328), the writer of the last Yuan colophon (No.16), passed away. In addition, although none of the Yuan colophons are dated, their repeated references to *nuo* exorcist rituals and the New

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[71] For praise on Gong Kai's artistic merit, see Freer scroll colophon no.9; for comments on his poverty, see Freer scroll colophon no.19; for lamentation on his unrequited ambition, see Freer scroll colophons no. 6 and no.7.

[72] See Freer scroll colophon no.6.

[73] See Freer scroll colophon no.2, line 31: "It's been a long time since Old Yan (Gong Kai) has passed away."

Year hint at that possibility that viewing practices of Zhong Kui images were still associated with the New Year in the Yuan.[74]

Collectors

All three scrolls bear collectors' seals. The seals of the late-Ming collector An Guo (1481-1534) appear on all three scrolls: he left one on the Met scroll, two on the Cleveland scroll, and six on the Freer scroll.[75] A native of Wuxi, Changzhou, An is the father and grandfather of *jinshi* degree holders An Rushan (*jinshi* 1529) and An Xifan (*jinshi* 1586). The fact that his seals appear on all three scrolls, despite the paintings being from the literati and professional painter's traditions, shows the wide range of tastes of the scholar elite in the Ming.

The Met scroll has seven collector's seals: one of An Guo, two of Chen Xun, and four unidentified.[76] The Cleveland scroll has thirty-one collector's seals; they include two of An Guo, eight of Xiang Yuanbian (famous Ming collector), two of Geng Zhaozhong (famous Qing collector), and at least six of Tan Jing (noted twentieth-century forger), who owned the *Zhong Kui Hunting* handscroll previously attributed to Yan Hui in the Yunhuizhai collection.[77] Interestingly, no seal has been

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[74] See discussion on the occasions for viewing of the Freer scroll in Chapter Four, Part One.

[75] See Appendix I for a chart containing information of the seals on all three scrolls.

[76] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Yan Geng (act. late 13th century) 南宋/元 顏庚 *The Demon-queller Zhong Kui Giving his Sister Away in Marriage (Zhong Kui jia mei)* 鍾馗嫁妹圖卷, Chinese Painting Catalogue: Yuan. Unpublished archival material. Last modified July 8, 2013. Accessed August 25, 2013.

[77] See provenance of this scroll in Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year," 214.

identified to have belonged to the late-Yuan collector Sha Yende, who once owned the painting according to the 1389 colophon in *Shigutang shuhua huikao*.[78]

The Freer scroll passed through the hands of renowned collectors and connoisseurs. Among the 101 collector's seals found on the painting, six are of An Guo—the earliest identified collector of the scroll; eight belonged to Ming collector Han Shineng and his sons Han Fengxi and Hang Fengyou; seventeen are from the Qing collector Gao Shiqi—who also wrote a colophon for the Freer scroll; eighteen from Bi Long; and twenty-one from Pang Yuanji, to cite a few.

Ming collectors Han Shineng 韓世能 (1528-1598,[79] active during the Longqing Wanli period 隆慶萬曆間人[80]) and Han Fengxi 韓逢禧 (1576-after 1655[81]) were natives of the Changzhou and Suzhou areas in Jiangsu Province 江蘇長洲 / 蘇洲.[82] Over 200 works of art in the Han family collection were recorded in

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78 *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (preface 1682), Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645-1712), ed. *juan* 52, *hua* 22, Wenyuange siku quanshu edition. See transcription and translation in Appendix II.

79 Smithsonian Institute Freer Gallery of Art, "Gong Kai, Zhongshan Going on [an] Excursion, F1938.4," p.25, in *Song and Yuan Dynasty Painting and Calligraphy*. Last modified May 6, 2010. Accessed Sep 12, 2014. http://www.asia.si.edu/songyuan/F1938.4/F1938-4.Documentation.pdf.

80 See Wenqing Hong 洪文慶, ed. *Zhongguo meishu beiwang lu* 中國美術備忘錄, expanded edition. (Taipei: Shitou chuban youxian gongsi, 2007), 101.

81 Smithsonian Institute Freer Gallery of Art, "Gong Kai, Zhongshan Going on [an] Excursion, F1938.4," p.25, in *Song and Yuan Dynasty Painting and Calligraphy*. Last modified May 6, 2010. Accessed Sep 12, 2014. http://www.asia.si.edu/songyuan/F1938.4/F1938-4.Documentation.pdf.

82 Hong, *Zhongguo meishu beiwang lu*, 101.

Zhang Chou's 張丑 (1577-1643) *Nanyang fashu minghua biao* 南陽法書名畫表 (Famous paintings and model calligraphies of Nanyang). Ming collector-connoiseur Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1592-1676), was a native of Shangdong Province, who authored *Gengzi xiaoxia ji* 庚子消夏記 (Whiling away the summer of the gengzi year [1600]), a record of works of art in his own collection, as well as those he saw.[83] Qing collector Gao Shiqi (1645-1703), a resident of Qiantang, Zhejiang, the author of *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江村消夏錄 (Record of whiling away the summer at a village by the river, prefaced 1693), which records works of art in his own collection.[84] Most of his collection later became part of the Qing imperial collection, but this probably excludes the Freer scroll since it doesn't carry any imperial seals.[85] Qing collector Bi Long 畢瀧 (1733-1797), a native of Taizang, Jiangsu, whose elder brother Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797) was also a noted collector and author of *Zhongzhou jinshi ji* 中州金石記(Records of engravings in Zhongzhou) and *Guanzhong jinshi ji* 關中金石記 (Records of engravings in Guanzhong).[86] Late-Qing and early-Republican collector Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (1864-1949), a native of Wuzing, Zhejiang, who authored *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄 (Famous paintings

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[83] Ibid., 102.

[84] Ibid., 103.

[85] Ju-shi Chou, "Yan Hui (active 1270-1310)," unpublished catalogue entry for *Silent Poetry: Chinese Painting from the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, forthcoming 2015). Received January 22, 2014 through private correspondence.

[86] Hong, *Zhongguo meishu beiwang lu*, 104.

from the Xuzhai collection, prefaced 1909) and *Xuzhai minghua xulu* 虛齋名畫續錄 (Sequel to famous paintings from the Xuzhai collection, compiled 1924).[87] He owned the scroll at least through 1925 before it entered the Freer collection in 1938 via Tonying and Company, New York.

[87] Ibid., 106.

CHAPTER TWO:
How to Paint Demons

The question of how painters met the challenge of painting amorphous ghosts and demons fascinated pre-modern Chinese commentators. One of the earliest discussions of demons in painted form appears in *Han Feizi* 韓非子 (third century BC). In the story, an artist hosted by the King of the Qi State claimed demons to be the easiest subjects to paint because they are without form and cannot be seen:

> The King of the Qi State had a guest who came to paint a picture for him.
> The King asked the guest, "What is the most difficult thing to paint?"
> The guest answered, "A dog or a horse."
> The King then asked, "What is easy to paint?"
> The guest replied, "Ghosts or demons are the easiest. Dogs and horses are known to people. As they appear before us day and night, their appearances cannot be approximated, thus they are difficult to paint. Ghosts and demons are formless and do not manifest themselves before us, thus they are the easiest to paint."
>
> 客有為齊王畫者 ，齊王問曰：「畫孰最難者？」 曰：「犬馬難。」「 孰易者？」曰：「鬼魅最易。夫犬馬，人所知也，旦暮罄於前，不可類之，故難。鬼神，無形者，不罄於前，故易之也。」[88]

The artist in the anedote implied that, unlike dogs and horses, whose familiarity to the common viewer makes unfaithful depictions of them easy to spot, ghosts and demons are easy to paint because no one knows what they look like, thus the painer could paint them however he liked according to his fancy. Although this anecdote was intended as a warning against political advice as insubstantial as ghosts and demons, it represents a common convention throughout writings on paintings of the supernatural

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[88] *Han Feizi* 韓非子 (Writings of Han Feizi), *juan* 11. By Han Feizi 韓非子 (d. 233 BC). In *Han Feizi jiaozhu* 韓非子校注. Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1982.

grotesque in pre-modern China that painters relied entirely on their imaginations for such subjects.

More than a thousand years after Han Feizi's comment, the question of how painters determined physical forms for supposedly formless demons continues to concern commentators on ghost and demon paintings. By the Song-Yuan periods, it had become a conventional way to praise painters for their creative genius or to convince viewers of the verisimilitude of the demons depicted, because accounts of demon-sightings abound in contemporary sources such as *Yijian zhi*. The colophon writers for the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls partook in the tradition of characterizing demons as invisible to normal human eyes and the process of lending them mysterious. The fourteenth-century writer Zizhi shanren 紫芝山人 (active 1389), for instance, wonders aloud in a colophon very likely written for the Cleveland scroll how the demons within were illustrated, since "[s]upernatural beings have no form and cannot be seen" (且鬼神無形視之不見，何其有形之若是耶？). This bewilderment was shared by the inscriber of the Met scroll, with the intention of praising the Met scroll painter Yan Geng for his ability to "portray so convincingly" supernatural beings that "come and go without a trace" (抑鬼如影去來無形，不知存畊何從而得圖其形似也。). In a poem written for the Freer scroll by the Yuan writer Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐 (1292-1364), it was even suggested that the painter Gong Kai had special ability to see "animated corpses and walking ghosts" whose forms are inaccessible to normal human eyesight. "Perhaps Gong [Kai] could see [beings] in the

underworld with his sparkling eyes; [thus] to him animated corpses and walking ghosts are nothing peculiar" (想龔目睛爍陰界，行尸走鬼非殊派。).[89]

Besides relying on imagination or the gift to see creatures invisible to the average human eye, how did the painters depict imaginary beings? Gombrich argues in *Art and Illusion* that the artist "cannot start from scratch" in the creation of images. The artist's creative process is inevitably shaped by the techniques and works of previous masters, as well as by conventions ("schemata") that shaped his understanding of reality. Thus, the painters must have relied on visual sources of some kind to represent these supernatural beings.[90] Albeit from a much later period, *Chong kan shuilu fahui hua shi* 重刊水陸法會畫式 (1870), an instruction manual for painting religious icons for the Water-Land salvation ritual, confirms the validity of the hypothesis: artists were advised to model images of City Gods after statues in local temples, to represent ethnic minorities based on their imaginations, and to depict ghosts of those who died young or away from home after observations of corpses.

Using Zhong Kui's demons in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls as case studies, this chapter argues that painted images of demons were more formulaic than inventive. The physiognomy, physique, costume, and behavior of the demons in these three scrolls follow a typology based on a shared understanding of the multivalent

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[89] "Zhong Kui bu gui tu" 鍾馗部鬼圖, in *Qiao wu ji* 僑吳集.

[90] Artists from multiple societies have been known to base representations of the imaginary or unfamiliar on things that could be readily observed. For example, to make demonic figures in his *Torment of Saint Antony* believable, Michelangelo (1475-1564) studied fish at local markets, buying those "with bizarrely colorful scales to render strange fins of devils." Master Edo painter Maruyama Okyo (1733–1795) advised his pupils to use sketches from nature as models for mythical or rarely-seen real-life creatures.

cultural connotations of demons in the Song-Yuan periods. To give form to these cultural connotations, the painters drew ideas from descriptions of demons in tales of the supernatural grotesque and descriptions of disease symptoms and physiognomies of misfortune in medical texts and divination manuals. They also relied upon pre-existing images and real-life observations of men from remote geographical regions, people from lower-rungs of society, and those in extreme states of physical or emotional duress.

Typology and Sources of Zhong Kui's Demons

Although the passage in Han Feizi seems to assume that artists had complete freedom to invent the forms of demons and ghosts, in fact there were conventions for painting such subjects. While there exists a dazzling variety of demons in all imaginable bestial, vegetal, and hybrid forms in Chinese visual culture, there are large numbers of demons whose physiognomy and physique are a combination of predictable features. These include the numerous fiends operating a pulley in a failed attempt to rescue Hariti's son in *Raising the Alms-Bowl* (揭鉢圖 *Jiebo tu*) scrolls (fig. I-5); the monstrous heavenly soldiers purging animal spirits of the mountains under the God Erlang's command as seen in the *Searching the Mountain for Demons* (搜山圖 *Soushan tu*) series (fig. I-6); the demonic servants holding umbrellas and fans for higher-ranked deities in paintings featured in Water-Land salvation rituals (水陸圖 *Shuilu tu*) sets, as well as demons in similar assisting roles in paintings of Buddhist arhats (fig. I-7). Zhong Kui's demons in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls belong to similar categories of demons drawn from a restricted repertoire summarized below.

In these Yuan scrolls, Zhong Kui's demons have bald and conical heads with tufts of hair sticking out behind their ears and horns growing atop their heads. They have upturned snouts, gaping mouths, and sharp bared teeth. They wear skimpy chest-

baring shirts and loincloths of rags and animal skin that reveal their muscular physique and dark skin. They are also characterized by their expressive faces and dramatic postures. Although demons in the Freer scroll by the amateur painter Gong Kai have more pronounced bestial features and comprise a wider range of genders, ages, sizes, and body types than their workshop counterparts in the Cleveland and Met scrolls, they still conform largely to the typology described above (fig.2.1).

The Supernatural Grotesque in Textual Sources

Texts describing supernatural beings were merely one source of inspiration for painters trying to decide how Zhong Kui's demons should look. Oftentimes texts were not particularly informative for the painter's purpose. For instance, the legend of Zhong Kui, which was repeatedly alluded to in inscriptions on Zhong Kui paintings and recorded in Northern Song writer Shen Gua's (1031-1095) *Mengxi bitan bu bitan* 夢溪筆談補筆談 (Supplement to 'Dream Brook brush talks,' early 1090s), merely mentions the clothing, behavior, and relative size of the demon captured by Zhong Kui while omitting all other clues to its appearance.[91] Descriptions of demons in other contemporary tales of the supernatural are either too scant to generate a full picture of what demons look like, too variegated to present demons as a class of beings with shared physical traits, or too focused on their power and behavior instead of their physical attributes. For instance, in *Records of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅

[91] See full text in Appendix I: 2. For discussions of this source, see Fu Dawei 傅大為, "When Shen Gua Encountered the 'Natural World': A Preliminary Discussion on the *Mengxi Bitan* and the Concept of Nature," in *Concepts of Nature: A Chinese-European Cross-Cultural Perspective*, eds. Hans Ulrich Vogel, Günter Dux, Mark Elvin (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2010), 285-309.

志),[92] an anthology of supernatural hearsay compiled by the Southern Song writer Hong Mai (1123-1202), some of the *gui* demons never manifested themselves in visible form.[93] Just as monsters or grotesque beings by definition lie outside physical parameters and are characterized by their impact instead,[94] so certain *gui* demons in *Yijian zhi* simply made their presences known by inflicting illness, depleting fortunes, and causing absurd things to happen around the victims' household. When legends and tales of the supernatural offer insufficient guidance to the appearances of demons, the painters must have looked elsewhere to pin down the physical and behavioral markers of Zhong Kui's demons.

Images of the Supernatural Grotesque

The painters of the three scrolls seem to have drawn inspiration largely from visual imagery of the supernatural grotesque. The mythical war god Chiyou (蚩尤), the ancient exorcist Fangxiang, the composite spirits adorning the coffin at Mawangdui Tomb 1, and the deities of wind, storm, and thunder from the Han through Six Dynasties seem to be direct ancestors of Zhong Kui's demons (fig. 2.2). These figures appear as engraved line drawings or relief carvings on stone and brick, and as wall paintings and coffin decorations in family shrines, cave temples, and tombs. They are usually depicted on the ceilings, entrances, and the thresholds of

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92 Translation from Alister D. Inglis, "A Textual History of Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi*," *T'oung Pao* 93.4-5 (2007): 283-386.

93 Hong Mai, "Rao shi fu" 饒氏婦, *Yijian bing zhi* 夷堅丙志, vol. 12, *juan* 12, 468.

94 Asa Simon Mittman, "Introduction: the Impact of Monsters and Monster Studies," in *Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Farnham, Surrey, England : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), 7.

these spaces and were believed to serve either as agents linking the secular and supernatural worlds or as guardians of these liminal spaces. They have large eyes, snout-like noses, gaping mouths, exposed upper-torsos, knee-length pants, two tufts of hair on their heads, and are shown in lively motion. In all these respects, they resemble Zhong Kui's demons. The forms of these earlier creatures conform closely to textual descriptions of thunder-wielding *gui* demons in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive records assembled in the Taiping era, 976-84), a tenth-century compilation of strange tales, which describes a demon who is black in color, has a bear- or pig-like face, clad in *dubi* 犢鼻 ("calf-snout") trousers, with a leopard skin around its waist. The difference between these early Chinese monsters and Zhong Kui's demons is that the latter are more humanoid than bestial: while early Chinese monsters often have prominent horns, flame-like wings, a leopard's tail, and clawed, two- or three-pronged hands and feet, these features are absent or nearly invisible in the creatures who accompany Zhong Kui.

More so than monsters in early China, Zhong Kui's demons in the three scrolls seem to owe their forms and behavior largely to images in Buddhist and Daoist paintings of the tenth to twelfth centuries.[95] As the examples below will show, there

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[95] *Imperial Catalogue of Painting at the Xuanhe Court* (*Xuanhe huapu*) mentions painters who were known to have painted images of Zhong Kui. Noted examples include, according to *Mengxi bitan bubitan* although there were no paintings identified as Zhong Kui listed under his name in Emperor Huizong's collection. Even Huang Quan, the Five Dynasties painter noted for his bird and flower paintings, as well as his contemporary Dong Yuan, who was celebrated as a landscape painter, were recorded to have made Zhong Kui paintings. These examples show that painters were extremely versatile. If painters known for painting court ladies, birds and flowers, and landscapes left behind paintings of Zhong Kui, then it would not be out of character for painters of religious figures to paint not only Buddhist and Daoist subjects, but also folk deities such as Zhong Kui as well. In fact, Zhong Kui images are produced in such great numbers in the Northern Song and perhaps taken up by

are many correspondences between the style, iconography, and pictorial roles of Zhong Kui's demons and those of figures in Buddhist and Daoist paintings.

Stylistically, the bulging muscles of the demons in the Cleveland and Met scrolls, which are delineated with ink washes in contrasting tones and highlighted with accent lines, are comparable to the scale-like muscles seen on the bodies of demons crouching underneath the feet of Buddhist Guardian Kings (*lokapalas* 天王) painted on the four sides of a wooden reliquary case dated to the early eleventh century (1013) in the pagoda of the Temple of Auspicious Light (*Ruiguangsi* 瑞光寺) in Suzhou (fig. 2.3).[96] In addition, the musician demon playing a clapper in the Cleveland scroll shares the same posture, profile, and musical instrument with one of the "Five Demons" depicted on the lintel of the gateway to Tomb No. 7 at Xuanhua, Hebei Province from the Liao dynasty (916-1125) (fig. 2.3.2).

Iconographically, the image of Zhong Kui riding on the shoulders of three demon servants in the Cleveland scroll is likely to have been inspired by pictorial conventions for *lokapalas*, who are often shown standing or sitting on squatting demons.[97] Known as the "throne of living creatures" or the "living throne" (*shenglingzuo* 生靈座), the motif of *lokapalas* or esoteric Buddhist Kings of

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painters of religious figures so frequently that it was listed as a separate specialty under the Daoist and Buddhist figure painters category in *Xuanhe hua pu.*

[96] An inscription inside the wooden box dates it to the eighteenth day of the fourth month in the sixth year of the Dazhong Xiangfu era of the Northern Song (1013 A.D.). See Suzhou bowuguan (ed.), *Suzhou bowuguan cang Huqui Yunyansita Ruiguangsita wenwu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006): 148.

[97] See Sherman E. Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, Demons and the New Year," *Artibus Asiae* 53. 1-2 (1993): 211-27.

Knowledge (*mingwang* 明王) seated or trampling on a "throne" formulated by demons or beasts is a convention dating to the Six Dynasties[98] and exemplified in depictions of a military officer sitting on the backs of three demons in the *Album of Buddhist and Daoist Themes*—previously known by the misnomer *Daozi Mobao* (Ink Treasures of Wu Daozi [ca. 685-758]), from the Southern Song dynasty in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 2.3.3). In addition, the beady eyes, flat noses, and beak-like muzzles of the Freer scroll demons may be derived from the physiognomy of the bird-beaked Garuda and ape monsters subjugated by *lokapalas* like those in Yuan dynasty relief carvings at Juyongguan (fig. 2.4.1; fig.. 2.4.2). The skeletal demon at the very end of the Freer scroll may very likely be modeled after skeletons such as those depicted among souls of the dead in murals depicting Water-Land salvation rites dated to the Yuan dynasty in Qinglong Temple, Shanxi Province (fig. 2.4.3).

Zhong Kui's demons also correspond to Song-Yuan depictions of Buddhist and Daoist demons in terms of the activities they perform. Both the Cleveland and Met scrolls showcase demons who display their incredible strength by lifting large rocks

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[98] It's worth noting that the configuration in the Cleveland scroll does not conform exactly to "living thrones" in contemporaneous examples cited above. Rather than being pinned down by the lokapalas' buttocks or feet, the demons shouldering the weight of Zhong Kui in the Cleveland scroll stand upright and are in motion. Perhaps this difference of the static lokapalas and mobile Zhong Kui could be explained through the different natures of the deities. It may be that lokapalas are guardians of fixed cardinal directions, thus shown as static on the backs of demons not in motion. On the other hand, since Zhong Kui is not specifically associated with any particular direction or locale, had been featured in year-end exorcist parades through Song capitals, was frequently depicted in processions, and had been described as performing rigorous exorcist dances in early Tang sources, it might have seemed apt for the painter to show him as mobile on the back of demons on the move.

with a single arm (fig. 2.5.1). This stunt calls to mind the demons carrying a large rock with a pagoda on top in the retinue of Buddhist *arhat* saints in the upper register of a hanging scroll from the Southern Song *Five Hundred Arhats* set from the Daitoku-ji Monastery (大徳寺) in Kyoto, Japan (fig. 2.5.2). Furthermore, just as demons carry sedan chairs, hold belongings, and guide horses of their *arhat* masters in the Daitoku-ji scrolls, which were created by professional ateliers in Ningbo, a seaport along the Southeast China coast famous for exporting religious figure paintings to Japan during the Southern Song dynasty,[99] demons in the Cleveland and Met scrolls fill similar roles as porters and herders for Zhong Kui (fig. 2.6). In addition, the way in which Zhong Kui's demons handle tiny imps in the last section of the Freer scroll clearly draws upon conventions showing how demonic warriors in Buddhist and Daoist visual culture treat their captives. In the Freer scroll, Zhong Kui's attendant demons are shown dragging diminutive fiends by their limbs or having them bound to bindle sticks (fig. 2.7.1). Similar scenes in which captives are roughed up can be found in the Southern Song triptych, *The Daoist Officials of Heaven, Water, and Earth*, in which demonic helpers tie an ape monster by its hands as they usher it to the Earth Official (fig. 2.7.2). The actions of demons at the end of

[99] See Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館 (ed.), *Seichi Ninpō (Ninpō) : Nihon Bukkyō 1300-nen no genryū : subete wa koko kara yatte kita* 聖地寧波 (ニンポー) : 日本仏教 1300 年の源流: すべてはここからやって来た [Sacred Ningbo, gateway to 1300 years of Japanese Buddhism] (Nara-shi: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009): fig. 104-80. "The Pagoda on a Rock" (岩上の寶塔).

the Freer scroll also recall a leaf from the thirteenth-century *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes*[100] in which demons carry off beasts on sticks (fig. 2.7.3).[101]

These pictorial correspondences between Zhong Kui's demons in the three scrolls and Buddhist and Daoist depictions of demonic beings are not a coincidence, especially since Zhong Kui paintings were considered a subcategory of religious paintings of Buddhist and Daoist figures, and many famous painters of Buddhist and Daoist subjects, such as Wu Daozi 吳道子 (c.685-758), also left behind images of Zhong Kui and vice versa. At least for Yan Hui,[102] workshop practices and the places in which he lived and worked would have ensured familiarity with Buddhist-Daoist demonic forms. An established painter of Buddhist and Daoist figures,[103] Yan Hui had worked in Ningbo, a major center for the production and export of Buddhist and Daoist painting in the thirteenth century, where he was involved in the decoration of the Haihui Temple (海會寺).[104]

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[100] This album was dated to the Southern Song according to both the Cleveland Museum of Art online database and Shih-shan S. Huang's book, *Picturing the True Form*. See Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012).

[101] *Daozi mobao*, 45.

[102] Chen Chun-chi, "Yuandai Yan Hui de huihua fengge leixing tantao" (A Study of Yan Hui (ca. 1258-1340) and His Painting Styles," *Zaoxing yishu congkan* (2010): 4-52.

[103] The Tang painter Wu Daozi, who was allegedly the creator of the first image of Zhong Kui, was primarily known for his mastery of Buddhist and Daoist subjects. The Five Dynasties painters Zhou Wenju or Zhou Fang, who were celebrated for their representations of court ladies, also had Zhong Kui paintings as well as paintings of Buddhist and Daoist subjects attributed to them in the imperial collection.

[104] Chen Chun-chi, "Yuandai Yan Hui de huihua fengge leixing tantao" (A Study of Yan Hui (ca. 1258-1340) and His Painting Styles," *Zaoxing yishu congkan* (2010): 7.

Shared Multivalent Beliefs of Demons in the Song-Yuan Periods

The survey of supernatural grotesque images above explains where the painters may have obtained their inspirations for depicting Zhong Kui's demons but not why viewers would have imagined demons to look this way. In the remainder of this chapter, I will analyze the typology of Zhong Kui's demons in the three scrolls and discuss how their hairstyles and facial features, the presentations of their bodies, their costumes and accessories, and their expressions and behavior coincided with folk beliefs that demons were agents of disease and misfortune, and reflect a shared, multivalent cultural understanding of how demons looked and acted.

Demons as Agents of Disease and Misfortune

One of the shared beliefs that may have inspired the painters of the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls to depict Zhong Kui's demons was the idea that demons bring diseases and misfortune, an idea that originated in the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BCE) and was prevalent in early China. The Great Exorcism (*Da Nuo* 大儺) ceremony, with which Zhong Kui is associated, was intended to expel evil spirits responsible for epidemics. Spirits were blamed for causing nightmares, mental disorders, and life-threatening illnesses in the spellbinding curses (*Jiejiu pian* 詰咎篇) of the late Warring States period (475 BCE—221 BCE) excavated at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Hubei Province.[105] *Hanshu*, the official dynastic history of the Western Han

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[105] Li Jianmin 李建民, "They Shall Expel Demons: Etiology, the Medical Canon and the Transformation of Medical Techniques before the Tang." In *Early Chinese Religion Part One: Shang Through Han (1250 BC-220 AD),* edited by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, Vol. 2 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 1106-1107.

Dynasty (206 BCE–9 CE),[106] contained instructions on how to curse or capture anomalous (*guai* 怪) and demonic beings (*guiwu* 鬼物). Ritualistic medical techniques, such as the use of charms and curses (*jinzhou* 禁咒) to exorcise disease-inducing demons were systemized in late Eastern Han (25–220).[107]

The belief that demons caused disease endured in the Song-Yuan periods. The legend of Zhong Kui recorded by Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095) in *Supplement to 'Dream Brook Brush Talks'* clearly supports the association of demons with diseases in the Song dynasty. In that story, the Emperor's illness, which neither shamans nor palace doctors could cure, miraculously abated after Zhong Kui killed an intruding demon, implying that the demon was responsible for the ailment:

> One day in the Kaiyuan era [713-742], after returning to the palace from a round of bow-and-arrow practice on Mt. Li, Minghuang [the emperor Xuanzong] fell ill. For almost a month, he suffered from malaria, and neither the shamans nor the doctors could cure him. One night, he dreamt of two demons, one large and the other small. […] Baring one of his arms and wearing a pair of leather boots, he [the large demon] caught the small demon, gouged out its eyes, then tore him to pieces and ate it. When the emperor asked him who he was, he introduced himself as Zhong Kui, who, though having failed the imperial provincial exam in military affairs, had vowed to rid the world of demons for the throne. At these words, Minghuang awoke to find himself recovered instantly and in better health.
> 明皇開元講武驪山，歲翠華还宮，上不怪，因痁作，將逾月。巫医殫伎，不能致良。忽一夕，夢二鬼，一大一小。[…] 其大者[…] ，乃捉其小者，刳其目，然後擘而啖之。上問大者曰：「爾何人也？」奏云：「臣鍾馗氏，即武舉不捷之士也。誓與陛下除天下之妖孽。」夢覺，痁若頓瘳，而體益壯。

[106] Wu Shuping 吳樹平, "Hanshu" 漢書, in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書, *Zhongguo lishi* 中國歷史, vol. 1, 350 f. (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1992).

[107] Li, "They Shall Expel Demons," 1106.

A poem by the Northern Song writer Wen Tong 文同 (1018-1079) on a now-lost Zhong Kui painting by a certain "Pu Sheng" 蒲生 (possibly 蒲師訓, active during Five Dynasties) also portrays demon as agents of disease. The poem describes how three demons congregated beneath a fallen dead tree near a run-down temple to discuss which household to visit first to inflict chronic, contagious diseases:[108]

> A clamp of branches and scattered rubble are veiled by wild mist,
> The ancient shrine is peeling away among upended, withered trees.
> Below there are three demons who assemble at a whistle,
> Their first act is to choose a house in which to create a perverse fever.
> Painful and feverish, swollen and itching, rapidly retching and vomiting,
> [The victim suffers from a] choking throat and bloated belly…
> 叢棘亂礓翳野霧，古社禿剝倒枯樹。
> 下有三鬼相嘯聚，初行誰家作疰忤。
> 痛熱腫痒快嘔吐，寒噎咽喉脹臍肚。

Numerous stories of demons that inflicted or worsened mental and physical disorders can be found in the twelfth-century compilation of supernatural tales, *Yijian zhi*.[109] In one story, a demon caused a wealthy man and his wife to fall ill and die;[110]

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108 Wen Tong 文同, "Pushen Zhong Kui tu" 蒲生鍾馗圖 (translated and transcribed in Little, 28-29).

109 The *Yijianzhi* is included in the collectanea *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. The standard edition is the print of the Hanfenlou Studio 涵芬樓, which has been reprinted in the edition by the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 press in 1981. See Lao Hong 勞洪, "Yijianzhi" 夷堅志, in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書, *Zhongguo wenxue* 中國文學, vol. 2 (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1986), 1165.

110 See anecdote entitled "Dai Shirong" 戴世榮 in Hong Mai, *Yijian ding zhi*, *juan* 4, pages 569-570. Discussed in Liu Xiangguan 劉祥光, "Where did Ghosts come from in Song China (960-1279)?" (paper presented at *Behind the Ghastly Smoke: Rethinking the Idea of Ghost in World Religions conference, November 4-6, 2005*, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan), 6.

in another, a young lady became bedridden and unconscious under the spell of a demon.[111]

Besides causing diseases, demons were also associated with financial losses, professional hardships, and other types of misfortunes. The belief that demons cause loss of property is evident from the Zhong Kui legend, in which the offending demon was responsible for the theft of a jade flute from the palace.[112] Episodes in *Yijian zhi* also reflect the belief that demons can cause damage to property and the decline of family fortune. In one story, a demon almost destroyed an estate by setting its owner's clothes on fire, breaking windows and beams, and causing breakables to fly around the house for days on end;[113] in a few others, wealthy households became poverty-stricken after visits from malicious demons.[114]

Demons were also associated with professional hardships in the Song-Yuan periods, as is evident from Yuan inscriptions on the Freer scroll. Sun Yuanchen's 孫

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[111] See anecdote entitled "Rao shi fu" 饒氏婦 in Hong Mai, *Yijian bing zhi*, *juan* 12, page 468. Discussed in Liu, "Where did Ghosts come from," 6.

[112] "三郎聰明晚何謬，玉環狐媚不知祿兒醜。當年曾偷寧王玉笛吹，豈信此圖亦復[來]笑�APM來肆欺?" See inscription by Li Fengming 李鳳鳴 (late 13th to early 14th century) on Freer Zhong Kui handscroll (F1938.4). Transcribed in "Gong Kai Zhong Kui on Excursion," 7, Freer Gallery of Art Song and Yuan Dynasty Painting and Calligraphy 宋元書畫, last updated May 6, 2010, accessed May 5, 2012, http://www.asia.si.edu/SongYuan/F1938.4/F1938-4.Documentation.pdf. Inscriptions by Han Xing 韓性 (1266-1341) and Chen Fang 陳方 (died 1367?) on page 10 also alludes to the jade flute.

[113] See "Dai Shirong" 戴世榮 in Hong Mai, *Yijian ding zhi*, *juan* 4, pages 569-570. Discussed in Liu, "Where did Ghosts come from," 5-6.

[114] See discussions of the "Dai Shirong," "Rao shi fu," "Gezao dagui" stories in Liu, "Where did Ghosts come from," 5-6.

元臣 (late thirteenth to early fourteenth century) colophon mentions five fictional demons (*Wu Qionggui* 五窮鬼) in Tang writer Han Yu's 韓愈 (768-824) *Essay for Sending Away Demons of Poverty* (*Song Qiong wen* 送窮文), which were personifications of professional hardships such as the exhaustion of one's literary talent and the attraction of backstabbing friends that refused to leave the protagonist of Han's satirical allegory alone.[115]

> Old Man Zhong has a black beard while Sister has black skin;
> They are surrounded by [servants] who run in front of them, crowd up to them, and carry sedans on their shoulders;
> [He] can command the five demons [of poverty], thus I am not concerned;
> I don't need to ask Xing the servant [in Han Yu's essay] to make a carriage out of willow branches [to drive away the demons].
> 鍾叟蒼髯妹漆膚，前駈後擁兩肩輿，
> 能令五鬼非吾患，免使奴星結柳車。

Liu Hong 劉洪 (late 13th–early 14th century) reinforced the association between demons and professional misfortune. In his colophon on the Freer scroll, he claims that he dares not unroll it, for fear that demons depicted would jeer at him for having a lackluster career (我貧不敢披圖看，恐作邪揄來笑人).[116] Here, the metaphor of a jeering demon was drawn from Liu Yiqin's 劉義慶 (403-444) *New Accounts of Tales from the World* (*Shi shuo xing yu* 世說新語),[117] which features an episode in which a

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[115] This essay is actually Han Yu's tongue-in-cheek lamentation on his praise-worthy qualities, such as moral character, loyalty to friends, cutting-edge ideas and writing style. Characterized as the doings of the *Wu Qiong* demons, Han blames these qualities for making him unpopular in his time and circles. The term *Wu Qiong* later became an implication of forces leading to lack of success in life and work.

[116] See full inscription by Liu on "Gong Kai Zhong Kui on Excursion," 13.

[117] Translation of title provided in John Frodsham's translation of Bao Zhao's (414-466) "Six Songs of the Weary Road," in *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations. Volume I: From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty*, edited by

subordinate of the renown General Huan Wen 桓溫 (312-373) claimed to have been laughed at by a demon for having been repeatedly denied career advancements. Although the supernatural encounter was probably a story fabricated by the subordinate of the General as a subtle reminder for a promotion, the concept of the jeering demon (*gui yeyu* 鬼揶揄) had since become a common metaphor for lackluster careers.[118]

Balding Scalps and Thinning Brows

The belief that demons are bringers of diseases may have prompted the painters of the Yuan scrolls to depict Zhong Kui's demons as relatively hairless. Hair only appears around their crowns or in small tufts behind their ears (fig. 20). In stark contrast with Zhong Kui, who is identified with his thick beard, a trait to be discussed in the following chapter, Zhong Kui's demons have clean-shaven faces that are rarely whiskered or bearded (fig. 2.1). Even their eyebrows are thin or absent: their brows are either smudged with white pigment, which may represent a bare, protruding bone structure, or speckled with black ink dots reminiscent of roots of shaved eyebrows (figs. 2.1).

Whether curly or straight, long or short, abundant or scarce, coiffed or let loose, hair has long served as a potent socio-cultural symbol in China.[119] As forcefully as

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John Minford and Joseph S. M. Lau (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 532.

[118] Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), "Ren Dan" 任誕, in *Shishuo xingyu* 世说新语 *New Accounts of Tales of the World*. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies/University of Michigan, 2002).

[119] Frank Dikötter, "Hairy Barbarians, Furry Primates, and Wild Men: Medical Science and Cultural Representations of Hair in China," in *Hair: Its Power and*

costume or custom, the color, quality, length, and styles of facial or body hair have long served as markers of ethnicity, class, vocation, gender, political and religious affiliation in China. [120] They also indicate age, reveal emotion, and serve as a fashion statement.[121]

Hair is also an important index of health in Chinese culture, serving as an indication of disease, fertility, and longevity. Hair conditions have aided the prognosis of specific diseases: the thinning of one's eye brows and hair, for instance, have been taken respectively as symptoms for epilepsy and insect- or water-borne skin diseases.[122] Hair is also a marker of fertility: medical texts from the Han and Tang

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Meaning in Asian Cultures, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), 51-74.

[120] Li Sichun 李思純, "Suo min zu fa shi" 說民族髮式 (On Ethnic Hairstyles), *Jiang cun shi lun* 江村十論 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957): 42-62, especially 55-56. Jiang Shaoyuan 江紹原, *Fa xu zhua—guanyu tamen de mixin* 髮鬚爪: 關於它們的迷信 (Hair, Beard, and Nails: On Their Superstitions) (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1928). Lin Fushi 林富士, "Pifa de ren" 披髮的人 (Those Who Wear Their Hair Down), *Li shi yue kan* 歷史月刊 8 (1988): 149-150, reprinted in *Xiao li shi: li shi de bian chui* 小歷史: 歷史的邊陲 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2000): 171-174. See also "Tou fa de xiang zheng yi yi" 頭髮的象徵意義 (The Symbolism of Hair) by the same author in the same source.

[121] For instance, the idioms *huangfa chuitiao* 黃髮垂髫 ("yellowed hair and hair in braids") literally refers to elders and youngsters. The idioms *nüfa chongguan* 怒髮衝冠 ("hair standing on their ends due to rage") and *maogu songran* 毛骨悚然 ("hair and bones standing on their ends") use the appearances of hair to denote rage and fear.

[122] In the Six Dynasty medical text *Jiayi jing* 甲乙經 dated to the third century CE, epilepsy was believe to cause loss of hair ("癲疾毛髮去"); in the Tang medical text *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 dated to 682 CE by Sun Simiao, scabies caused by insects and water were believed to cause one's brow and hair to shed ("蟲癩, 水癩…眉髮墮落"). See discussions of the above in Lin, "Pifa de ren," 76-77.

dynasties cite loss of hair as an indicator of the loss of blood or male seminal fluids.[123] Bald women (*baitu* 白禿) were not considered suitable sexual partners or wet nurses for fear that their perceived weaker health would affect their reproductive and breast-feeding capacities.[124] Finally, since hair also served as an indicator of one's life spans, cutting it symbolized damage to health. Owing to this belief, tales of fox fairies snipping off their victims' hair caused alarm in the sixth century, as recorded in official histories of the Wei Dynasty (220-265).[125] Given the association of

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[123] For instance, in *Wuzang lun* 五臟論, hair was taken as the surplus of blood ("髮為血餘"). See Zhao Jianxiong 趙建雄 ed. *Dunhuang yi cui* 敦煌醫粹 (The Best of Dunhuang's Medical Literature) (Guiyang, China: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1988), 88. This belief was discussed in Lin Fushi 林富士,"Toufa, jibing, yu yiliao---yi Zhongguo Han Tang zhijian de yixue wenxian weizhu de chubu tan tao" 頭髮，疾病，與醫療---以中國漢唐之間的醫學文獻為主的初步探討 (A Preliminary Study of Hair, Disease, and Medicine Based on Medical Texts Between the Han and Tang Dynasties), in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 [Journal of the Academia Sinica Institute of Philology and History] 71.1 (2000): 67-127. Because the most authoritative medical literature circulating in the Song, Yuan, Ming periods were composed during the Han and Tang dynasties, Lin's survey—despite being on earlier periods—could still be valid for my argument. *Qianjin yifang*, *juan* 15, page 166 mentions how the exhaustion of semen causes hair to shed and skin to wilt ("精極令人無髮，髮膚枯落"). This is discussed in Lin, "Toufa, jibing, yu yiliao," 73. See also Catherine Despeux, "The Body Revealed: The Contribution of Forensic Medicine to Knowledge and Representations of the Skeleton in China," 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 and Boston: Brill, 2007), 635-684.

[124] Lin, "Toufa, jibing, yu yiliao," 74.

[125] Lin Fushi 林富士, "Spirits among Humans: Tales of Fairies (ching-mei) in Early Medieval China" (paper presented at *Behind the Ghastly Smoke: Rethinking the Idea of Ghost in World Religions conference, November 4-6, 2005*, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan), 26. This passage is quoted from Wei Shou 魏收 (505-572), "Ling zheng zhi" 靈徵志 in *Wei Shu* 魏書 (Official History of the Wei Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhong hua shu ju, 1974), *juan* 112, page 2923. See Lin "Spirits among Humans," 26. Here Lin offers another possible reason for associating fox fairies with the disaster of having one's hair cut off. He notes that

hairlessness with health problems in Chinese traditional medicine, it is likely the painters depicted Zhong Kui's demons with balding scalps, thin brows, and hairless faces based on the common belief that demons were agents of disease in China.

Upturned Noses and Bared Teeth

In addition to balding scalps or hairless faces, Zhong Kui's demons are often represented with upturned noses, large nostrils, and gaping mouths that reveal sharp teeth (fig.2.1). These ape-like features highlight the bestiality and barbarity of demons, a possible interpretation given the fact that the Chinese term for demon (*gui* 鬼) was initially coined to refer to a hideous, simian-like beast called *yu* 禺.[126] But there seems to be no coincidence that they also correspond to markers of hardships and tragedies in life according to Chinese physiognomy (*xiangshu* 相術)—a divination art that interprets traits of an individual's face, body, and behavior for purposes of fortune-telling—especially given the association of demons with bad luck elaborated earlier.

According to *Shenxiang quanbian*, a physiognomy manual, the nose determines one's wealth (*bi zhu caixing* 鼻主財星): the *alae nasi* symbolize repositories (*ku* 庫) of one's monetary fortune, while the nostrils (*qiao* 竅) indicate thrift or profligacy. Thus, while "[t]hose with small nostrils and aligned wings of the nose are prone to save and are reluctant to spend, those with wide nostrils and upturned noses" as seen in depictions of demons "have no savings but enjoy spending" (竅小庫齊之相，好聚

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foxes were often killed to have coats and brushes made from their skins, thus having foxes cutting off human hair might be a counter-revenge.

[126] See Shen, "'Gui' zi yuanshi yiyi zhi shitan," 50.

而不舍；戶寬反仰之相，無積而好施也。).[127] Under the same logic, those with this facial feature are prone to suffer from "a lack of money and grain in [their] household[s]," and are believed to "lead difficult lives [,] suffer from hard work, and die away from their native places" (孔大鼻高竅又長，須知家下少衣糧。艱辛受苦多勞碌，末喪他鄉實可傷。).[128] The depictions of peasants and beggars in the Song-Yuan periods with similar facial features, exemplified by the beggars scrambling to collect coins distributed by arhats in one of the Daitoku-ji Monastery's *Five Hundred Arharts* hanging scrolls (fig. I-11), conform to this theory.

Not only are depictions of demons' noses considered inauspicious according to physiognomy manuals, their large, teeth-baring mouths are also thought to forecast family tragedies. In *Shenxiang quanbian*, "bared teeth and a prominent Adam's apple" is considered a taboo in physiognomy (露齒結喉，相中大忌).[129] When this particularly unwelcomed combination of features is seen on a man, his kin is bound to be dispersed; when seen on a woman, she is destined to "burden her husband and bear him no sons" (男子如此，骨肉分離；女子如此，妨夫絕子).[130]

The application of general Chinese physiognomy in the analysis of demonic imagery is logical, given the fact that physiognomy was practiced at all levels of society and that portrait painters in the Song through Ming periods were expected to

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[127] See entry on *wanjin xiang* 萬金相 in *Shenxiang quanbian* reprinted in Zheng, *Xiangshu*, 39.

[128] See entry on *luzao bi* 露灶鼻 in *Shenxiang quanbian*, *juan* 4, reprinted in Zheng, *Xiangshu*, 81.

[129] See entry on 相容貴賤 reprinted in Zheng, *Xiangshu*, 28.

[130] Ibid., 28.

master this art to incorporate favorable features in the depictions of their sitters. Therefore, by depicting Zhong Kui's demons with facial features that foretell misfortune in physiognomy, the painters were probably reflecting the popular belief that demons were bringers of bad luck.

Associations of Demons with Barbarians and Ethnic Minorities

Besides the belief that demons are agents for disease and misfortune, the association of demons with non-Han Chinese also influenced how Zhong Kui's demons look in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls. Aspects that signal their alien qualities include their hairstyles, headgear, and the configuration of their bodies. The painters incorporated these features perhaps because *gui*—the Chinese character for demon—is part of the term *guifang* (鬼方), which refers to peoples of foreign origins and ethnic minorities in ancient China.[131] Like inhabitants of faraway lands, demons were believed to be equally strange in appearance and ominous in their conduct. Although there is no textual evidence in the Song-Yuan periods that explicitly compares demons with barbarians, the parallels between these two groups are striking. Like barbarians, demons represent forces that bring illness, death, financial loss, and bad luck; they are likened to treacherous humans, whose bizarre and immoral behavior make them unwelcome in China.

A conspicuous aspect that reflects the association of demons with barbarians in the typology of Zhong Kui's demons is their hairstyle and headgear. The demon holding a clapper in the Met scroll and the demons lifting a rock and wielding a sword in the Cleveland scroll have hairdos reminiscent of the *kunfa* (髡髮) shaven hairstyles

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[131] Shen Jianshi 沈兼士, "'Gui' zu yuanshi yiyi zhi shitan" 鬼字原始意義之試探, *Guoli Beijing daxue guoxue jikan* 國立北京大學國學季刊 5.3 (1935).

worn by Khitan nomads of the Liao Dynasty (916-1125) that posed a constant political threat to the Northern Song (fig. 2.9). The *kunfa* hairstyle was worn by men without special office or status from Khitan and affiliated tribes, as seen in Liao Dynasty tomb murals from Balin Zuoqi Dishuihu (fig. 2.10).[132] Like these non-Chinese men, the demons in the Met and Cleveland scrolls have shaven crowns and strands of unbound hair hanging down their ears.[133] But instead of having bangs arranged in various styles like Khitan men,[134] the demons have no hair on their temples; furthermore, while Khitan men have the backs of their skulls completely shaven, the demons retain strands of hair along the lower rim of their skulls.

Besides references to ethnic Khitan hairstyles, the demon engaged in a fistfight with its colleague in the Met scroll also wears its hair in a style reminiscent of the typical Mongolian *pojiao* (婆焦) hairdo (fig. 2.11). Also known as *sandatou* (三搭頭) due to its resemblance to the three-stranded hairdo worn by Chinese children, *pojiao* is defined by a shaven head with three strands of hair: one behind each ear and one down the temple.[135] Worn by Mongols regardless of class or rank, examples of this

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[132] Shen, "Liao Qingling bihua" 遼慶陵壁畫, fig.185, p. 389. Men from the Khitan and affiliated tribes would sometimes wrap their heads in kerchiefs – but this is a privilege given only to people of status and office among the Khitans and affiliated tribes. Those without these qualifications can only expose their heads in the *kunfa* hairstyle, even if they are rich.

[133] Shen, 389.

[134] Ibid.

[135] "Liao Jin Yuan nanzi fushi" 辽金元男子服饰 [Men's costume from the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties], accessed February 25, 2013.

hairstyle appear in the portrait of a Mongol Yuan aristocrat (fig. 2.12)[136] as well as on a servant standing to the left of Zhang Andabuhua and his wife Li Yunxian from a tomb mural dated to 1269 in Dongercun, Punchengxian, Shaanxi Province (fig. 2.13).[137] The demon in the Met scroll also has its hair similarly arranged in three strands; but unlike the Mongol style, the strand along the demon's temple is not cropped, and those behind the ears hang loose instead of being arranged into braided loops.[138] By depicting Zhong Kui's demons with hairstyles reminiscent of those worn by the Khitans and the Mongols, the painters seem to be consciously associating them with non-Han Chinese ethnic groups to highlight the strangeness of the demons.

The headgear of demons in the three scrolls also reflects the association of demons with non-Han Chinese. The flutist at the very end of the Met scroll has his peculiar cap adorned with a long, striated feather (fig. 2.14). This type of feathered headdresses was associated with barbarians and ethnic minorities no later than the Tang dynasty, and became a convention for depicting various foreigners.[139] The

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[136] According to Chen Yunru, Gugong shuhua tulu volume 7, p.46-53 contains images of bust portraits of Yuan dynasty emperors. See reference in 台北故宮大汗的世紀 (2001). See also Yu Hui, "Yuan dai gong ting hui hua yanjiu," 307-313. Jing Anning, "The portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), A Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," 40-86. Above citations from Chen Yunru's entry on Yuan Shizu portrait on p.288.

[137] Figure 115 on page 83 of the *World of Khubilai Khan* catalogue.

[138] Shen, 389.

[139] Yang Zhishui, "Meng Tian jiangjun yu chaling zhi guan." Although they became part of the iconography of images of foreign rulers and envoys in the Song and Yuan dynasties, feathered hats were worn by warriors and servants of Han-Chinese ethnicity as early as the Shang dynasty. In her article on "hats with feathers" (*cha ling zhi guan*), Yang Zhisui noted that iron helmets (*gangzhou*) excavated from the Shang period have thin tube(s) attached which may once have held feathers. She also mentioned a certain type of hat (*ying guan*) which was recorded in pre-Qin

Goryeo envoy in the mural of foreign ambassadors from Prince Zhanghui's tomb, is a famous eighth-century example of a foreigner depicted in a feathered cap (fig. 2.15).[140] In the Song and Yuan dynasties, foreigners and ethnic minorities (*fan* 番, *man* 蠻, *hu* 胡) continued to be shown in feathered hats, although they are attached to smaller caps strapped to the tops of their heads instead of the large round "helmets" covering the entire head worn by the Met scroll demon. Among many stereotypical traits associated with non-Han Chinese peoples, Northern Song writer Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002-1060) described the foreign tribute bearers he saw in a painting as having "curvy pheasants' feathers stuck on their heads" (翹翹雉尾插頭上).[141] This describes headdresses like those of the foreign kings and envoys seen in the *Barbarian Royalty Paying Homage to the Buddha* (*Fanwang lifo tu* 番王禮佛圖), a handscroll attributed to the Northern Song painter Zhao Guangfu 趙光輔 (active mid-tenth century to early eleventh century) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 2.16).

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sources and persisted throughout the Ming dynasty. Servants (*zaoli*) in the Ming period also wear hats with feathers on one-side, as evident in woodblock prints, temple murals, as well as recorded in Ye Mengzhu's Yueshipian. See Yang p.75 n.1.

[140] See "Tang Zhanghuai taizi mu bi hua keshi tu zhong riben," *Kaogu* 12 (1984).

[141] The poem is entitled *Viewing a Painting of Foreign Tribute Bearers in the Collection of Han Yuru* (Guan Han Yuru huren gongfeng tu). Quoted from *Quan Song shi*, vol. 5 (Beijing: Peking University 1991): 3247. Cited in Yang p.75 n.1. The four foreigners in the painting were described to have falcons on their arms, holding dish with rhino's horns, walking chained lions and qilins. They were described as having deep eyes and large noses, as well as visible bones and tendons comparable to barbaric deities. The appearance and behavior of these foreign envoys are stereotypical.

By costuming Zhong Kui's demons in feathered headdresses, the painters were probably associating them with foreign royalty and envoys as seen in Tang and Song paintings. Although feathered caps in the examples above are worn by foreigners of high social-political status, the association of demons with foreigners and ethnic minorities via this type of headdress is unmistakable.

Certain headgear worn by Zhong Kui's demons could also be associated with the Mongols. One of the demons who carries Zhong Kui on his shoulders in the Cleveland scroll wears a pyramid-shaped hat with a pom-pom on top (fig. 2.18). This type of headgear is comparable to the "pointed hat with a broad rim" (尖頂笠子帽) worn by what has been identified as a Mongol dancer figurine from a Jin or Yuan tomb in Xifeng, Jiaozuo, Henan Province (河南焦作金元墓出土) (fig. 2.19).[142] This headgear appears also in Yuan period woodblock prints of Mongols kicking ball and playing board games in *A Comprehensive Record of the Forest of Affairs* (*Shilin guangji* 事林廣記), an illustrated encyclopedia written by the late Southern Song author Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (active late thirteenth-century) (fig. 2.20) and expanded and reprinted in the Yuan dynasty.[143] By showing one of the demons in a

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[142] Now in the Henan Museum, this figurine is reproduced as Fig68 on p.54 of the Khubilai Khan catalogue.

[143] http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/shilinguangji.html. Reproduced from Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (1992), "Shilin guangji 事林廣記", in: *Zhongguo da baike quanshu* 中國大百科全書, *Zhongguo lishi* 中國歷史, vol. 2, 945-946. Beijing/Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe. The oldest version is the 1330 version printed by the Jian'an Chunzhuang library 建安椿莊書院 and reprinted in 1963 by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. The second important version is that from 1325 which was reprinted in Japan in 1699.

distinctly Mongolian headgear, the painter seems to be deliberately associating demons with the Mongols.

Besides hairstyles and headgear, another characteristic that associates Zhong Kui's demons with ethnic minorities is their exposed bodies. The demons in the three scrolls are usually topless, having no more than an occasional cape or sash draped around their shoulders (fig. 2.1). When they are depicted clothed, their sleeves are short or rolled up, baring their muscular arms. A few have knee-length pants: the majority wears loincloths or animal skins and rags that barely touch the knee, exposing their thick thighs and strong legs. Finally, most demons in the three scrolls are barefooted.

The extent to which the demons' bodies are exposed in the three scrolls is an oddity in the tradition of Chinese figure painting in which the bodies of human figures of high socio-economic rank and of Han-Chinese ethnicity are almost invariably hidden by heavy clothing.[144] The absence of naked bodies in the visual arts of China

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[144] John Hay, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" in *Body Subject and Power in China*, eds. Angela Zito and Tani Barlow, 42-77 (Chicago: Chicago University Press. 1994). Exposure of the body is rare and partial, and it is a convention in depicting figures of specific religious, political, and professional affiliations. For instance, Buddhist monks and arhats as well as some Daoist immortals (Zhong Liquan and Li Tieguai) are customarily depicted with a bared chest. Often the individual would occupy a higher rank or assume a mentor's role. The exposure of one's body through skimpy or revealing clothes may also be a pragmatic choice driven by one's work or climate. For instance, grooms in Jin tomb murals have their sleeves rolled up as they feed the horses, while farmers have their arms and legs exposed as they busy themselves with transplanting (cha yang) in rice paddies in a Yuan illustration of tilling and weaving in the Freer Collection (See Section 9, *Rice Culture*, by Ch'eng Ch'I (active 13th century), handscroll, ink and color on paper, in Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Freer Gallery of Art, 1973: 57). A man is also seen cooling himself from the summer heat with his chest exposed as he lay on his daybed in *Whiling Away the Summer* handscroll.

results partly from a disinterest in anatomy in China, where the body is presented as "a solid and well-shaped entity whose shapeliness is supported by the structure of a skeleton and defined in the exteriority of swelling muscle and enclosing flesh."[145] The belief that the internal circulation of invisible breaths (*qi* 氣) is the source of life also caused painters to favor the depiction of clothed figures, since the undulation of clothing suggests the life-sustaining invisible breaths.[146]

But the reason nudity is rarely seen among respectable figures in Chinese painting perhaps stems from the association of the exposure of the body with breaches in decorum and with persons of barbaric descent or lower social standing. In both Western and Chinese traditions, clothing is "a sign of class, civility, and conformation to social norms."[147] Thus, the naked body has been connected to peoples of "regions beyond the periphery of the civilized center" because it is devoid of social meaning.[148] By depicting demons as near naked in skimpy, chest and limb-baring clothes, painters of Zhong Kui's demons incorporated the class and barbaric connotations of "un-dress."

Their near nudity and skimpy clothing expose another notable "barbaric" feature of Zhong Kui's demons—their muscular physiques. Except for one skeletal demon in the Freer scroll, all male demons in the three Zhong Kui scrolls appear fit and robust. While their ribs are visible, ankles and wrists thin, and their abs tucked-in, they have

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[145] On the Chinese disinterest in anatomy, see Francois Jullien, *The Impossible Nude: Chinese Art and Western Aesthetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 59. See Hay 51 for quotation.

[146] Jullien, 61.

[147] Hay, 44.

[148] Hay, 63.

broad shoulders, thick thighs, and muscular limbs. Heavy modeling in ink washes further articulates the web of musculature covering their bodies (fig. 1.13).

The demons' exaggerated muscularity does more than emphasize their impressive physical strength, as demonstrated through the stunts and services they perform in the scrolls. Muscles and physical strength were often negatively associated with the militant (*wu* 武), uncivilized, and barbaric because they ran contrary to ideals of the learned, cultivated gentlemen (*wen* 文) upheld by the educated elites. It is interesting to note that the physical trait which distinguished a civilized man from barbarians in Ancient Greece was exactly that which associated one with barbarians in Song-Yuan period China.[149] The Ancient Greeks strived for toned bodies, articulate joints, as well as sinewy legs, ankles, and feet because they were emblems of a brave soul and a strong character.[150] The nomadic Scythians—uncivilized barbarians in the Greek mind—were thought to have none of the above, which coincided with their perceived lack of mental and physical strength.[151] While muscles were a sign of physical endurance and a crystallization of autonomous will or agency in Ancient Greece,[152] they were looked down upon among Han-Chinese scholar-elites in Song-Yuan period China.

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[149] Shigehisa Kuriyama, *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine* (New York: Zone Books, 1999).

[150] Ibid., 134.

[151] Ibid., 137.

[152] Ibid., 144.

Associations of Demons with Actors and Workers

Certain aspects of Zhong Kui's demons in the three scrolls also recall the appearance and behavior of actors—especially comedians (*chou* 丑)—and workers. The affinity with actors is evident from the demons' headgear. For instance, a handful of demons in the Cleveland and Freer scrolls wear round, rimless caps topped with pom-poms (fig. 2.24);[153] the flutist at the very end of the Met scroll even has his peculiar cap adorned with a long, striated feather (fig. 2.14). This type of headdress corresponds to the helmet-like hats (盔式帽) with a pheasant's feather (雉尾) worn by Yuan theatrical professionals in woodblock prints of vernacular epics (*pinghua* 平話).[154]

Other demons wear headdresses that identify them as comedians. The demon holding up a pole in the Met scroll (fig. 2.25), for instance, wears a headscarf similar to that worn by a comedian in the Southern Song album leaf "The Eye Doctor" (*Yanyao suan* 眼藥酸) (fig. 2.26). Depicting a scene from a Southern Song vaudeville play (*zaju* 雜劇) that poke fun at impoverished scholars, this painting features an eye doctor (or a vendor of eye medicine) to the left—whose profession is indicated by a profusion of roundels containing images of the eye on his costume,[155] and a potential

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[153] This cap bears some resemblance to the "helmet" like hats worn by Yuan. Besides the flutist in the Met scroll, additional examples include the sedan chair carrier in front of Zhong Kui in the Freer scroll and the demon carrying an umbrella for Zhong Kui in the Cleveland scroll.

[154] Shen, 416. For illustrations, see *Yuanke quanxiang pinghua wuzhong* 元刻全相平話五种 (Wenxue guji kanxing she yingyinben 文學古籍刊行社影印本,1955).

[155] Ibid., 357.

patient or customer walking towards him from the right, pointing to one eye as if indicating an ailment. Like the demon in the Met scroll, the actor impersonating the customer wears a headscarf tied at the upper end referred to as the "jester's headscarf" (*hunguo* 諢裹) and is part of the costume of Song comedians. This detail, as well as the ripped fan with the character "jester" (*hun* 諢) written on it tucked behind his waist, confirm the customer's identity as a comic actor.[156]

Since it has been proposed that the Cleveland and Met scrolls portray year-end *nuo* exorcist parades in the Song capitals during which impersonations of Zhong Kui and other deities by the royal theater troupe would march through city streets, it seems appropriate for painters to depict demons in headgear typically worn by actors and comedians because the demons would be enacted by these theatre professionals.

While the demons' headdresses affiliate them with theatrical professionals and barbarians, the distinct trousers they wear associate them with workers and the poor. Purportedly named for their structural resemblance to a young cow's snout, the "calf's-snout" shorts (*dubikun* 犢鼻褌) worn by Zhong Kui's demons in the scrolls is a conventional clothing item for demonic creatures in China. *Taiping guangji* contains a few mentions of demons in calf-snout trousers;[157] by the Northern Song dynasty, it was already part of the demon's costume in Zhong Kui's legend recorded by Shen

[156] Robert J. Maeda, "Some Sung, Chin and Yuan Representations of Actors," *Artibus Asiae* 41.2/3 (1979): 132-156.

[157] Zheng Zunren, *Zhong Kui yanjiu* (Taibei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2004).

Gua.[158] Referring to a type of knee-length trousers or an apron fastened at the back, which covers only the crotch and has no legs,[159] *dubikun* came into existence by the Eastern Zhou period (770-256 BC) and quickly became a wardrobe staple for workers because of the freedom of movement it permits, as seen in depiction of salt workers illustrated in the thirteenth-century medical manual *Monumenta Medica* (fig. 2.22).[160] The workers' pants later became an emblem of poverty. For instance, the renowned Western Han dynasty rhapsodist Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179-117 BC) embarrassed his affluent father-in-law when he was spotted wearing these pants as he rinsed containers from his wine shop.[161] Ruan Xian 阮咸 (active third-century AD), a celebrated member of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" non-conformist group

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[158] Dated to the Northern Song dynasty, the "Supplement to the Brush Talks of Dream Brook" (*Mengxi bitan bu bitan*) by Shen Gua gives a quick sketch of Zhong Kui's victim. Depending on how the text is punctuated, the demons could either be wearing a red shirt and calf-snout trousers, or red calf-snout trousers. Accordingly, the demon could either be clothed or bare-chested. The red color doesn't match the connotation of the calf-snout trousers, which is often worn by the working class or men in the military. Song commoners were known to be able to wear only black and white clothes, while Yuan commoners wore all shades of brown. See Shen Congwen, *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuian, 1999). For a critical study of Shen Gua and Mengxi bitan, see Zuo Ya, "Capricious destiny: Shen Gua (1031--1085) and his age" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2011).

[159] See Sima Qian, "Sima Xiangru liezhuan" 司马相如列传, in *Shiji* 史记. Another theory claims that the calf-snout short is named because the length of the legs reaches the "calf-snout acupoint" (*dubu xue*) just below the knee. In this case, the ox-snout short is not legless but knee-length.

[160] Tang Shenwei 唐慎微, *Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草 (Materia Medica Corrected and Arranged in Categories), c. 1082. References to 重修政和經史政類備用本草. Fascimile of 1249 edition. Renmin weishen chubanshe, Beijing, 1957. In Elisabeth Hsu and Stephen Harris eds., *Plants, Health and Healing: On the Interface of Ethnobotany and Medical Anthropology* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010).

[161] Sima Qian, "Sima Xiangru liezhuan" 司马相如列传, in *Shiji* 史记.

in the Six Dynasties, deliberately advertised his poverty to mock his well-to-do clansmen across the street by airing his “calf-snout shorts” on his clothesline.[162]

By dressing Zhong Kui’s demons in a wardrobe staple of workers, the painters of the Cleveland, Met, and Freer scrolls were not only honoring literary traditions that costumed demons this way, but also referring to the demons’ pictorial roles as workers for Zhong Kui in the scrolls. In addition, as demons were associated with the depletion of family fortunes and damage of property, a point elaborated above, it seems particularly appropriate to dress them in poor-man’s clothes.

Other Cultural Connotations of Demons

Dark Skin

Demons in the three scrolls are noticeably darker in skin tone than Zhong Kui and his female companion. In the Freer scroll, there are even demons painted with opaque black ink, such as the dwarfish fiend with a shoulder bag scurrying next to Zhong Kui and all of the miniature demons being tied up and dragged along in the second half of the picture (fig. 1.15). Since many of Zhong Kui’s demons perform manual labor in the two scrolls scrutinized, pre-modern viewers may have associated their complexion with dark-skinned men of South or Southeast Asian origins who often served as bondservants in China from the Tang through the Yuan periods. The custom for employing dark-skinned men as service staff in officials’ households is documented in Ye Shiqi’s 葉士奇 (active fourteenth century) “Miscellaneous Notes”

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[162] Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), “Ren Dan” 任誕, in *Shishuo xingyu* 世說新語 *New Accounts of Tales of the World* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies/University of Michigan, 2002).

in *Man of Weeds and Trees* (*Caomuzi zazhi pian* 草木子雜志篇). This fourteenth-century source on Yuan customs mentions how "darkies" (*heisi* 黑厮)[163]—a term for men from Southwest China, the southern parts of Indo-China, or the Polynesian islands who had "curly hair" and "skin comparable to black paint"—were regularly employed alongside Korean girls as house-servants in Mongolian households.[164] Thus, images of dark-skinned demons may have evoked similar ethnic and class associations in their viewers.

The dark hues may also reflect general associations of demons with the color black in Chinese culture, as evident in descriptions of black-colored demons in tales of the strange and the painterly tradition of painting ink demons. A ghost story from "Records of the Strange" in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji*

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163 The black-skinned people known to Song-Yuan China also included East Africans. They were referred to as *cengqi* (written alternatively as 層期 and 僧祇) in Chinese after the Arabic term "zanj" and described as having bodies "as black as lacquer" in Song sources such as Zhao Rugua's *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志 (Record of Foreign Nations). A possible illustration of a *cengqi* man can be found under the category of human figures (*renwu*) in the illustrated encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪 (Assembled Pictures of the Three Realms), *juan* 14, page 10a. This figure is identified as native from a certain "Kunlun Cengsi Kingdom" 崑崙層斯國, a likely misspelling of "cengqi" (underlines mine). Like *heisi*, *cengqi* people often served as slaves in China and share many similar cultural connotations. Both are perceived as barbaric and associated with martial and magical powers. For more on the history and perception of dark-skinned peoples in China during the Song-Yuan periods, see Don Wyatt's *The Blacks of Premodern China* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) and Julie Wilensky's "The Magical Kunlun and 'Devil Slaves': Chinese Perceptions of Dark-Skinned People and Africa before 1500," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 122 (July 2002). I would like to thank Robert Hymes for suggesting the "cengsi"/ "zanj" connection and the latter source.

164 "Northerners [Mongolians] favored Gaoli [Korean] girls as female attendants and darkies (*heisi* 黑厮) as house-servants" (北人女使，必得高麗女孩童，家僮，必得黑厮). Special thanks to Lu Pengliang for pointing out this source.

shuyi ji 太平廣記述異記), a collection of supernatural tales in the tenth-century, mentions a demon who is "black in color" (色黑).[165] In *Records of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志), a compilation of anomalous stories in the Southern Song dynasty, a demon in the story about a man named Yang Wulang (楊五郎) was not only "covered in black hair" (黑毛遍体) but also had flesh which "turns into black liquid" after being fried in boiling oil (沸油煎其肉，化為黑水流去).[166] The "ink demon" (*mogui* 墨鬼) genre in China painting was likely to have sprung from this belief as well. Besides the painters of the three scrolls,[167] the Five Dynasties painter Fang Congzhen (房從真),[168] Song dynasty painters Si Yizhen (姒顧真)[169] and Zhao Boju (趙伯駒),[170] as well as the Yuan court artist Wang Zhenpeng (王振鵬), whose

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[165] Zheng Zunren, *Zhong Kui yanjiu* (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2004).

[166] See "Yang Wulang gui" (Yang Wulang's Demon) in the fourth particle of Yijianzhi volume Yi (夷坚志三志己卷第四杨五郎鬼).

[167] Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (1296-1370), "Zhizuo kaimo" 製作楷模 (Principles of image-making), *juan* 5, in *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (Precious Mirror for Examining Painting). Preface dated to 1365. Zhizheng period.

[168] A native of Chengdu, Sichuan Province, Fang Congzhen was known for painting horses, armored men, as well as gods and demons in splashed ink. See Xuequan Cao 曹學佺 (1574-1647), *Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記, *juan* 160, in *Wenyuange siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書本.

[169] A native of Nanyang, Si Yizhen was skilled in alternating the shades of ink and was known to have painted demons in monochrome ink. Huang Tingjian wrote a colophon for one of his paintings. See Zhu Mouyin 朱謀垔 (active 17th century), *Huashi huiyao* 畫史會要 (Essence of the history of painting), *juan* 2, in *Wenyuange siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書本.

[170] Gong Kai 龔開 (1222-1307), Freer scroll colophon no. 1 (painter's inscription).

splashed ink painting of demons performing acrobatic stunts will be discussed in Chapter Four, are all known for painting demons in ink monochrome. Thus, the depiction of demons as dark-skinned in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls not only reflects their association with the working class but may also reflect beliefs of demons being black in color.

Gaping Mouths

The majority of demons in the three Yuan scrolls have wide open mouths (fig. 2.1).[171] While gaping mouths could represent the demons panting as a result of the strenuous acts they are performing or couldmake them appear threatening by baring sharp teeth, it may also reflect Chinese beliefs that demons are noisy. Literature and painting inscriptions from the Song and Yuan dynasties abound with descriptions of demons wailing (*ku* 哭; *qi* 泣), howling (*hao* 嚎), letting out long cries (*xiao* 嘯), making sad gasps (*xiu xiu jiao* 咻咻叫), or making shrill chirping sounds (*sheng jiu jiu* 聲啾啾). For instance, the inscription by Yuan writer Song Wu on the Freer scroll mentions how “on a rainy autumn day hordes of demons gather at the darkened mountain of the ghost capital Fengdu to wail in chilling, high-pitched noises” (酆都山黑陰雨秋，群鬼聚哭寒啾啾).[172] Even when they are not letting out the cries themselves, the demons are often associated with these shrill noises. For instance, they were described as “roaming on dark moonless nights in mountains void of

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[171] See figures no. 2, 3, 4, 11 from the Met scroll and figures no. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13 in the Cleveland scroll.

[172] Song Wu 宋无 (1260–after 1340), Freer scroll colophon no. 9.

human activity but filled with yelping cries" (月黑山空聚嘯聲) or emerging amid "empty grooves and autumnal grass which rings with long cries" (長嘯空林百草秋) in colophons on the Freer scroll by Yuan writers Tang Shimou 湯時懋 (unidentified; active early 14th century) and Wang Shi 王時 (active 1330s–1380s).[173]

The demons' gaping mouths may also been inspired by demonic beings in the retinue of the Buddhist Guardian Kings (*lokapalas*) that are characterized by their cannibalism and by what they consume. According to *The Great Wisdom Treatise* (*Dazhidulun* 大智度論), a Buddhist work translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344-413 A.D.) in the fifth-century,[174] *yaksas* (葯叉) and *raksas* (羅剎) in the retinue of the *lokapala* Vaisravana are cannibalistic beings who eat human flesh, as are *pisacas* who accompany the *lokapala* Dhrtarashtra; *pretas* and *putanas* who respectively attend to the *lokapalas* Virudhaka and Virupaksha are hungry ghosts condemned to eternal hunger and thirst. *Gandharvas* (彥達嚩) who serve the *lokapala* Dhrtarashtra are usually known to survive on perfumed vapors, but in the *Sutra of the Great Thousand Defender of the Land* (*Shouhu daqian guotu jing* 守護大千國土經), a text dedicated

[173] Tang Shimao 湯時懋 (unidentified; active early 14th century), Freer scroll colophon no. 13; Wang Shi 王時 (active 1330s–1380s), Freer scroll colophon no.15.

[174] See "Kumārajīva" 鳩摩羅什, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* http://www.buddhism-dict.net.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?9c.xml+id%28%27b9ce9-6469-7f85-4ec0%27%29. See also "Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra" 大智度論, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* http://www.buddhism-dict.net.ezproxy.
cul.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%A4%A7%E6%99%BA%E5%BA%A6%E8%AB%96

to defenders of malicious spirits translated by the Indian scholar monk Dānapāla 施護 (active 982),[175] they were known to roam through the human realm drinking blood, devouring flesh, and consuming essence (精氣) alongside their demonic cohorts the likes of *yaksas, raksas*, *kumbhandas* (矩畔拏), and *bhutas* (步多).[176]

Given Zhong Kui's association with Buddhist Guardian Kings, whose demon-quelling abilities parallel that of the *lokapalas*, and who is also depicted in the Cleveland scroll on a "living throne" of demons after the pictorial convention of *lokapalas*, it is possible that Zhong Kui's demons were modelled upon *lokapala*'s demonic attendants as well. By depicting Zhong Kui's demons with wide-open mouths, the painters of the Cleveland and Met scrolls might be referring to demons as being noisy or associate them with the *lokapalas*' demon attendants, whose identities are linked to what they can or cannot consume through their mouths.

Dynamic Movement

Another notable feature of the demons in the three scrolls is their dynamism. Especially in the Cleveland and Met scrolls, demons run, reach up, squat down, dart forward, lean back, twist and turn, and balance themselves on one foot (figs.9-11;

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175 See "Dānapāla" 施護, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* http://www.buddhism-dict.net.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E6%96%BD%E8%AD%B7/. "Sutra of the Great Thousand [Destructions, Defender of the Land]." See also 守護大千國土經, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* http://www.buddhism-dict.net.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%AE%88%E8%AD%B7%E5%A4%A7%E5%8D%83%E5%9C%8B%E5%9C%9F%E7%B6%93

176 Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經 No.999, XIX, p.578 and beyond, especially p.582; note that the Chinese characters quoted here are different. Jiro Murata 村田治郎 ed., *Jüyong guan* 居庸關 (Chü-Yung-Kuan: The Buddhist Arch of the Fourteenth Century A.D. at the Pass of the Great Wall Northwest of Peking), vol. 1 (Kyoto: Faculty of Engineering, Kyoto University, 1958), 68.

figs. 14-16). The variety of dramatic postures they assume contrast sharply with the relatively stiff and motionless figures of high social and religious ranks in Chinese art.

The painters of the Cleveland and Met scrolls depicted Zhong Kui's demons in a high level of dynamism appropriate to year-end *nuo*-exorcist rituals in which actors in disguise as demons perform acrobatic stunts. Furthermore, instructions for painting supernatural beings in the Song-Yuan periods, such as Guo Ruoxu's (郭若虛) *An Account of My Experiences in Painting* (*Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志, ca. 1080 or earlier) and Xia Wenyan's (夏文彥 1296-1370) *Precious Mirror for Painting* (*Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, dated 1356),[177] instructed painters to depict demons as "running and scampering" (鬼神作醜䰢馳趡之狀).[178] Finally, the painters might also allude to *yaksa* demons in the Buddhist tradition, who were possible templates for Zhong Kui's demons and known for their swiftness.[179]

Demons as Metaphors of Malicious Humans

According to the Freer scroll colophons, demons symbolize malicious persons at court who covet power of people in high places and brought down the Tang and Song

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[177] Richard Edwards, *The Heart of Ma Yuan: The Search for a Southern Song Aesthetic* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 47.

[178] Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (1296-1370), "Zhizuo kaimo" 製作楷模 (Principles of image-making), *juan* 1, in *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (Precious Mirror for Examining Painting). Preface dated to 1365. Zhizheng period. (天帝明威福嚴重之儀，鬼神作醜䰢馳趡之狀。)

[179] Li Song 李凇, "Luelun Zhongguo zaoqi tianwang tuxiang ji qi xifang laiyuan," in *Chang'an yishu yu zongjiao wenming* (Arts and Religious Civilization of Chang'an) (Beijing: Zhonghua shujü, 2002), 130. According to Li, the Sanskrit term "yaksa" denotes qualities such as "courage, swiftness, and voraciousness" among others.

dynasties. Song Wu refers to Yang Guifei as a "palace demon" (*gong yao* 宮妖);[180] Li Mingfeng's colophon compares An Lushan, the trusted aide of Tang Minghuang who orchestrated the An-Shi Rebellion (755-763), with the demon that disrupted the palace in the Zhong Kui legend:[181]

> Sanlang [Emperor Xuanzong] is a smart man, how come he became foolish in senility? Yuhuan [Guifei] has a bewitching charm, it never dawned on her how ugly Lu-er [An Lushan] was.
> [The demon] that played the jade flute stolen from Ningwang--
> Could it be that it reincarnated as [Lushan] to wreak havoc and deceive?
> 三郎聰明晚何謬，玉環狐媚不悟祿兒醜。
> 當年曾偷寧王玉笛吹，豈信此徒亦復[來]效顰來肆欺?

Chen Fang, on the other hand, compared the demon in the Zhong Kui legend to evil persons at the late Southern Song court who frolicked in the palace nightly "without being recognized by people of the Xianchun era (1265-1274)."[182]

Demons also serve as metaphors for evil people prevalent among us who are hard to detect and thus hard to protect ourselves from. They highlight the bizarre phenomena in society and atrocious things people do that make the strange appearances and evil doings of demons pale in comparison:[183]

> [Yet] the strange shapes and unusual forms, the fierce and cruel or wily and cunning, [the ways] the strong and the weak gulp and gnaw each other, the hundreds of ways in which they transform and deceive, are more [bizarre] than the demons [depicted here], but very few consider [such worldly phenomenon] strange.
> 世之奇形異狀，暴戾詭譎，彊弱吞啗，變詐百出，甚於妖魅者，不少人不

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[180] Song Wu 宋无 (1260–after 1340), Freer scroll colophon no.9.

[181] Li Mingfeng 李鳴鳳 (late 13th–early 14th century), Freer scroll colophon no.2.

[182] Chen Fang 陳方 (died 1367?), Freer scroll colophon no.6.

[183] Boshiweng 襏襫翁 (unidentified; late 13th–early 14th century?), Freer scroll colophon no.4.

以為恠…

They stand for the violent, evil, cunning, and dishonest whose execution would delight the righteous:[184]

> Sprites and goblins are bound and tied, waiting to be boiled. The painting causes the resolute and upright to rejoice upon viewing it, and the wicked and deceitful to coward in fear upon seeing it.
> 魑魅束縛以待烹，使剛正者覩之心快，姦佞見之膽落.

The fact that Zhong Kui's demons look more human than bestial in the Cleveland, Met, and Freer scrolls may reflect the changes in the target of exorcist rituals from pestilent beasts to souls of the dead in Song times, as argued by Edward Davis;[185] it may also be due to the fact that demons came to represent malicious humans around us instead of unknown supernatural forces as is evident from the Freer scroll Yuan colophons.

Demons as Comical

By modelling Zhong Kui's demons after the sick and unlucky, barbarians and workers, and the ugly and malicious, the painters of the three scrolls were also giving demons a comical bent. The characterization of demons as comical may seem counterintuitive at first. After all, the diseases, disasters, malice, mischief, and violence associated with demons should elicit more fear than amusement. Indeed, several colophon writers of the Freer scroll noted how "shocked" (驚訝)[186] and

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[184] Zhou Yun 周耘 (unidentified; early 14th century?), Freer scroll colophon no.17.

[185] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

[186] Boshiweng 襏襫翁 (unidentified; late 13th–early 14th century?), Freer scroll colophon no.4: "Whenever *Going on an Excursion to Zhongshan* is unrolled for

"terrified" (驚人駭俗)[187] they were upon seeing the demonic forms in the painting. But interestingly, the very same images which terrified some caused others to "let out a hearty laugh" (忽爾大笑).[188] Even when writers didn't explicitly claim demons to be laughable, they characterized the scroll as being "playfully painted" (戲筆)[189] or they repeatedly emphasized how there is a more profound moral message or aesthetic ideal behind its seemingly frivolous appearance, thus revealing how the common viewer tended to associate demon paintings as a light-hearted pursuit.

Certain representations of demons not only allude to familiar comical characters ridiculed in jokes and comic skits from the Song dynasty but also employ pictorial strategies commonly utilized in the literary and visual humor of China; thus, images of demons could have well served as comic relief and spectacles to pre-modern viewers in addition to being didactic or fearful. While sick people are not laughed at, those with disabilities and deformities, such as blindness, deafness, near-sightedness, tumors, cleft-lips, hunched backs, etc. were regularly employed in Song jokes. People suffering financial hardship or family tragedies are not ridiculed, but the physiognomy of the unfortunate corresponds in principle to physical deformities that

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entertainment, those who see are invariably shocked." (《中山出遊圖》，凡一展翫，見者無不驚訝。)

[187] Li Shizhuo 李世倬 (1687–1765), Freer scroll colophon no. 21: "In the case that something was gained, everywhere one looks there are things that shock and surprise the viewers." (果有得也，則觸處皆是驚人駭俗，致觀者訝然，此作是也。)

[188] Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645–1704), Freer scroll colophon no.19: "I take this out and look at it, and I'm bound to have a good laugh, for the ancients never fail [in their purposes], I think." (取兹觀之，必忽爾大笑，以古人為不爽。)

[189] Feng Fang 豐坊 (1492-1563), Freer scroll colophon no. 18.

frequently serve as laughing stocks in Song jokes. Barbarians themselves are rarely targeted in Song humor, but Han-Chinese with body odor, beards, and facial features characteristic of foreigners are often parodied. Workers were not teased for their professions, yet the traits often associated with peasants—stupidity, vulgarity, and lack of culture—are often mocked in Song jokes and *zaju* comic skits. In other words, even though demons themselves are never at the core of Song humor, their abnormal appearances, exotic costumes, exaggerated expressions and postures, as well as their association with the malicious associate them with characters who are regularly ridiculed.

The characterization of demons as comical figures—a notion reinforced through their association with derisible social outcasts—is supported by legends of Zhong Kui or supernatural tales from Song times. The demon in Shen Gua's version of Zhong Kui's legend, for instance, is presented as a mischievous imp who, instead of escaping with his spoils from the palace after stealing the emperor's prized belonging, jovially "sprinted around the palace grounds." The fact that thieves in Chinese opera were often performed by clowns skilled in acrobatics and martial arts reinforces the comical association of Zhong Kui's demon.

Conclusion

Returning to the question of how painters depicted supernatural beings invisible to the average human eye, this chapter reveals that they looked around. Besides consulting specimens from the long visual tradition of painting monstrous folk gods and Buddhist demons in China, the painters modelled Zhong Kui's demons on human beings of distant lands and low socio-economic standings who were marginalized in Chinese society due to their ethnic and class differences and their association with undesirable conditions. They lent form to these supposedly amorphous and invisible

beings by using depictions and descriptions of foreigners, workers, comedians, acrobats, the poor, the sick, and the unfortunate because the bizarre appearances, uncultivated behavior, menial roles, and undesirable forces symbolized by these social outcasts coincided with popular conceptions of demons in general.

Modelling the unknown on that which is familiar is a strategy shared by artists around the world. Michelangelo was known to have derived inspiration for monsters in the *Attack of Saint Antony* on strange fish he saw at the market;[190] modern scholar William LaFleur suspected that painters of Heian Japan modelled the haggard appearance of the supernatural *preta* hungry ghosts on the malnourished poor that roamed the city streets. Robert A. Rorex argued that Song painters modelled the appearance of the Xiongnu nomads from the Han dynasty after the Khitan tribesmen of the Liao dynasty in paintings of *Lady Wenij Returns Home to Han* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;[191] nineteenth-century instructions for Water-Land salvation ritual paintings recommended painters to model ghosts after dead bodies. In the same vein, the painters of the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls turned to familiar secular characters around them to craft images of Zhong Kui's demons. They used as their models real people they would have heard about or encountered in person as models for depicting demons, which share similar roles, stations, and connotations to their counterparts in this world.

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[190] "The Torment of Saint Antony," *Kimball Art Museum*, last modified August 28, 2014, https://www.kimbellart.org/collection-object/torment-saint-anthony.

[191] Robert A. Rorex, "Some Liao Dynasty Tomb Murals and Images of Nomads in Chinese Paintings of the Wen-Chi Story," *Artibus Asiae* 45. 2/3 (1984): 174-198.

These human types would have been a common sight for the painters who lived and worked in large urban centers in Southeast China at the turn of the Song-Yuan periods. While the average Han-Chinese would have had a very slim chance of encountering a foreigner,[192] the constant political threat posed by non-Han Chinese groups such as the Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols to the Han-Chinese state during the Song dynasties,[193] as well as the latent xenophobia and occasional racial conflicts in large foreign enclaves along the Southeast Chinese coast, must have resulted in a heightened sense of the "alien other" and the "foreboding stranger" in the Han-Chinese mind. The spread of commerce, urbanism, and epidemics during the Song dynasty, as well as the social unrest and natural disasters in the Yuan dynasty, made theatre professionals, migrant workers, beggars, the ill and the dead common sights. The emergence of these new social types in unprecedented numbers may have provided incentives and models for the creation and interpretation of Zhong Kui and his demons. It seems appropriate to characterize Zhong Kui's demons after abject humans, since both stand for ominous forces from within and beyond Han-Chinese society that Zhong Kui is relied upon to purge. Thus, when the Qing collector Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1703) compared demons in the Freer scroll with people that are "human in outward form, but behaves like demon[s]," he unwittingly commented on the painter's practice of modeling demons after humans as well.

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[192] Paul J. Smith, "Fear of Gynarchy in an Age of Chaos: Kong Qi's Reflections on Life in South China under Mongol Rule," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41.1 (1998):1-95.

[193] For a discussion on how Song-Yuan-Ming is seen as a cultural continuum, see Paul J. Smith and Richard von Glahn's *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

CHAPTER THREE:

How to Paint Zhong Kui

When painters of the Freer, Cleveland, and Met scrolls painted Zhong Kui's demons, they faced the challenge of inventing physical forms for beings whose appearances were not described at length in textual sources. This was less of a problem when it came to painting Zhong Kui, as legends from the Song-Yuan periods offered more clues as to how the demon queller looked and acted. Based on these texts, Zhong Kui was depicted as a bearded, disheveled man. Although not stipulated in the texts, Zhong Kui was also represented as ugly and drunk. His violent temper was downplayed in the scrolls. He came to resemble a scholarly figure, and he was frequently shown with a female partner and large groups of demons on an excursion, a theme I shall return to in Chapter Four. These elements of the iconography of Zhong Kui became so integral to his identity that they were repeated and exaggerated in depictions of him from the Song-Yuan period onwards. This chapter examines sources for this iconography. It surveys texts and images of Zhong Kui known in the Song and Yuan as well as other sources. The chapter also examines when and why certain traits become associated with Zhong Kui, arguing that the way in which he looks and acts is connected to his nature as a demon and his role as an exorcist. I argue that the three scrolls may have played a special role in the development of Zhong Kui's iconography because some of the traits first appeared in these paintings before being recorded in later texts; they also mark a point in the development of Zhong Kui's iconography that saw Zhong Kui transform gradually from a bellicose demonic exorcist into a tamer scholar-official and a comic figure, since most of the standard traits of Zhong Kui coincide with characteristics typical of impoverished scholars or the subjects of jokes and farces.

Textual Representations of Zhong Kui

When Chinese of modern times think of Zhong Kui, a plump man with a large beard wearing a red robe comes to mind. This impression is based on depictions from the Ming through the Republican periods (fig. 3.1). But the demonic exorcist did not always look this way.

In this section, I arrange early textual sources on Zhong Kui in chronological order, from the earliest documentation from the Six Dynasties to the Song-Yuan period when the scrolls were painted. Because not enough is known about early images of Zhong Kui, early texts are used to reconstruct representations of him. I will focus on clues to Zhong Kui's appearance that painters could have used to imagine him, in order to pinpoint when his appearance as depicted in the three scrolls was established and the place of the scrolls in the history of Zhong Kui images.

In the Zhou dynasty, the term "Zhong Kui" was originally a homophone for a mallet used for attacking evil spirits—*zhongkui* 終葵 or *zhongzui* 終椎, which literally mean "finials of the *kui* plant" or "the tip of a pointed hammer."[194] In the Six Dynasties, the term "Zhong Kui" was written variously as *zhong kui* 鍾馗 and *zhong kui* 鍾葵 and was employed widely as a personal name regardless of gender or social rank, perhaps because the apotropaic association of the term was believed to protect the individual bearing that name.[195] The *Weishu* 魏書 mentions a person named

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[194] *Zhouli Dongguan Kaogong ji* 周禮冬官考工記, second half 下卷, *juan* 4.

[195] Li Yanshou 李延壽 (7th century), *Beishi* 北史, *Er shi si shi* 二十四史 (Shanghai: Hanfenlou, 1916).

"Zhong Kui" whose *zi* 字 or courtesy name was "expelling evil" (*bixie* 辟邪), making apparent the apotropaic association of the term.[196] In Dunhuang manuscript P. 2444, a document dated to the end of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420) and better known as the *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經,[197] Zhong Kui is identified as a figure who assists Confucius and King Wu, probably of the Zhou dynasty, in catching and killing wandering ghosts (*fuyou langgui* 浮游浪鬼) and disease-inducing demons:[198]

> What demon is making the master sick now? The master is gravely ill, [so] the Supreme Lord sends strongmen, red soldiers, as well as tens of thousands and hundreds of millions of demon-killers [to the master's aid]. [The Supreme Lord has] Confucius holding the knife, King Wu tying up [the demon], and Zhong Kui beating and killing it, in order to expel evil.
> 今何鬼来病主人，主人今危厄，太上遣力士、赤卒，殺鬼之眾萬億，孔子執刀，武王缚之，鍾馗打殺（刹）得，便付之辟邪。

While Zhong Kui's exorcist powers were clear, there was no hint of his appearance at the early stages of his legend. In the Tang dynasty, as is evident from Dunhuang manuscripts cited below, Zhong Kui was regularly invoked in exorcist incantations, and notions of his appearance became clearer. While the appearance of Zhong Kui became more concrete, it was still in flux; and while his role as an exorcist

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[196] *Beishi* mentions a person whose name was "Yao Zhongkui" 堯鍾葵 and courtesy name was "averting evil" (*bixie* 辟邪).

[197] Translated as *Scripture of the Divine Incantations of the Grotto Chasms* by Christine Mollier, in "Visions of Evil: Demonology and Orthodoxy in Early Daoism," 84. For discussion of this passage, see Liu Xicheng 劉錫誠, "Zhong Kui lun" 鍾馗論, in *Mingsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 111 (1998): 97-138.

[198] "Zhangui di qi" 斬鬼第七, *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經.

became clearer, the term “Zhong Kui” referred to the role of exorcist that could be filled by anyone rather than a specific exorcist deity. Dunhuang manuscript S.2055, a Tang document better known as “Zhong Kui expelling demons on New Year’s Eve” (*Chuxi Zhong Kui qunuo wen* 除夕鍾馗驅儺文), states that exorcists claiming to be Zhong Kui would march on New Year’s Eve wearing leopard skins and red pigment:[199]

> It is the spring festival in the first lunar month, and all creatures are content. […] Tonight a new festival and ritual will be performed. The dragons and phoenixes from the highest of heavens will soar. The Generals of the Five Paths [who control matters of life and death] arrive in person; on foot, they command tens of thousands of bears [or soldiers]. Also under their command are [men] with heads of copper and foreheads of iron, who cover their entire bodies in leopard skin. [The men] dye [the leopard skin] in vermilion red, and call themselves Zhong Kui. They capture wandering ghosts, gather [ghosts] from the entire county, and sweep them out to Sanwei [a mountain to the southeast of the city of Dunhuang in Gansu Province]. […]
> 正月楊（陽）春擔（佳）節，萬物咸宜。[…] 今夜新受節義（儀），九天龍奉（鳳）俱飛。五道將軍親至，虎（步）領十萬熊羆。衣（又）領銅頭鐵額，魂（渾）身總著豹皮。教使朱砂染赤，咸稱我是鍾馗。捉取浮游浪鬼，積郡掃出三峗。[…]

This is not a description of Zhong Kui as an individual but rather of performers who assumed his exorcist role. However, the description of his impersonators suggests that he was seen as a ferocious, bellicose warrior. On the other hand, a verse entitled “Dreaming of Zhong Kui’s Dance” (*Meng wu Zhong Kui* 夢舞鍾馗) by Zhou You 周繇 (active eighth to ninth centuries) presents him less as a ferocious warrior

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[199] Zhang Bin 張兵 and Zhang Yuzhou 張毓洲, “Cong Dunhuang xieben ‘Chuxi Zhong Kui qunuo wen’ kan Zhong Kui gushi de fazhan he yanbian” 從敦煌寫本除夕鍾馗驅儺文看鍾馗故事的發展和演變, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Research) no. 1 (2008): 102-105.

and more as a delirious shaman, as hinted from his forceful dance, unfastened collar, and toppling cap when he made an appearance in Emperor Xuanzong's dream:

> The Emperor is ill; in a dream he communicated with the spirits. Huang Fanchuo [a famous actor in the Pear Garden during the Tang][200] approaches the monarch to make a suggestion; he summons Zhong Kui to dance amid flowers and grass. Fast asleep, [the Emperor] was delighted on his throne, not noticing anything different. When [he] awoke, [his] illness was completely cured. [He] cannot believe it was real. The Emperor's perturbed soul had just gone to rest, when a strange, ambiguous form suddenly appeared. […] His long beard flutters on his broad chest, his slanted collar completely loose. He scratches his short hair on his round head, his hat about to topple off. […] Without waiting for the wind and string instruments to play, he walks in a trailing blue robe, with its long sleeves fluttering in the air. He waves bamboo slips in his hand as he twirls and dances. He taps his toe as if he were a tiger prepared to jump across a valley; he lifts his head as would a dragon leaping up from a deep pool. He either opens his mouth to let out a cry, or squats down to keep beat. He shakes the carved columns to the point of collapse, and jumps up the jade steps, almost breaking them. The myriad creatures are low in spirits and anxious; an accompanying demon jumps forcefully. The smoke and clouds rise suddenly; his posture after he finishes dancing is difficult to retain. Rain and hail fall rapidly; traces of his presence are gone in a snap. […]
> 皇躬抱疾，佳夢通神。見幡綽兮上言丹陛，引鍾馗兮來舞華茵。寢酣方悅於宸扆，不知為異。覺後全銷於美疢，始訝非真。[…]聖魂惝怳以方寐，怪狀朦朧而遽至。[…] 奮長髯於闊臆，斜領全開。搔短發於圓顱，危冠欲墜。[…] 不待乎調鳳管，揆鸞弦，曳藍衫而颯纚，揮竹簡以蹁躚。頓趾而虎跳幽谷，昂頭而龍躍深淵。或呀口而揚音，或蹲身而節拍。震雕栱以將落，躍瑤階而欲折。萬靈沮氣以憧惶，一鬼傍隨而奮躑。煙雲忽起，難留舞罷之姿。雨雹交馳，旋失去來之跡。[…]

While the meaning of the words "Zhong Kui" evolved from a weapon into a multifaceted, anthropomorphic being in the Tang, according to the *Unofficial History of the Tang Dynasty* (*Tang yishi* 唐逸史)—a lost source composed after the late-Tang

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[200] Lin Chi-li 林智莉, "Lun Mingdai gongting Da Nuo yishi Zhong Kuixi—jianlun Zhong Kui xingxiang de zhuanbian" 論明代宮廷大儺儀式鍾馗戲—兼論鍾馗形象的轉變, *Zhengda zhongwen xuebao* 政大中文學報 8 (December 2007): 111.

and preserved in Ming writer Chen Yaowen's encyclopedia *Tianzhong ji*, he was a demonic being who vowed to protect the throne:[201]

> One day in the Kaiyuan era [713-742], Minghuang [the Tang emperor Xuanzong], fell ill with malaria after returning to the palace from a round of bow-and-arrow practice on Li Shan. In his sleep, he saw in a daydream a small demon, wearing only a red shirt, calf-snout trousers and one shoe—the other being tied at his waist—and holding a bamboo fan, in the act of stealing Taizhen's [consort Yang Guifei's] embroidered perfume-bag and the Emperor's jade flute. [Then, instead of escaping,] the demon began running around the palace grounds, frolicking in front of the Emperor. Minghuang reproached him and demanded an explanation. The demon respectfully replied: "Your servant's name is Xu Hao." The Emperor responded: "I've never heard of you before." The demon explained that "Xu" stood for "stealing people's belongings for fun" and "Hao" for "replacing man's joys with sorrows." Hearing this, the emperor was enraged and wanted to send for his guards. But at that very moment, a much larger demon, wearing a tattered hat, blue robe, horn waist-belt, and black boots appeared and went straight after the thief. He first gouged out the demon's eyes, then tore him to pieces and ate him. When the emperor asked him who he was, the demon eater introduced himself as Zhong Kui, a *jinshi* from Mt. Zhongnan, who was ashamed to return home after having failed the next higher degree of examination during the Wude era [618-626], thus committed suicide by smashing his head against the palace steps. Grateful to Emperor Gaozu [r.618-626], who granted him an honorable burial of a court official of the green-robe rank at the time of his death, he had vowed to rid the world of mischievous demons like Xu Hao for the monarch. At these words, Minghuang awoke and found himself fully recovered. Without delay he summoned the painter Wu Daozi to paint a portrait of Zhong Kui as seen in his dream. Wu Daozi went to work immediately and painted Zhong Kui as if he had seen him with his own eyes. When he presented the finished portrait to the Emperor, the Emperor exclaimed, "You and I must have had the same dream!" He awarded Wu one hundred taels of gold.[202]
> 明皇開元，講武驪山，翠華還宮。上不悅，因痁疾作，晝夢一小鬼，衣絳，犢鼻，跣一足，履一足，腰懸一履，搢一筠扇，竊太真綉香囊及上玉

[201] Chen Yaowen 陳耀文 (*jinshi* 1550), "Meng Zhong Kui" 夢鍾馗, *Tianzhongji* 天中記, fascicle 4. Chen cites this source from *Tang yishi* 唐逸史, a text which no longer survives and is believed to have dated after the end of the Tang dynasty.

[202] Translation modified from Stephen Little, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Qui Ying (Ch'iu Ying)," *Artibus Asiae*, 46.1/2 (1985): 5-128. See discussion in Mary H. Fong, "A Probable Second Chung K'uei by Emperor Shun-chih of the Ch'ing Dynasty," *Oriental Art*, vol. 23, no.4 (Winter 1977):427-428.

笛，繞殿奔，戲上前。上叱問之。小鬼奏曰：臣乃虛耗也。上曰：未聞虛耗之名。小鬼奏曰：虛者，望空虛中，盜人物如戲；耗，即耗人家喜事成憂。上怒，欲呼武士，俄見一大鬼，頂破帽，衣藍袍，繫角帶，�APPRO朝靴，徑捉小鬼，先刳其目，然後擘而啖之。上問大者：爾何人也？奏曰：臣終南山進士鍾馗也，因武德中應舉不捷，羞歸故里，觸殿階而死。是時，奉旨賜綠袍以葬之，感恩發誓，與我王除天下虛耗妖孽之事。言訖，夢覺，痁疾頓瘳。乃詔畫工吳道子曰：試與朕如夢圖之。道子奉旨，恍若有睹，立筆成圖進呈。上視久之，撫几曰：是卿與朕同夢耳。賜與百金。

This served as the source for legends of Zhong Kui that identify him as a failed degree candidate who became a demon queller.[203] The literary sources that follow this storyline include Shen Gua's 沈括 (1031-1095) *Supplement to Brush Talks of the Dream Brook* (*Mengxi bitan bu bitan* 夢溪筆談補筆談) and Gao Chen's 高承 (1078-1085) *Origins of Things* (*Shiwu jiyuan* 事物紀原) from the Song dynasty, excerpts of which will be cited repeatedly in this chapter with full translation available in the appendix. By the Song period, Zhong Kui had become a mythical individual who was a native of Mt. Zhongnan, was active in the Tang dynasty, and protected the throne and the nation from demons. As his hagiography became more elaborate, so did details of his appearance: he was described as a disheveled *jinshi* scholar in an official's garb, though his ferocity was at odds with his status as a literatus. In sum, he was associated with apotropaic qualities early on and his ferocity was pronounced in early texts, but his red-dyed leopard skin outfit was quickly replaced by scholar-official's robes, which became his standard costume from the Song dynasty onwards.

[203] Zheng Zunren 鄭尊仁, *Zhong Kui yanjiu* 鍾馗研究 (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2004).

Early Visual Representations of Zhong Kui and His Transformation

Although the first references to Zhong Kui as a demon-quelling figure date from the Six Dynasties, images of him were first recorded in the mid-Tang period. As is evident from a thank-you note drafted by the Tang official Zhang Shui 張說 (667-730), during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756) calendars and paintings of Zhong Kui were distributed by the throne to court officials in celebration of the Lunar New Year:[204]

> A messenger from the palace arrives to announce the imperial edict. [The emperor bestowed] a painting of Zhong Kui and a new calendar in hanging scroll format. […] To protect against various *li* disease demons, images of the deity [Zhong Kui] were painted to purge evil; to keep the promise of announcing the agricultural seasons, calendars were published and distributed respectfully.
> 中使至，奉宣聖旨，賜畫鍾馗一及新曆日一軸 […] 屏祛群厲，繢神像以無邪；允授人時，頒曆日而敬授。

Along with calendars, Zhong Kui paintings remained a preferred New Year's gift at court well into the reign of Northern Song Emperor Shenzong (r.1068-1085), as is evident in Shen Gua's account:[205]

> […] In the fifth year of the Xining era (1072), the Emperor [Shenzong] had painters copy [Tang master painter Wu Daozi's] painting and make engravings from it, giving each of the officers in the Secretariat and the Bureau of Military Affairs[206] a printed copy. That year during New Year's Eve, the Emperor had Liang Kai, the serving official of the inner quarters, distribute Zhong Kui portraits to the East and West bureaus. Based on the inscription on the portrait, it

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[204] Liu, "Zhong Kui lun," np.

[205] Shen Gua 沈括 (1031-1095), *Mengxi bitan bu bitan* 夢溪筆談補筆談 (c. mid-11th century).

[206] *Er fu* 二府, translated as "Two Administrations" by Charles O. Huckler, refers to the Bureau of Military Affairs (*Shumi yuan* 樞密院) and the aggregation of Grand Councilors in the Central Government during the Song dynasty. See Huckler, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Taiwan edition (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1985), reprinted Taipei: Southern Materials, Inc., 1988.

seems this custom began during the Kaiyuan era [during the Tang Emperor Xuanzong's reign (r.712-756)]. […]
[…] 熙宁五年，上令畫工摹搨镌板，印賜兩府輔臣各一本。是歳除夜，遣入内供奉官梁楷就東西府给賜鍾馗之像。觀此題相記，似始于開元時。[…]

These sources indicate that between the Tang and the Northern Song dynasties, Zhong Kui images were mass produced annually as tracing copies or woodblock prints to be circulated among court officials in celebration of the New Year. Unfortunately, none of these early paintings of Zhong Kui exist.

Consistent with textual records of Zhong Kui in the Tang, all of which portray him as a ferocious exorcist, many paintings of Zhong Kui in the mid-Tang, which survive only in textual descriptions, show him performing demon-killings, sword dances, and other activities explicitly related to his exorcist role.[207] As early as the Five Dynasties (907-960), however, Zhong Kui began to undergo a transformation from a supernatural being who appears in strictly ritual settings into a humanized figure who engages in secular activities. Records show that painters started depicting him in secular roles and activities that were not accounted for in tenth-century legends:[208] he was regularly portrayed with female companions and other members of

[207] In the Five Dynasties, records show that Mou Yuande 牟元德 painted Zhong Kui attacking a demon (鍾馗擊鬼圖), Wang Daoqiu 王道求 of the tenth century painted Zhong Kui captures demon (挾鬼鍾馗圖), Gu Hongzhong 顧閎中 painted Zhong Kui hunting (鍾馗出獵圖). See Liu Fangru's citations in the National Palace Museum catalogue and the inscription on a painting of drunken Zhong Kui by eighteenth-century painter Jin Nong 金農 in Appendix III-21.

[208] In her 1988 survey of Zhong Kui iconography from the Tang through the Qing dynasties, Chun-mei Lin Tschiersch noted out how Zhong Kui started taking on human guises no later than the Song dynasty. See Chunmei Tschiersch, "Die Ikonographie des Zhong Kui" (PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, 1988), 167.

his household and shown playing board games or hunting, and none of these were accounted for in contemporary legends of Zhong Kui (fig. 3.2).[209]

Around the same time, Zhong Kui also started morphing from a violent exorcist into a scholarly figure. Five Dynasty painter Dong Yuan's 董源 (d. ca. 962) painting of Zhong Kui in a wintry grove, for instance, may have reflected the demon-queller's transformation from a warrior to a scholar.[210] Because demons were believed to reside amid groves and be rampant during the winter,[211] the depiction of Zhong Kui in a wintry grove may simply connote the season and place where he would be seen performing his exorcist duties. But since the term "wintry grove" (*hanlin* 寒林) is a pun on the term "scholar" (*hanlin* 翰林), showing Zhong Kui against this backdrop could have indicated that he started to be seen as a member of the scholar-elite class by the Five Dynasties.

During the Song dynasty, Zhong Kui underwent further transformation from a fearsome demon-killer into a comic figure. His image was once considered so frightening that it would not be hung during ancestral rites for fear of scaring away ancestors.[212] By the Southern Song, however, not only was his likeness fashioned

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[209] Little, "The Demon Queller," 24, 26.

[210] Little, "The Demon Queller," 27.

[211] Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, "Ya su de jiaolu: Wen Zhengming, Zhong Kui yu dazhong wenhua" 雅俗的焦慮：文徵明、鍾馗與大眾文化, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 16 (2004): 307-339.

[212] Mentioned in Chen Yuanjing, *Suishi guangji* 歲時廣記, *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (Taipei: Xingxing shuju, 1978), *juan* 40, 6b-7a.

into a mousetrap,[213] he was also depicted by the famous demon painter Si Yizhen 姒頤真 as a disheveled man who relies on his female companion to protect him from a charging boar, in a painting Gong Kai found distasteful:[214]

> Although Yizhen's demons are extremely well-crafted, the pictorial message is vulgar. He even made a picture of the Bearded Lord in a field [latrine, pigpen], with a boar approaching him, while his younger sister in tattered [or unbuttoned] clothing drives it away with a stick. What kind of painting is this?
> 頤真鬼雖甚工，然其用意猥近，甚者作髯君野溷，一豪豬即之，妹子持杖披襟趕逐，此何為者耶?

This "vulgar" depiction of Zhong Kui may have been a parody of the well-known episode of Lady Feng 馮媛, who famously guarded her husband, Emperor Yuan of the Western Han 漢元帝 (r. 48-33 BC), from an escaped black bear (fig. 3.3).[215]

As we shall see, the transformation of Zhong Kui from a deity into a human, from a warrior into a scholar, and from a frightening figure into a comical one, was a trend that began in the Five Dynasties and further developed in the Song-Yuan periods. As the earliest extant paintings of the Demon Queller,[216] the Met,

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[213] Shen Gua, *Mengxi bitan*, *juan* 7, "Xiangshu" 象數 1. This source mentions how during the Qingli era (1041-48) of Northern Song Renzong's reign, there was a magician surnamed Li that made a wooden carving of Zhong Kui dancing. Measuring around one meter high, the statue holds an iron weapon in his right hand and baits in his left. When mice climbs along its limbs, the statue would snatch the critter with its left hand and kill the rodant with the iron weapon in its right hand.

[214] For a full transcription and translation of Gong Kai's colophon, see Appendix II.

[215] See illustration of the episode in *The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies Scroll* (*Nüshi zhen tu* 女史箴圖), traditionally attributed to Gu Kaizhi (c. 344–406), ink and colors on silk, 6th to 7th century, British Museum. http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/xwomen/texts/admonitions.html

[216] Demonic clerks in the Ten Kings' court, in the retinue of the Daoist Officials of Earth, or among the attendants of deities in Nine Songs date to Song and resemble Zhong Kui in appearance, but they cannot be identified as Zhong Kui with any

Cleveland, and Freer scrolls occupy an important place in the history of Zhong Kui representations and reflected a historic moment in the demon-queller's transformation.

Representations of Zhong Kui in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer Scrolls

The three Zhong Kui figures in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls share many characteristics. They are all bearded and wear similar costumes. None is especially disheveled, but their crooked cap wings, torn umbrellas, and exposed legs are untidy. The accessories in the Met and Cleveland scrolls are almost identical: both include folding chairs draped with animal skin, a bundle of scrolls, and a writing brush. While the Met and Cleveland scrolls seem to emphasize the scholar-official identity of Zhong Kui through inclusion of stationery and official's tablets, the Freer scroll emphasizes his military prowess by equipping him with a sword. All three scrolls show or hint at Zhong Kui's drunkenness. The Freer scroll is the only one among the three that presents Zhong Kui as distinctly ugly. In the remainder of the chapter, I will trace the origins of each of these traits, consider how they relate to Zhong Kui's identities as an exorcist and a demon, and argue how they may have added a comic flair to the demon-queller and consolidated his new identity as an impoverished scholar. In other words, I will show how images of Zhong Kui evoked many cultural associations for their original viewers—these are not mutually exclusive but resonate with each other in rich interplays of meaning.

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confidence. Sherman Lee thinks the Song period relief on the foundation of the Six Harmony Pagoda is one of Zhong Kui on procession with his demons, but there are no texts proving this identification.

Zhong Kui's Beard

One signature feature of Zhong Kui in all three Yuan scrolls is his dark, thick, bristling beard. In the Met scroll, Zhong Kui has abundant facial hair, including a mustache (*pi* 髭), a goatee (*xu* 鬚), a beard (*ran* 髯), and sideburns (*bing* 鬢). In the Freer scroll, Zhong Kui has a huge beard that is at least twice the volume of his face (fig. 3.4).

The depiction of Zhong Kui as bearded is a long-standing convention that begun no later than the Tang and continued well into the Qing and Republican periods.[217] The earliest surviving legend of Zhong Kui in Zhou You's "Dancing Zhong Kui" from the Tang dynasty already describes him as having a "long beard hanging over his broad chest" (奮長髯於闊臆).[218] In the Song, although Shen Gua and Gao Cheng were silent about this feature when describing Zhong Kui, Song actors impersonating the Demon Queller in court variety plays (*baixi*) were described as having "long beards" (*changran* 長髯).[219] By the Yuan, the beard becomes such

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[217] Both textual and visual sources from the Qing and modern periods represent Zhong Kui as bearded. The Qing poet Lu Yusong 盧毓嵩 (1790-1842), for instance, describes Zhong Kui as having "blood-red lips and a spiky beard" 唇如腥红髯如戟. See Lu's poem in Gu Lu 顧祿 (active 19th century), *Qing jia lu* 清嘉錄 (Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1974). Aside from his red robe, Zhong Kui's exaggerated beard is usually the only clue with which to identify a portrait of him in paintings by Qing, Republican, and modern painters such as Wu Junqing 吳俊卿 (1844-1927), Li Keran 李可染 (1907-1989), and Dong Chensheng 董辰生 (b. 1929) among others. See their paintings of Zhong Kui in the catalogue *Zhong Kui baitu* (One Hundred Paintings of Zhong Kui).

[218] See Zhou You 周繇 (active eighth to ninth centuries), "Meng Wu Zhong Kui" 夢舞鍾馗 (Dancing Zhong Kui) [hereafter "Dancing Zhong Kui"], line 16. An excerpt of this text is translated earlier in this chapter.

[219] Liu, "Zhong Kui lun," np.

an important part of Zhong Kui's identity and iconography that he is repeatedly referred to as "Old Beard" (*Lao Ran* 老髯), "The Bearded Elder" (*Ran Wong* 髯翁), and "Bearded Lord" (*Ran Jun* 髯君) throughout the Freer scroll colophons.[220]

The decision to depict Zhong Kui with a prominent beard coincides with pre-Yuan textual descriptions of him. Although most Chinese men of the Song-Yuan periods wore beards, this facial hair had symbolic connotations important to the iconography of Zhong Kui. A full beard was a symbol of virility and healing powers. Facial hair—along with hair on the scalp—was a symbol of life.[221] Loss of hair implied ill health, a shortened lifespan, and diminished virility, while abundant hair implied the opposite. In the case of Zhong Kui, abundance of facial hair may have symbolized his virility, and thus served to counter the sickly, lifeless *yin* forces represented by the demons he subjugates. Beards were also believed to have medicinal properties in Tang and Song China.[222] A Northern Song work by physician and pharmacist Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 (active during the Yuanyou 元祐 period [r. 1086-1094]) notes how mustaches and beards, after being ground and burnt, could be used to cover ulcers and wounds.[223] The facial hair of the emperor and aristocrats was

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[220] See Zongyan, Freer colophon no. 7; Boshiweng, Freer colophon no. 4; Gong Kai, Freer colophon no.1 in Appendix II.

[221] Jiang Shaoyuan 江紹原, *Fa xu zhu: guanyu tamen de mixin* 髮鬚爪: 關於它們的迷信, Guoli Beijing daxue Zhongguo minus xuehui minus congshu 國立北京大學中國民俗學會民俗叢書, vol. 26 (Taipei: Dongfang wenhua shuju, 1928), p.20.

[222] Ibid., 29-33.

[223] Cited in Jiang, *Fa xu zhua*, from Li Shizhen 李時珍, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, section on the medicinal properties of facial hair.

considered an especially effective cure for diseases in general. Both the Tang Emperor Taizong (r. 627-649) and the Northern Song Emperor Renzong (r.1023-1063) were known to have offered their cut mustaches to ailing officials to be consumed in the form of ashes or as mixtures with other medicines for healing purposes.[224] Although I have not come across any sources mentioning Zhong Kui curing the ill with his beard, perhaps the healing properties of beards was connected to his ability to expel disease-inducing demons.

Zhong Kui's beard may also have associated him with barbarians and their magical powers and military prowess. Beards that were "curly or thick," as well as ones stylized into "sharp edges and ridges" were considered a distinguishing characteristic of barbarian men.[225] According to the Freer scroll colophons Zhong Kui's beard was "thick" (*fengran* 豐髯)[226] and as pointed as a "long spear" (*ran shuji* 髯舒戟).[227]Zhong Kui's pointed beard also associates him with Persian men, whose beards were distinguished by "sharp edges and ridges," which were indicators of the beards being "coiffured and stiffened with materials such as wax in the Persian style,"[228] which can be seen in the "highly stylized" beards worn by barbarian tomb figurines of the Tang (fig.3.4.2).

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[224] Jiang, *Fa xu zhua*, 57

[225] Marc S. Abramson, "Deep eyes and high noses: Constructing ethnicity in Tang China (618-907)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2001), 124.

[226] See Song Wu, Freer scroll colophon no. 9, line 3, in Appendix II.

[227] See Li Mingfeng, Freer scroll colophon no. 2, in Appendix II.

[228] Marc S. Abramson, "Deep Eyes and High Noses: Physiognomy and the Depiction of Barbarians in Tang China," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries*

The association of Zhong Kui with barbarians via his thick, curly beard suggests that he shared other traits associated with barbarians, including their magical powers and physical strength. As argued by Abramson, people from the Kunlun region in South Asia were often used as models for apotropaic tomb figurines in Tang burials because these non-ethnic Chinese were believed to possess magical powers, with which they could better serve the needs of tomb occupants.[229] These traits are appropriate given Zhong Kui's duties as exorcist, since supernatural powers and the strength and deftness of a warrior are desirable qualities in a demon-queller.

Finally, besides signifying his virility, healing powers, and military prowess, Zhong Kui's big beard may also have led him to be seen as a comical figure in later periods. The absence or excess of facial and body hair were traits frequently ridiculed in Song joke books,[230] where monks were nicknamed "bald donkeys" (*tulü* 禿驢) and their shaven heads were compared to dogs' testicles (*quanluan* 犬卵),[231] while bearded men had their whiskers compared to pubic hair.[232]

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and Human Geographies in Chinese History, eds. Don J. Wyatt and Nicola Di Cosmo (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 124.

229 Abramson, "Constructing ethnicity in Tang China," 374.

230 See Lou Zikuang 婁子匡, *Songren xiaohua* 宋人笑話 (Taipei: Dongfang wenhua gongying she, 1970), which reproduces two Southern Song collections of jokes, the *Xiaohai congzhu* 笑海叢珠 and *Xiaoyuan qianjin* 笑苑千金, both of which draw largely on jokes circulating among the masses.

231 Monks' heads are compared to dog's testicles in "Xiao heshang" 笑和尚; they are referred to as "bald donkeys" in "Qilu shangtian" 騎驢上天; both jokes are reproduced from *Xiaohai congzhu* 笑海叢珠 respectively in Lou, *Song ren xiaohua,* 8, 11.

232 See "Luoshen chuihuo" 裸身吹火 in *Xiaohai congzhu*, reproduced in Luo, *Songren xiaohua*, 24.

Zhong Kui's Disheveled Appearance

Besides his big beard, another distinct trait of Zhong Kui in the three Yuan scrolls is his unkempt appearance. In the Met scroll, Zhong Kui remains reasonably tidy despite being drunk. His *putou* cap, despite having a crooked wing and hair coming from underneath it, is still in place; his belt and boots are still on. But the demon directly behind him carries a folded umbrella with uneven edges, implying that it may be torn (fig. 3.5.1). In the Cleveland scroll, Zhong Kui is not noticeably disheveled either, but he wears a cap with crooked wings and is sheltered by a badly-ripped umbrella (fig. 3.5.2). In the Freer scroll, the only hint of unkemptness is Zhong Kui's bare legs—his robe is pulled up so that everything from his knees down is exposed (fig. 3.5.3). In other words, none of the three scrolls shows Zhong Kui as being extremely untidy, but his crooked cap, exposed leg, and ripped umbrella hint at this.

The idea that Zhong Kui was untidy seems to have originated in the late-Tang, as is evident from Zhou You's *Dreaming of Zhong Kui Dancing*, which describes him wearing a robe with an "entirely unfastened collar" that exposes his broad chest (*xieling quankai* 斜領全開) and donning a hat which is "about to topple off" (*weiguan yuzhui* 危冠欲墜).[233] Zhong Kui continues to be characterized as an unkempt figure in the Northern Song. In his *An Account of My Experiences in Painting* (*Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志, completed ca. 1080),[234] Guo Ruoxu 郭若

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[233] While this appearance could result from Zhong Kui's vigorous dance, and not of intentional slovenliness, the slovenly effect is the same.

[234] Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 367.

虛 (active 11th century) describes Zhong Kui with "disheveled hair" (蓬髮) and "only one shoe on" (鞹一足),[235] while in Shen Gua's *Supplement to Brush Talks* he "bares one of his arms" (袒一臂).

Not only was Zhong Kui described as untidy and careless about grooming, his accessories were often worn and skimpy. Huang Xiufu's 黃修復 (active early 11th century) *A Record of the Famous Painters of Yizhou* (*Yizhou Minghua lu* 益州名畫錄, preface dated 1006) from the Five Dynasties records that Zhong Kui appeared in a dream to the King of the Shu wearing "a ripped cap and old clothes" (*pomao gulan* 破帽故襴);[236] a colophon for Sun Zhiwei's 孫知微 painting *Zhong Kui in the Snow* (雪

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[235] Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志, *juan* 6, "Jin shi" 近事:

> In the past, Wu Daozi painted an image of Zhong Kui wearing a blue robe, having only one shoe on, with one eye squinted, an official tablet worn around his waist, his hair disheveled under a headscarf, grabbing a demon by his left hand, plucking out the demon's eyes with his right hand. The painting was done in forceful brushwork; painted with forceful brushwork, it is indeed an excellent example of painting. Someone obtained the painting and offered it to the King of Shu; the King of Shu loved it very much and hung it in his bedchamber.
> 昔吳道子畫鍾馗，衣藍衫，鞹一足，眇一目，腰笏，巾首而蓬髮，以左手捉鬼，以右手抉其鬼目。筆迹遒勁，實繪事之絕格也。有得之以獻蜀主者，蜀主甚愛重之，常挂卧內。

[236] Huang Xiufu 黃休復, *Yizhou minhua lu* 益州名畫錄:

> One night, the King of Shu dreamt of a man who wore a torn hat and old clothes. The man has huge brows, large eyes, a square jaw, and a broad forehead. Dragging one foot, the man stood at the palace steps and asked that [his foot] be repaired. After he spoke, the King woke up. The next day, the King saw an old silk painting while he was browsing through other books; it depicted the god that appeared in his dreams the previous night; there was a hole in the ancient silk where the god's right foot was painted. The King had Pu Shixun find out who painted this painting. Shixun replied that it was painted by Wu Daozi of the Tang dynasty, and that the god was a spirit of illness who once

钟馗) from the Northern Song describes him wearing a "torn headscarf and a short robe made of coarse cloth" (*pojin duanhe* 破巾短褐).[237] The "blue robe" (*lan shang* 藍裳) Zhong Kui wears in Shen Gua's *Supplement to Brush Talks* may even be a pun on the term "rags" (*lan shan* 襤衫).

In fact, not only is Zhong Kui himself shabby, so are those around him. In Shen Gua's version of the Zhong Kui legend, the demon that Zhong Kui captures was described as wearing only one shoe (*lü yi zu xian yi zu* 履一足跣一足) as he scurries about on palace grounds. In the painting by Si Yizhen mentioned earlier, the woman that chased away a boar for Zhong Kui is described with the word *pijin* 披襟, which could either mean wearing "tattered clothing" or donning an "unfastened shirt."

It is possible that the disheveled appearances of Zhong Kui and his demons resulted from vigorous physical activities, such as the exorcist dance Zhong Kui performed in the Emperor's dream, or the chasing away of the boar by his female companion in Si Yizhen's painting mentioned above. However, I believe that the custom of beggars impersonating Zhong Kui and his affiliates during the New Year's Eve parade in the Southern Song period, as well as the association of Zhong Kui with

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responded to [Tang] Minghuang's wishes and appeared in his dream. After the King ordered the foot of the god in the painting to be repaired, he dreamt of the god again, who thanked him and said: "I can wear shoes again." Fearing the god to be an evil spirit, the King ordered the painting to be burnt.
蜀王或夜夢一人，破帽故襴，龐眉大目，方頤廣額，立於殿階，跂一足，曰：請修理之。言訖寢覺。翌日因檢他籍，見此古畫，是前夕所夢者神，故絹穿損畫之左足，遂命蒲師訓令驗此畫是誰之筆。師訓對曰：唐吳道子之筆，曾應明皇夢，云痁者神也。因令重修此足呈進，後蜀王復夢前神謝曰：吾足履矣。上慮為祟，即命焚之。

[237] See translation of Sun Zhiwei's "Zhong Kui in the Snow" 雪鍾馗 in Little, "The Demon Queller," 27-28.

the "Sending Away Poverty" (*Song Qiong* 送窮) ritual around the same time, are compelling reasons for why Zhong Kui was constantly depicted in tatters. We know that beggars regularly impersonated Zhong Kui in exchange for money and food at the end of the lunar year. This custom was first mentioned in *The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendors Past* (*Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄, preface dated 1147) by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (fl.1090-1150), which records that in the Northern Song dynasty, beggars would impersonate "women, gods, and demons" in groups of three or more, making a racket with gongs and drums as they paraded through the streets of the capital of Bianjing (汴京), asking for money in return for their symbolic "exorcist" services during the twelfth lunar month:[238]

> […] Since the start of the [twelfth] month, the poor would form groups of three or more, disguise themselves as women, gods, and demons, strike the gong and beat the drums, and beg for money at each household. This is called *Da ye hu*, which is a way to chase away evil spirits.
> […] 自入此月， 即有貧者三數人為一火，裝婦人神鬼，敲鑼擊鼓，巡門乞錢，俗呼為'打夜胡'，亦驅祟之道也。

The custom remained popular on the Southeastern China coast in the Song dynasty during the year's end and was documented in records of folk customs such as *Account of Dreaming Over a Bowl of Millet* (*Mengliang lu* 夢粱錄) by Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (active 1260s-70s during Emperor Duzong's reign).

Zhong Kui may also have been depicted in tatters owing to his association with demons that cause poverty (*qiong gui* 窮鬼), the ritual of sending poverty away (*Song Qiong* 送窮), and a god presiding *nuo* exorcist rituals called the "Demon of Poverty" (*Qiong Gui* 窮鬼). As noted in Chapter Two, beginning in the Tang dynasty,

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[238] See Meng Yuanlao, *Dongjing menghua lu*, "Shier yue" entry.

the demons Zhong Kui drove away were often linked to poverty or loss of property. For example, the demon pursued by Zhong Kui in Shen Gua's Song dynasty account was a thief who stole precious items from the palace. A Yuan colophon by Sun Yuanchen 孫元臣 (late 13th-early 14th century) on the Freer scroll reinforces this connection by associating Zhong Kui's imps with the demons of poverty (*qiong gui* 窮鬼) mentioned in Han Yu's 韓愈 (768-824) famous satirical allegory, *Essay for Sending Away Demons of Poverty* (*Song qiong wen* 送窮文).[239] In Han Yu's allegory, a man was troubled by five demons of poverty that have followed him loyally throughout his life and were responsible for his lackluster career. The man prepared a carriage made of willow branches and a boat made of weeds to send the demons off. Instead of representing insufficiency in monetary terms, the poverty demons in Han Yu's account refer more to the scarcity of literary talent, connections, and other immaterial qualities required to succeed professionally. Nonetheless, by having the demons sent away on the last day of the first lunar month—the day on which sending away poverty rituals were traditionally held, it is clear that the demons of poverty in Han Yu's episode were modeled after those sent away in actual rituals.

In fact, not only are the demons driven away by Zhong Kui associated with poverty, it has been argued that Zhong Kui himself is the "Demon of Poverty" (*Qiong Gui* 窮鬼) and the *nuo* exorcist ritual he features in is essentially the ritual of

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[239] See Sun Yuanchen 孫元臣 (late 13th-early 14th century), Freer scroll colophon no.11, line 3-4, Appendix II. Sun alludes to Han Yu's famous essay through the last line, "[Zhong Kui] can command the Five Demons, thus I am not concerned; I don' t need to ask my servant Xing to make a carriage out of willow branches [to send the demons away]" (能令五鬼非吾患，免使奴星結柳車). See translation of relevant passages in Han Yu's essay in Appendix III.

“Sending Away Poverty” (*Song Qiong* 送窮). This argument is based on the common line of descent shared by the two mythical figures and the linguistic affinities of their names. Legend has it that Qiong Gui was a mythical prince of pre-historic times who had a peculiar obsession with poor people's food and clothing. Whenever he was given new garments to wear, he would rip them and set fire to them before putting them on:[240]

> In the old days during the reign of King Zhuan[xiang], there was a prince who disliked wearing unaltered clothes. Whenever he was given new clothes, he would rip them and set fire to them before putting them on.
> 昔顓帝时，宮中生一子，性不著完衣，作新衣與之，則裂破，以火燒穿著。

Kang Baocheng proposes that the Demon of Poverty and the Deity of Nuo Rituals (*Nuo Shen* 儺神), the latter of whom is identified with Zhong Kui, are the same being.[241] According to Kang, both were sons of the legendary king Zhuanxiang 顓頊, and both have the character *qiong* (“poverty”) in their names—the Demon of Poverty is called Qiong Gui, while the Deity of Nuo Rituals is also known as Qiongchan (窮蟬) or Qiongqi (窮奇).[242] This theory can be further supported by the fact that the ritual of “Driving Away Poverty,” which took place on the last day of the first lunar month (*zhengyue huiri* 正月晦日) in the Tang dynasty, was held at the end

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[240] See Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚, “Hao Qiongzi” 號窮子, *Suishi guangji* 歲時廣記 (Extensive Record at the Time of the New Year), *juan* 40, 6b-7a, *Biji xiaoshu daguan* edition (Taipei: Xingxing shuju, 1978). (Lin 118).

[241] Kang, Baocheng 康保成, *Nuoxi yishu yuanliu.* 儺戲藝術源流, 2nd edition (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005).

[242] Kang, *Nuoxi yishu yuanliu*, 376-387. Underlines are mine.

or the beginning of the lunar year in Song times, coinciding with *nuo* exorcist rituals.[243] What these folkloric, linguistic, and ritualistic coincidences suggest is that Zhong Kui was shown in old, torn clothing and accessories because he was associated with beings similarly dressed.[244]

Zhong Kui as Scholar-Official

However shabby the bearded Zhong Kui may be, the Met and Cleveland scrolls represent him as a scholar-official. In both scrolls, porter demons carry his bundle of scrolls and writing brush. In addition, the Met scroll porter holds Zhong Kui's official tablet, while the Cleveland scroll porter carries his master's *qin* zither in one arm and balances a large ink stone and ink stick on his head (fig. 3.6). The scrolls and stationery comprise the Four Treasures of the Scholar's Studio (*wenfang sibao* 文房四寶), which, along with the zither, enable the practice of three of the Four Arts of the Chinese Scholar (*siyi* 四藝): music, calligraphy, painting, and board games. These accessories identify Zhong Kui as a member of the scholar-elite class. They signal his scholarly past and conflate him with roles of a civil official, judge, and clerk.

The depiction of Zhong Kui as a scholar-official was a late development in the pictorial history of the demon-queller. With the exception of the Southern Song court painter Ma Lin, who painted an image of Zhong Kui entitled *The Jinshi from Zhongnan* 終南進士, in which the mythical exorcist was referred to as a "presented

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[243] Lin Chi-li 林智莉, "Lun Mingdai gongting Da Nuo yishi Zhong Kuixi,118-119.

[244] Liu Xicheng, "Zhong Kui lun," np.

scholar" (*jinshi* 進士),[245] Song and Yuan sources more frequently portray him as a warrior. In Shen Gua's *Supplement to Brush Talks*, Zhong Kui introduced himself as "a man who failed the imperial military exam" (武舉不捷之士), a new government program launched in 702 by the usurping Empress Wu Zetian (r.690-705) to select candidates for military service.[246] Shen Gua's contemporary Gao Cheng also described Zhong Kui as an "unsuccessful participant of the military exam" (武舉所棄). A colophon by Han Xin 韓性 (1266-1341) on the Freer scroll refers to Zhong Kui as a "warrior" (武士).[247]

In the textual record, it was only from the Ming dynasty onwards that Zhong Kui came to be identified as a scholar. Recorded in *Shigutang shuhua huikao*, the 1389 colophon by a certain *Zizhi shanren* for the Cleveland scroll, which gave the scroll its current title, *New Year's Eve Excursion of the Advanced Scholar Zhong [Kui]* (鍾進士元夜出遊圖), identified Zhong Kui as a "advanced scholar" (*jinshi* 進士). The characterization of Zhong Kui as a scholar prevailed in Chen Yaowen's 陳耀文 (active during Ming Emperor Shenzong's 明神宗 reign [r.1573-1620]) encyclopedia *Tianzhong ji* 天中記 (Record of the Tianzhong festival, dated 1550),[248] in which

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[245] Little, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Qiu Ying," 31.

[246] *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, "Xuanju zhi shang" 選舉志上. Compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061), et. al.

[247] Han Xing 韓性, Freer scroll colophon no.5, line 7, in Appendix II.

[248] Although Chen's account of Zhong Kui in *Tianzhong ji* claims to be cited from *Tang yishi*, a Tang source by Lu Zhao 盧肇 (active 7th-early 10th century) that no longer survives, it is largely identical to Shen Gua's account and contains even more details. Assuming that legends retain the basic plotline but become more fleshed

Zhong Kui introduces himself as an "advanced scholar" from Mt. Zhongnan (臣终南山進士鍾馗也). In the Ming-Qing period novels that followed, Zhong Kui's scholar-official identity was retained and elaborated upon. For instance, in the late-Ming novel *Zhong Kui quan zhuan* 鍾馗全傳 (Complete Stories of Zhong Kui), Zhong Kui is described not just as a scholar, but as one who placed first in the imperial exam for civil service and was eventually given a position in the prestigious Hanlin Academy.[249] Similarly, the Qing novel *Zhangui zhuan* 斬鬼傳 (Executing the Demon) called Zhong Kui a "tribute scholar" (*gongshi* 貢士)—an elite scholar chosen by his prefecture to participate in the imperial exam, the passing of which would earn him a coveted position in the government.[250]

In other words, the Met and Cleveland scrolls captured a key moment in Zhong Kui's transformation from a warrior into a scholar in painting. The fact that Zhong Kui is portrayed not just as a scholar but a bearded one in both scrolls suggest the possibility that the Demon Queller could have been modelled after actual scholars of non-Han Chinese descent in the Yuan dynasty. These non-Han Chinese scholars of Mongol and Central Asian descent became an increasingly common sight in China, especially after the revival of the civil service exam in 1314, which provided new

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out with details over time, I suspect Chen's account was expanded to reflect new conceptions of Zhong Kui in his time, including the trend of fashioning Zhong Kui after a failed scholar figure.

[249] Zheng, *Zhong Kui yanjiu*, 195 n.16.

[250] John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations*. (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 31.

incentives for the non-Han Chinese population under the Mongol government to obtain office through Chinese learning.[251]

Zhong Kui as Drunk

Another common trait of Zhong Kui in the three Yuan scrolls is his association with wine and drunkenness. In the Met scroll, Zhong Kui's downcast eyes, empty expression, flabby arm, and the loose strands of hair sticking out from his cap suggest the dulled awareness and negligence of appearance associated with intoxication (fig. 3.7). The manner in which he struggles, despite the help of three demon attendants, to stay on a donkey is a familiar motif used to depict drunken village elders or scholar-poets in genre paintings of the Song dynasty, as seen in *Returning Home Drunk on a Horseback*, a rubbing from a stone tablet from the tomb of Zheng Zhe in Luoyang, attributed to the Northern Song figure painter Li Gonglin (c.1049-1106) (fig. 3.8).[252] The connection between Zhong Kui and wine in the Cleveland scroll is not in the representation of the Demon Queller himself, who is majestic, alert, and sits squarely on the shoulders of three demon attendants without assistance; rather, it is established by the two male figures approaching Zhong Kui, who are shown holding a *Yuhuchun* wine bottle (玉壺春瓶) and offering him a drink in a wine cup (fig. 3.9). Like the Cleveland scroll, the Freer scroll does not depict Zhong Kui as drunk, but the colophons repeatedly characterize him as such. The artist, Gong Kai, notes in his own colophon that Zhong Kui originated from Zhongshan (中山), a famous wine country

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[251] I would like to thank Robert Hymes for this idea. For a study of See Xiao Qiqing 蕭啟慶, "Yuandai Mengguren de Hanxue" 元代蒙古人的漢學, in *Meng Yuan shi xin tan* 蒙元史新探 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 1994), 95-216.

[252] See discussion of this image in Wen-chien Cheng, "Images of Happy Farmers in Song China: Drunks, Politics, and Social Identity" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2003), 398.

in modern-day Hebei Province, where the local strong drink could reputedly knock drinkers out for up to three years. This wine may be contained in the gigantic gourd slung over the shoulder of one of Zhong Kui's attendants in the Freer scroll (fig. 3.10). Colophons by Gong Kai's contemporaries continue to associate Zhong Kui with wine country and drunkenness. Wang Shi 王時 (active 1330s-1380s), for instance, uses the wine country "Zhongshan" as a stand-in for "Zhong Kui,"[253] while Monk Zongyan 釋宗衍 (1309-1351) explicitly describes Zhong Kui as "get[ting] drunk on a spring night outing to Zhongshan" (出遊夜醉中山春).[254] In fact, references to drinking are mentioned throughout the Freer scroll colophons: Song Wu mentions Zhong Kui "squeezing demons to make wine" (榨鬼作酒飲),[255] while Li Mingfeng fantasizes about transforming water from the river into a new wine (安得江波化作蒲萄之新醅).[256]

While images of drunken individuals appeared as early as the Tang dynasty and remained popular through the Northern Song, as is evident from the various paintings of drunken monks, poets, and village elders recorded in *Xuanhe huapu*,[257] the motif

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[253] See Freer scroll colophons nos.15-16, in Appendix II.

[254] See Zongyan, Freer scroll colophon no. 7, in Appendix II.

[255] See Song Wu, Freer scroll colophon no.9, in Appendix II.

[256] See Li Mingfeng, Freer scroll colophon no.2, in Appendix II.

[257] Tang painter Han Huang 韓滉 (723-787) left behind paintings depicting drunken scholars (醉學士圖) and drunken [winehouse] customers (醉客圖); Northern Song painter Li Gonglin also left behind paintings of drunken monks (醉僧圖) and of Five Kings returning home drunk (五王醉歸圖). The Eight Drunken Immortals (飲中八仙), an imaginary group of eight Tang poets, calligraphers, and artists, also became a literary trope since the eighth-century and was depicted in paintings.

of an intoxicated Zhong Kui seems to have emerged only in the Southern Song period. The first mention of Zhong Kui as drunk can be found in Liu Tang's 劉鏜 (b.1219-after 1306) poem "Watching a *Nuo* Performance" (觀儺), in which the Southern Song poet records at length the characters and skits featured in *nuo* exorcist dances in his native place at Nanfeng, Jiangxi Province. In the poem, Zhong Kui was described as being "fond of wine," a weakness which made him unaware of prying demons:

> The Jinshi from Mt. Zhongnan [Zhong Kui] wears torn leather boots and trousers; fond of wine, he doesn't realize demons are spying on him.
> He puffs out his beard and dances with dazed eyes; outnumbered by evil forces, what will become of a single righteous man?
> 終南進士破鞓絝，嗜酒不悟鬼看覷。
> 奮髯矋目起婆娑，眾邪一正將那何?

Not until the fourteenth century was the first image of an intoxicated Zhong Kui recorded. In a colophon for a portrait of Zhong Kui, the poet and painter Tang Su 唐肅 (1328-1371) described how the demon-queller and his sister fell drunk under the autumn moon:[258]

> Once he led his little sister riding a pair of deer,
> Drunk, they put on headcloths when the autumn moon was high.
> 曾携小妹騎雙鹿，醉著接離秋月高。

It is possible that the painters were inspired by drunken barbarian characters *Suikoō* 醉胡王 (drunken Persian king) and *Suikojū* 醉胡従 (drunken Persian) in *gigaku* (伎樂) ritual dances from the seventh and eighth centuries in Japan, which were probably derived from characters wearing masks of barbarians (*hugong tou* 胡

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[258] Translation based on Little, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Qiu Ying," 34. The Chinese character for "headcloths" cannot be correctly reproduced here; it should be a vertical combination of the characters *si* (四) and *li* (離).

公頭) in *nuo* ritual dances performed at the year's end in the Jing-Chu region, modern-day Hubei and Hunan. The account of these dances in *Jing Chu suishi ji* 荊楚歲時紀 (Record of seasonal customs in the Jing-Chu region), one of the first systematic account of seasonal festivities of this region by the Liang Dynasty scholar Zong Lin 宗懍, mentions that:

> The eighth day of the twelfth lunar month is *Lari* [a special day at the end of the lunar year when people worship the gods]. […] [On that day,] villagers sound the hour-glass drums side by side, wear masks [or false heads] of barbarians, and pretend to be Buddhist guardians and warriors to ward off diseases. 十二月八日為臘日。[…]村人並繫細腰鼓，戴胡公頭，及作金剛力士，以逐疫。[…]

Although the account did not specify whether the barbarian characters showcased were intoxicated, this association is not unlikely given the fact that drunkenness and tavern-keeping were stereotypically seen as non-Han Chinese behavior and occupation.[259] Since Zhong Kui's thick beard already associated him with barbarians, the added association of drunkenness seems natural.

In other words, the Freer, Met, and Cleveland scrolls were among the earliest surviving visual examples to introduce drunkenness into the iconography of Zhong Kui. This aspect of Zhong Kui was rarely mentioned in any pre-Yuan texts and did not become an established subgenre of Zhong Kui paintings until the Qing dynasty.[260]

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[259] Abramson, "Constructing ethnicity in Tang China (618--907)," 94.

[260] Paintings of drunken Zhong Kui appeared by the Southern Song dynasty, as is evident from the colophon entitled *Ji zahua: Zui Zhong Kui* 記雜畫: 醉鍾馗 (On a miscellaneous painting: Drunken Zhong Kui) written by Southern Song writer Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269). However, as Yang Yunyun's appendix of Zhong Kui paintings from the Tang through the Qing dynasty shows, this theme became popular in the Qing; Qing painters Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763), Luo Ping 羅聘 (1733-1799), and Ren Yi 任頤 (1840-1895) all created multiple paintings of this subject.

Although it was used to convey political messages in the Freer scroll, it very likely originated from the drinking associated with *nuo* exorcist rituals and other festivities. As Zhong Kui gradually transformed from a warrior to a scholarly figure, his penchant for wine was retained, as wine-drinking was often associated with poetic inspiration in the latter group. In fact, the representations of the intoxicated Zhong Kui may have prompted his eventual transformation into a comical figure, since drunkards are often employed cross-culturally in jokes and pictures for comic effects because of their tendency to act inappropriately or clumsily.[261]

Zhong Kui's Ugliness

In the Freer scroll, Zhong Kui is decidedly ugly. He has beady eyes and an upturned nose, like those of some of his attending demons. His dark skin was regarded as unsightly, a trait he shares with Zhong Lichun 鍾離春 (better known as "Wu Yan" 無鹽), one of the most famous ugly women in Chinese history, the wife of King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王 (r. 350 BC－301BC) during the Warring States period, who was known for having "skin as dark as black paint" (皮膚若漆).[262] Zhong Kui's

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See Yang, Yun-yun 楊韻韻, "Appendix I: Tang zhi Qing wenren Zhong Kui hua diaocha biao," in "Wenren 'Zhong Kui hua' zhi yanjiu—Tang zhi Qing mo de Zhong Kui hua"文人鍾馗畫研究—唐至清末的鍾馗畫 (Research on Scholar's Zhong Kui Painting—from the Tang to the Qing Dynasty), 108-120 (MA thesis, Tunghai University [Taiwan], 2009)

[261] For instance, Esin Atil cites illustrations of drunken holy men, hyperventilated Sufi mystics, and rowdy Islamic philosophers among his examples, all of which involve respected, dignified men sporting behavior inappropriate to their socio-cultural status in his discussion of wit and humor in Islamic art. See Esin Atil, "Humor and Wit in Islamic Art," *Asian art and culture* 7.3 (Fall 1994), 13-30.

[262] See Liu Xiang 劉向 (fl. Eastern Han, 25-220), *Gu Lienu zhuan* 古列女傳, *juan* 6, "Biantong zhuan" 辯通傳, "Qi Zhong Lichun" 齊鍾離春, Sibu congkan

bulbous nose recalls descriptions of the "distiller's soluble nose" (*jiuzao bi* 酒糟鼻), a key component of the "ugly face" (*chou xiang* 醜相) in the physiognomy manual *Yu guan zhao shen jü* 玉管照神局, a text written by Song Qiqiu 宋齊邱 (active 10th century) of the Southern Tang dynasty (937-975) and circulated widely from the Song period onwards.[263] Yuan colophons also comment on Zhong Kui's ugliness. Song Wu (active late 13th to early 14th century) noted how Zhong Kui's female companion is oblivious to his "hideous" looks (*bu xian Kui choulou* 不嫌馗醜陋),[264] while Wang Xiaoweng 王肖翁 (1272-1336) groups him among the "ugly shapes and strange forms" (*chou zhuang qi xing* 醜狀奇形) parading through the Freer scroll.[265]

The Freer scroll Yuan colophons are the earliest textual sources that describe Zhong Kui as ugly. Tang and Song legends of Zhong Kui make no reference to this characteristic.[266] It was not until the Ming and Qing periods that Zhong Kui's ugliness become an essential part of his identity and was said to be the primary reason

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jingming ben 四部叢刊景明本, Zhongguo jiben jujiku edition. Accessed September 2, 2014. http://server.wenzibase.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/.

263 Song Qiqiu 宋齊邱 (fl. Southern Tang, 937-975), *Yuguan zhao sheng ju* 玉管照神局, *juan zhong* 卷中, "Xing fen shi xiang" 形分十相 (Taipei: Wuling chuban youxian gongsi, 2006), 58.

264 Song Wu, Freer scroll colophon no.9, in Appendix II.

265 Wang Xiaoweng, Freer scroll colophon no.3, in Appendix II.

266 In Shen Gua's account, Zhong Kui was simply noted as having failed the military exam (*wuju* 武舉), which was first launched by Tang Empress Wu Zetian. Although one criteria for selection involves "having a majestic and powerful physique fit for being a general or a commander" (軀幹雄偉，可以為將帥者), the reason for Zhong Kui's failure was not cited.

for his being denied honors and office at court. While Song legends did not specify reasons for Zhong Kui's failure in the exams, Ming-Qing novels cited ugliness as the cause. In the late-Ming novel, *The Complete Biography of Zhong Kui* (鍾馗全傳), for instance, Zhong Kui was not given office despite earning first-place in the civil service exam because the Tang Emperor was disgusted by his looks.[267] Qing novels *Executing the Demon* (斬鬼傳) and *Subjugating the Demon* (平鬼傳) followed the storyline by presenting Zhong Kui's ugliness, which is characterized in these novels as a defect at birth or a deformity caused by supernatural interventions later in life, as the core reason he was denied honors and office at court.[268]

Since pre-Yuan legends of Zhong Kui did not elaborate on his physiognomy, Gong Kai may have decided to depict Zhong Kui with conventional traits of ugliness owing to his exorcist role. The connection between ugliness and apotropaic powers is clear in the ancient mythical exorcist figure Fangxiang 方相, who oversaw *nuo* exorcist rites from the Zhou through the Han dynasties but was replaced by Zhong Kui from the Song onwards.[269] Thought to be a demon himself,[270] Fangxiang was impersonated by shamans wrapped in bear hides and wearing hideous four-eyed

[267] See discussion of this novel in Zheng, *Zhong Kui yanjiu*.

[268] Hu Wanchuan 胡萬川, *Zhong Kui shenhua yu xiaoshuo zhi yanjiu* 鍾馗神話與小說之研究 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1980).

[269] Ibid.

[270] Ibid., 98.

masks.[271] He not only hosted *nuo* rituals, but also presided over funeral rites and road trips, precisely because his horrific appearance was thought to have the power of scaring away harmful spirits.[272] Since Zhong Kui was believed to be a successor of Fangxiang, it makes sense for him to be envisioned as ugly.[273] In fact, the description of Fangxiang's appearance in *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 (The Complete Collection of the Investigation of Spirits Originating in the Three Teachings),[274] a late-Ming encyclopedia of Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist figures based on the Yuan source *Soushen guanji* 搜神廣記 (Extensive Record on the Investigation of Spirits), corresponds partially with the physique, physiognomy, and costume of Zhong Kui. *Soushen daquan* describes Fangxiang as being extremely tall (身長丈餘), with an unusually large head (頭廣三尺), a blue face (面藍), and a long red mustache (鬚赤; 鬚長三尺五寸), and wearing a red warrior's robe and black boots (身穿紅戰袍; 腳穿皂皮靴).[275] Though not identical, Zhong Kui was similarly

[271] Ibid., 98, 102. According to the Record of Rituals, New Tang History 新唐書禮儀志, Fangxiangshi, [wears] a mask [with] four golden eyes, wears bearskin and a black shirt and a red robe ("方相氏，假面，黃金四目，蒙熊皮，黑衣朱裳.")

[272] Ibid., 100-101.

[273] Ibid., 106.

[274] Based on the Yuan source *Soushen guanji* 搜神廣記, this book is an encyclopedia of 181 deities from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism complied in the late-Ming (probably after the Yongle period [r.1402-1424] under Emperor Chengzu 明成祖). See Zhiru Ng, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 202 note 15.

[275] Quoted in Hu, *Zhong Kui shenhua yu xiaoshuo zhi yanjiu*, 101, from *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全, *juan* 7.

characterized by his imposing height (硉矹標眾), distinctly shaped head ([幽頁]顤特異), lengthy beard (長髯), and dark-colored face (煤臉) in Zhou You's account and in Freer scroll colophons.

Besides helping him scare away demons as an exorcist, Gong Kai's depiction of Zhong Kui as ugly may also reflect actual incidences of scholar-officials being discriminated against or denied rightful positions based on their looks. For instance, in the Tang dynasty, the Director of the Palace Administration Jiang Jiao 姜皎, who was "fat and dark-skinned," was compared insultingly to "a sow engorged with truffles" (殿中監姜皎肥而黑，目為飽椹母豬); while his colleague the Palace Censor Mr. Shi 史 was jokingly referred to as a "smoked large-headed atractylode plant" because he was "hideously dark-skinned" (又有殿中侍郎史短而醜黑，目為煙薰地术).[276] It adds to our sympathy for Zhong Kui, since he was denied office unjustly due to physical traits that do not interfere with and may even bolster his capacity to protect the throne as a military officer.

Other than apotropaic undertones and historical references to discrimination, Gong Kai's depiction of Zhong Kui as ugly may have encouraged the reception of the Demon Queller as comical. His hideous appearance associated him with grotesque humans in court jesters' (*guji* 滑稽) jokes in early Chinese literature.[277] Zhong Kui's

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[276] *Chaoye qianzai* 朝野僉載, *juan* 4, by Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (650-730), in *Congshu jicheng jianbian* 叢書集成簡編, ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五, volume 723 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangshu Yingshuguan, 1966), 49. Reproduced in Abramson, "Constructing ethnicity in Tang China," 85.

[277] Jester Zhan 優旃, who served during the reign of the First Emperor of Qin (r. 221-210 BC), is a dwarf. See Sima Qian, "Guji liezhuan" 滑稽列傳, *juan* 126, in *Shiji*. See Appendix III-1.

appearance in the Freer scroll also relate him to primates in a humorous rhyme-prose on chimpanzees (王孫賦) from the second century; with beady eyes, a shaggy beard, and an upturned snout, Zhong Kui's face is not unlike that of the primates, who provoked laughter for audiences in early China with their faces of "aged men" with "bulging eyes" under "arched brows."

Zhong Kui's Violence

While the other attributes of Zhong Kui discussed thus far are represented both in the three scrolls and in contemporary texts, this is not the case in regard to Zhong Kui and violence. The three scrolls reveal relatively little of Zhong Kui's violent side, a sharp contrast to the consistent portrayal of him as a violent figure in the Freer scroll colophons and in pre-Yuan sources. Dunhuang manuscripts dating from the Jin through Tang periods offer graphic details of Zhong Kui's brutality: in Manuscript P.2569 (dated ca.853), for instance, Zhong Kui had the demons' ribs broken, tendons extracted, tongues pulled out, and lips cut (慑肋折，抽却筋。拔出舌，割却唇。); in Manuscript P.3552, the torture to which Zhong Kui subjected the demon is comparable to treatment in hell:

> When [Zhong Kui] arrived at the palace residence from afar, he saw a demon laughing. [The demon] was leaning against the wall near the fence and shed. Its head was like that of a monk, its glances were provocative. [Zhong Kui] rode a wild fox and circled around the alleys and pathways. He captured [the demon] and put it over his neck. He stuffed its mouth and slapped its face. He ground it in a mill and set it sideways on a stone grind. He boiled it in a pot until it disintegrated and ground it in a heated vessel. He set it on fire and pierced it with a spear. He cut it with a knife and pounded on its flesh. Now that the *wangliang* demon has been purged in a *nuo*-exorcist rite, we can embrace prosperity, enjoy good luck, and be protected from disaster.
> 適從遠來至宮宅，正見鬼子笑赫赫。偎牆下，傍籬棚。頭朋僧，眼隔搦。騎野狐，繞項脈（巷陌）。捉却他，項底搭。塞却口，面上摑。磨里磨，磑里側。鑊湯爛，煎豆[illegible]。放火燒，以槍劃。刀子割，臠臠擗。因今驅儺除魍魎，納慶先祥無災厄。

Zhong Kui's violent image was retained in the Song dynasty, as evident Shen Gua's and Gao Cheng's account, in which the Demon Queller was described to be "poking out [the demon's] eyes, beating [tearing] it up, and devouring it (刳其目，然後擘而啖之)."[278] The Yuan-period inscriptions on the Freer scroll are also explicit—they describe how Zhong Kui hunts demons down like hares (獵取群祆如獵兔),[279] ties them up so roughly that blood splatters between their legs (執縛罔兩血灑髈), squeezes them into juice (毋乃榨鬼作酒飲) and minces them into snacks (毋乃剁鬼作鬼鮓).[280]

Contrary to the emphasis on Zhong Kui's violent side in textual descriptions of him, in none of the three scrolls is he depicted as treating the demons brutally. The only hint of cruelty in the three scrolls is in the last section of the Freer scroll, where demonic attendants of Zhong Kui—not himself—are shown roughing up miniature fiends, tying them up on sticks, dragging them along by their feet, and stuffing them in large containers. The downplaying of Zhong Kui's violent side in the three scrolls may correspond to the general trend in secular paintings of pre-modern China, where

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[278] See Shen Gua, *Mengxi bitan bu bitan*, translated in Chapter Two; see similar account in Gao Cheng 高承, *Shiwu jiyuan* 事物紀原, comps. ca. 1078-85, 2 vols. In fact, Zhong Kui was associated with violent much earlier. In the Six Dynasties, Zhong Kui was already portrayed as a demon-killing deity in *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經, "Zhan gui di qi" 斬鬼第七, 11b-12a; in the Dunhuang manuscript version of this same scripture, Zhong Kui was also described as knifing, tying up, beating, and killing disease-inducing demons (孔子執刀，武王缚之，鍾馗打殺得).

[279] Gong Su, Freer scroll colophon 14, in Appendix II.

[280] Song Wu, Freer scroll colophon 9, in Appendix II.

there was little place for explicit representations of acts of violence and their gruesome aftermaths. As James Cahill noted, not only did the artist tend to limit his repertory to "themes that were harmonious or charged with auspicious meanings," collectors also "tended to follow the same preference for the aesthetically pleasing."[281] For instance, Alexander Soper noted that paintings of battles were depicted in detail up to the third century, but they quickly turned bloodless and had no indications of actual combat by the sixth century.[282] The same trend seems to be true for paintings of Zhong Kui from the Five Dynasties onwards, since it was around that time Zhong Kui ceased to appear only in paintings showing him beating, capturing, and hunting down demons, while being increasingly pictured in non-violent scenes of board games playing, family gatherings, or feasting.

The Humanization of Zhong Kui

Earlier in the chapter, I noted that beginning in the Five Dynasties, Zhong Kui started to be portrayed alternatively as a personable scholar-official in addition to the violent, warrior-like supernatural exorcist he was widely known to be. Titles and descriptions of paintings that no longer survive from that period portray Zhong Kui not only as a man with family—as evident from his appearances with his "wife" or "sister"—but also as a man who enjoys the mundane pleasures of feasting, drinking, watching performances, and playing games. This humanizing trend in the visual

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[281] James Cahill, *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 115.

[282] Alexander C. Soper, "Textual Evidences for Secular Arts of China in the Period from Liu Sung through Sui (A.D. 420-618): Excluding Treatises on Painting," *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* (1967): 51-2, 65-8. See "Rethinking 'Violence' in Chinese Culture," in Göran Aijmer and Jos Abbink eds., *Meanings of Violence: A Cross Cultural Perspective* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 123-140.

representations of Zhong Kui is reflected in the Met and Freer scrolls. In the former, Zhong Kui is an indulgent drunkard who is more helpless than intimidating, struggling to stay on the back of a donkey with the help of his demonic attendants while his female companion looks on. In the latter, Zhong Kui's elevated seating and prominent placement in the picture make his status as the master-of-the-house apparent, but his huddled posture, his somewhat disheveled appearance, as well as the worried glance he exchanges with his female companion undermine his authority, making him seem more timid than commandeering (fig. 4.1.7).

In the dynasties that follow, the tendency to portray Zhong Kui in a more anthropomorphic instead of a supernatural light continued. Notable examples cited by Shih Shou-chien and Cheng-chi Hsu include mid-sixteenth century paintings by Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) which depict Zhong Kui as a pensive scholar in a wintry grove, as well as an eighteenth-century painting by Hua Yan (1682-1752) featuring Zhong Kui as a literati enjoying music in his private garden.[283] Both Shih and Hsu comment on how in these paintings Zhong Kui was "stripped of superhuman strengths" and "endowed with all the emotions, merits, and faults of human beings."[284] It is suggested that the projection of "the literati self-image and the literati aesthetic" onto Zhong Kui resulted in this transformation. Given the fact that Zhong Kui is first and foremost a religious being, I suggest that beliefs of the nature and power of gods in the Southern Song period contributed to this iconographic shift.

The legend of Zhong Kui in Shen Gua's *Supplement to Brush Talks* is one

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[283] See Shih, "Wen Zhengming, Zhong Kui, and Popular Culture," 374-5; Hsu, "The Drunken Demon Queller: Chung K'uei in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Painting," 158.

[284] Ibid.

example of how Zhong Kui displayed characteristics of Song gods. The legend incorporated several conventions in Song hagiographies. Like many of his fellow "Song" deities, for instance, Zhong Kui was described to have had humble origins as a man who died an untimely, violent death: ashamed of failing the imperial military exams, he committed suicide on the palace steps. As was typical of "Song" gods, Zhong Kui was also described in the legend as having performed miracles to make his existence and efficacy known: he appeared in the Tang Emperor Minghuang's dreams and cured the ruler of his illness by killing an offending demon. As a token of thanks, the Emperor granted him an honorary title and arranged for a proper burial. This is not only a common procedure taken to appease the spirits of the dead in order to prevent them from becoming malignant ghosts (*ligui* 厲鬼), but the type of imperial recognition Zhong Kui received was also an ultimate goal supporters of local cults in the Song dynasty strived for.

In addition to having his legend presented in the fashion of Song hagiographies, the humanized way in which Zhong Kui was increasingly portrayed both in textual and visual sources also coincide with how people perceived of gods in Song times. According to Valerie Hansen, Song gods were thought to be "highly anthropomorphic beings" who reasoned and behaved "exactly like the human beings they had once been,"[285] given the fact that a large number of gods were deifications of deceased humans. They were afraid of losing face and were known to exercised their powers "according to the most human of motivations—anger, envy, and desire for

[285] Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China*, 48.

affection."[286] *Records of the Listener* (*Yijian zhi),* for instance, recounts several instances in which gods gave in to human weaknesses or were not very effective at carrying out their duties and protecting their worshippers. One tells of a god missing his guard duty while having sex with a prostitute.[287] Another tells of an earth god who gave in to pangs of hunger, allowing a wandering ghost to bribe his way into the estate he was supposed to protect with food.[288]

Given how closely the portrayal of Zhong Kui in Song legends follows the conventions of Song gods, it is likely that the humanized representation of Zhong Kui in contemporary paintings were affected by the belief of Song gods as highly anthropomorphic in their thought and action as well.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed at explaining how Zhong Kui came to look the way he did in the three scrolls and the role the scrolls played in the development of Zhong Kui imagery. I discovered that despite occupying different ends of the religious hierarchy and having a markedly different amount of hair to symbolize the opposite powers they have on one's health, Zhong Kui and his demons were portrayed similarly by the painters because they are both demons by nature. Both are described as being strange, ugly, dark, slovenly, and associated with barbarity and comicality. This chapter also argued the three scrolls to be among the first to portray Zhong Kui in ways that would

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[286] Ibid., 51.

[287] Ibid., 56-57.

[288] Hong Mai (1123–1202) spent a lifetime on a collection of supernatural accounts, contemporary incidents, poems, and riddles, among other genres, which he entitled *Record of the Listener (Yijian zhi)*. See Alister D. Inglis, *Hong Mai's Record of the Listener and Its Song Dynasty Context*, SUNY series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

become standard in later periods, highlighting the possibility that images, instead of texts, may have incubated and spearheaded certain innovations in Zhong Kui iconography.

Furthermore, this chapter suggested the importance of recognizing the multivalent connotations of Zhong Kui's attributes and their exorcist roots. I point out how strictly religious interpretations of Zhong Kui's image fails to account for the rich layers of meaning accrued by the mythical exorcist in non-religious contexts. Instead of taking Zhong Kui's ugly face merely as a symbol of his apotropaic powers, I urged the consideration of how the story of Zhong Kui being denied professional honors because of his ugliness may have resonated with officials who were similarly discriminated at court due to their less than stately appearances and with scholars whose talents were not recognized due to reasons unrelated to their competence. Along the same lines, I also encourage the recognition of the religious roots of Zhong Kui's rich cultural connotations, as it is crucial to understanding how Zhong Kui's iconography evolved. For instance, the transformation of Zhong Kui from a violent exorcist into an emblem of intoxicated, impoverished scholar-officials would be quite conceivable when one considers Zhong Kui's association with drunken and slovenly characters in the *nuo* exorcist context.

In sum, besides proposing possible sources available to the painters in their creations of images of Zhong Kui and his demons, this and the previous chapter show that an image and its meanings are neither "completely the province of the artist's original vision," nor are they entirely construed by successive viewers.[289] Instead,

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[289] Denin Lee, "Lives of handscroll paintings from the Southern Tang Dynasty, 937-975" (PhD diss, Stanford University, 2003), iv.

both the artists and the viewers collaborate in the creation and recreation of Zhong Kui's iconography and its multivalent connotations as they circulate through space and time.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Part One

The Freer Scroll and Its Multiple Layers of Meanings

In previous chapters, I have examined the iconographic sources and cultural connotations of Zhong Kui and his demons to pinpoint the sources of inspiration for depicting demons and their perception by pre-modern viewers. In this chapter, my focus shifts from the iconography of individual motifs of demonic beings to the activities they perform in the scrolls, the larger pictorial program they form, and the messages they convey respectively in the Freer, Cleveland, and Met scrolls. In other words, I seek to understand the significance of demonic imagery in the contexts of individual scrolls. I also consider how the interpretations of the scrolls were affected by beliefs and regulations of the supernatural, and how the political, religious, social, and cultural currents at the turn of the Song and Yuan dynasties illuminate the multiple layers of meanings behind what seem like paintings of Zhong Kui on demon-quelling expeditions or *nuo* exorcist parades.

The Bewildering Freer Scroll

Painted by the loyalist amateur-painter Gong Kai (1222-1307), *Zhongshan [Zhong Kui] Travelling* (中山出遊圖卷), a handscroll depicting the Demon Queller Zhong Kui travelling with demonic members of his household in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., has long been a source of bewilderment for scholars of Chinese religion, folklore, theater, and art, to whom the scroll is familiar. In spite of the scholarly attention the scroll has received, many questions remain. For instance, why is Zhong Kui shown travelling with his entire household and what is his mission? What is the symbolism of his female companion and her distinctive black make-up? What was Gong Kai's goal for depicting a dizzying array of demons?

Gong Kai's Inscription

Even though this scroll has the painter's inscription attached to it, this text seems to obscure the painter's intention instead of illuminating it. Throughout the inscription, Gong Kai seems to be purposefully ambiguous regarding the theme of the scroll. Without clearly stating the theme, he characterizes the painting as neither a "hunting expedition," nor a "casual outing."[290] He refutes the common perception of images of demons as "brush play," comparing his work instead to cursive script, the most esteemed and expressive form of calligraphy which could only be mastered after perfecting other basic script types.[291] He also distinguishes his painting of Zhong Kui from the "vulgar" and "frivolous" ones created by his predecessors, claiming instead that he painted the Freer scroll to restore "the pure pleasures of brush and ink."[292] In other words, Gong Kai seems to imply that "all is not what it seems" regarding the theme, style, and significance of the painting, encouraging viewers to look beyond the surface.

Scholars' Interpretations

Art historians Thomas Lawton, Peter Sturman, and Itakura Masaaki have all proposed interesting theories concerning the theme and symbolism of the Freer scroll.[293] In his short essay, Lawton proposes the subject of the Freer scroll to be "a

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[290] Gong Kai's inscription, Freer scroll colophon no.1, Appendix II, lines 3-4.

[291] Ibid., lines 17-18.

[292] Ibid., line 23.

[293] With the exception of Sturman's article, however, most of these works are restricted in length and scope. Lawton's study, for instance was an 8-page entry in a catalogue on Chinese figure paintings in the Freer collection; it largely consists of descriptions of the scroll and translations of relevant primary sources. Itakura's theory

demon hunt on which Chung K'uei [Zhong Kui] is accompanied by his sister."[294] He suggests that it might also be "a parody on the travels of Yang Kuei-fei [Yang Guifei] and T'ang Ming-huang [Tang Minghuang], perhaps even a reference to their flight to Shu [modern-day Sichuan, China] in 756" based on the constant references to the two figures and to the death of Yang Guifei en route to Sichuan in some of the inscriptions accompanying the Freer scroll.[295] Taken together, he believes the "demon" to be hunted down is Yang Guifei herself, who, like the demons who infest the painting, is a symbol "by means of which the artist manifests his discontent with and criticism of his society."[296]

In his extensive essay on developments in early Yuan painting after the Mongol takeover reunited North and South China that "had been geographically and politically divided for 150 years," Sturman discusses the Freer scroll as the work of one of four core painters of the early Yuan who participated in a "north-south intercultural dialogue."[297] Sturman offered a refreshing approach to the motifs and

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was proposed in a presentation at the Shanghai conference in 2012; the conference proceedings have not been published by the time this dissertation is submitted. Yang used the Freer scroll as one of dozens of examples in her dissertation to argue how gender and ethnicity were repeatedly used in Yuan paintings to express Han-Chinese literati sentiments on the Mongol takeover.

[294] Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1973), 145.

[295] Ibid., 146.

[296] Ibid., 142.

[297] Peter Charles Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change: Painting after Mongol Reunification of North and South China," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no.35, Intercultural China (Spring 1999), 143.

pictorial message of the scroll, citing Yoohyang Do's idea that Gong Kai, who was known for his stature and earned the label Ran Gong (髯龔), or "Bearded Gong," for his notable "flowing white beard," might have fancied "a personal identification with the Demon Queller," who was repeatedly referred to as Ran Jun (髯君) and known for his impressive height.[298] He suggests also that Gong Kai was criticizing himself and the scholar-official class for having done little to prevent the downfall of the Southern Song,[299] much in the same way that Zhong Kui was negligent in his vows to protect the Tang ruling house from "palace demons" like the bewitching Yang Guifei and the rebellious An Lushan. The symbolism of Zhong Kui and the demons aside, Sturman believes the Freer scroll could be read as a parody of the glamorous outings of Yang Guifei's three notorious sisters, who travelled on noble steeds and spent a fortune on cosmetics.[300] He proposes also that the black makeup caking the faces of Zhong Kui's female companion and her attendants alludes to the extravagant sums of money spent on cosmetics by Yang Guifei's sisters, while the make-shift means of travel contrasts sharply with the noble steeds that were the Yang sisters' preferred mode of transportation.[301] In other words, Sturman accepts the allusion to the Minghuang-Guifei story in the Freer scroll, but he reads the painting as a parody of the extravagant ways of Yang Guifei's clan under Minghuang's patronage. For Sturman,

[298] Yoohyang Do, "Gong Kai's (1222-1307) Zhong Kui Travelling: Exorcising Demons," unpublished paper written for a seminar at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, autumn of 1997, 26-27, quoted in Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 157.

[299] Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 160.

[300] Ibid., 159-160.

[301] Ibid.

Zhong Kui stands for Gong Kai and the scholar-official class he belongs to instead of Minghuang; but like Lawton, Sturman also proposes that the demons symbolize Yang Guifei and her clan and are considered an analogy to culpable individuals who brought down the Southern Song dynasty.

Like Lawton and Sturman, Itakura acknowledges the political connotations of the Freer scroll. In his unpublished conference paper, he implies that the Freer scroll reflects Song loyalists' resistance to alien (Mongol) rule. Yet while Lawton and Sturman only tangentially bring Zhong Kui's exorcist persona to the fore, Itakura focuses his paper on the exorcist undertones in the painting, pointing out how the black cosmetics worn by Zhong Kui's female companion recalls the make-up worn by participants of *nuo* exorcist rituals, while the centipede and scorpion patterns on some of the demons' clothes are reminders of the five poisonous insects and pests (*wudu* 五毒) that Zhong Kui was called upon to expel during the Dragon Boat Festival (*Duanwu jie* 端午節) later in Chinese history.[302]

My own interpretation of the Freer scroll is inspired by the scholarship of Lawton, Sturman, and Itakura. I cite additional evidences from the wealth of under-analyzed colophons and never-before-identified motifs in the painting to enrich their readings of the scroll as exorcist and political. I explain how the analogy of the infamous Tang royal couple expresses the painter's "discontent with and criticism of his society" by alluding to comparable gender dynamics in and out of the Southern

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[302] Itakura Maasako 板倉聖哲, "Yuandai de Zhong Kui tuxiang---yi Gong Kai wei zhongxin" 元代的鍾馗圖像—以龔開為中心 (Portrait of Zhong Kui in Yuan Dynasty: A Study on Kong Kai's Painting), in *Hanmo huicui: Tuxiang tu yishushi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen tiyaoji* 翰墨薈萃: 圖像與藝術史國際學術研討會論文提要集, 92-94 (Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 2012).

Song court. I also analyze Gong Kai's inscription alongside contemporary trends in theater, painting, and poetry to uncover the painter's aesthetic goals.

Reading One: The Exorcist and His Sister on a Demon-Quelling Mission

On the surface, the painting depicts Zhong Kui, his sister, and his household on a demon hunt. Gong Kai's own inscription identifies his black-faced female companion as Amei 阿妹 ("Sister"). Although the origin of this sister figure is debated, at least by the Yuan dynasty she was characterized as a female exorcist who would assist Zhong Kui on demon-quelling missions and was respected and feared by demons as is evident in a poem by Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐 (1292-1364) on a painting entitled *Zhong Kui's Sister* (*Kui mei tu* 馗妹圖):[303]

> […] The demons were in awe and didn't dare to look at her.

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[303] Zheng Yuanyou, "Kui mei tu," in *Qiaowu ji* 僑吳集, *juan* 2. The full poem is translated as follows:

> When the Tianbao era (742-756) deteriorated, Sister's brother (Zhong Kui) came out to sack demons in the palace in daylight.
> Where was Sister then and why didn't she assist her brother? Wearing beautiful makeup, she boasted her elegance.
> When she reappeared, where did she go? The demons respected her and dared not look at her.
> Grabbing a sword and mounting a horse, she follows her brother, guarding the petty residences of the poor.
> Hungry and poor, Old Han (Han Yu) made a [straw] boat at night [to send away demons of poverty]; how many years have passed since [the demons] refused to be sent away?
> If Sister is willing to help her brother chase away demons, my family will be prosperous with gold and money.
> 天寶治衰妹兄出，白晝宮庭馘獰猛。
> 妹時何在不佐兄？靚妝自衒妖嫺質。
> 後來形見知何所？百鬼尊之莫敢覩。
> 提劍躍馬從其兄，每為人家守環堵。
> 老韓饑窮夜縛船，送之不去今幾年？
> 妹肯從兄肆屏逐，我亦家富黃金錢。

> Grabbing a sword and mounting a horse, she follows her brother, guarding the petty residences of the poor.[…]
> […] 百鬼尊之莫敢覩。提劍躍馬從其兄，每為人家守環堵。[…]

This reading stays true to Zhong Kui's role as a supernatural exorcist and is supported by ample pictorial and textual evidence cited below.

Black Cosmetics and the Taming of Demons

Itakura was among the first to point out the religious undertones of the black makeup worn by Zhong Kui's sister, claiming that it was worn in *nuo* exorcist rituals.[304] But besides this, the choice of color and the manner in which the cosmetics was applied also associate the figures with demons and may imply they are being tamed by Zhong Kui. Although the colophons only mention Zhong Kui's principle female companion in the sedan chair as "wearing fresh makeup that resembles black paint" (阿妹新粧臉如漆),[305] at least two other female demons in the painting have similar blackened faces. The color black, while an unusual choice for makeup, has long been associated with the representation of demons in Chinese culture. The way in which the black pigment covers only the cheeks, chins, and necks of the female demons while leaving their foreheads and nose ridges white also calls into mind depictions of oxen in metaphorical Chan Buddhist illustrations, which may symbolize the gradual taming of the demonic figures by Zhong Kui.[306] In Song Chan Buddhist circles, paintings of herd boys taming oxen are metaphors of the Buddha's teaching,

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304 Itakura, "Yuandai de Zhong Kui tuxiang," 93.

305 Gong Kai's inscription, Freer scroll colophon no.1, Appendix II.

306 I thank Pengliang Lu for suggesting this idea.

which advocates the need for “bad potentials in human nature to be subjugated.”[307] In this metaphor, one’s “bad potential” (*liexing* 劣性) is symbolized by the black ox, while enlightenment is symbolized by the white ox. In the series of twelfth-century ten ox-herding pictures by Puming (普明, ca. 1150s),[308] “the process of attaining enlightenment is indicated by the gradual disappearance of the black ink used in the figures of the ox.”[309] In the process of being tamed by the ox-herding boy, the black ox gradually changes colors from head to tail until it becomes completely white, implying the eventual transformation and enlightenment of one’s spirit by Chan teachings (fig. 4.1.1).[310] By having the female demons wear black makeup and representing them as if they are turning white from the forehead downwards (fig. 4.1.2), Gong Kai reinforced the female figures in the painting as demons and may have cited the Chan Buddhist reference and implied the gradual transformation of the female demons from bad to enlightened beings.

Insect Patterns and Five Poisons

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[307] Scarlett Ju-Yu Jang, “Ox-Herding Painting in the Sung [Song] Dynasty,” *Artibus Asiae*, 52.1/2 (1992): 70.

[308] Puming 普明 (ca. 1150s), *Ten Ox-herding Songs with Illustrations* (普明禪師頌). Woodblock prints; reproduced by the Hong Kong Buddhist Publication, Hong Kong, 1976.

[309] Jang, “Ox-Herding Painting,” 83.

[310] Compare the transformation of the ox’s fur from being completely black when “untamed” (未牧), to gradually turning white from the head downwards in the process of being “tamed” (馴伏), to becoming completely white in the “unaware” (相忘) stage. Reproduced in Jang, “Ox-Herding Painting” as figs. 13a, c, d.

In addition to the connotations of the black cosmetics, the insect patterns on the clothing of female demons in Zhong Kui's retinue also are related to his exorcist status as they are associated with the Five Poisons (*wudu* 五毒)—or five poisonous insects and pests—that the Demon Queller was called upon to purge during the *Duanwu* Festival that took place at the height of summer on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month in the Qing dynasty.

The Five Poisons generally include the centipede, snake, toad, gecko, and scorpion; some versions include bees, spiders, tigers, and an ambivalent creature named *yu* (蜮). *Yu* was a deadly creature of ancient times without a clear referent: it was variously defined as a fox, an insect, or a fictional three-legged, tortoise-like marine animal known to cast sand from its mouth and make people ill.[311] It later became a metaphor for the bizarre and evil beings in this world, as seen in an early sixteenth-century inscription on the Freer scroll by Feng Fang 豐坊 (1492-1563) (Colophon 18, dated to 1527). A few of these creatures could be identified from the textile patterns on the female demons' clothing. The skirt of the female attendant with a cat is adorned with designs of centipedes, snakes, and what could either be a three-legged toad or a *yu* (fig. 4.1.4). The turban-wearing attendant trailing behind wears a scorpion-patterned jacket paired with mice-print trousers (fig. 4.1.3). Although mice are not among the Five Poisons, the nickname for mice, *haozi* 耗子, could be an

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[311] Karin Myhre, "Monsters lift the veil: Chinese animal hybrids and processes of transformation," in *The Ashgate research companion to monsters and the monstrous*, eds. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, 222-223. (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).

implicit reference to "Xu Hao" 虛耗, the name of the frolicking demon Zhong Kui caught in Tang Minghuang's palace in Ming sources.[312]

While the patterns on the female demons' clothing do not match that of the Five Poisons exactly, they are unmistakable pests. Furthermore, while Zhong Kui was not associated with the expelling of the Five Poisons until the Qing dynasty,[313] he was known to offer protection against diseases and other malicious forces which were especially rampant at the brink of seasonal changes, as evident from his association with year-end exorcist activities in the Song-Yuan periods. Therefore, the poisonous insect patterns on the female demons' robes not only emphasize Zhong Kui's exorcist powers, but the Freer scroll itself could be seen as a milestone in the gradual expansion of Zhong Kui's exorcist duties to eventually include the expelling of Five Poisons during the Duanwu Festival.

Nine-Tailed Fox and Remedy for Insect Poison

Another important pictorial detail that supports the reading of the Freer scroll as an exorcist expedition is the creature riding on the back of one of Zhong Kui's male demons in the latter half of the scroll (fig. 4.1.5). Covered with white fur, equipped with multiple bushy tails, complete with small ears on its head, a slightly protruding muzzle and what appears as paws, the creature is likely a nine-tailed fox (*jiuweihu* 九尾狐), as its iconography matches that of the nine-tail fox depicted in the earliest

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[312] Chen Yaowen, *Tianzhong ji*, *juan* 4, "Meng Zhong Kui."

[313] See Fucha Dunchong's 富察敦崇 *Yanjing suishi ji* 燕京歲時記 and Gu Lu's 顧祿 *Qing jia lu* 清嘉錄 on the custom of displaying images of Zhong Kui, the Daoist Celestial Master Zhang [Daolin], and Five Poisons during Duanwu Festival in Beijing and Hangzhou in the Qing dynasty.

surviving illustrated edition of *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Guideways through Mountains and Seas) (fig. 4.1.6).[314] Although the illustration dates to 1597 and is depicted in a late-Ming dynasty style, the image "may have been derived from earlier pictorial traditions" which are now lost but were known to have accompanied Song dynasty editions of the book.[315] Even if Gong Kai did not come across an illustrated edition, he was likely to have known the nine-tailed fox's iconography through the text of *Shanhai jing*, which had been repeatedly copied, edited, and printed since its compilation between by the Han dynasty. The nine-tailed fox was also cited repeatedly in Northern Song publications such as the compilation of supernatural tales *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記 (Extensive records of the Taiping Era),[316] the encyclopedic anthology of previous books *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding models from the storehouse of literature),[317] and *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror for aid in government),[318] the chronicle of Chinese history

[314] For an illustration of the nine-tail fox, see fig. 13 of Plate IV in Richard E. Strassberg's *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 88. "Designed by the artisan Jiang Yinghao and intended for a broad reading public," the plate is reproduced from the edition in National Library of China, Beijing, according to Strassberg, "Preface," *A Chinese Bestiary*, xiv.

[315] Strassberg, "Preface," *A Chinese Bestiary*, xiv.

[316] *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, *juan* 447, "Hu yi ruiying" 狐一瑞應.

[317] Translation after Endymion Porter Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* [Rev. ed.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 957.

[318] Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, *juan* 173, "Chen Ji" 陳紀 7. Translation after Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 615.

from the fifth century BC through the tenth century AD, so Gong Kai and his learned viewers would be familiar with the creature and its symbolisms.

The nine-tailed fox is intimately connected to Zhong Kui's exorcist identity. In one of the earliest mentions of Zhong Kui in Dunhuang manuscript P.3552 on *nuo* exorcist rituals from the Tang dynasty, the nine-tailed fox was mentioned among Zhong Kui's retinue (underlines mine):[319]

> Nuo exorcist methods can be traced back to Xuanyuan's [the legendary Yellow Emperor] time. Zhong Kui and Baize [a mystical beast of the White Marshes] took the lead. [Along with] strange fowls and fantastical beasts, and the fox whose nine tails reached the sky, [they] bring good tidings of the new year to our emperor's realm.
> 驅儺之法，自昔軒轅，鍾馗白澤，统領居（仙）先。怪禽異獸，九尾通天。總向我皇境内，呈祥並在新年。

In fact, the word "fox" (*hu* 狐) in the term "nine-tailed fox" may even be a pun on the word *hu* (胡) in the *dayehu* (打夜胡) *nuo* exorcist ritual that took place in the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou at the end of the lunar year, in which beggars and the poor made money by impersonating protective, auspicious deities such as Zhong Kui:[320]

> In the city streets, the poor and the beggars form groups of three to five people to impersonate gods and ghosts, judges, Zhong Kui, "Little Sister," and the like. Striking gongs and beating drums, they beg for money at every gate. This custom is known as "*dayehu*," it is an exorcist ritual that expels evil.
> 街市有貧丐者，三五人為一隊，裝神鬼、判官、鍾馗、小妹等形，敲鑼擊鼓，沿門乞錢，俗呼為「打夜胡」，亦驅儺之意也。

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[319] Huang Zheng 黃征, "Dunhuang yuanwen 'Er lang wei' kaolun" 敦煌願文兒郎偉考論, in *Dunhuang yuwen congshuo* 敦煌語文叢說 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1997), 621.

[320] See *Mengliang lu*, "Shier yue," in Appendix III.

The association of the nine-tail fox with insect-poison, man-eating, and death further supports Zhong Kui's exorcist role and the reading of the Freer scroll as a hunt for malicious demons and pestilences. According to *Shanhai jing*, consumption of the beast offers protection against insect poison (*gu* 蠱), while gnawing its flesh wards off evil.[321] The same entry which vouched for the creatures' medicinal powers in *Shanhai jing* calls it a "man-eater."[322] In a study on the symbolisms of nine-tailed foxes in Queen Mother of the West scenes from Han dynasty tombs, Kao Li-feng pointed out that because foxes were believed to reside in caverns on burial sites and because the number "nine" was frequently associated with classical terms for the netherworld or burial grounds, such as *jiuquan* (九泉), *jiuyuan* (九原), *jiujing* (九京), nine-tail foxes carried the connotation of death.[323] In other words, the inclusion of the nine-tail fox in the Freer scroll underscore Zhong Kui's role as an exorcist. Not only is it paired with Zhong Kui in early exorcist texts and puns with the name of exorcist rituals, but it is simultaneously a cannibalistic monster to be subjugated by Zhong Kui and a remedy against insect-poison or evil that can complement Zhong Kui's apotropaic powers.

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[321] *Shanhai jing Nanshan jing* 山海經南山經 mentions that the nine-tail fox "resembles a fox but has nine tails, sounds like a baby, eats humans, and makes one immune from insect poison when consumed" (其狀如狐而九尾，其音如嬰兒，能食人，食之不蠱。). Cited from in Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary*, 88.

[322] Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary*, 88.

[323] See Kao Li-feng 高莉芬, "Jiuweihu: Han huaxiang Xiwangmu peishu dongwu tuxiang ji qi xiangzheng kaocha" 九尾狐: 漢畫像西王母配屬動物圖像及其象徵考察 (Nine Tails Fox [sic]: The Research of Xi Wang Mu and Her Animal Images and Symbols in Han Stone Engraving), *National Cheng-Chi University Chinese Journal* 政大中文學報 15 (June 2011): 83-85.

As we shall see, the nine-tail fox motif plays an important part in the multiple layers of meaning in the Freer scroll. It coincides with Gong Kai's purposeful ambivalence in the inscription and can be cleverly adapted to support different readings of the scroll. Strangely, it has never been identified by any pre-modern commentators of the scroll or modern scholars alike.

References to Zhong Kui as Exorcist in Colophons

Pictorial evidence aside, there are numerous textual references both in Gong Kai's inscription and in colophons by his Yuan contemporaries that emphasize Zhong Kui's role as exorcist. Fourteen out of the seventeen Yuan colophons mention some aspect of Zhong Kui as exorcist. Among them, the colophons by the artist Gong Kai (Colophon 1) and his contemporaries Han Xing (Colophon 5) and Song Wu (Colophon 9) offer especially rich accounts on Zhong Kui's violent treatment of the demons called upon by his exorcist role, many of which are graphic descriptions of the Demon Queller's consumption of the fiends' flesh and blood, and which associate Zhong Kui with ancient *nuo* rituals in the Han dynasty discussed in previous chapters.

Gong Kai's colophon calls upon Zhong Kui to "sweep away" the creatures that "spy on and attempt to bring down those in high places" (卻愁有物覷高明, […] □□君醒為掃除). The suggestion of "cooking up [the demons] Red Turban and Black Shirt" (赤幘烏衫固可烹)[324] to stave away hunger and drinking "the hard-to-obtain blood (or tears) of beauties" (美人清血終難得) to quench one's thirst upon arrival at

[324] The translation of this line in the documentation of Gong Kai's *Zhongshan on [an] Excursion* scroll on the Freer Gallery of Art's *Song and Yuan Dynasty Painting and Calligraphy* website interpreted "Red Turban" and "Black Shirt" as two demons "doing the cooking." However, in the context of the poem, it makes more sense to translate it as them "being cooked" since it was implied that it was difficult obtaining food and drink.

a deserted way station and an unmanned inn where there were no (one to serve them) food remind one of how Zhong Kui devours demons in early legends.

Han Xing's 韓性 (1266-1341) colophon also portrays Zhong Kui as an exorcist. It mentions the Demon Queller "purging the inauspicious" (猶可為人袚不祥). It refers also to the practice of using homophones of "Zhong Kui" for personal names from the Six Dynasties through the Tang period for apotropaic purposes (辟邪作字魏迄唐).[325] Han Xing also mentions Zhong Kui being enraged by the presence of Boqiang (伯強) and Yukuang (獝狂), demons of disease and evil (是為伯強為獝狂，睢盱鬼伯髯怒張).

Song Wu's 宋无 (1260-1340) colophon mentions Zhong Kui's role as a guardian of thresholds, referring to the custom of hanging his image on gateways and walls (守門壁). The colophon also refers repeatedly to the violent ways in which Zhong Kui treats demons. For instance, Zhong Kui is described as "drooling upon hearing noises the demons made" (耳聞鬼聲饞涎流). He was speculated to have "squeezed demons to make wine" (榨鬼作酒飲) and "diced demons to make pickles" (剁鬼作鬼鮓). Some of the violence is quite graphic—Zhong Kui and his helpers are described as having the demons tied up with such force that "blood splattered on their crotches" (執縛罔兩血洒髈).

In addition to Zhong Kui's exorcist prowess, three Yuan colophons on the Freer scroll also indicate that Gong Kai's contemporaries still associated Zhong Kui with

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325 See discussions on the origins of the term "Zhong Kui" in Chapter Three.

spring and with the New Year, periods when Zhong Kui's demon-quelling powers would be called upon.[326] This is evident in the colophon written by Gong Kai's close friend Gong Su 龔璛 (1266-1331), which includes the lines:

> The year has come to an end, dusk has arrived,
> [The time has come] search for demons and gods;
> The Nine-Headed Hermit (Zhong Kui)[327] became enraged,
> Hunting down hordes of *yao* demons as if they were hares;
> [He] returns from performing the Nuo ritual,
> Marking the advent of the new year.
> 歲云暮矣索鬼神，九首山人生怒嗔，
> 獵取羣祅如獵兔，驅儺歸去作新春。

The repeated references to Zhong Kui's exorcist role in the colophons, along with the black make-up on the female demons' faces, the insect patterns on their robes, and the nine-tailed fox among Zhong Kui's retinue support the reading of the Freer scroll as one featuring Zhong Kui and his sister on a demon-quelling mission. Despite the growing trend of using Zhong Kui as a symbol of the disgruntled literati class, as in Chapter Two, or as a symbol of negligent rulers and officials who fail to keep social and political ills symbolized by demons under control, he was still first and foremost an exorcist in the minds of Yuan viewers.

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[326] Qing colophons on the Freer scroll continued to be viewed and inscribed around the New Year. One of them was dated to the "spring" of 1702 (康熙壬午春, see Freer scroll colophon no.20, in Appendix II) and the other to "the second day after the Lantern Festival [the last day of the Chinese lunar new year holidays]" in 1837 (道光丁酉元夕後二日, see Freer scroll colophon no.22, in Appendix II). This shows that even though Zhong Kui was widely represented as a symbol for powerless scholars or negligent officials in the Ming and Qing period, these new-found socio-political metaphors did not obscure Zhong Kui's religious persona.

[327] The "Nine-Headed Hermit" is an epithet for Zhong Kui, since the word "Kui" (馗) in "Zhong Kui" is comprised of the Chinese characters for "Nine" (九) and "Head" (首).

Reading Two: Parody of Emperor Xuanzong and Consort Yang Fleeing to Shu

Textual Allusions to Minghuang and Yang Guifei

Aside from the exorcist reading, the Freer scroll also doubles as a political parody of the famous royal couple Emperor Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r.712-756) and his consort Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環 (719-756). The numerous references to both Emperor Xuanzong and Yang Guifei in colophons of the Freer scroll strongly support this interpretation of the painting first proposed by Lawton. Among the seventeen colophons dated to the Yuan dynasty on the scroll, three carry exceptionally rich allusions to the people and events related to the flight to Shu. These include colophons by the painter Gong Kai (Colophon 1) and his contemporaries Li Mingfeng (Colophon 2) and Song Wu (Colophon 9).

Gong Kai's colophon refers to people in Yang Guifei's circle, their questionable conduct, their enviable positions of power, as well as their tragic ends, further cementing the reference to Minghuang and Yang Guifei:

> Red Turban and Black Shirt [two demons in the painting] could certainly be cooked,
> But the tears [or blood] of a beauty were hard to obtain.
> It was better to return and drink the Zhongshan brew,
> Once drunk, for three years be oblivious to all.
> Yet the prospect of someone [or demons] spying on the powerful is worrisome,
> [For instance] Ba Yi [Lady Qinguo, Yang Guifei's elder sister] bought others' estates by force.
> [When the Bearded] Lord became sober, he expunged [these demons],
> The golden load at Mawei [where Yang Guifei was executed] was gone without a trace.
> 赤幘烏衫固可亨，美人清血終難得，
> 不如歸飲中山釀，一醉三年萬緣息。
> 卻愁有物覷高明，八姨豪買他人宅，
> □□君醒為掃除，馬嵬金馱去无跡。

As evident in the excerpt above, the colophon alludes to the blood (or tears) of a beauty (美人清血終難得), which could refer to the death (or sorrow) of Guifei *en route* to Shu. It also refers to people in high places being spied on by those with dark

intentions (卻愁有物覷高明), which could be a subtle reference to the rebel leader An Lushan, who orchestrated the An-Shi Rebellion to seize power that prompted Minghuang's flight to Shu. Gong Kai alludes also to Yang Guifei's sister Bayi seizing others' property (八姨豪買他人宅), an example of the exploitation of power and wealth by the Yang clan, which was criticized in light of the hardships endured by commoners. Gong Kai's colophon also alludes to the "golden burden at Mawei" (馬嵬金馱去无跡), a reference to Yang Guifei's corpse where she put to death.[328] Finally, the references to way stations and deserted inns in the colophon strengthen the identification of the theme of the Freer scroll as an extended journey. References to the lack of food (道逢驛舍須小憩，古屋何人供酒食) and to Red Turban and Black Shirt[329] may allude to the hungry soldiers that accompanied Minghuang on the

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[328] Consort Yang and her sisters were referred to as "palace demons" in at least one of the colophons on the Freer scroll; Gong Kai also implied that they needed to be "swept away" by Zhong Kui before it is too late. But his allusions to the tears and blood shed by the Consort, the deprivation of her privilege, and her tragic death present her more as a victim than a demon, causing readers to sympathize with her.

[329] "Red Turban" (*chize* 赤幘) and "Black Shirt" (*wushan* 烏衫) could be explained in several different ways in the context of the Freer scroll. They may refer to demons in a story about a haunted pavilion near Anyang in *Soushen ji* 搜神記, as suggested by Sturman in "Confronting Dynastic Change," 155 n42. They may also refer to children performing exorcist rituals (*zhenzi* 侲子) described in *Hou Hanshu Liyizhi zhong* 後漢書禮儀志中, who were distinguished by their red headscarfs and black shirts (*chize zaozhi* 赤幘皁製). Both these allusions align with the demonic subject of the painting. They could refer to soldiers in Emperor Xuanzong's retinue on the flight to Shu: "red turban" refers to the red headscarf worn by lower-ranked soldiers (*wuli* 武吏) in *Hou Hanshu Yufuzhi xia* 後漢書輿服志下 while "black shirt" (*wushan* 烏衫) calls to mind warriors in the "Military Camp of the Black Shirts" (*Wuyi bingying* 烏衣兵營) of the Three Kingdoms period. Finally, they could simply refer to the female demons trailing behind the sedan chair of Zhong Kui's female partner, who are shown carrying their mistress's pillow and cosmetics box in a turban and a black shirt.

flight. This colophon hints that Yang Guifei and her family, as well as other people exploiting or coveting power at court, are the "demons" that would be too late to expel after Zhong Kui awakens from his intoxication.

Aside from Gong Kai's own colophon, the inscriptions by his contemporaries Li Mingfeng and Song Wu are also rich in references to the royal couple and the flight to Shu. Here's an excerpt of Li's colophon:

> Sanlang (Tang Minghuang) is a smart man, how come he became foolish in senility?
> Yuhuan (Yang Guifei) has a bewitching charm, it never dawned on her how ugly Lu-er (An Lushan) was.
> The [demon] that played the jade flute stolen from Ningwang (Tang Minghuang's brother) back then,
> Is it true [Lushan] returned in its likeness to wreak havoc and deceive?
> [Zhong] Kui cannot capture every one of them [demons];
> The whole world keeps on turning, who is aware?
> I wanted to rub my beard and confiscate this magical painting[330];
> They say this is painted playfully by Old Cuiyan (Gong Kai).
> I remember the iron-clad armored cavalry riding in from Yuyang [where the imperial army rebelled] charged like [surging] clouds;
> [Minghuang] rides a mule [to escape] in haste as there's nothing else he could do.
> The wandering soul in brocade stockings[331] (Gufei) has not returned;

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[330] My translation of *shu* 術 as "magical painting" is based on a discussion of the respective artistic merits of "magical paintings" (*shuhua* 術畫) by Daoists and "artistic paintings" (*yihua* 藝畫) in Guo Ruoxu's 郭若虛 (ca. 1041-98) *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 圖畫見聞志. According to Guo, "magical paintings" relies on illusionistic techniques to trick the viewer into believing the painting was real. This translation works in this context: it serves as praise for Gong Kai's skill in creating lifelike demons. It also reflects the bias towards such paintings as being inferior to "artistic paintings" which "stimulated cultivated intellectual responses." For further discussions of Guo's passage, see Shih-Shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1.

[331] The usage of "a wandering soul in brocade stockings" (*jinwa youhun*) to refer to Consort Yang originated in Du Fu's poem "Ai Jiangtou" 哀江頭. See Elizabeth Marie Owen, "Love Lost: Qian Xuan (c. 1235-c. 1307) and Images of Emperor Ming Huang and Yang Guifei" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2005), 132.

Even the Daoists[332] who soar in the sky and ride on the air cannot find [her] anywhere.
三郎聰明晚何謬，玉環狐媚不悟祿兒醜。
當年曾偷寧王玉笛吹，豈信此徒亦復[來]效颦來肆欺，
馗也詎能一一盡擒捉，舉世滔滔定復誰知覺，
我欲嘑髯扣其術，人言个是翠嵓老子遊戲筆，
却憶漁陽鐵騎來如雲，騎騾倉遑了無策，
錦韈游魂意弗歸，方士排空御氣無从覓。

This excerpt is sprinkled with references to Minghuang and Yang Guifei. It laments Minghuang's foolishness in his late years, which likely referred to his indulgence in the bewitching charms of Guifei and his mistrust of An Lushan. It blames Guifei for not realizing the true colors of An Lushan, her "adopted son" who repaid her doting by disrupting Minghuang's court as the demon in the Zhong Kui legend disrupted the palace grounds. In fact, it presents An Lushan as the reincarnation of the demon that coveted palace riches and caused Minghuang to fall ill in the Zhong Kui legend. It mentions the iron-clad cavalry from Yuyang (in modern-day Tianjing) which separated the royal couple by death, leading to Minghuang's desperate run for cover in Southwest China on a mule's back. Li then cites Tang poet Bo Juyi's (772-846) *Song of Everlasting Sorrow* 長恨歌 which talked about how the soul of the expired Guifei is nowhere to be found, eluding even the Daoist magicians, thus emphasizing the eternal separation of the royal couple. In other words, Li's colophon recounts the root reasons, immediate causes, and tragic consequences of the

[332] The description of Daoist magicians soaring in the sky alludes to the failed attempt by Daoist adepts at summoning the soul of Consort Yang from paradise was mentioned in Bai Juyi's *Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (*Chang hen ge* 長恨歌) and in the coda of Chen Hong's *Legend of the Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (*Chang hen ge zhuan* 長恨歌傳), one of the most famous ballads based on the tragic romance of the royal couple. See Owen, "Love Lost," 140, 143.

flight to Shu, further strengthening the reading of the scroll as a parody of the historical incident.

Song Wu's colophon also contains references to Minghuang and Guifei, as well as Guifei's tragic end. The latter half of his colophon goes:

> Where did the family of Old Kui originate?
> Legend has it that he made an appearance in the Tang palace.
> At the time [the Emperor Xuanzong] indulged in sounds and sights,
> Has A-Man's [Emperor Xuanzong] nightmare ever become real?
> The *yao* demons of the palace have been trampled upon and Mawei [place of Guifei's execution] has turned into dust;
> Suddenly from the blue sky a thunderbolt strikes,
> Thousands of *yao* demons and tens of thousands of *guai* demons were killed and attacked;
> The mountain of Fengdu [the realm of ghosts] was destroyed[333] and the sun can be seen;
> Old Kui suffers from hunger of having no demons to feed upon,
> He guards the gates and walls in the human realm in loneliness.
> 老馗氏族何處人，託言唐宮曾見身，
> 當時聲色相沈淪，阿瞞夢寐何曾真，
> 宮妖已踐馬嵬塵，焂忽青天飛辟力，
> 千妖萬怪遭誅擊，酆都山摧見白日，
> 老馗忍飢無鬼喫，泠落人間守門壁。

As evident from the excerpt, Song talked about Minghuang's indulgence in sensual pleasures (當時聲色相沈淪). Although Yang Guifei's name was not explicitly mentioned, it is clear she was the "palace demon" (*gongyao* 宮妖) trampled to death

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[333] The destroying of Fengdu, the legendary realm of the ghosts, by thunderbolts may refer to the Daoist "attack on hell" (*poyu* 破獄) on the first night of Yellow Register Purgation (*Huangluzhai* 黃籙齋) in an effort to rescue sinners in hell from torture and direct them to the ritual area for salvation; see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 255. This may also refer to the practice of using thunderbolts to subjugate demon forces by Daoist masters in the Song; see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 328 n264. Paintings and talismans illustrating this maneuver includes the thirteenth-century *Daoist Deity Liberating Hell* handscroll by Liang Kai in Wen Wan-go's collection and the *Qingxuan tianzun jiuku po fengdu fu* 青玄天尊救苦破酆都符 ("The Talisman of Green Mystery Heavenly Worthy Pardoning the Sinners and Destroying Fengdu"); see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 257-258.

by horses at Mawei, which was the legendary way in which the consort died (宮妖已踐馬嵬塵).[334]

In sum, the abundant references to Minghuang, Yang Guifei, and events that took place around their flight to Shu in both Gong Kai's inscriptions and colophons by his contemporaries on the Freer scroll are the textual sources which support the interpretation of the painting as a parody of the couple's hasty and tragic escape.

Pictorial Allusions to Minghuang and Yang Guifei

The contents of the painting—which include the travelers, the means of transportation, the types of belongings carried, and the facial expressions of the protagonists—also identify the protagonists to be Minghuang and Yang Guifei. The demonic figures in the Freer scroll coincide roughly with the genders and types of the cohort that accompanied Minghuang on his journey (fig. 4.1.10).

According to *Zizhi tongjian*, eleventh-century chronicle of Chinese history which focused on the Tang, the Emperor fled from the imperial palace in haste and utmost secrecy, accompanied only by a handful of his most trusted aides such as the Grand Councilor Yang Guozhong, the eunuch Gao Lishi 高力士 (684-762), as well

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[334] The occasion on which the Freer scroll was viewed in the Qing dynasty, as evident from an eighteenth-century colophon by the noted collector Gao Shiqi (1645-1704) (see Freer scroll colophon no.19 in Appendix II), also strengthens the interpretation of the protagonists in the painting as Emperor Xuanzong and Consort Yang. Rather than viewing the scroll in spring or around the lunar new year, as some of his contemporaries did in honor of seasonal customs, Gao's colophon was dated "one day before Seventh Night [in the seventh lunar-month]" in 1700 (康熙庚辰七夕前一日). It was on this day—the Seventh Night of the seventh lunar month—that the royal couple famously pledged their vows of eternal love at the Hall of Everlasting Life (*Changsheng dian* 長生殿) in Bo Juyi's *Song of Everlasting Sorrow*; see Owen, "Love Lost," 136.

as the closest members of his family, which includes Yang Guifei and her sisters, the crown prince, and other brothers, sons, and grandsons:

> After nightfall, [Emperor Xuanzong secretly] had the Longwu General-in-chief Chen Xuanli summon the imperial army. Unbeknownst to outsiders, [the monarch] gave them plenty of money and silks and selected over nine-hundred steeds not in service from the imperial stable. At daybreak on the *yiwei* day, the Emperor left from the Gate of Extended Autumn with Consort [Yang] and her sisters, the princes, other imperial women, his grandsons, [Grand Councilors (宰相)] Yang Guozhong and Wei Jiansu (697-762), [Censor-in-chief (御史大夫)] Wei Fangjin, Chen Xuanli, and eunuchs and palace ladies close to him. All others were left behind.
> 既夕，命龍武大將軍陳玄禮整比六軍，厚賜錢帛，選閑廄馬九百餘匹，外人皆莫之知。乙未，黎明，上獨與貴妃姊妹、皇子、妃、主、皇孫、楊國忠、韋見素、魏方進、陳玄禮及親近宦官、宮人出延秋門，妃、主、皇孫之在外者，皆委之而去。

While the entire household is being brought along, as is evident from the number of accompanying male and female servants, the simple means of travel and minimal belongings serve as further pictorial evidence that the painting alludes to Minghuang's flight to Shu. In terms of travel, rather than riding on elaborate palanquins or majestic steeds, Zhong Kui and his companion in the Freer scroll are being transported in make-shift sedan chairs composed of nothing but a few wooden planks haphazardly joined with ropes, a traditional means of transportation suited for climbing the mountainous terrains the monarch and his lover traversed on their escape. Privileged to ride on sedan chairs,[335] however make-shift, while the rest of the company walks, Zhong Kui and his female partner could be identified as the emperor and the

[335] Although *Zizhi tongjian* described the party travelling on steeds from the imperial stable, since certain parts of the journey to Shu would involve traversing extremely mountainous terrain and narrow pathways, the sedan chair reference is appropriate here.

concubine. The worried glances[336] they exchange are suggestive of the anxiety they experienced during their journey. The female demons attending to Zhong Kui's female companion may represent palace ladies, while the porters and sedan-chair carriers and the demons roughing up miniature demons may represent household servants and soldiers from the imperial brigade that fled the capital along with the monarch and his lover.

In fact, the three female demons that trail behind Zhong Kui's mate may even represent Yang Guifei's sisters.[337] If this is the case, their peculiar make-up and the insect patterns on their robes take on new significance. By smearing their cheeks with black pigment and leaving the forehead and nose ridge white, the facial treatment of the female demons mimics the popular "three white" (*sanbai* 三白) style favored by court women in the Tang and Song dynasties, as seen in depictions of Song ladies (fig. 4.1.8). This parody of imperial women's facial adornment is particularly apt given that Yang Guifei's sisters were known to have squandered extravagant sums of money on cosmetics.[338] The poisonous insect pattern may parody the "golden peacock and silver unicorn" patterns on the "filmy silks" worn by Yang Guifei's sisters in Du Fu's poem *Liren xing* 麗人行 ("Ballad of the Beautiful Women"), a poem which

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[336] This interpretation may be debated, since the colophon by Zhou Yun 9early 14th century) describes Zhong Kui as looking around with a "forceful glance" (顧盼氣吞). See Freer scroll colophon no. 17, in Appendix II.

[337] Because of their big feet, they are more likely palace ladies. But the Guifei's sisters theory is more interesting because they wore black makeup and insect patterned robes which parody the flattering makeup and brocade robes of the Yang sisters.

[338] Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 158 n46.

criticized the dissipated lifestyles of palace women by describing the fineries they wore and the delicacies they consumed on a splendid picnic in late spring (繡羅衣裳照暮春，蹙金孔雀銀麒麟).[339] These same details, which implied that the female characters are poisonous pests in the process of being tamed by Zhong Kui in the exorcist reading of the scroll, are now cleverly used to ridicule the Yang sisters by reversing standards and emblems of beauty and luxury. This comical transformation of the Yang sisters recalls amusing illustrations of monsters in the Edo period, which parody New Year holiday celebrations in common households by having skeletons wear kimonos with graveyard stupa marker designs and having monsters decorate their houses with *shikimi* flowers customarily presented at the grave.[340]

Nine-Tailed Fox as Symbol for Femme Fatale and Incestuous Relationships

The nine-tailed fox in Zhong Kui's retinue also carries alternative connotations that support the reading of the Freer scroll as a political parody. The nine-tailed fox was frequently associated with notorious palatial women in Chinese history that brought down ruling houses with their extravagant ways and bewitching charm. For instance, Daji (妲己), the favorite consort of King Zhou (商紂, 1105-1046 BC), the last dictator of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600-1050 BC), was believed to be an incarnation of the nine-tailed fox. In *Quanxiang pinghua* 全相平話, a Yuan

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[339] Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), *Liren xing* 麗人行 ("Ballad of the Beautiful Women"). The poem was composed in 757, one year after the strangulation of Yang Guifei, after the poet revisited the deserted site where the Yang sister's splendid picnic had once taken place; see translation and discussion of the poem in Owen, "Love Lost," Appendix B: Poetry, 199-200.

[340] Adam Kabat, "Monsters as Edo Merchandise," *Japan Quarterly* 48.1 (January-March 2001): 66-77.

compilation of scripts for professional storytellers, the story of King Wu of Zhou's attack of King Zhou of Shang (武王伐紂) ended with the Shang tyrant's favorite consort Daji violently killed after revealing her true self as a nine-tailed fox (fig. 4.1.9).[341]

The reading of the Freer scroll as a parody of Minghuang's scandalous relationship with Consort Yang becomes even clearer given the belief that consuming the nine-tailed fox offers immunity against insect-poison (*gu* 蠱). According to N. H. Van Straten, *gu* poison is produced from "sexual secretions of men and women engaged in lascivious and incestuous intercourses."[342] Contamination of *gu* poison involves "an alien evil spirit which entered the body and developed into worms…that gnawed away at the intestines or genitalia."[343] The association of the nine-tailed fox with incestuous intercourse seems to hint at Minghuang's scandalous with Yang Guifei, who was originally the bride of his son, Li Mao 李瑁 (d. 775).

In other words, besides being an ordinary image of Zhong Kui and his female exorcist sidekick, the Freer scroll serves as a parody for Minghuang and Guifei's flight to Shu as is supported by ample references in the colophons and painting.

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341 Translation of passage as follows: "Taigong holds up a demon-reflecting mirror and points it at Daji; the latter revealed her true self as a nine-tailed fox and flew away" (太公一手擎著降妖鏡，向空中照見妲己，真性化為九尾狐狸，騰空而去). See "Wu Wang fa Zhou shu xia" 武王伐紂書下, in *Quanxiang pinghua* 全相平話. I thank Lu Pengliang for pointing out this passage.

342 N. H. Van Straten, *Concepts of Health, Disease and Vitality in Traditional Chinese Society*: *A Psychological Interpretation* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), 62 and 145-164.

343 Ibid., 61.

Among the pictorial references, the nine-tailed fox is an implicit critique of Guifei as a bewitching *femme fatale* and of her incestuous relationship with her ruler lover.

Reading Three: Commentary on Emperor Lizong and the Mongol Invasion

By this point, I have argued that the painting can at least be read two ways. On the surface, it depicts Zhong Kui and his sister on a demon-quelling mission; it can also be interpreted as a parody of Emperor Xuanzong fleeing to Shu at the wake of the An-Shi Rebellion with his beloved Consort Yang. But the political undertones in the popular Tang legend, the parallels between the legend and late Southern Song politics, the barbaric connotation of the nine-tailed fox, and Gong Kai's loyalist background suggest a possible third layer of meaning in the painting. I propose that the Freer scroll also served as a commentary on the personal conduct, diplomatic policy, and tragic death of Southern Song Emperor Lizong (r. 1225-1264)—an emperor who ruled through the years of Gong Kai's young adulthood. I propose that the vocal loyalist Gong Kai may have used the Minghuang-Guifei story as an analogy for the similar problems that plagued Lizong's court.

Popularity of the Minghuang-Guifei Story and Its Political Undertones

Filled with lust, romantic love, displays of wealth, struggles for power, military uprisings, tragic deaths, and the fall of a prosperous era, the Tang Minghuang-Yang Guifei story is so intriguing and sensational that it has been repeatedly treated in pseudo-history and literature since its occurrence in the eighth-century. Among the famous poets in the eighth and ninth centuries that wrote on this subject,[344] Bai Juyi's

[344] These include the aforementioned Li Bai (701-762), Du Fu (712-770), Bai Juyi (772-846), as well as Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), Li He 李賀 (791-817), Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852), and Li Shangyin 李商隱 (c . 813-858).

(772-846) celebrated epic poem *Song of Everlasting Sorrow* which recounted the tragic love story between the royal couple, “created archetypal images that formed the foundation for an enduring literary tradition,” and served as a major source of inspiration for later renditions.[345]

The fascination with the royal couple persisted into the Song, Jin, and Yuan dynasties. The story was recorded in historical records, and inspired numerous court dramas (*yuanben* 院本) and variety plays (*zaju* 雜劇).[346] Sima Guang’s 司馬光 (1019-1086) *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑) was not only considered one of the most authoritative accounts of historical events surrounding the two characters, but also set the tone for later writings on Minghuang and Yang Guifei, causing a renewal of interest in the story.[347] The significant output of court dramas and variety plays on the tragic lovers in the Southern Song and Jin periods are mostly by anonymous authors and survive only in the form of recorded titles, but the extant titles suggest a focus on the romantic love story and tragic demise surrounding Yang Guifei.[348]

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[345] Later renditions inspired by Bai Juyi’s work include Chen Hong’s (active in Tang) *Account of the Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (*Chang hen ge zhuan* 長恨歌傳) and Hong Sheng’s 洪昇 (1645-1704) *Hall of Immortality* (*Chang sheng dian* 長生殿); see Owen, “Love Lost,” 123.

[346] Ibid., 163-173.

[347] Ibid., 161-162.

[348] For instance, the Southern Song variety play *Horses Trampling Consort Yang* 馬踐楊妃 (*Ma jian Yang fei*), likely focuses on the brutal, legendary death of Consort Yang under horse hooves, while the Jin court drama *As Long as Heaven and Earth* 天長地久 (*Tian chang di jiu*) probably celebrates the everlasting love between the imperial couple.

The tragic love story was also "celebrated and memorialized in early Yuan popular culture,"[349] a context from which Gong Kai could not completely escape and one which he may have quite consciously evoked in his paintings and writings. Popular dramas such as Bai Pu's 白樸 (1227-1306) *Rain on the Wutong Tree* (*Wutong yu* 梧桐雨) and Guan Hanqing's 關漢卿 (c. 1220-1330) *Tang Minghuang Weeps over [Guifei's] Perfume Sachet* (*Tang Minghuang ku xiangdai* 唐明皇哭香袋)[350] "romanticized the story of love and loss for a universal audience,"[351] representing only a fraction of the theatrical texts dealing with the theme that circulated widely in Gong Kai's time. Since the famous Yuan playwrights Bai Pu and Guan Hanqing were Gong Kai's contemporaries, he likely knew their plays.

In addition to literary accounts of Minghuang and Guifei, there is a wealth of paintings in the Song-Yuan periods on the couple and their journey. A number of extant paintings depict the royal pair feasting at banquets, playing sports, and enjoying music, such as the ones listed in Elizabeth Owen's study.[352] Several others depict the lovers fleeing the capital, such as *Emperor Minghuang's Journey to Shu* in

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[349] Owen, "Love Lost," 164-173.

[350] Ibid., 166. Recorded alternatively as *Tang Minghuang qi yi ku xiangnang* 唐明皇啓瘞哭香囊 in Chen Fu-jung 陳富容, "Bujian yuyan 'kong' sichu—Changsheng dian de 'kongfen' shijie" 不見玉顏「空」死處ー《長生殿》的「空墳」世界 (Didn't see the beautiful face in the "empty" grave－The study of the "empty grave" world of "The palace of Eternal Youth"), *Taibei daxue zhongwen xuebao* 臺北大學中文學報 7 (September 2009): 96 n1.

[351] Owen, "Love Lost," 125.

[352] See examples of paintings of Emperor Xuanzong and Consort Yang in Owen, "Love Lost," Chapter Two, 72-116.

the National Palace Museum of Taipei (fig. 4.1.10). This corpus of literary and visual material in Song-Yuan period made Minghuang and Guifei readily available models with rich cultural allusions for Gong Kai to capitalize upon in his art.

Besides being a sensational romance, the Minghuang-Guifei episode had long-served as a political admonition. As early as the Tang, the poet Du Fu had criticized the romance, expressing disapproval of the extravagant displays of wealth and power by Consort Yang and her clan, criticizing the indulgence and negligence of Emperor Xuanzong, and sympathizing with the suffering caused among the commoners by the monarch's dalliance and misjudgment.[353] In Northern Song, Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) *New Tang History* (*Xin Tangshi* 新唐史) and Sima Guang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* mentioned earlier also commented upon the affair disapprovingly. The entry on Emperor Xuanzong in *New Tang History*, for instance, characterized Emperor Xuanzong as yet another Tang ruler whose poor judgment in women proved disastrous for his dynasty:[354]

> In the decades between the reigns of Emperor Gaozu [r. 618-626] and Emperor Zhongzong [r. 705-710], there was another bout of "female calamity." Although the rule of the Tang house was revived after being terminated, Emperor Zhongzong was not able to escape and his queen Madame Wei eventually extinguished his clan. Emperor Xuanzong quelled the chaos, which was laudable, but he failed again at the hands of women. When he was focused on governance, he created the Kaiyuan era, how peaceful and prosperous it was! Then greed stirred in his heart, all the sensuous pleasures on earth was not enough to give him pleasure, he spoiled his beloved, and forgot about moderation, to the extent that he did not regret even when he fled from the capital and lost his kingdom. If we examine the beginnings and ends of these incidences, their personalities were totally different yet the results were the same. How can one not be cautious! How can one not be cautious!

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[353] See Du Fu, "Zi jing fu feng xian yong huai wubai zi" 自京赴奉先永懷五百字, in which he contrasts the stark differences between lives of the aristocrats and those of common folks.

[354] *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, "Xuanzong benji" 玄宗本紀, *juan* 5, p.118.

自高祖至于中宗，數十年間，再罹女禍，唐祚既絕而復續，中宗不免其身，韋氏遂以滅族。玄宗親平其亂，可以鑒矣，而又敗以女子。方其勵精政事，開元之際，幾致太平，何其盛也！及侈心一動，窮天下之欲不足為其樂，而溺其所甚愛，忘其所可戒，至于竄身失國而不悔。考其始终之異，其性習之相遠也至于如此。可不慎哉！可不慎哉！

Although no names were mentioned in the excerpt, one can easily infer that the three incidences of palace women wreaking havoc on the Tang court includes Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705), who was referred to as “female disaster” (*nü huo* 女禍) that rocked the Tang house during the many decades between Emperor Gaozong’s and Zhongzong’s reigns and temporarily “terminated the dynastic line of the Tang court” (唐祚既絕). The palace women accused also includes Empress Wei 韋后 (d. 710), who “extinguished the imperial clan” (滅族) of Emperor Zhongzong. Finally, Consort Yang was blamed for causing Emperor Xuanzong to “fail in the hands of women” (敗以女子), escape like a fugitive, and lose his empire (竄身失國). It is clear the historian advised staying away from court women with overpowering ambitions and bewitching charms.

The political allusions of the Minghuang and Guifei story remained strong in the early Yuan periods, at the wake of the Mongol conquest of Southern Song China. Consort Yang was evoked in at least ten lyric-songs (*ci* 詞) on the subject of white lotuses in *Yuefu buti* 樂府補題, a collection of ballads composed in secret by the famous writer-collector Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298) and thirteen other Southern Song loyalist poets, whom Gong Kai and his circle would have known given his loyalist leanings. On the surface, these poems on white lotuses seem to be lamenting the tragic death of Consort Yang, since the flower is a traditional symbol for the Tang beauty, a metaphor coined in Bo Juyi’s *Song of Everlasting Sorrow*. It has been argued

that through the metaphor of Consort Yang, the loyalist poets were actually mourning the equally heartbreaking demise of Southern Song empresses and imperial consorts, who "plunged themselves into the sea upon hearing the news of the last Song emperor's death at sea"[355] or had their bones "strewn in the woods" by the Lamaist monk Byansprin lCan-skya.[356] The political reading of poems on white lotuses is in keeping with interpretations of other poems in *Yuefu buti*, which were thought to mourn the demise of the Southern Song reign, the tragic fates of members of the imperial family, and the disrespect with which the Mongol constituents treated the tombs and remains of the Southern Song rulers through subtle references to the cicada, ambergris perfume, water shield, and crab.[357]

In sum, given the profusion of references to Minghuang-Guifei in visual and literary culture in the Song-Yuan periods, Gong Kai and his contemporaries would be familiar with not only the characters and plot, but also the cultural and political connotations of the story. In fact, the precedence of using the Minghuang-Guifei story to comment on the sexual indulgence of emperors, the exploitation of power by imperial women, and the tragic death of members of the imperial family makes it an especially fitting analogy for comparable scenarios during the reign of the Southern Song Emperor Lizong introduced below.

Parallels between Emperors Tang Xuanzong and Song Lizong

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[355] Empress Dowager Yang—the mother of Emperor Duanzong (1268-1278) plunged herself into the sea upon hearing the news of the last Song emperor's death at sea. See Eugene Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada: Problems of Historical Interpretation of Yuan Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2007): 183-184.

[356] Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 147.

[357] Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada," 181.

Though they were active almost five hundred years apart, notable parallels exist between the regimes of Tang Emperor Xuanzong, a popular cultural icon in Gong Kai's time, and that of the Southern Song monarch Lizong (r. 1224-1264), who was the ruling emperor during most of Gong Kai's youth and young adulthood. Both men governed the last prosperous era of their respective dynasties: the Tang dynasty never regained its glory after the An-Shi Rebellion that took place in the late years of Emperor Xuanzong, while the Southern Song dynasty ended a little over a decade after Emperor Lizong's reign. Both regimes were threatened by non-Han Chinese forces: Xuanzong's reign was disrupted by the An-Shi Rebellion, an uprising orchestrated by two Tang military leaders of Central Asian descent; Lizong's reign, on the other hand, inherited the conflict with Jurchens and struggled with a disastrous relationship with the Mongols.[358] Both rulers were criticized for entrusting matters of state to corrupt and cunning individuals: Grand Councilors Li Linfu 李林甫 (683-753), Yang Guozhong, and eunuch Gao Lishi fiddled with matters of state during Xuanzong's reign, while in Lizong's time, Grand Councilors Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164-1233), Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213-1275), and eunuch Dong Songchen 董宋臣 (d. 1260) dominated the political scene. Eunuch Dong confiscated privately owned land to build pleasure pavilions for Lizong in times of severe economic hardship; this recalls similar deeds of Yang Guifei's sister Bayi, who was also described as having "forced people to sell their residences" (強買他人宅) in Gong Kai's inscription on the

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[358] Richard L. Davis, "Reign of Li-tsung (1224-1264)," in *The Cambridge History of China—Sung Dynasty*, eds. Denis Crispin Twitchett and John King Fairbank, 873 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Freer scroll.[359] Most notably, however, is that both Xuanzong and Lizong were notorious for their indulgences in sexual pleasures. The immodest sexual escapades that persisted throughout Lizong's reign irritated contemporary and later observers about the Southern Song ruler.[360] He infamously entertained Daoist nuns in the palace and hosted "common street prostitutes" in the palace (召妓入宫) as part of the New Year's celebration in 1255.[361] His doting on Imperial Consort Jia (d. 1247), the sister of Grand Councilor Jia Sidao, was even compared by one disapproving Song official to the infamous affair between Emperor Xuanzong and Consort Yang.[362] In fact, the brutal death of Consort Yang by strangulation—or as some Song-Yuan legends describe it, being trampled to death by horses[363]—also reminds one of the appalling treatment of Lizong's corpse by the Mongols, who extracted his body from the tomb, hung it upside down on a tree, and cause the head to separate from the torso.[364] Given these striking parallels between Emperors Xuanzong and Lizong, as well as the explicit comparison a Song official drew between the two rulers,[365] it is quite likely Gong Kai was ridiculing Lizong's sexual intemperance and berating his unwise decision to partner with the Mongols in the war against Jurchens. By the time of

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[359] Davis, "Reign of Li-tsung," 887.

[360] Ibid., 874.

[361] Ibid., 874, 887.

[362] Ibid., note 68.

[363] The Southern Song variety play *Horses Trampling Consort Yang* (*Ma jian Yang fei*), likely focuses on the brutal, legendary death of Guifei under horse hooves.

[364] Eugene Wang, "The Elegant Cicada: Problems of Historical Interpretation of Yuan Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2007): 184.

365 Davis, "Reign of Li-tsung," 874 n68.

Lizong's rule, the Jurchens were no longer a significant threat for the Southern Song; their military power had weakened due to constant warfare with Mongols on its northern borders. By collaborating with the Mongols to extinguish the Jurchens, the Southern Song court effectively removed a buffer between them and the increasingly powerful Mongols, initiating years of military strife and expediting the fall of Song rule.

Nine-Tailed Fox and Barbarians

Once again, the presence of the nine-tailed fox is key in this reading. In this reading, the nine-tailed fox (*hu* 狐) functions as a visual pun for barbarians (*hu* 胡). Foxes have long been associated with barbarians, a derogatory term for non-Han Chinese peoples in China. Not only does the term fox (*hu* 狐) pun with the term barbarians (*hu* 胡), anecdotes from the Tang and Song, as mentioned by Xiaofei Kang, show that this association was in existence early on. A famous anecdote from the Tang shows that this association was already in place in that period. One time An Lushan attempted to call a truce with Geshu Han, a longtime rival of his who was also of Central Asian descent. When Geshu Han replied with a comment on how foxes forget their origins, An Lushan was furious because he thought Geshu Han was making fun of his foreign ancestry and implying that he would betray his lord by comparing him to a fox.[366] Another anecdote from *Songshi* also shows the association of foxes and barbarians was firmly in place at the end of the Northern Song dynasty.

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[366] See *Jiu Tangshu* 104.3213, cited in Xiaofei Kang, "The Fox [hu] and the Barbarian [hu]: Unraveling Representations of the Other in Late Tang Tales," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 27 (1999): 50.

The story claims that a fox appeared in the palace and took up Emperor Huizong's throne on the eve of the Jurchen invasion at the end of the Northern Song; this makes the metaphor of foxes as barbarians clear.[367]

The perception of fox spirits in general as at once insiders and aliens who are simultaneously beneficial and threatening to humans makes the nine-tailed fox an appropriate metaphor for the Mongols, since from the perspective of the Song people, they were at once allies and invaders. While Lizong's court relied on an alliance with the Mongols to extinguish the Jurchens, the extermination of this long-standing enemy also removed a buffer between the Song and the Mongols, making the latter an imminent threat to Song national security.

Gong Kai's Loyalist Sentiments

The political undertones of Minghuang and Yang Guifei would have resonated with Gong Kai due to his known loyalist sentiments. Gong Kai's loyalist leanings were apparent given the company he kept and the literary and painterly activities he engaged in. He was the friend of a few prominent Southern Song patriots. Among them is Lu Xiufu 陸秀夫 (1236-1279), the Southern Song minister who committed suicide with the child emperor Zhao Bing 趙昺 (1271-1279) on his back as he leaped into the sea at Yaishan in 1279,[368] whom he sent off to the frontline and for whom he compiled and wrote the preface to an anthology of commemorative poetry (輯陸君實

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[367] See Xiaofei Kang, "Power on the Margins: The Cult of the Fox in Late Imperial China" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2000), 82-83.

[368] Yuan Shishuo袁世碩 and Abe Shinichiro 阿部晋一郎, "Jieshi Gong Kai" 解識龔開 (Interpreting Mr. Gong Kai), *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 5 (2003): 86; see also Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 155 n37.

挽詩序).[369] He also wrote biographies for both Lu and another famed loyalist Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1283).[370] Gong Kai also knew Fang Feng 方鳳 (1241-1322), a loyalist writer in Wen Tianxiang's circle who organized a literary society that solicited loyalist poetry.[371]

In his colophon for Gong Kai's *Emaciated Horse* (瘦馬圖) scroll (fig. 1.5), the painter Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) portrays Gong Kai as a loyalist who became emaciated like the horse he drew due to his anger at the Mongol conquest of Southern Song and his yearning for the fallen dynasty.[372] It seems he is trying to say that all paintings and writings listed below, including the Freer scroll, embody Gong Kai's nostalgia, anger, and sadness for the fallen dynasty:

> 淮陰老人氣忠義，The Old Man of Huiyin [Gong Kai] is loyal and righteous,
> 短褐雪髯當宋季。Clad in a short shirt and wearing a snowy-white beard he was active at the end of Song dynasty.
> 國亡身在憶南朝，He survived the fall of the empire, a southern dynasty he remembers fondly,
> 畫思詩情無不至。His nostalgia permeates his paintings and poems.
> 宋江三十肖形模，The thirty[-six] heroes in the retinue of [Northern Song revolutionary] Song Jiang come alive [in Gong Kai's eulogy];[373]

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[369] Yuan and Abe, "Jieshi Gong Kai," 86, 89.

[370] Sturman, "Confronting Dynastic Change," 155 n37.

[371] Yuan and Abe, "Jieshi Gong Kai," 92.

[372] Ibid., 96.

[373] This refers to Gong Kai's "Song Jiang sanshiliu ren zan bing xu" 宋江三十六人贊並序, a eulogy he composed for thirty-six characters from the classical Chinese novel *Water Margin* 水滸傳, reproduced in Zhou Mi's 周密 (1232-1298) *Guixin zashi xubian* 癸辛雜識 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), *xuji shang* 續集上, 145-151.

鍾山鬼隊尤可吁。The hordes of demons in Zhongshan's [Zhong Kui] retinue causes one to sigh.[374]
高馬小兒傳意象，His painting of a small child riding on a tall horse captures the spirit [of his subjects];
詩就還成瘦馬圖。After writing a poem, he also painted a painting of the emaciated horse.
夕陽沙岸如山影，The setting sun casts a mountain-like shadow over the sandy banks;
天閑健步何由騁? Where is the swift-footed [horse] from the imperial stables galloping towards?
後世徒知繪可珍，Later generations merely know that the paintings are valuable;
孰知義士憤欲癭! Few know about the extent of the loyalist [painter's] wrath and sadness, a sentiment so intense that caused tumors to form on his neck![375]

In sum, Gong Kai's company, writings, and reputation as a Song loyalist would have made his appropriation of the Minghuang-Guifei story, one with political and moral connotations for the fallen Song Dynasty as a subject appropriate.

Reading Four: Reference to Literati and Courtesan Relationships in Song-Yuan

Besides using Zhong Kui and his female companion "Little Sister" as an analogy for Minghuang and Yang Guifei, Gong Kai may also have intended them as references to literati (*shi* 士) and courtesans (*ji* 妓) in the Song-Yuan periods, since the allure and danger posed by courtesans in the lives and identities of men from the literati class in the Song-Yuan periods was not unlike the role Yang Guifei played in Minghuang's case. Courtesans are a class of rigorously trained and highly cultivated professional female entertainers who were a "constant presence" in the lives of Song

[374] This refers to the Freer scroll.

[375] This is a poetic convention for describing the intensity of a person's worries and anger. In Chinese medicine, one's wrathful and gloomy mood can cause blood and phlegm to clot around the neck, resulting in *ying* tumors.

literati.[376] Be it at official banquets held at court and in local governments or at private gatherings in literati households,[377] there were ample opportunities for the Song scholar-elite to interact with these talented women, who entertained with dancing, music, singing, poetry, and sexual allure.[378] But the relationship between literati and courtesans were contested territory among Neo-Confucianists in the Song periods. While some saw courtesans as an "accoutrement of elite social standing" since they were expensive to patronize and acted as an emotional outlet for the literati, who were not allowed to express affection publicly with their cloistered wives from arranged marriages,[379] others saw them as "an emblem of intemperance and excess."[380]

Once again, as a symbol for the *femme fatale*, the nine-tailed fox plays into the reading of the scroll as a commentary on the potentially detrimental liaison between literati and courtesans. Since Gong Kai himself was a member of the Song literati class, and as argued by Yoohyang Do it was likely he projected himself onto Zhong Kui in the Freer scroll, it is possible that Gong Kai was not only blaming himself and others in his class for not being more active in preventing the downfall of Song, but the Freer scroll would have resonated with his colleagues not only on the religious and political levels, but also on a personal one, as a warning of the moral downfalls

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[376] Beverley Bossler, "Shifting Identities: Courtesans and Literati in Song China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62, no.1 (June 2002): 8.

[377] Ibid., 6.

[378] Ibid., 7.

[379] Ibid., 30.

[380] Ibid., 33.

indulgence in courtesans may bring. Given his known poverty, it is quite unlikely that Gong Kai himself kept a courtesan at home. In one of the anecdotes, he was described as having to paint on his son's back, since he was too poor to afford proper furniture. Further research is necessary to see if any of his friends were involved in relationships with courtesans; if found, my point of the painting as an admonition or commentary on the widespread but potentially detrimental literati-courtesan relationship in contemporary times can be supported.

Conclusion: Uncovering Gong Kai's Moral and Aesthetic Goals

By examining closely its pictorial details, the artist's inscription, the colophons accompanying the scroll, as well as contexts of its creation, I argue that the Freer scroll was charged with religious, political, and social significances. What seems like a generic painting of Zhong Kui on an exorcist expedition with his sister or wife and other members of his household also serves as a parody of Tang Emperor Xuanzong and his consort Yang Yuhuan fleeing to southwest China in the wake of the An-Shi Rebellion, a popular subject in literary and visual arts in the Song-Yuan period. In fact, the scroll may also be a critique of the Southern Song monarch Lizong, the ruler whose scandalous sexual dalliances were compared to that of Xuanzong and whose relationship with barbarians—in his case the Mongols—led to the dynasty's eventual fall. Finally, the painting may even serve as a commentary on the contested liaison between literati (*shi* 士) and courtesans (*ji* 妓), a relationship which must have been common among Gong Kai's circle of educated elites in the Song-Yuan periods.

Zhong Kui's female partner and her hideous female attendants are central to each of these readings. Except in the context of the exorcist reading, under which the following details are necessary, the female characters are clearly demonized as is evident from the following pictorial details: the black paint that covers their faces is a

reversal of standards of beauty in the Song dynasty; the poisonous insect patterns adorning their robes signal their statuses as undesirable pests; and the nine-tailed fox in the last half of the painting strengthen the interpretation of the female demons as *femme fatales* and hint at the scandalous sexual relationship between the male and female protagonists in each of the readings. By demonizing female characters in Zhong Kui's retinue, it is clear Gong Kai implies the fairer sex to be alluring yet dangerous beings who interfere with the ruler's good judgment and governance, disrupt social and familial order, and hurt the reputation of scholar-elites. This ambivalent approach to women is in keeping with conceptions of women as at once vulnerable and threatening to the state, the family, and the male elite in the Song dynasty.

At the core of these multiple layers of readings is the enigmatic nine-tailed fox, which is at once protective and hazardous, a symbol of life and death, it represents marital bliss and incestuous intercourse. Riding on the back of a demon in a manner reminiscent of treatment of the young and weak in Chinese visual culture (fig. 4.1.12), the mythical creature is also treated with tenderness starkly different from the violent ways in which other miniature demons are handled. It appears among food and drink in the painting, but the way it rides on the back of a demon make it seem more like a family pet (fig. 4.1.11). It's interesting how Gong Kai conveyed the ambivalent attitude towards the nine-tailed fox through its placement and treatment in the painting. It is surprising that no one—modern and pre-modern scholars alike, commented on the nine-tailed fox or its rich symbolisms and the clues it offers in decoding the four levels of meaning in the Freer scroll. Perhaps it was too obvious a pun it needed no acknowledgement? Or it was too dangerous a metaphor that Gong

Kai and his Yuan viewers remained silent about it, as not to catch the attention of Mongols?

Gong Kai not only expressed his outrage at the fall of the Song dynasty under Mongol invasion and his disappointment at himself for not being able to protect the throne through the implied relationships of Minghuang-Guifei and Minghuang-Zhong Kui, but he also attained artistic expression and innovation through an age-old subject. During the Song dynasty, the concept of "making the old new, making the vulgar elegant" (以古為新，以俗為雅) was proposed by writers such as Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. This was driven by the Song poet's desire for innovation after the perceived artistic perfection attained by Tang poets; the abundance of new topics and metaphors made available under the market economy fed into this trend. A proponent of this new ideal, Mei Yaochen famously wrote about themes as mundane and frivolous as his stomachache; Su Shi also wrote about how he followed the excrement of oxen to find his way home; other poets freely incorporated slangs and scenes from rural life into their work. It was clear Gong Kai was influenced by these new ideas in literature in his creation of the Freer scroll. He purposefully avoided repeating the already scarce accounts of Zhong Kui and introduced paintings of demons by other noted predecessors instead:

> As records of Zhong Kui are extremely scarce, had I written verses about him at the beginning and the end, repetition cannot be avoided. Therefore I've compiled alternative information, to have something moderately new to say.
> 鍾馗事絕少，僕前後為詩，未免重用，今即他事成篇，聊出新意焉耳。

His choice of writing the inscription in a unique style of clerical script, drawing demons in a style reminiscent of an eighth to ninth century fragment from Turfan of a blackened demon or a beggar, and his allusion to a Tang legend demonstrate his desire to "revamp the old into the new" (以古為新). By embedding commentary on

contemporary politics and society into an image of Zhong Kui—a folk deity whose likeness was widely distributed in marketplaces, on the walls and doors of common households, in *nuo*-exorcist parades—he "makes the vulgar elegant" (以俗為雅). By building moral messages into a commonplace image, he separates his Zhong Kui painting from those created by his predecessors Si Yizhen and Zhao Boju, who focused merely on the strangeness and shock effects of demon imagery without "using painting to convey morals" (畫以載道). His analogies between demon paintings and the most esteemed form of calligraphy are not only appropriate given his identity as a noted calligrapher in the early Yuan dynasty but also refreshing. These aesthetic innovations breathed new life into an otherwise familiar, vulgar image of Zhong Kui and his demonic entourage, making the painting not only fit for display on auspicious occasions, but also imbued with multiple layers of additional significance accessible only to a select few. Gong Kai's inscription is purposefully ambiguous not only because he wanted to demonstrate his erudition and wit, but also protect himself from political persecution.

CHAPTER FOUR
Part Two:

The Cleveland Scroll and Its Reception in the Yuan Dynasty

The enduring appeal of the Cleveland scroll, which has "a four-hundred-year history of continuous ownership by well-known collectors," had been described as "no less than a small miracle" because its subject matter appears far from Chinese literati taste.[381] But was that really the case? This chapter examines the pictorial theme of the Cleveland scroll, how contemporary viewers made sense of it, and the effect the painter intended to achieve through it. The challenge to answering these questions, however, is that unlike the Freer scroll, not only is there no painter's inscription on the Cleveland scroll, but the two colophons associated with the painting date to the early- and mid-Ming dynasty, long after Yan Hui's period of activity at the turn of the Song-Yuan periods. Although direct textual evidence from which to gauge the painter's intent and viewer's responses are not available, a number of records of *nuo* exorcist rituals—the alleged subject of the painting—exist in private and government writings from the Yuan. Furthermore, there exists a corpus of written responses to paintings with subjects comparable to that in the Cleveland scroll from the Song-Yuan periods. Using these sources, this chapter offers new theories on the motivations behind the illustration of this subject and its appeal to early Yuan viewers.

Yan Hui's *New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui* (鍾進士元夜出遊圖) in the Cleveland Museum of Art shows demons performing acrobatic stunts, followed by Zhong Kui with porters and musicians, arranged in a long, evenly-spaced queue (figs. 8-13). The title of the scroll is not inscribed on the painting but is taken from a

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[381] Sherman E. Lee, "The Lantern Night Excursion of Chung K'uei," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (February 1962): 36.

colophon dated 1389 recorded in *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (Records of calligraphy and painting compiled by Shigu Tang, prefaced 1682), a compilation of paintings and calligraphies by the Qing dynasty collector Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645-1712) based on earlier records, his own collection, and works he had seen. Although the colophon is not attached to the Cleveland painting, the text clearly describes it and was no doubt written for it.

This scroll has long been understood as an illustration of late thirteenth-century descriptions of festivities in Hangzhou recorded in *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (The famous sites of the capital, 1235) and *Mengliang lu* 夢粱錄 (Dreams of the past, 1274). Sherman Lee remarks that "[t]he combination of the New Year's exorcism involving street beggars and performers with the available dramatic vocabulary are the stuff from which a skillful and observant artist can re-create a *New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui*."[382] He notes especially the parallels between the content of the scroll and descriptions of exorcism rituals conducted on New Year's Eve in the imperial palace, both of which feature actors costumed as Zhong Kui and masked performers wielding spears, halberds, painted wooden knives and swords.[383]

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[382] Sherman E. Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, Demons and the New Year," *Artibus Asiae*, 53. 1/2 (1993): 211-12. Lee claimed that there were "interesting parallels" between the Cleveland scroll and customs in the twelfth lunar month, New Year's Eve celebrations, as well as the various music, dance, and "hundred games" (*baixi* 百戲) practiced in the Southern Song capital. Liu Fang-ju also commented on how a scroll of Zhong Kui hunting in the National Palace Museum "shares many details" (不乏雷同之處) with descriptions of *baixi* performances which include military arts and comic skits in the Northern Song capital as seen in *Dongjing Menghua lu*. Since the Zhong Kui hunting scroll in Taipei shares a high level of similarity with the Cleveland scroll in terms of iconography, one could say that the content of the Cleveland scroll bears close resemblance to Northern Song performing arts described above.

[383] Wu Zimu 吳自牧, *Mengliang lu*, *juan* 6, "Chuye" 除夜 in Appendix III.

In spite of Lee's research, many things about the Cleveland scroll remain mysterious, including its date of execution. While Yan Hui had been active since the end of the Southern Song dynasty, several details in the scroll suggest that the painting may be made after the Mongol conquest of South China. The most telling evidence of this is the triangular hat worn by one of the trio of demons carrying Zhong Kui on their shoulders, which is a distinctive part of Mongol men's headgear illustrated in the encyclopedia *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (A compendium of all matters, printed during Zhishun era [1330-33]) (fig. 2.20). Despite having been first published in the Song dynasty, this encyclopedia was expanded and reprinted in the Yuan dynasty, when the illustrations, which offer a glimpse of life under Mongol rule, were added.

Other iconographic details of the scroll also support a date after the formation of the Yuan dynasty. The cup and saucer the man presented to Zhong Kui (fig. 4.2.1), for instance, resembles the dragon-handled cup from the second half of the thirteenth century discovered amongst the Golden Horde in Southern Russia (fig. 4.2.2)[384] and the gilt silver cup and plate from the Southern Song dynasty (fig. 4.2.3). While prototypes of cups of precious metal could be found in north China during the Liao dynasty (907-1126)[385] and were widely employed as drinking vessels in the Song dynasty, the dragon-handle design is distinctly Mongol in its symbolism and utility;

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[384] See "Dragon-handled cup," cat. no. 155, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (SAR-1625), in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 276.

[385] Ibid.

not only was the dragon motif employed as a “unifying symbol for Genghis Khan’s newly formed officer corps” in the early thirteenth-century,[386]the loop formed by the dragon’s mouth also enabled the shallow utensil to be hung from belts of the nomadic Mongol elites.[387] Most of these dragon-handled cups were found as grave goods and “formed part of the portable wealth of the Mongol elite” in Western Asia during this period.[388]

If, as appears likely from the evidences above, the scroll was painted under Mongol rule, the exorcist parades and acrobatic performances (*baixi* 百戲) depicted would acquire new significance.

Nuo Exorcist Rituals: Their Development in the Song and Yuan Dynasties

Recognized as one of the "non-material cultural legacies" of China and hailed as the "living fossil of opera" of China, the *nuo* exorcist ritual is one of the oldest and most popular folk festivals in China, in which theater, music, and dance are performed by actors in masks and costumes to summon blessings from the gods and drive away disease and evil. With roots in pre-historic shamanist rites, this year-end ritual is believed to have been performed at court during the Shang (c. 1600 BC–c. 1050 BC) and Zhou Dynasties (c. 1046 BC–256 BC).[389] The *nuo* ritual became the model for

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[386] M. B. Piotrovskiĭ (Borisovich) and V. I͡U Matveev, *Altyn Urda Khăzinălăre / Sokrovishcha Zolotoĭ Ordy / The Treasures of the Golden Horde.* Exh. cat. organized by the State Hermitage Museum and other institutions (Saint Petersburg: Slaviia, 2000), 204.

[387] Ibid.

[388] Ibid.

[389] Ibid., 384.

exorcist ceremonies in subsequent eras.[390] Through the early half of the Northern Song dynasty (from 960 to 1060s), *nuo* rituals were modeled after ancient Zhou rites, which involved driving out the cold winter weather by performing animal sacrifice at the palace gates (送寒旁磔迎和令).[391] In the hundred years that followed, in the period from the second half of the Northern Song through the early years of the Southern Song dynasty (1060s-1160s), the ritual was transformed into the magnificent urban spectacle on New Year's Eve described in *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendors Past, preface dated 1147) by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (fl.1090-1150) and *Dreams of the Past* by Wu Zimu. While both accounts describe masked displays of military arts by the imperial guards (*Huangcheng[si] zhubanzhi* 皇城[司]諸班直), as well as impersonations of folk deities by members of the royal performing arts troupe (*Jiaofang/Jiaoyuesuo linggong* 教坊/教樂所伶工), and a symbolic rite for driving demons out of city gates, the scale of the ritual seems to have dwindled in the Southern Song period. While the late Northern Song *nuo* rituals featured famous actors play roles and involved thousands of performers, by the Southern Song lead roles were no longer enacted by name actors and there was no mention of the number of participants, which probably hinted at a less impressive cast and turnout. By Emperor Xiaozong's time in the 1160s-1180s, *nuo* rituals were no longer the magnificent events they had been a century earlier.

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[390] Ibid.

[391] See Yan Shu 晏殊 (991-1055), "Feng he shengzhi 'Chuye' ershou" 奉和聖制〈除夜〉二首 (Two poems composed upon the request of His Majesty in response to His Majesty's poem 'New Year's Eve'), cited in Qu and Qian, 606.

Instead of having the most trusted of the imperial guards or leaders of court actors[392] play the roles of generals, door gods, judges, and Zhong Kui, children's troupes were enlisted to portray the twelve deities of the Chinese zodiacs because the royal performing arts troupe (*jiaofang*) had long been dismissed.[393] In other words, while Southern Song *nuo* parades retained the exorcist function of their Northern Song predecessors, the cast and program were much less impressive, suggesting that *nuo* rituals have begun to shrink in scale and importance almost a century before the Mongols took over China.

The *nuo* exorcist ritual went into further decline in the Yuan dynasty. In fact, the Yuan dynasty probably marked the lowest point in the history of *nuo* exorcist rituals in Chinese history: not only was it not performed at court, where Mongol shamanist customs were dominant, as evident from *Yuanshi* entries on rites and rituals,[394] but many aspects of the ritual—from the nature of the gathering, the type of performances and props it involved, to the time of the day in which it took place, as well as the number and kinds of people it attracted—were either prohibited or closely monitored under Yuan laws.

Interestingly, each of these elements were featured in the Cleveland scroll, making it a painting of outlawed people, things, and events under Yuan law recorded in official compendiums such as *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 (Institutions of the Yuan

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[392] *Xinyi Dongjing menghua lu* 新譯東京夢華. Annotated by Yan Wenru 嚴文儒注釋 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2004), 331.

[393] Qu and Qian, 608, 609, 616.

[394] Ibid., 595.

Dynasty, 1322), *Da Yuan tongzhi tiaoge* 大元通制條格 (Statutes from the Comprehensive Regulations of the Great Yuan, 1323), and *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of the Yuan). For instance, Yuan criminal law prohibited large-scale religious events that drew crowds through worship and communal festivals.[395] At these events, related equipment is to be confiscated to prevent potential riots[396] while spectators, participants, and local officials who neglected their duty to curb these events were penalized.[397] The *nuo* exorcist rituals depicted in the Cleveland scroll would belong to the crowd-drawing "large-scaled religious events" monitored under Yuan law.

Not only did the New Year's Eve *nuo* exorcist ritual fall into the category of banned events, the impersonation of supernatural beings—a central component of *nuo* rites—was also outlawed under Mongol rule. In 1281, Khublai Khan (r.1260-1294) punished "whoever sings the parts of the sixteen Tibetan Buddhist celestials (*Shiliu Tianmo* 十六天魔),[398] plays a part or an instrument in vaudeville plays (*zaju* 雜劇),

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[395] See *Yuanshi* 元史, "Xinfa si" 刑法四: "The welcoming of gods and the organization of religious festivals in society are banned" (嚴禁民間報賽迎神).

[396] *Yuanshi* 元史, "Xinfa si" 刑法四 states that: "Religious festivities are common in society, and they lay out altars, signs and banners, gongs and drums, umbrellas, folding chairs, and other ritual equipment. If these items are not confiscated, one worries that they might lead to social unrest" (民間多有祈賽神社, 置到神案, 旗牌, 鑼鼓, 傘蓋, 交椅, 儀從等物, 若不拘收, 切恐因而別生端).

[397] *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章, *juan* 57, "Xinbu shijiu: jin juzhong" 刑部十九禁聚眾 states that: "If the prohibition isn't well-enforced, local officials of the provincial and county levels will each be beaten seventeen times" (禁治不嚴親民州縣正官各決一十七下).

[398] Shen Weirong 沈衛榮 and Li Chan'na 李嬋娜, "'Siliutian mowu' yuanliu ji qi xiang'guan Han Zang wenxian ziliao kaoshu" 十六天魔舞源流及其相關藏、漢文文獻資料考述, *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域历史语言研究集刊 5 (November 2012). Accessed January 8, 2013. http://www.lsjyshi.cn/pdf/tmw.pdf.

dresses up like the Four Heavenly King Guardians of Buddhism (*Si Tianwang* 四天王), and disguises themselves as skeletons."[399] Although none of the characters named above appears in the Cleveland scroll, all of the stunt performers and musicians are represented as demons. Furthermore, the manner in which Zhong Kui is propped up on the shoulders of three attending demons in the illustration is a common trope in the representation of the Four Heavenly King Guardians, who are commonly portrayed on "Living Thrones" (*shingling zuo* 生靈座) composed of demonic figures the Buddhist guardians subjugated (figs. 4.2.4-4.2.5).[400]

Like impersonations of supernatural beings, weaponry used by the demons in the Cleveland scroll was similarly outlawed in the Yuan dynasty. The spear, sword, shield, and blade wielded by the demon performers in the Cleveland scroll—unless they were counterfeits made from "clay, wood, or colored paper" (土木紙彩假物) permitted for ritual use[401]—would have violated the ban on arms and armor applied to the Chinese under Yuan law. Ranked at the bottom of the four-tiered Mongol class system, the Chinese were forbidden to use, make, trade, or hide arms and armor, which include

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[399] See *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章, *juan* 57, "Xinbu shijiu: zhujin zajin" 刑部十九諸禁雜禁, "Jinzhi zhuangban Si Tianwang" (禁治粧扮四天王). This regulation is dated to 1281.

[400] Lee, "Yan Hui," 216.

[401] *Yuan dianzhang*, *juan* 35, "Bingbu er junqi" 兵部二軍器; *Tongzhi tiaoge*, *juan* 27, "Zaling" 雜令; see discussion in Shi Weimin 史衛民, *Yuan dai she hui sheng huo shi* 元代社會生活史, 1st edition (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社, 1996), 314.

bows and arrows, swords and spears, helmets and armor, sticks or slingshots.[402] Violators were captured, beaten, and even executed under the strictly enforced ban.[403]

Furthermore, the *nuo* exorcist festivities traditionally took place at night.[404] Under Song rule, city dwellers enjoyed a vibrant night life;[405] the Mongol government, however, forbade its citizens to walk around between dusk and dawn, except for those carrying out urgent government business, in mourning, or in need of a doctor.[406] During the early 1260s, when Khubilai Khan was in power, curfews were strictly enforced and violators were subject to beatings.[407] As evident from its title,

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402 Ibid.

403 Ibid.

404 Since New Year's Eve could mean either the “evening” or the “day” before the lunar new year, it isn't clear whether the exorcist parade took place after dark. However, other related customs and celebrations that day, which include the setting off of firecrackers ("是夜，爆竹山呼...") or going without sleeping ("士庶之家 ... 達旦不寐，謂之守歲") occurred at night. See *Dongjing menghua lu*, *juan* 10, “Chuye,” in Appendix III.

405 Yang Zhenli 楊貞莉, “Jin ershiwu nian lai Song dai chenshi shi yanjiu huigu (1980-2005)” 近二十五年來宋代城市史研究回顧 (1980-2005), *Taiwan daxue lishi xuebao* 臺灣師大歷史學報 35 (2006). See also Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, “Song dai dushi de yeshenghuo” 宋代都市的夜生活, *Shiguo* 食貨 1.1 (1934): 23-28; and Shen Xiaoying 沈笑穎, “Cong Song ci kan Song dai shidaifu de yeshenghuo” 從宋詞看宋代士大夫的夜生活 (MA thesis, Liaoning: Liaoning daxue, 2011).

406 *Yuanshi*, “Bingzhi si” 兵志四: “According to the curfew, at three-fifths of the first watch at night, the bell stops ringing and people are prohibited from walking around; at three-fifths of the fifth watch at night, the bell rings and people are permitted to walk” (其夜禁之法，一更三點，鐘聲絶，禁人行；五更三點，鐘聲動，聽人行。).

407 Shi, *Yuan dai shehui shenghuo shi*, 314.

Zhong Kui's New Year's Eve Excursion, the activities in the Cleveland scroll took place at night and thus violated the curfew laws in the early years under Mongol rule.

Finally, the types of people who took part in *nuo* exorcist festivities were also frowned upon in the Yuan. In the Northern Song dynasty, beggars became key participants of *nuo* exorcist activities, which involved the impersonation of folk deities in exchange for money and food. This remained the case in the Southern Song, as evident from Wu Zimu's *Mengliang lu*, which noted how this group of marginal social figures would "gather in the city streets in groups of three to five, disguised as gods and ghosts, the judge, Zhong Kui, and 'little sister,' beating gongs and drums, to beg for money at each household" at the end of the lunar year in Hangzhou.[408] Although they play a key role in *nuo* exorcist rituals in the Song, beggars and the homeless—which saw a significant rise under the Mongol rule due to displacement from natural disasters and financial exploitation from landlords[409]—were seen as trouble-makers in the Yuan and kept under surveillance. In fact, the Mongol government issued special laws to stop these members of the "wandering poor" (*liumin* 流民) from gathering and harassing people, effectively curbing the exorcist performances they had put on under Song rule. Yan Hui probably had the beggar-exorcists in mind when he depicted the two figures in front of Zhong Kui in the Cleveland painting. The man closer to the demon-queller wears a tattered robe and boots that expose his toes, while the top-knotted man behind him is barefooted. Their outfits and hairstyle recall those of the begging poor in a hanging scroll among the set

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[408] *Mengliang lu*, *juan* 6, Shier yue 十二月. See Appendix III-10.

[409] Paul J. Smith, "Fear of Gynarchy in an Age of Chaos: Kong Qi's Reflections on Life in South China under Mongol Rule," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41.1 (1998): 23-27.

of Five Hundred Arhats scrolls at Daitoku-ji, Kyoto, Japan, which show the Buddhist saints dispersing coins to a pitiful mob (fig.I-11.1). Given that beggars were under surveillance in the Yuan, Yan Hui's inclusion of them in his painting makes it all the more provocative.

In sum, the Cleveland painting may appear to be an illustration of a popular seasonal festivity that took place annually in the streets of the Southern Song capital, which Yan Hui almost certainly knew as he lived and worked near Hangzhou in his formative years. When Yuan court rituals and regulations are taken into account, however, the picture can be seen as a depiction of banned weapons, outlaws, illegal gatherings, and obsolete rituals no longer practiced at court and banned from society under Yuan custom and law.

But how do we know if the regulations that affected the staging of and participation in *nuo* rituals were actually enforced in the early Yuan? A twentieth-century gazetteer of Zhuhe County in Helongjiang Province of Northeast China records that the Mongols merely "sent someone to supervise" local *nuo* festivities, implying that the events still took place under Mongol rule.[410] In their discussions of China under Mongol rule, Xiao Xiqing and Wai-kam Ho also mention that while the Mongol conquest was violent, their subsequent governance of China was relatively lenient;[411] in fact, in the Jiangnan region, which was far from the Mongol's seat of

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[410] See *Helongjiang Zhuhe xianzhi* 黑龍江珠河縣志 (Republican era edition): "The Mongols invaded China and were suspicious of the locals' performance of the Great Nuo ritual. They sent one person to oversee it" (元人入中華，鄉人大儺，蒙古疑為不軌，派一人監視之); cited in Qu and Qian, 640.

[411] See Xiao Qiqing 蕭啟慶, "Meng Yuan tongzhi yu Zhongguo wenhua fazhan" 蒙元統治與中國文化發展, in *Da han de shiji* 大汗的世紀 (Age of the

power in Dadu (大都 modern-day Beijing), "[t]he evening market in [Hangzhou] so vividly described in [Zhou Mi's *Wulin jiushi*] seems to have changed very little during [Yuan] times,[412]" casting doubt on how forcefully the curfew would have outlawed *nuo* exorcist parades was implemented. While the *nuo* rituals could not have been entirely wiped out, it is safe to say that in the early years of the Mongol rule, when the Cleveland scroll most likely was created and first circulated, *nuo* rituals were no longer as pervasive as they were in the preceding Song dynasty and were performed with inhibition.

The question then becomes: what did Yan Hui have to gain by producing an image of a banned religious event featuring Zhong Kui and demonic beings? Who was his target audience, on what occasion was the painting viewed, and what was its appeal? As a professional painter, Yan Hui would have made marketability a primary goal for his work. By depicting a once-popular religious festival which has become a rare and illegal sight under the new dynasty, Yan Hui was probably capitalizing on both the nostalgia evoked by the theme and the thrill brought by its current status for viewers who are "leftover subjects" of the Southern Song dynasty like himself. Since the earliest colophon on a painting almost identical in content to the Cleveland scroll was written in 1389, I will rely on other documentations of *nuo* rituals by Yuan writers to deduce how viewers may have responded to the Cleveland scroll. Members

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Great Khan: Pluralism in Chinese art under the Mongols), edited by Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 and Ge Wanzhang 葛婉章 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2001), 188.

[412] Wai-kam Ho, "Chinese under the Mongols," 84, in *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)*, edited by Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968).

from this elite group were one of the main audiences for "genre paintings" (*fengsu hua* 風俗畫) in the Southern Song dynasty,[413] of which the Cleveland painting is an example; they were also known patrons of Yan Hui's paintings in the late Southern Song dynasty due to admiration for his talent.[414]

Writings on the *nuo* exorcist rituals by scholars Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298) and Wu Lai 吳萊 (1297-1340)[415] may offer clues as to how Yuan viewers may have interpreted the Cleveland painting, which depicts a *nuo* parade. For Zhou Mi, a late-Southern Song scholar who refused to serve the Mongol government, the Nuo ritual—like other common sounds and sights of the fallen Song era—was a symbol of a bygone, prosperous epoch. In the preface to *Former Events in Wulin [Hangzhou]* (*Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 1280)—a record of life in the Southern Song capital Hangzhou written after the demise of the Southern Song dynasty, which includes entries on *nuo* rituals—Zhou implies there that ways of life changed so drastically from the Southern Song to the Yuan that his account of things past must sound like "deceptive exaggerations" to the younger generation.[416] He also writes how ways of the past were like a "dream," how "prosperous eras" were "hard to come by," and

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413 Wen-chien Cheng, "Images of Happy Farmers in Song China: Drunks, Politics, and Social Identity" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2003).

414 See entry of "Yan Qiuyue" in HJBY.

415 See *nuo* rituals of the Liao, Jin, Song, Yuan dynasties in Qu and Qian, Chapter Six, 589-668.

416 Zhou Mi, Preface to *Wulin jiushi*: "When I casually share a story or two with young men and women, it's not unlikely that they think I am deceiving them with exaggerations." (時為小兒女戲道一二，未必不反以為誇言欺我也). See Appendix III-13.

how rise and fall of things were so "unpredictable" that the thought of which leaves one grieving and sleepless.[417] For men like Zhou Mi who witnessed the demise of Song and the rise of Yuan, the Cleveland painting was likely to have appealed to them because it depicted a familiar custom of the past and satisfied their nostalgia for a bygone era.

For men like Wu Lai, a scholar active in the mid-to-late Yuan dynasty, the Cleveland painting probably brought a sense of justice by reinstating a ritual which was one of the aspects of Han-Chinese tradition disrupted by the Mongol government in the Yuan. In a poem entitled "Contemporary Nuo Rituals" (*Shi Nuo* 時儺), Wu complained that the banning of *nuo* exorcist rituals—a custom on which "the ancients placed great emphasis"—along with the abolishment of other traditional principles of governance has led to chaos and suffering.[418] When exorcist rituals were performed routinely by the ancients, "disasters were driven away by plum wood bows and diseases were cast away by beans and pebbles," Wu recounted.[419] Since then, "the world has become a dangerous and cruel place, with evil humans getting their way, foxes and rats in human garb, while ghosts and demons steal perfumed pouches," the poet claimed.[420] People are freezing and starving from having only thin jackets "stuffed with reed grass" to wear and bitter acorns to eat.[421] The giant plum tree

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[417] Ibid. See Appendix III-13.

[418] Wu Lai, "Shi Nuo," line 1. See Appendix III-18.

[419] Ibid., line 6.

[420] Ibid., lines 9-10.

[421] Ibid., line 14.

(*panmu* 蟠木) under which the mythical gate to the realm of the ghosts was located, is now "covered in wild grass", and the gatekeeper deity Shen Tu (神荼) starves from not getting ghosts to eat, claimed Wu.[422] It seems that Wu was either complaining about the Mongol's poor job at governance by implying how chaos and suffering were running rampant like ghosts not properly purged by *nuo* exorcist rituals, or he was complaining about the Mongols' abolishment of the *nuo* rituals, a key aspect of Han-Chinese tradition that had been brutally stamped out by the nation's new rulers. In either case, the Cleveland scroll would have appealed to viewers of the Yuan dynasty because it was a symbol of good times past and an auspicious political and cultural tradition believed to protect the nation and bring prosperity to its people.

A Provocative Subject under a Supernatural Guise

While the nostalgic and auspicious values of the *nuo* exorcist ritual in Yuan times may explain why Yan Hui selected it as a pictorial theme, by staging the ritual with Zhong Kui and his demonic underlings, he also cleverly evaded political trouble and heightened visual interest by adding a supernatural twist. As mentioned above, the Cleveland painting is filled with people, goods, and events banned under Yuan law. Had Yan Hui populated the scene with human performers—which would resemble real-life enactments of these rituals—he would have risked getting himself in trouble by depicting an outlawed event. In the Yuan dynasty, the discussion of topics related to the Southern Song was approached with caution. For instance, when Zhou Mi wrote about life in the bygone dynasty in *Wulin jiushi* based on accounts from elders in his family, he seemed to have made a conscious choice to focus on the distant past of the Qiandao (1165-1173) and Chunxi (1174-1189) eras during the Southern Song

[422] Ibid., line 16.

Emperor Xiaozong's reign, which was almost a century before the fall of the Southern Song dynasty in 1279, instead of the period closer to the Mongol take-over, which would have been highly sensitive. *The Famous Sights of the Capital* (*Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 1235), the earliest of four famous memoirs of life in the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou by a certain Mr. Zhao of whom nothing is known writing under the pen name of "The Codger who Irrigates his Garden" (*Guanpu nai Deweng* 灌圃耐得翁),[423] was referred to as *Records of a Dream Journey to the Ancient City of Hangzhou* (*Gu Hang mengyou lu* 古杭夢遊錄) in late-Yuan author Tao Zongyi's (陶宗儀, ca. 1366) *Florilegium of Minor Literature* (*Shuo Fu* 說郛, preface dated 1370), an anthology of miscellaneous writings and poetry by noted authors from the Qin and Han through Song and Yuan periods, because it was probably deemed inappropriate to refer to Hangzhou as the "capital city" or to describe its prosperity as "remarkable" in the Yuan dynasty.[424] Because they are often considered frivolous and devoid of moral messages, images of ghosts and demons may have lent their painters the artistic permission to express subversive ideas that would otherwise be scrutinized and subject to censorship. By staging the *nuo* exorcist ritual as a type of "costume portrait" of Zhong Kui in which the demon-queller is inserted into popular "genre painting" scenes, Yan Hui tactfully evaded possible political trouble given the

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[423] The other three being *Xihu laoren fansheng lu* (after 1235), *Mengliang lu* (especially detailed on events between 1241 to 1274), and *Wulin jiushi* (1290).

[424] See Gudian wenxue chubanshe bianjibu 古典文學出版社編輯部, "Chuban shuoming" 出版說明, in *Dongjing menghua lu* (*wai sizhong*) 東京孟華錄 (外四種) (The eastern capital: A dream of splendors past, and four other texts), Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (fl. 1090-1150), dated 1148 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957).

sensitivity of portraying things relevant to the Southern Song in the Yuan period, let alone things prohibited by law.

Supernatural Spectacles: Demons as Acrobats, Athletes, and Comedians

In addition to evading political trouble, Yan Hui may have upstaged the religious spectacle with demonic creatures to enhance the entertainment value of the painting. Yan Hui was not the first painter to have depicted supernatural spectacles that features ghosts and demons performing acrobatic stunts, competitive sports, and comic skits in pre-modern China. The pictorial tradition can be traced to a temple mural depicting demons playing tug-of-war by the Sui dynasty (581-618) painter Zhan Ziqian (active sixth to seventh centuries). Though known largely as a master of landscape paintings, the versatile painter Zhan Ziqian was also known as the artist of "Demons Playing Tug-of-War" (*Gui bahe* 鬼拔河), a celebrated mural that once graced the walls of an ancient temple in Puzhou (蒲州), modern-day Yongji of Shanxi Province (山西永濟).[425] Probably one of the earliest images known to depict supernatural beings in competitive sports, the mural showcased a group of demons in a tug-of-war, a popular game for all social classes in the Sui and Tang periods.[426] While the original mural no

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[425] Chen Gaohua 陳高華 ed., "Zhan Ziqian" 展子虔, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* 隋唐畫家史料 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 14.

[426] Although the painting is relatively unknown among Chinese art historians, it has been cited by historians of Chinese sports and Chinese ghost culture. Most recently, folklorist Zhang Guye cited the location of the mural in Shanxi as supporting evidence for his theory on how the sport spread from the Chu region along the Yangtze River to through Chinese southwest and eventually to the two Tang capitals in Shaanxi and Henan. For more on the history, spread, cultural, religious, and social significance of the sport, see Li Hui 李暉, "Tang bahe fengsu kaolue" 唐拔河風俗考略, *Mingsu yanjiu* 民俗研究 1 (1998): 57-63; and Zhang Guye 張固也, "Tang dai bahe xinkao" 唐代拔河新考, *Minsu yanjiu* 民俗研究 4 (2010): 93-107.

longer survives, detailed descriptions of its content are preserved in at least three poems by Northern Song dynasty viewers.[427]

Among them, the one by Mei Yaochen (梅堯臣, 1002-1060) offers the most meticulous record of what Zhan depicted. According to Mei, the painting featured a total of twenty-four demons, eight of which participate in the tug-of-war match, while the rest serve as referees, drummers, and spectators. Split into two groups of four, the demon athletes on one end "haul [the rope] over their shoulders, weigh it down with their hands," while their opponents pull with such might that "the end of the rope breaks off," sending one of their kind tumbling.[428] On the sides, demons and yaksas with heads of dragons, bodies of fish, and the strength to uproot mountains referee the game, ferocious percussionists sound drums to boost morale, while a high-ranked demon sits squarely in the center, watching the game unfold.[429]

So extraordinary was Zhan Ziqian's composition that men of note flocked to see it, composed poems about it, had copies of it made into handscrolls, and even attempted to seize it for private possession, a selfish act that led to the destruction of

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[427] The content of the painting, the viewers' reactions to it, copies made of it, poems written in praise of it, and its eventual destruction by a greedy official who removed it for his private enjoyment are documented in poems by Mei Yaochen, Su Song (1020-1101), and Zhao Shuizhi (1059-1129). Although the mural no longer survives, its notoriety among scholars and officials from the Sui through the Northern Song dynasty and the mention of it being made into a widely circulated copy on paper or silk suggest that copies of the composition may still be extant. In fact, in a future article focusing on images of demonic acrobats, athletes, and actors in Chinese art from the Sui through the Qing dynasties, I will argue that a recurring segment in Ming-Qing versions of the *Raising the Alms Bowl* 揭鉢圖 handscrolls was very likely an appropriation of Zhan's celebrated athletic match.

[428] See Mei Yaochen, "He Jianglin ji xueshi hua 'gui bahe' pian" 和江邻幾學士畫鬼拔河篇, in *Wanling xiansheng ji* 宛陵先生集, *juan* 58; in Appendix III-6.

[429] Ibid. See Appendix III-6.

the mural. While motivations behind the depiction of the subject in a temple setting requires further investigation, there's no doubt that Zhan succeeded in causing a sensation among Northern Song scholar-elite viewers by giving competitive sports a supernatural twist—an effect much less likely to be achieved without the novel combination. Yan Hui may have painted the Cleveland scroll with the same effect in mind.

Illustrated "supernatural spectacles" seem to have continued to captivate viewers in the Yuan dynasty. Wang Zhenpeng (王振鵬 c.1280-1329), a famous court painter of architectural paintings who was a slightly later contemporary of Yan Hui, was also known for a handscroll featuring demons performing acrobatic stunts. Referred to alternatively as "Acrobats in Puddled Ink" (*Jimo* [*Zimo*] *jiaodi tu* 積[漬]墨角抵圖) and "Illusory Acrobats in Ink" (*Mohuan jiaodi tu* 墨幻角抵圖),[430] Wang's monochrome ink painting on silk was one of some forty paintings Princess Sengge

[430] Translated as "Ghost Play," the painting was referred to as "Jimo jiaodi tu" 積墨角抵圖 in Bian Yongyu's *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫匯考 (1682); as "Mohuan jiaodi tu juan" 墨幻角抵圖卷 in Gao Shiqi's 高士奇 *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江村銷夏錄 (1693), *juan* 1; and as "Dumo [sic.] [Zimo] jiaodi tu" 瀆[漬?]墨角抵圖 in Wu Sheng's 吳升 Da Guan lu 大觀錄 (1712). See *Zhongguo jiben juji ziliaoku* 中國基本古籍資料庫, accessed November 23, 2011.

Although "Ghost Play" is mentioned several times under Wang Zhenpeng's name in the *Lidai shuhua zhulu*, which lists all paintings ever recorded of a certain painter, the painting is relatively obscure in Wang Zhenpeng's corpus of work. Despite the fact that at least fifteen colophons written for it survive in Qing dynasty sources, Chen Gaohua only mentioned the one by Feng Zizhen. Marsha Weidner mentioned this painting in passing in the discussion of Wang Zhenpeng's oeuvre and career in her dissertation. Shen C. Y. Fu simply listed it as by a certain "Mr. Wang," without realizing it to be by the hand of the painter famous for his architectural and dragon-boat regatta paintings. Thus, it may be worth investigating the oeuvre of painters who were not primarily known for painting figures or religious subjects for examples of neglected paintings of demons.

Ragi (大長公主, b.1283), an important female collector of Chinese art at the Mongol court, asked some of the most illustrious scholars of the time to inscribe during a gathering she hosted in the spring of 1323.[431] Although Wang's painting does not appear to have survived beyond the Qing dynasty, colophons by Feng Zizhen (馮子振, 1253-1348) and Du Xi (杜禧, active 1320s)—which are among the fifteen colophons written for the painting recorded in *Shigutang shuhua huikao*—give a glimpse of what may have been depicted in this fanciful monochrome ink handscroll.

Feng's colophon indicates that the painting featured demons performing magic, acting as animal trainers, and performing acrobatic stunts that involved "hanging upside-down," "climbing ladders while spinning bowls of water," leaping into the air with the grace and ease of one "tread[ing] on flat land," to the accompaniment of musical troupes that "play drums and horns ceaselessly."[432] Du's colophon mentions masquerades, wrestling matches, tight-rope walking, and pole-climbing, as well as sword-eating and juggling.[433]

How did viewers receive paintings of this theme? The unusual sight of demons in human roles in Wang's painting led a number of viewers to reflect upon matters of life and death. One colophon writer wondered whether the painter was trying to express

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[431] Shen C. Y. Fu, "Princess Sengge Ragi: Collector of Painting and Calligraphy," translated and adapted by Marsha Weidner, in *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting*, edited by Marsha Weidner, 55-80 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990). For a list of works shown and inscribed by notable Yuan scholars and officials at the Princess's "elegant gathering," see 62-66.

[432] See Feng Zizhen's colophon in Appendix III-20.

[433] See Du Xi's colophon in Appendix III-19.

the idea that “while [demons and humans] appear different, [creatures from] the netherworld (幽 *you*) and this world (明 *ming*) are essentially the same—they are both part of the same opera.”[434] Philosophical musings aside, some colophon writers remarked on how Wang’s depiction of demons instead of humans enacting *baixi* stunts in his scroll highlighted the danger and difficulty of these acts. This was acknowledged in Du Xi’s colophon, which comments on how “the skills needed to perform the tricks are so specialized and extraordinary that only demons (*gui*) were thought to have the ability to pull them off.”[435] While their reactions differ, most of the Yuan viewers of the scroll found the painter “playful,” the demons “strange,” the *baixi* stunts “marvelous,” the presentation of demons in broad daylight and in concrete forms “incredible,” and the entire painting “amusing.”[436]

In other words, Yan Hui’s handscroll, while extraordinary, did not emerge in a vacuum. Zhan Ziqian’s *Demons Tug-of-War* mural from the Sui dynasty, Wang Zhenpeng’s *Illusory Acrobats in Ink* handscroll from the Yuan dynasty, and a wealth of subsequent illustrations of demons in competitive sports, acrobatic stunts, and

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[434] See Deng Wenyuan’s 鄧文原 (1258-1328) colophon in *Shigutang shuhua huikao*, *juan* 48, *hua* 18, under “Wang Guyun [Wang Zhenpeng]”: “Could this be that the painter wanted the viewers to understand that [creatures from] the netherworld (*you*) and this world (*ming*), though seemingly different, are essentially part of the same play?” (此殆畫工使欲觀者知幽明理殊，同一戲劇耳?)

[435] See Du Xi’s colophon in Appendix III-19: “[T]he skills needed to perform the tricks are so specialized and extraordinary that only demons (*gui*) were thought to have the ability to pull them off. It was not without basis that the painter painted the image under this title” (是技也，方之精絕，維鬼物可以能之。畫工因其名稱繪為斯圖，蓋有取之也。)

[436] See remaining colophons in *Shigutang shuhua huikao*, *juan* 48, *hua* 18, under “Wang Guyun [Wang Zhenpeng].”

religious festivities in the Ming and Qing dynasties[437] may have constituted of a pictorial tradition of images of supernatural spectacles that Yan Hui's Cleveland scroll was intentionally a part of. The popularity of Zhan Ziqian's and Wang Zhenpeng's paintings among scholar-elites of the Song-Yuan periods may suggest that the pre-modern viewers may have received the Cleveland scroll with comparable enthusiasm and marvel.

Conclusion

This chapter puts Yan Hui's *New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui* at the Cleveland Museum of Art in its socio-historical and art historical context to determine the painter's motivation and the original responses of viewers. While the Cleveland painting may appear to be nothing more than an illustration of a popular seasonal festivity that took place annually in the streets of the Southern Song capital, I argue that the painting was in fact a subversive image of outlaws, illegal gatherings, and obsolete rituals outlawed under the early years of Mongol rule. This illicit subject appealed to Yan Hui's scholar-elite patrons because it depicted a familiar custom of the past which satisfied their nostalgia for a bygone era and reinstated in pictorial terms a Han-Chinese tradition that had been suppressed by the Mongols. In addition, Yan Hui gave the festival a supernatural twist by populating it with Zhong Kui and his demonic underlings, which not only allowed the artist to evade political scrutiny for depicting an outlawed event, but also contributed to a pictorial tradition of featuring demons in competitive sports, acrobatic stunts, and religious festivities, which

[437] Examples include a handscroll painting from the National Palace Museum, Taipei, which shows demon trapeze artists amid a wedding procession overseen by Zhong Kui (fig. 4.2.6), as well as a New Year's print in the St. Petersburg Religion Museum, which shows Zhong Kui watching a group of demons performing juggling and balancing stunts (fig. 4.2.7).

originated no later than the Sui dynasty and thrived on beyond the Yuan dynasty in the Ming and Qing periods.

CHAPTER FOUR
Part Three:

The Met Scroll and Popular Themes in Genre Painting

This chapter focuses on the last of the three core scrolls in the dissertation, the handscroll entitled *Zhong Kui Marrying Off His Sister* (*Zhong Kui jiamei tu* 鍾馗嫁妹圖) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter the "Met scroll"). The ink monochrome painting is a long handscroll featuring Zhong Kui and a female companion identified as his "sister" on a procession with a queue of acrobatic demons and a small band of musician demons. Attributed to an obscure painter "Yan Geng" 顏庚 and previously dated to the late Southern Song and early Yuan periods based on a colophon purportedly by the Ming writer Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504), the demons' activities are reminiscent of year-end masquerades in the streets of thirteenth-century Chinese capitals, where professional actors would impersonate the Demon-Queller and his entourage in festive exorcist rites. But other details in the painting complicate this identification of the scene as one of an urban *nuo* exorcist parade: the portrayal of Zhong Kui as a drunken donkey-rider associates him with revelers returning from village festivities; the depiction of his sister atop a water buffalo recalls renditions of brides in paintings of village weddings or peasant women relocating with their family; the inclusion of furniture and parcels evokes scenes of excursions (*chuyou* 出遊) and households on the move (*yijia* 移家). The obscure painter, unsettled date, problematic inscription, and ambivalent subject of the

Met scroll prompted this study of the painting, which is well-known among earlier extant representations of Zhong Kui but have rarely received in-depth study.[438]

In this chapter, I assign a new date to the Met scroll based on analyses of both the style and content of the painting and its inscription. I compare it with the Cleveland scroll and a few post-Yuan scrolls of Zhong Kui hunting as part of the dating effort and to argue that it was produced by a workshop professional. I argue that instead of having a coherent theme, the Met scroll is a depiction of Zhong Kui and his demons against a pastiche of popular themes in painting at the time. I explain how religious beliefs and social trends of the time might have resulted in the inventive integration of Zhong Kui images with genre painting scenes. Despite the absence of information on collectors before the fifteenth-century, I propose that the Met and Cleveland scrolls would have appealed to scholar-elite viewers based on the cultural significances of the pictorial themes.

Dating the Met Scroll

Painted by the obscure painter "Yan Geng" of which no biographical information is known beyond the excerpt in the colophon by "Wu Kuan," the Met scroll has long fascinated Chinese art historians due to its unusual subject and its striking thematic, compositional, and iconographic affinities with the Cleveland scroll by Yan Hui.[439]

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[438] Although the Met scroll had been featured repeatedly as comparative material in essays on the Freer and Cleveland scrolls, and in exhibition catalogues on Chinese religious paintings, art under the Mongols, and more recently, as an example of an image of Chinese theatrical spectacles, it had never been the topic of a scholarly article save for an unpublished paper by Jennifer Purtle for a seminar on Song painting in fall of 1990.

[439] Fong, "Buddhist and Taoist Themes," 367-377.

Because of the similarities in the designs of the two scrolls, the uncommon surname they share, and their shared specialties in demon paintings, some scholars speculate that the two artists could either be brothers, or are at least contemporaries from the same professional studio.[440]

Problems with the Wu Kuan Colophon

But the current attribution of the Met scroll to "Yan Geng" and the dating of it to the Southern Song is based solely upon the colophon by "Wu Kuan" affixed to the left end of the image (figs. 23-24). This colophon, which had been the source for the identification of the Met scroll's painter and its date of creation, is dubious due the style of the calligraphy and the content of the inscription.

Wu Kuan 吳寬 (*zi* Yuanbo 原博, *hao* Pao'an 匏庵, 1435-1504) was a poet and calligrapher of the mid-Ming period (1368-1644) active in Suzhou. He placed first in the examination for the prestigious *jinshi* degree in 1472; served as a compiler in the Hanlin Academy, where he helped assemble historical records; and was appointed Minister of the Board of Rites (*Libu shangshu* 禮部尚書), a post similar in function and prestige to modern-day Minister of Foreign Affairs, a year before his death.[441] Wu was instrumental

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[440] Maxwell Hearn, "Painting and Calligraphy under the Mongols," in *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art of the Yuan Dynasty*, ed. James C. Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), 181-242.

[441] Shen C. Y. Fu, "Wu K'uan (1436-1504)," cat. no. 31 in *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1977), 263. See also Wang Jianyu 王健宇, "Wu Kuan's Calligraphy and Appraisal" 吳寬的書法與鑑識 (MA thesis, Graduate Institute of Art History, National Taiwan University, 2013), 5-43.

in the promotion of the works of the Wu School of painting, an aesthetic movement which dominated the Ming art world in the first half of the sixteenth-century and was pioneered by Wu's close friend Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509) and his disciple Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559).[442] A noted calligrapher, Wu was also important in steering the style of calligraphy from the formulaic *taigeti* 台閣體 popular in the early Ming to the more expressive Wu School style.[443] Modeling their styles on the Four Masters of the Late Yuan (元四大家), Wu School painters specialized in ink monochrome paintings of landscape and bird-and-flower and valued the expression of aesthetic properties of brush and ink (*xieyi* 寫意) over the creation of illusionistic scenes of the world (*xieshi* 寫實).[444]

The Met scroll opens with a frontispiece by Huang Hui and closes with a colophon that bears the signature and seals of "Wu Kuan" (figs. 23-24; fig. 4.3.3). The colophon is dated to 1470—the *gengyin* year of the Chenghua era (成化庚寅) under Ming Emperor Xianzong's reign (r. 1465-1487). The date falls within an early phase in Wu's career from which few examples of his calligraphy survives and when his calligraphic style is still fluid. Thus, it is not surprising that the Met colophon does not match the writing styles of postscripts written by Wu in 1472 for his friend Shen Zhou's paintings *High*

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[442] Yang Renkai 楊仁愷, "Mingdai huihua yishu chutan" 明代繪畫藝術初探, in *Zhongguo meishu chuanji huihua bian* 6 中國美術全集繪畫編, Mingdai huihua shang 明代繪畫 (上) (Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1989), 8.

[443] Wang Jianyu 王健宇, "Wu Kuan's Calligraphy and Appraisal" 吳寬的書法與鑑識 (MA thesis, Graduate Institute of Art History, National Taiwan University, 2013): 5-43.

[444] Yang, "Mingdai huihua yishu chutan," 11.

Mountain Long Bamboo (*Chong shan xiu zhu tu* 跋沈周崇山修竹圖) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 4.3.1), and *Great Rock Mountain* (*Da shi shan tu juan* 跋沈周大石山圖卷) in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art (fig. 4.3.2). The writing style of the Met colophon is also noticeably different from Wu's typical calligraphic style from later periods. Modelled after that of the Northern Song calligrapher Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), Wu's signature style involves characters with squatter shapes, thicker strokes, softer angles, and a tendency to slant leftwards (fig. 4.3.4). By contrast, characters in the Met colophon are taller in shape, written in thinner strokes, and have sharper angles, leading one to question whether the Met colophon was written by Wu at all (fig. 4.3.5).

Calligraphic style aside, the content of the Met colophon is also problematic. The Met colophon consists of a poem and a postscript, but neither can be found in Wu Kuan's anthology of personal writings entitled *Collection of Writings Kept in the Home of the Old Man of the Gourd* (*Paoweng jiacang ji* 匏翁家藏集). Furthermore, the poem in the Met colophon is almost identical in format and content to a colophon on the Freer scroll by the Yuan writer Wang Xiaoweng 王肖翁 (1272-1336) save for the emboldened and underscored phrases, as is evident from the excerpts below:

Poem by Wang Xiaoweng:[445]

1	老馗<u>怒髯目</u>奮戟，	<u>Enraged</u>, Old Kui's <u>beard and glance</u> resemble bristling spears;
2	<u>阿妹</u>新粧臉塗漆。	After applying fresh make-up,<u> Amei </u>looks as if she has smeared black paint over her face.
3	<u>兩輿</u>先後將何之，	Where are the <u>two sedan chairs</u> in succession of each other headed?
4	往往<u>徒御</u>皆骨立。	The <u>porters</u> are but standing skeletons.

[445] See Freer scroll colophon no. 3 in Appendix II. Underlines are mine.

5	開元天子人事廢，	During the Kaiyuan era (713-741) court affairs were neglected;
6	清宮欲藉鬼雄力。	To purge the court [of evil] the power of demonic heroes are called for.
7	楚龔無乃好幽恠，	Gong [Kai] of Chu [Jianghuai] must be fond of the occult and the strange;
8	醜狀奇形尚遺迹。	[He] leaves behind ugly shapes and strange forms.

Poem on Met scroll:[446]

1	老馗既醉髯奮戟，	Once drunk, Old Kui's beard bristles like spears.
2	阿姨新粧臉如漆。	After applying fresh make-up, Ayi's face looks black.
3	牛輿先後將何之，	Where is the ox cart going?
4	往往徒脚皆骨立。	The servants on foot are but standing skeletons.
5	開元天子人事廢，	During the Kaiyuan era (713-741) court affairs were neglected;
6	清宮欲藉鬼雄力。	To purge the court [of evil] the power of demonic heroes are called for.
7	顏庚毋乃好幽恠，	Yan Geng must be fond of the occult and the strange;
8	醜狀奇形尚遺蹟。	[He] leaves behind ugly shapes and strange forms.

Except for one detail, where the Met scroll colophon describes Zhong Kui's female companion as wearing black makeup despite the fact that her complexion is fair in the painting, the writer of the Met poem made slight modifications to Wang's poem so that it would account for the alleged artist and pictorial contents of the Met scroll. For instance, Gong Kai's epithet in Wang's inscription—*Chu Gong* 楚龔 ("Mr. Gong from Chu region")—was replaced with *Yan Geng* 顏庚, the alleged painter of the Met scroll (line 7). In Wang's inscription, Zhong Kui was described as giving out sharp glances comparable to spears, but the Met poem changed a few words to describe the Met Zhong Kui in his

[446] See Appendix II-A. Underlines are mine.

drunken stupor (line 1). To account for the ox on which the female character in the Met scroll rides, the Met poem also changed the means of transportation in Wang's inscription from *liangyu* 兩輿 ("two sedan chairs"), which describes the two sedan chairs on which Zhong Kui and his sister sit in the Freer scroll, to *niuyu* 牛輿 ("ox cart") (line 2). Other minor differences include the Met poem's replacement of *Amei* 阿妹 ("little sister") with *Ayi* 阿姨 ("aunt" or "sister") (line 2) and *tuyu* 徒御 ("those that walk or carry") with *tujiao* 徒腳 ("those that walk on foot") (line 4) in Wang's inscription.

While more research needs to be done to confirm this point, it seems out of character for an established writer like Wu to appropriate ready-made poems by others instead of composing original verses for inscriptional purposes. Even if Wu did so, it is unlikely that he would have seen Wang's inscription, which appeared nearly one hundred years after Wu's death in *Zhao shi Tiewang shanhu* 鐵網珊瑚 (Mr. Zhao's Coral treasures in an iron net, preface dated 1600) by Zhao Qimei 趙琦美 (1563-1624).[447] However, it is possible Wu could have viewed the colophon on the actual Freer scroll when it was in the

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[447] See (*Zhao shi*) *Tiewang shanhu* 趙氏鐵網珊瑚 (preface 1600), by Zhao Qimei 趙琦美 (1563-1624), *juan* 12. The Freer scroll inscriptions were also reproduced in *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (preface 1682) *juan* 45, *hua* 15, by Bian Yongyu's 卞永譽 (1645-1712) and in *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄 (preface 1909), *juan* 2, by Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (1864-1949) (Qing Xuantong wucheng Pang shi Shanghai edition 清宣統烏程龐氏上海刻本).

Thomas Lawton and Maxwell Hearn both mentioned that portions of the Freer scroll colophons were recorded in *Tiewang shanhu* which they attributed respectively to Du Mu 都穆 (1458-1525) and Zhu Cunli 朱存理 (1444-1513). But Du never wrote anything under this title while Zhu authored *Shanhu munan* 珊瑚木難 (postscript 1600) instead of *Tiewang shanhu*.

collection of An Guo (1481-1534), a Ming collector whose period of activity overlapped with Wu Kuan's.

In sum, neither the calligraphic style nor the content of the Met colophon convincingly supports the attribution of Wu Kuan as its author. While it is difficult to rule out the colophon as a work of Wu Kuan's based on calligraphic style, since the colophon claims to date to an early phase in Wu's career from which few reliable calligraphic works of his survive, the largely identical content is foreign to what one expects of established writers Wu. It is likely, instead, that the Met poem was inscribed by a seventeenth-century workshop painter who copied the poem from *Tiewang shanhu* after its publication in 1600 and inserted it onto the Met scroll, since there is precedence for professional atelier painters of the Ming to reproduce the same inscriptions on different paintings to speed up production of paintings for a growing art market.[448]

Reassessment of Figural Style

Since it is unlikely that the Met colophon is by Wu Kuan, the credibility of its attribution of the Met scroll to a Southern Song painter by the name of Yan Geng is also called into question. Despite the fact that the colophon dates to a later period, I argue that the painting itself could still be dated to the late Yuan based on stylistic analyses.

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[448] Shane McCausland, "Around 1638: Artists and Networks in the Early Modern World," presentation at the China Workshop, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 26, 2014. McCausland mentioned that the colophon on a painting by the late-Ming workshop artist Chen Hongshou (1598-1652) entitled *Immortal Below Trees* (1638) in the National Palace Museum in Taipei is identical in content to a painting depicting still life in a vase by the same artist in the British Museum.

The Zhong Kui figure has a face which is almost identical to that of the farmer's in a painting entitled *Asking about the Water Buffalo's Asthma* (*Wen chuan tu* 問喘圖) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, which is attributed to an anonymous painter from the Yuan dynasty and depicts an official expressing concern over the livelihood of a farmer by asking about the health of his farm animal (fig. 4.3.7.2).[449] Both the Met Zhong Kui and the Taipei farmer have their faces set at a three-quarter profile with a bulbous nose, protruding cheek bones, sunken cheeks, and facial hair that grow around their downcast lips and strong jaws (figs. 4.3.6.2).

The similarities between the Met scroll and the Taipei painting does not end there: the water buffalo in both scrolls are almost identical as well, further supporting a Yuan date for the Met scroll. In both paintings, the farm animals are characterized by their long pointed muzzles, thin coltish legs, and splayed toes which seem too feeble to support the weight of the oxen (fig. 4.3.7).[450]

The style of the demons in the Met scroll also supports a Yuan date. The demon sitting behind Zhong Kui's sister on the water buffalo in the Met scroll has facial features

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[449] This painting is previously dated to the Song but reattributed to the Yuan. See Chen Jie-jin 陳階晉 and Lai Yu-chih 賴毓芝 eds., *Zhuisuo Zhepai* 追索浙派 (Tracing the Che school in Chinese painting). 1st edition (Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2008), cat no. I-11.

[450] This depiction is distinct from the square-shaped muzzles, stocky legs, and strong hooves of oxen depicted by the famous Southern Song ox painters Yan Ciping 閻次平 (active during Emperor Xiaozong's reign 孝宗, r.1163-1189) and Li Di 李迪 (active during the reigns of Emperors Xiaozong, Guangzong 光宗 [r.1190-94], Ningzong 寧宗 [r.1195-1224]).

highly comparable to those of Buddhist *arhat* saints in scroll paintings and the ferocious gods of the Eight Trigrams (八卦神) in the murals of the Temple of Eternal Joy (*Yongle gong* 永樂宮) from the Yuan dynasty (fig. 4.3.8).[451] All three figures have protruding brow-bones, sunken nose-bridges, flaring nostrils, and nasolabial folds (smile lines) that accentuate their cheeks and their gaping, wedge-shaped mouths.

Even the face of Zhong Kui's sister supports a Yuan date for the Met scroll. It is true the maiden's face is distinct from typical women's faces in Southern Song religious figure paintings, Jin woodblock prints, and Yuan temple murals, whose faces are characterized by their narrow foreheads, plump cheeks, narrow spaces between their eyes and brows, and faces in the shapes of upright triangles (figs.4.3.9-4.3.10). Nonetheless, the Met maiden's relatively wide forehead, flat cheeks, elongated face shape, and the large space between her eyes and brows are comparable to that of goddesses and female attendants in *Nine Songs* handscrolls (九歌圖卷) by the late-Yuan painter Zhang Wuo 張渥 (d. ca. 1356) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 4.3.10).

Finally, the treatment of rocks and drapery in the Met scroll also suggest a Yuan date. The rock lifted up by a strongman demon at the beginning of the Met scroll is depicted by dragging the sides of a brush swiftly across the surface of the silk, creating the appearance of a rock chiseled by an axe (fig. 1.11). This treatment is similar to the "axe-cut texture

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[451] An example is the god of the *kan* trigram (八卦神之坎神), west wall of the Hall of Three Purities at the Temple of Eternal Joy, Ruicheng, Shanxi. See Plate 107 in Jin Weinuo 金維諾, Chai Zejun 柴澤俊, and Wang Long 王瀧, eds., *Siguan bihua* 寺觀壁畫, vol. 13 in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988).

strokes” (斧劈皴) widely employed by Southern Song court painters, whose style was inherited by Yuan painters in professional ateliers. The drapery folds, on the other hand, are delineated with distinct brushstrokes that have triangular beginnings and thin ends. Created by first holding the brush at an angle and pressing it down, then gradually lifting the brush from the surface, this configuration of the ink line is called the “nail-headed, mice-tailed stroke” (釘頭鼠尾描) (fig. 1.12). Employed on textile throughout the Met scroll, especially on the streamers of the gong-striker at the beginning of the scroll, on the creases of the parcel a porter balances on his head, and on the drapery folds of the robes of Zhong Kui and his sister, this stroke type is another signature of Southern Song court painting style passed down to Yuan workshop painters.

An Early Example in the Lineage of Zhong Kui Hunting Images

In terms of style, the Met scroll should be dated later than the Cleveland scroll but earlier than the corpus of paintings of Zhong Kui hunting in the Yunhuizhai collection, in the National Palace Museum of Taipei, and in the Christie’s sales catalogue (hereafter referred to respectively as the Yunhuizhai, Taipei, and Christie’s scrolls) (figs. 4.3.12-4.3.14). Attributed respectively to Yan Hui, Gu Hongzhong 顧閎中 (active second half of tenth century), and Dai Jin 戴進 (1388-1462), these scrolls have been dated between the late-Yuan and Ming dynasties.[452] In the Cleveland scroll, the painter has the best grasp of the human anatomy. The manner in which the contours of the demons’ bodies and the folds on their skin are depicted suggests a clear understanding of how the muscles

[452] The Yunhuizhai scroll is dated to the second half of the fourteenth century by Sherman Lee. The Taipei scroll is believed to date to the Ming dynasty by Liu Fang-ju.

and bones work beneath the surface (fig.4.3.15). In the Met scroll, the painter is still able to convincingly depict how the muscles twist and turn on a skeletal frame, but to a lesser level (fig. 4.3.16). For instance, rather than suggesting an out-thrust chest, the breast of the spear-wielding demon in the Met scroll seem detached from the rest of the body; the curved stroke drawn vertically across the stomach no longer brings out the curvature of the torso or the muscles along the abdomen but are instead reduced to a set of three formulaic lines. The understanding of anatomy further deteriorates in the Yunhuizhai scroll. The rib cages there are parallel to each other and evenly spaced; the painter thinks about the body in terms of contour lines instead of muscle masses, resulting in flabby limbs and torsos too thin to contain vital organs and too insubstantial to support the demons' weight; the angle of the demons feet look as if they are tip-toeing and floating on air instead of firmly planted on the ground. While the Yunhuizhai scroll still employs shading to suggest bulging muscles and volume of the body, the Taipei scroll uses squiggly lines instead of color to delineate mass (fig. 4.3.18). In each of these cases, the iconography is the same but the style is drastically different. These comparisons show that the Met scroll is a more skillful and possibly earlier example in the Zhong Kui hunting pictorial tradition.

Style aside, the Met scroll is clearly an early example in the lineage of Zhong Kui hunting pictures which includes the Cleveland scroll as well as the Yunhuizhai, Taipei, and Christie's scrolls. This point can be illustrated with the configuration of a pair of porter demons which appears in all these scrolls. In the Yunhuizhai, Taipei, and Christie's scrolls, the two porter demons overlap with one another in space; the demon in the front turns towards the right to face his colleague behind him, while the demon in the back

carries a large hat on his back, some scrolls in his hand, a small sack on his waist, and a large ink stone or dish on his head (figs. 4.3.19-4.3.22). The Met scroll porter demons also face each other and are almost identical to those in these Ming-Qing period scrolls (fig. 4.3.20). But the Met pair does not overlap with each other in space; furthermore, the demon in the back of the Met scroll carries only an umbrella instead the codified set of items his counterparts in the Ming-Qing hunting scrolls. This shows that the Met scroll belongs to the same lineage of images as the Ming-Qing hunting scrolls but is much earlier than the latter group because details in the painting have not yet been codified.

In sum, I argue that the Met colophon was inscribed not by the mid-Ming writer Wu Kuan but by an anonymous calligrapher active in the seventeenth-century who made slight changes to a published poem by the Yuan writer Wang Xiaoweng. The Met painting, on the other hand, is more likely to be a creation from the late-Yuan period instead of the late Southern Song based on its stylistic affinities with scroll paintings and temple murals from the late fourteenth-century. Comparisons of the Met scroll with the Cleveland scroll and other paintings of Zhong Kui hunting show that it is an earlier example amongst Zhong Kui procession paintings, all of which can be traced back to a master template.

The Subject: A Pastiche of Genre Painting Themes

Besides the date of the Met scroll and the identity of its painter, the other mystery of the Met scroll is its subject. The subject of the painting have been identified variously as one of Zhong Kui marrying off his sister, as evident from the Metropolitan Museum of Art's official title; "a leisurely excursion and miscellaneous acrobatic games [or 'extensive play']" (*xianyou boxi* 閑遊博戲), per the sixteenth-century scholar Huang Hui

on the frontispiece that proceeds the Met scroll; and as *First-Scholar Zhong [Kui] on an Excursion* (*Zhong jinshi chuyou tu* 鍾進士出遊圖) based on the prose section of the "Wu Kuan" colophon (see Appendix II).

The problem is, none of the titles account for all of the pictorial details in the scroll. The magic tricks and acrobatic stunts performed by the demons at the beginning of the scroll seem out of place in weddings (figs. 14-16). The woman on a water buffalo, the drunken man on a donkey, and porters carrying home furnishings and large parcels are out of place in seasonal festivities that feature acrobatic performances (figs. 17-18). Rather than having a single, coherent theme, I argue the Met scroll to be a pastiche of village weddings, rural festivities, migrating households, and festive spectacles which were popular genre painting themes (*fengsu hua* 風俗畫) in the Southern Song dynasty. In the following sections, I will explain how certain motifs or segments in the Met scroll correspond to pictorial conventions of each of these themes, all of which depict Zhong Kui on the move. I will also argue that the various themes with which the painting has been identified reflect the interchangeability of these pictorial subjects.

As described in the introduction, the Met scroll features Zhong Kui on a procession with a female companion with acrobat, servant, and musician demons. The scroll opens with a gong-striker demon announcing the arrival of Zhong Kui and his retinue. A long queue of evenly spaced demons performing martial arts and acrobatic stunts succeeds. This is followed by Zhong Kui—who appears drunk—and his female companion, riding respectively on a donkey and an ox, surrounded by servant demons who carry their belongings and assist them on their rides. The scroll ends with musician demons that play the drums, clapper, and flute. The segment of the Met scroll featuring Zhong Kui, his

female companion, and the musicians correspond to scenes in paintings of village weddings, such as the one attributed to an anonymous Yuan painter at the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 4.3.24).[453] Entitled *A Farmer Marries Off His Daughter* (農村嫁女圖), the content of the scroll conforms closely to an inscription written for a painting of a village wedding by the Ming writer Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (active mid-fifteenth century) excerpted below:[454]

> Village elders marry their daughters without leaving their villages; across a few village houses, the east and west neighborhoods can be divided.
> The bride rides on a water buffalo, and the groom on a donkey; [the bride's] family surrounds [her], and the village elder leads [the group] ahead.
> 田翁遣女不出村，東舍西鄰隔墟落。
> 新婦駕牛兒跨驢，家人後拥翁前驅。

As described in the inscription above, the scroll depicts a group of villagers in a wedding ceremony proceeding from the right to the left. The groom with flowers in his

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[453] There are at least two other paintings with the same subject and composition despite having different titles. The one in the Kyoto National Museum is entitled "Rural Wedding Procession," and the one in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, is entitled "Happy Villagers in Prosperous Years" (*Fengnian minle tu*). Wen-chien Cheng thinks that the first painting is "possibly a late-thirteenth- to early-fourteenth-century copy that preserves the original design of a Song painting in the style of Li Song 李嵩 (1166–1243) that no longer exist;" the Kyoto National Museum online database dates the same painting, which was originally attributed to Li Tang 李唐 (ca. 1070-1150), to the sixteenth century (see "Rural Wedding Procession attributed to Li Tang," no. AK139, Kyoto National Museum database, accessed Sep. 13, 2014. http://www.kyohaku.go.jp/eng/syuzou/db/index.html). The Taipei painting is attributed to Li Tang as well and dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[454] While the donkey-rider resembles drunken village elders in Southern Song paintings, he conforms to the convention of donkey-riding grooms and ox-riding brides in poems on the fabled village wedding between the Zhu and Chen families from the Southern Song period. See Wen-chien Cheng, "Images of Happy Farmers in Song China," 172.

hat and the bride under a veil are shown arriving from the right end of the scroll on indispensable domestic animals from rural South China—he on a donkey, she on an ox. Towards the end of the scrolls, a group of village musicians play clappers, flutes, and drums to welcome the couple while spectators peer out from behind a picketed fence (fig. 4.3.24). These details correspond to the latter half of the Met scroll, except that the roles of the groom, bride, and village musicians are now fulfilled by Zhong Kui, his female companion, and his demonic attendants (fig. 4.3.23).

Not only do motifs in the latter half of the Met scroll evoke representations of paintings that have been identified as village weddings by pre-modern viewers, the configuration of Zhong Kui as a drunkard struggling to stay atop a donkey with the help of his three demon attendants is also a clear reference to intoxicated village elders in images of *Returning Home Drunk from the Spring Prosperity Festival* (*Cunshe zuigui tu* 村社醉歸圖) (fig. 4.3.26). Formerly attributed to the famous Song painter Li Tang 李唐 (1060-after 1150) but re-dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, a painting bearing this title from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts a village elder returning home from rural festivities on a water buffalo led by a boy. Clearly intoxicated, the old man "sits slightly hunched over, his eyes half closed," while his young companion "lends his shoulders to keep [the old man] from falling off the ox."[455] Although in the Met scroll Zhong Kui rides a donkey instead of a water buffalo and is accompanied by three instead of one attendant, this scene is clearly modelled after *Returning Home Drunk*

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[455] Wen-chien Cheng, "Drunken Village Elder or Scholar-Recluse? The Ox-Rider and Its Meanings in Song Paintings of Returning Home Drunk," *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 65, no. 2 (2005): 311.

images: Zhong Kui's empty gaze, flabby limbs, and hunched pose allude to the intoxicated village elder, while the three demons around him play the same role as the village elder's companion by supporting their master with their arms and shoulders (fig. 4.3.25). Such scenes of drunken village elders held up by youngsters on their way back home is not only a recurrent motif in images of rural festivities, but also a common trope in poems about them as well. For instance, Northern Song writer Mei Yaochen's (1002-1060) "Happiness of Returning to the Fields" poem contains a line saying that "if one gets drunk, there are always children to hold him up," while Southern Song writer Fan Chengda's (1126-1193) poem "Impromptu Verses on the Four Seasons of the Countryside" also notes how "drunken old men are helped back home."[456]

In sum, while the Met scroll cannot not be identified as Zhong Kui marrying off his sister, it makes unmistakable references to paintings of village weddings which was first documented among the oeuvre of Five Dynasties painters Zhou Wenju 周文矩 (active 917-975) and Lu Huang 陸晃 (dates unknown) and remained popular through the Qing period.[457] The Met scroll is significant because it is the earliest extant painting that merges Zhong Kui and his demons with conventional wedding scenes. It can be

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[456] Ibid., 312.

[457] Zhou Wenju left behind a handscroll entitled *The Village Elder Marries Off His Daughter* (*Cunweng jianü tu* 村翁嫁女卷); see entry on Zhou Wenju in *Qinghe shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫, *juan* 6, Wenyuange siku congshu edition 文淵閣四庫叢書本. Lu Huang painted an image entitled *Pursuits and Marriages* (*Zhuizhu hunyin tu* 追逐婚姻圖).

considered a precursor of the popular "Zhong Kui Marrying Off His Sister" theme (*Zhong Kui jiamei* 鍾馗嫁妹), which became the theme for a play only in the late-Ming, as seen in Zhang Dafu's 張大復 (ca. 1554-1630) miracle tale *Tianxiale* 天下樂 ("Happiness in the world"), and did not emerge as a theme for painting until the early-Qing, as is evident from Liu Tingji's 劉廷璣 (born ca. 1654) *Zaiyuan zazhi* 在園雜志 ("Miscellaneous writings of the Zai Studio").[458] It confirms Zheng Zunren's speculation that popular themes associated with Zhong Kui could have attained their notoriety in paintings first before entering the literary domain.

Besides references to village weddings, the part of the Met scroll featuring porter demons carrying chairs, umbrellas, and parcels, as well as the segment showing Zhong Kui's female companion on a water buffalo attended to by two demon herders with whips and ropes bring to mind paintings and poems of farmers, officials, and immortals relocating across the countryside. Extant images of migrating households usually feature the master of the house and his wife riding on donkeys or water buffalos. The wife is

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[458] *Zhong Kui jiamei* was first recorded as an opera title in late-Ming early-Qing writer Zhang Dafu's 張大復 (ca. 1554-1630) *Tianxiale* 天下樂 ("Happiness in the world") miracle tale from the Qing dynasty; see Liu Fang-ju 劉芳如, *Yingsui jifu: Yuancang Zhong Kui minghua tezhan* 迎歲集福: 院藏鍾馗名畫特展 (*Blessings for the New Year: Catalogue to the Special Exhibition of Paintings of Chung K'uei*), 1st edition (Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1997), 130. The early Qing writer Liu Tingji 劉廷璣 (born ca. 1654) first recorded a painting entitled *Zhong Kui jiamei* in his *Zaiyuan zazhi* 在園雜志 ("Miscellaneous writings of the Zai Studio"), *juan* 4 ("青蓮題鍾馗嫁妹圖贊"); see Liu, *Yingsui jifu,* 130. *Jingju jumu chutan* has an entry on the opera "Zhong Kui Gives His Sister in Marriage," a popular story for regional opera that was also known under several alternate titles.

frequently shown nursing her young as she shares the buffalo ride with an older child. Surrounding them are servants and other members of the household who carry parcels and baskets loaded with tools and utensils, look after dogs, cats, and other family pets, and herd domestic animals that include the likes of goats, pigs, and geese. A Yuan dynasty handscroll, entitled *Yang Pu Moving His Family,* exemplifies the convention above.[459] It is believed to depict the esteemed Southern Song Neo-Confucian scholar and hermit Yang Pu 楊朴 (927-1003)—shown as a bare-legged, disheveled rustic in an official cap—bidding farewell to neighbors on the shore of a stream as he and his family prepares to relocate to the capital for a government appointment (fig. 4.3.27).[460]

Though not an exact match, the second half of the Met scroll evokes paintings of migrating households mentioned above. While Zhong Kui's female companion is not shown cradling or nursing her young, the fact she rides a water buffalo, with a demon sitting behind her and another demon guiding the beast with a rope, is close to conventions in the depiction of Yang Pu's wife on the move. Furthermore, while the umbrella or folding chair carried by the two porter demons preceding Zhong Kui's female companion may indicate furnishings for a casual excursion, as is seen in a Southern Song painting depicting officials returning home at night from a spring outing (fig. 4.3.28), the large parcel balanced on the head of the demon walking alongside the woman is indicative of a longer journey (fig. 3.6).

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[459] I thank Dr. Maxwell Hearn for suggesting this comparison.
[460] For further information, see "Yang Pu Moving His Family, Yuan dynasty (1279-1368)," in The Art Institute of Chicago Collections, accessed Sep. 13, 2014. http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections; and *The Essential Guide*, revised edition (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2013), 102.

While the latter half of the Met scroll resembles images of village weddings and migrating households, the nine demons at the beginning of the scroll bring to mind descriptions of performing artists who put on comic skits and acrobatic stunts in city streets and market places as described in memoirs of the Song capitals. The gong-striking demon may be a depiction of percussionists (*baoluo* 抱鑼) announcing upcoming performances in records of performing arts in the theater district (瓦舍眾伎) in *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝. The demon wielding a spear likely refers to martial arts stuntmen specializing in that weapon (*nongqiang* 弄槍) described among Song acrobatics in *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考. The demons lifting a rock and spinning a jug may be performing the "lifting the tripod" stunt (*kangding* 扛鼎) in which strongmen demonstrate their impressive strength by lifting large jugs and other heavy objects such as carriage wheels and stone grinders.[461] The two demons extending their fists towards each other are either about to perform an actual wrestling match (*jiaodi* 角抵) or enact a hilarious mimicry of the popular sport (*qiao xiangpu* 喬相撲) mastered by many performers in Hangzhou and listed in *Wulin Jiushi* 武林舊事[462] (fig. 4.3.29). Zhong Kui

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[461] See "Yinyue zhi" 音樂志 (Treatise on music) in *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui). Changsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (d.695), Wei Zheng 魏徵, chief ed. 636; 3 vols. Zhonghua, 1973.

[462] See "Zhuse jiyiren" 諸色伎藝人 (miscellaneous craftsmen and artists), in Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-99 or 1308)'s *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (Former events in Wulin [Hangzhou]), dated 1280, *juan* 6.

himself may be a reference to the *wupan* 舞判 ("dancing judge") character among parading performers in *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京孟華錄[463] while his female companion may be modelled after impersonations of the peasant woman (*cunfu* 村婦), a character who is usually paired with another actor playing the peasant (*cunfu* 村夫) and cast in slapstick skits where the two would beat each other up with sticks. These show how the first half of the Met scroll is an excerpt of popular entertainment in Song capital streets. Taken together, the Met scroll is a pastiche of popular genre painting themes of the time that includes village weddings, rural festivities, moving scenes, and street parades.

The Painter: A Modular Workshop Painting

Besides the significant iconographic affinities it shares with the Cleveland scroll, which suggests their derivation from common master model, the clustered and evenly dispersed motifs in the Met scroll are further proof of its workshop lineage, since they hint at the usage of modules. In both the Met and Cleveland scrolls, there is hardly any overlap in space between figures, even when they are shown interacting with each other.[464] Each scroll could be divided into several distinct clusters comprising of one or

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[463] See "Jiadeng Baojinlou zhujun cheng baixi" 駕登寶津樓諸軍呈百戲, in Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (fl. 1090-1150), *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京孟華錄 (The eastern capital: A dream of splendors past), dated 1148, *juan* 7 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957).

[464] While the Cleveland scroll contains only two sets of figures interacting, which include Zhong Kui accepting offers from two tribute bearers and a demon shielding himself from a sword-brandishing peer—the Met scroll features three such pairs, which include a pair of demons in a fist-fight, another pair armed with stick and fork in combat mode, and two porters, who seems to be in conversation.

more figures dispersed evenly across the length of the silk, with generous space left in between. The resulting compositions are so disintegrated that one could almost imagine the figural clusters as independent pictorial units that could be easily removed from or added to the paintings without disrupting the overall composition. The looseness of the Met and Cleveland compositions is especially evident when compared with the Freer scroll. In this tightly-knit composition by amateur painter Gong Kai, figures not only maintain constant body and eye contact, but also overlap with each other in space, making it difficult to cut out any individual without destroying the entire pictorial design. The noticeable gaps between figures in the Met and Cleveland scrolls hint at the interchangeability of motifs, implying a modular production mechanism behind the scrolls' creation, which characterized that of *Ten Kings of Hell* paintings created for export by workshops in the port city of Ningbo in the Southern Song (fig. I-2). The fact that the Met scroll is an eclectic combination of various genre painting themes and that its inscription is an alteration of an extant poem support are further evidences of the painter's employment of thematic and textual modules in his work, confirming the speculation of the painting to be a product of a professional workshop.

The Significance: A Reflection of Song Lifestyles, Beliefs, and Ideals

As is evident from the discussion above, the Met scroll employs a pastiche of urban spectacles, migrating households, and village weddings as the pictorial backdrop for Zhong Kui and his demonic underlings. Known collectively as *tianjia fengwu tu* (田家風物圖), paintings of country folks parading in wedding marches (田村嫁娶圖), drunken revelers returning from village festivities (春社醉歸圖), and farmers relocating their entire households (田村移居圖) made up a significant portion of genre paintings in the

Southern Song (1127-1279).[465] Paintings of these themes would have been familiar to the Met scroll painter due to their abundance in the Song-Yuan periods; however, I argue that it is their reflection of the scholar-elite class's cultural ideals, their relevance to supernatural beliefs, and their reference to unprecedented frequency of travel in Song-Yuan society that made a combination of these themes appealing to the scholar-elite patrons the Met scroll painter was targeting.

While it might seem counter-intuitive to suppose a literati audience for scenes of rural festivities, Wen-chien Cheng has convincingly argued that scholar elites were one of the two major groups of patrons for rural festivity paintings in the Song.[466] Such depictions became "a perfect medium through which they constructed their public images and positioned themselves in relation to the rural population."[467] As members of the educated scholar gentlemen (*shi)* class in the Southern Song increasingly came to define themselves and earn prestige not through pedigree and government office but though culture, learning, and service to local communities, they also became more interested in

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[465] According to painting titles recorded in *Xuanhe huapu*, these themes seemed to have appeared no later than the Tang dynasty, became replicated more frequently in Five Dynasties, suddenly fell out of favor in the Northern Song, and became popular again in the Southern Song. Wen-chien Cheng argued that these rural scenes carried scholar-recluse ideals for their scholar-elite consumers; see Cheng, "Images of Happy Farmers in Song China," 53.

[466] Cheng, "Images of Happy Farmers in Song China," 3.

[467] Ibid., 8.

depictions of rural festivities as their relationship to rural communities grew closer.[468] This socio-cultural reality would still be felt by members of the *shi* class in the subsequent Yuan period when the Met scroll was created, thus ensuring a continued interest among scholar-elites.[469]

Weddings, Family Values, and Supernatural Encounters

Among the themes in the corpus of the rural genre paintings, wedding scenes must have appealed to Song-Yuan viewers because they captured the widespread values of the period promoted by Neo-Confucians. The Song dynasty was a period in which discourse on family was unprecedented. Although funerals and ancestral sacrifice dominate ritual discourse in the Song-Yuan periods, weddings embodied the five relations (*wulun* 五倫) and restore ancient rituals at the local level.[470] The fabled marriage between residents of the Zhu and Chen villages (朱陳村), celebrated in a poem by Tang poet Bo Juyi (772-846), was alluded to repeatedly in Song writings by Su Shi, Mei Yaochen, and Fan Chengda as a lost ideal. Lamenting the pompous displays of wealth and status weddings

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[468] See Robert P. Hymes's *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), the locus classicus for this view.

[469] Unfortunately, we do not know whether the Met scroll was commissioned by scholar-elite patrons in the early Yuan dynasty as it does not carry colophons from that period.

[470] Christian De Pee, "Negotiating Marriage: Weddings, Text, and Ritual in Song and Yuan Dynasty China (10th Through 14th Centuries)" (PhD diss., Columbia University, New York, 1997).

of contemporary townspeople have become, Song writers upheld village weddings as symbols of the simple and sincere manners of the ancients that had fallen into decline.

While popular themes in genre paintings and romantic ideals of the past may have led to the conflation of Zhong Kui into village wedding scenes, the belief of weddings as a ripe occasion for supernatural encounters in the Song-Yuan periods make the appearance of Zhong Kui and his demonic cohorts within a wedding procession appropriate. According to Christian de Pee, betrothals and weddings were perceived to be transitional periods during which supernatural encounters were especially likely to occur. Stories in which people find ghosts in bed at the time of a wedding feast and overhear elves reciting poetry at a wedding banquet use weddings as a context to prove the credibility of supernatural encounters.[471] In addition, Song-Yuan texts reflect the belief that the bride's body was susceptible to demonic possession.[472] Removed from the protection of her birth family, dislocated from her native place, at the verge of being transformed from a virgin into a sexually active woman but not yet fully integrated into her new geographical, social, and bodily conditions, the "suspended" body of the bride was especially vulnerable to demonic possession. As both weddings and brides are magnets for the supernatural due to their liminal natures, the depiction of a bride among

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[471] See Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi* III.2.2.373-4 and Wu Zeng's *Nenggai zhai manlu* 18.442.

[472] Ibid., 306. De Pee did not give specific examples of demonic possession of brides, but he noted how tales of girls being possessed by demons during their betrothals constituted a distinct subtheme among miracle tales between the tenth and fourteenth centuries.

Zhong Kui and his demons is appropriate because it implies either that the bride is under the influence of demons or is being protected from them by Zhong Kui. While there is no historical text associating Zhong Kui with exorcist duties at weddings, Northern Song people were known to hire ritual experts (*yinyang shi* 陰陽師) to exorcise baleful deities at the end of the bridal procession, when the bride descends from her carriage.[473]

Migrating Households, Travelling Merchants, and Mobile Deities

Be it a village wedding, a street parade, or a household in the midst of relocating, all of the pictorial themes cited in the Met scroll involve people on the move. The ease and frequency with which Song people travelled might explain the sizeable corpus of paintings depicting Zhong Kui on the move, a common theme shared by the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls. According to Cong Zhang, Song people of "various socioeconomic backgrounds" were motivated to "move around for personal and professional reasons," thanks to "convenient overland and water transport networks, the expansion of intra- and inter-regional trade, and improvements in living standards."[474] Due to staffing patterns of civil service, officials travelling around the country to assume new government appointments were a familiar sight. Even the large pool of students studying for civil service travelled frequently to attend schools, sit for qualifying exams,

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[473] See "Qufu" 娶婦 in *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京孟華錄 (The eastern capital: A dream of splendors past), Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (fl. 1090-1150), 1148 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957).

[474] Cong E. Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 6.

and visit sites of historic importance as a part of their self-cultivation. Brian McKnight even characterized the period as "an era of unprecedented personal mobility" in which people traveled to an extent "possibly not exceeded in later dynasties."[475] As travel had become such an integral part of Song life, viewers would be able to relate when they see Zhong Kui configured as a traveler because they would have witnessed or experienced extended journeys themselves.

Casting Zhong Kui as a traveler in paintings corresponds not only to social trends but to changes in popular religion as well. Just as Song people moved around the nation at an unprecedented frequency, so Song deities were no longer fixed in space in order to respond better to their travelling worshippers' needs. Valerie Hansen noted how the expansion of a national market resulted in the circulation of "not just goods but also gods."[476] Officials and merchants began to take images of gods with them to the far corners of the empire on their journeys.[477] Travelling supporters built branch temples along waterways and coastal cities, expanding the deities' jurisdiction beyond their places of origin throughout southeast China. Not only were many of the new deities present in major centers and arteries of transportation, they also facilitated transportation or safeguarded professions that involved travelling. For instance, worshippers of King

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[475] Brian E McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 116.

[476] Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China*, *1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 10.

[477] Ibid.

Zhang (*Zhang wang*), an extremely popular deity in Southern Song, believed that he was involved in digging canals;[478] the Heavenly Consort (*Tianhou* 天后), a goddess who rose to national prominence in the Southern Song, protected those making a living on the sea: she was known to have warded off pirates and helped ships return safely to shore.[479]

The intimate connection of popular deities with travel is also reflected in visual culture. Shih-shan Huang has observed that during the Southern Song, deities in Buddhist and Daoist visual traditions are often shown in motion.[480] The *Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water* (天地水三官圖) triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a case in point. It shows the three Daoist celestial officials as highly mobile and dynamic, descending on clouds to hold court with Daoist priests, travelling on horseback to conduct earthly inspections, and crossing the sea on a dragon in response to worshippers' evocations (fig.4.3.30).[481] While Huang seems to emphasize the art historical reasons over social reality behind the popularity of images of mobile deities in the Southern

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[478] Ibid., 149.

[479] Ibid., 145.

[480] See Shih-shan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*, 300, 335n306 (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2012).

[481] See Figs. 6.1-6.3 in Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 282-283. However, in a painting of the Three Officials by the late-Tang painter Zhu Yao, the earth and water officials are already shown riding a horse and a dragon respectively (Ibid., 295). One could thus argue that the traveling motif may be determined by conventions in the depiction of the Three Officials instead of by how deities are represented in general during the Southern Song dynasty.

Song, pointing out connections to earlier images of deities and royal families on processions and pictorial conventions which date back to the late-Tang, I believe the new, intimate connection between deities and travel played an essential role in the continued popularity of such depictions. The association of Song deities with travel in popular cults and imagery might have led the Met scroll painter to depict Zhong Kui travelling.

Not only did deities become identified with travelers in the Song, so did demons. While travelers and immigrants contributed greatly to inter- and intra-regional economic development and cultural exchange,[482] they posed a great challenge to the state's ability to exert political and social control and presented potential health hazards to people with whom they came into contact due to the pathogens they gather from their journeys. The Song-Yuan periods both had their share of social unrest and epidemics due to the massive influx of the homeless poor into the south from North China, a region beleaguered by draughts, floods, earthquakes, locust problems, and warfare. "Wanderer" (*liumin* 流民) relief and management was a prime concern throughout Song history. During Emperor Renzong's reign, the Qingzhou prefect Fu Bi 富弼 (1004-1083) cautioned against gathering disaster victims in the cities to facilitate food distribution because "the gathering of hungry crowds lead to diseases; they also trample upon each other to death. […] Instead of saving them, we are in fact killing them [with this practice]." (飢民聚為

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[482] Ge Jiangxiong 葛劍雄, *Zhongguo yimin shi* 中國移民史 (History of Migration in China) (Taipei: Wunan tushu, 2005).

疾疫，及相蹈藉死。…名為救之，而實殺之)[483] In the Yuan period, “wanderers” were viewed with growing fear and suspicion by the central and local governments, resulting in the drafting of a special law in the 1320s which regulates homeless migrants in light of a 1313 incident where thousands of armed vagrants conflicted with locals in Jiangsu.[484]

In sum, the metaphor of the traveler characterizes Zhong Kui and his demonic cohorts well, since demons expelled by exorcist deities are often associated with diseases that are in turn associated with the migrant poor.[485] Furthermore, ghosts by nature are vagabonds on the move in contrast to ancestors and deities with fixed abodes; this corresponds to the nature of Zhong Kui and his servants, since they are ghosts and demons by nature.

Conclusion

In terms of the Met scroll’s creator and date of creation, I argue that the painting may be dated to the late-Yuan period by a workshop painter who relied upon similar templates as did Yan Hui of the Cleveland scroll. This conclusion is based upon a close study of the style and content of the painting and the colophon attributed to Ming writer

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[483] “Fu Zhenggong Bi xianzhong shangde zhi bei” 富鄭公弼顯忠尚德之碑, in Du Dakui 杜大珪 (active Southern Song [1127-1279]), ed., *Mingchen beizhuan wanyan ji* 名臣碑傳琬琰集, *shang juan* 5, Siku quanshu edition.

[484] Paul J. Smith, “Fear of Gynarchy in an Age of Chaos: Kong Qi's Reflections on Life in South China under Mongol Rule,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41.1 (1998): 24.

[485] Hu Wanchuan 胡萬川, *Zhong Kui shenhua yu xiaoshuo zhi yanjiu* 鍾馗神話與小說之研究 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1980).

Wu Kuan, as well as a comparison between the motifs and layouts among the Met scroll, Cleveland scroll, and other comparable scrolls of Zhong Kui on a procession from later periods.

In terms of the Met scroll's subject and patron, I argue the painting to be a "costume portrait" of Zhong Kui set against a pastiche of popular genre painting themes in the Southern Song dynasty.[486] Though entitled "Zhong Kui Giving Away His Sister in Marriage," the Met scroll is in fact a combination of pictorial tropes of village weddings, household travels, rural festivities or urban ritual spectacles. This is supported by the fact many painters of Zhong Kui also painted these subjects alone or with Zhong Kui in them. I argue that the scroll was likely patronized by literati scholar-elites not only because Zhong Kui images had long been distributed by the court to scholar-officials at the New Year's, but also based on their interest in quotidian life as reflected in *biji*, their known

[486] The Freer, Cleveland, and Met scrolls could be understood as "costume portraits" of the Demon-Queller in secular roles, a pictorial trend stemming from the public's fascination with role-play under the flourishing theater scene in the Song-Yuan periods. Wu Hung argues that eighteenth-century European aristocracy's fascination with masquerades gave rise to costume portraits where the sitter poses in exotic outfits. According to Wu, these portraits travelled to the Qing court, prompting the ruling monarch Emperor Yongzheng (r. 1723-1735) to commission an album of himself posing in roles as diverse as a Persian prince, Tibetan monk, and wigged European gentlemen. Audiences of the Song-Yuan period did not have to look far for similar inspirations, since the period witnessed the height of Chinese theater and would have made role-play common sight to the general public. Given the fact that paintings of knick-knack peddlers were recently re-identified as illustrations of court actors in the guise of these itinerant merchants in court festivities, and that certain pictorial themes of Zhong Kui, such as that of him marrying off his sister, eventually became opera titles, it is extremely likely my three scrolls are "costume portraits" of the demon-slayer in character as well. See Wu Hung, "Emperor's Masquerade—'Costume Portraits' of Yongzheng and Qianlong." *Orientations* 26.7 (1995): 25-41; and Huang Xiaofeng, "Le shi hai tong wan zhong xin—Huolang tu jie du," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 2 (2007): 103-117, 158.

patronage of genre paintings in the Song, the cultural and religious significances of weddings and travels for the Song literati to be elaborated below.

Being a workshop painting, the Met scroll may not have a single, coherent pictorial message. I argue, however, that each of the genre painting themes it refers to carries social, cultural, and religious significances for its scholar-elite patrons of the Song-Yuan period. In general, as argued by Wen-chien Cheng, rural themes appealed to the Song literati because of their newfound aspiration in investing in local communities instead of aspiring for the limited opportunities at court. Pictorial references to village weddings, for example, evokes the scholar-elite's yearning for the simple, naïve lifestyles of the ancients; reflects the renewed importance of the family and the lively discussions on it in Song times; fits well with the Zhong Kui theme not only because the term "marrying of one's sister" puns with "subjugating demons," but because weddings were thought to be an occasion when supernatural encounters are frequent and when Zhong Kui's protection could be called for; also, it was one of the few occasions in elite women's lives in which they ventured out of the confines of the home, where they were expected to be cloistered, so the depiction of a bride being escorted by Zhong Kui may also imply the idea that women need to be protected by male kin on excursions beyond the inner quarters. Evocations of households on the move recalls paintings of Daoist immortals Hong Yai and Ge Hong relocating to immortal realms, and thus may evoke the scholar-elites' yearning for a life away from the hustle and bustle of this world; it also reflects the importance of travel in the lives of Song people, who moved around at unprecedented frequencies and distances to assume office, do business, escape from warfare, thanks to a more reliable interregional transportation networks.

Finally, in terms of the Met scroll's role in the pictorial tradition of Zhong Kui, I argue that it captured the moment in time when Zhong Kui transformed from a powerful exorcist to a negligent scholar-official, a transformation that reflected the changing nature and perceptions of gods in Song times. The Met scroll illustrates the trend of emphasizing Zhong Kui's human nature over his divinity, highlighting his civilian character over his militant roots, focusing on his private life over his public persona, easing the solemnity of his character with a comical note, and presenting him as a mobile instead of a stationary deity. The emphasis on Zhong Kui's human origins and behavior coincide with the increasing number of new gods deified from ghosts of dead humans in Song times. His portrayal as an indulgent drunkard may reflect the inevitable human flaws that accompany gods of human origin. Zhong Kui's civilian character, as seen in his scholarly costume and accoutrement here, may reflect the Song emphasis of *wen* (civil) over *wu* (military) values. The portrayal of him as a family man, either as brother of the bride or a groom in the Met scroll, may reflect the central role the classic concept of family played in Song elite discourse and on a related note, on the concept of women seen as needing protection from male kinsmen. His portrayal as a deity on the move also aligns with the trend of deities on the move and associated with transportation in the Song-Yuan periods as observed among Daoist deities of this period as observed by Valerie Hansen and Shih-shan Huang; to some extent this also reflect the heightened frequency of travel in Song people's lives due to expansion of transportation and trade networks, and the need for deities to protect their worshippers who moved from place to place. The portrayal of Zhong Kui as comical, due to the association of rural scenes with uncouth country bumpkins that were often the butt of jokes in Song comic skits, of the activities and

interchangeable appearances of his demons with acrobats, clowns, and country folk, among others, may be due to the transformation of the *nuo* exorcist ritual from a solemn court affair into a spectacular form of entertainment in the Song.

CONCLUSION

Over the years, the topic of my dissertation—demons in Chinese art—has served me well as a conversation starter. People reacted differently to this unusual research interest, their responses ranging from fascination, to ridicule, to concern. "Your topic needs no marketing," remarked a colleague in European art, implying that my subject has cross-cultural, interdisciplinary appeal. Borrowing a famous saying from Confucius, a fellow Chinese art historian playfully referred to my topic as "extraordinary forces and disturbing spirits" (*guai li luan shen* 怪力亂神),[487] chiding me for choosing a category of images not traditionally considered worthy of serious scholarship. Other Chinese friends and family expressed concern over the harm that the "malignant forces" I study might cause me. Some urged me to seek protection from gods at local temples; others offered to include me in their prayers; still others advised me to participate in activities with more "positive energy" (*zheng neng liang* 正能量) to counterbalance the negative influence of an inauspicious subject. For them, demons are not simply metaphors for the unknown or fantastical creatures that exist only in one's imagination, but are real entities that have power over those who encounter them—even in the form of images and texts.

These responses offer a fascinating glimpse into the relevance of demons to people today and underscore the very reasons that motivated me to take up this dissertation topic. For many Chinese, images of demons are living embodiments of the demons

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[487] Translation after C. K. Yang, "The Functional Relationship between Confucian Thought and Chinese Religion," 272. This is a statement from the Analects, "The Master did not talk about extraordinary forces and disturbing spirits" (7:20), which is often quoted by modern scholars to "establish the agnostic nature of Confucianism and to divest it from any supernatural concepts." See discussion in Yong Chen, *Confucianism as Religion: Controversies and Consequences* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 119.

themselves and exist in a belief system that is dynamic and current, rather than being lifeless illustrations of imagined creatures of ancient religions. The visible unease with which some of my well-educated Chinese family and friends reacted to the topic of demons shows that the mention of and contact with ghosts and demons remain a taboo up to this day.[488] In addition, responses to my topic show that the belief in the supernatural is far from a superstition among an older, illiterate population, but is a concern of the educated elite as well.[489]

Although the demonic beings discussed in this study originated in China, they resonate with viewers across cultures because each has a "monstrous other" that incarnates its marvels and fears, embodying the antithesis of what is considered normal or desirable. Not only is the concept of a "monstrous other" a universal phenomenon, demons exhibit uncanny similarities across cultures as well.[490] Despite originating in

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[488] Cecilia Lai Wan Chan also mentions how the mention of and contact with ghosts as well as the ill and the dead are taboos thought to bring bad luck. See Cecilia Lai Wan Chan, "Chinese Death Taboos," in Encyclopedia of Death and the Human Experience, eds. Clifton D. Bryant and Dennis L. Peck (Thousand Oaks, C.A.: SAGE Publications, 2009): 191-193. doi: http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/10.4135/9781412972031.n62.

[489] Liao, Hsien-huei. "Encountering Evil: Ghosts and Demonic Forces in the Lives of the Song Elite," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 37 (2007): 89-134.

[490] Regarding how demons in Chinese visual culture relate to conceptualizations of demons beyond China, I discovered that while some aspects of demons are unique to Chinese culture, such as their association with noise, the color black, and their similarities with beggars, clowns, and acrobats that impersonate them, most aspects of their iconography and symbolism correspond to how demons were perceived cross-culturally. For instance, in both Chinese and non-Chinese cultures, demons are not only hybrid creatures with traits of both man and beast that defy easy categorization, but they are

distinct cultures, *gokusotsu* hell wardens in Medieval Japan,[491] dīv white demons from the Islamic tradition,[492] and monsters from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment in Europe[493] are all characterized by being hybrid and bestial in form, by residing at the peripheries of civilization, and by being associated with abject human beings known for their ugliness, misfortune, impurity, and evil. These same features characterize the majority of the Chinese demons in the Zhong Kui paintings in this study, making it, I hope, of interest to students of the monstrous in other cultures as well.

Despite the cultural significance demons embody and the relevance they have to audiences across time and space, for a historian of Chinese art, the choice of demons as a subject of inquiry marks a departure from earlier scholarship. Until recently, studies of Yuan art have centered on scroll paintings by amateur artists who, it was widely assumed, painted for self-cultivation instead of for economic gain—an idea challenged in various

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associated with diseases and misfortune, symbolize chaos, corruption, barbarism, and evil, and are at once fearsome and ludicrous.

[491] Michelle Osterfeld Li, "Human of the Heart: Pitiful *Oni* in Medieval Japan," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous,* edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, 173-196. (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).).

[492] Francesca Leoni, "On the Monstrous in the Islamic Visual Tradition," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous,* 151-172, edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).

[493] Davies, Surekha. "The Unlucky, the Bad, and the Ugly: Categories of Monstrosity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous,* edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, 49-76. (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).).

recent studies. These artists, active in the Jiangnan area along the southeastern China coast in the early and late years under the Mongol rule, painted in styles that employed archaic forms and calligraphic brushwork and expressed moral ideals through the symbolism of subjects like bamboo, plums, and landscapes.[494] Images of ghosts and demons, which belonged to the category of religious figure painting, occupied the lower end of the pictorial hierarchy and played almost no role in the painting of the scholar-amateurs. Paintings of demons, seen as vulgar and frivolous by many, were one of the specialities of professional artists of low social status. The stigma associated with this category of images continued to guide modern art historical scholarship until quite recently and, explains the teasing I received from my Chinese art historian colleagues for choosing to study paintings of demons. [495]

Looking back, I realize that what had drawn me to painted supernatural grotesque figures was related to the same things that provoked certain responses from people I told about my research. The prevalence of demons in Chinese culture; their visual and cultural relationships with humans of foreign or humble origins; their grotesque faces and deformed bodies—rarely seen in Chinese art owing to the preference for auspicious and aesthetically pleasing themes;[496] and the feelings of amazement, repugnance, and

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[494] Richard Vinograd, "De-Centering Yuan Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2007): 207.

[495] See Susan Nelson, "Western Scholarship on Song Painting: The Twentieth Century, A Draft Bibliography, Classified," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 30 (2000): 175-197.

[496] According to James Cahill, "[t]he cultivated artist…limited his repertory generally to themes that were harmonious or charged with auspicious meanings," while

laughter they trigger—these are the very things that made me want to study the paintings of Zhong Kui that are the focus of this dissertation.

As my research took shape, it became clear that the best approach to the demonic images I was studying was iconological. According to Erwin Panofsky, an iconological interpretation of a work of art is motivated by the desire to “grasp the principles underlying the choice and presentation of motifs, as well as the production and interpretation of images, stories, and allegories which give meaning even to the formal arrangements and technical procedures employed.”[497] The iconological analysis Panofsky describes requires knowledge of a wide range of phenomena related historically to the work or group of works one hopes to understand. Only through examination of all possible historical sources can the art historian gain access to "the political, poetical, religious, philosophical, and social tendencies of the personality, period, or country under investigation.”[498] By bringing together a heterodoxical array of thirteenth-century historical sources—many of which are not directly related to legends or images of Zhong Kui and his demons—my study has attempted to reconstruct those aspects of the mental world of the Song-Yuan period within which depictions of the Demon Queller and his entourage were created and interpreted. My approach also was shaped by the nature of

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collectors “tended to follow the same preference for the aesthetically pleasing,” see *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 115.

[497] Erwin Panofsky, “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art,” in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (University of Chicago Press, Phoenix edition 1982), 38.

[498] Ibid., 39.

the three Zhong Kui scrolls, which are either devoid of inscriptions that would guide interpretation or overloaded with textual accretions that invite multiple readings. Furthermore, because Zhong Kui and his demons appear in a variety of domains, including literature, theater, ritual, and politics, a holistic consideration of sources in these interconnected fields was essential.

My study shows that the Zhong Kui scrolls were products of the interaction of various domains, conceived and consumed within a network of meanings that co-existed and enriched each other. The more historical sources I mined, however, the more connections I discovered between Zhong Kui images and seemingly unrelated things, the indisputable multivalence of the scrolls lead me to an awareness that an iconological interpretation, unlike a more straightforward iconographic reading, is likely to be unstable and open-ended. This awareness had the result of making the scrolls more fascinating but also less subject to a single, unified interpretation. For example, an exploration of wedding customs in the Song-Yuan period helped explain why the theme of Zhong Kui marrying off his sister was popular because weddings were believed to be occasions where encounters with the supernatural were more frequent. The examination of early Yuan legal statutes also revealed how the Cleveland scroll can be understood as a subversive image of outlaws, illegal gatherings, and rituals made obsolete under Mongol law, transforming what might have been a naïve illustration of popular festivities into a response to the Mongols for suppressing a Han-Chinese tradition. These discoveries would never have been made if I had focused strictly on purely stylistic concerns.

Not only were the sources that affected the conception and reception of Zhong Kui paintings multifarious, the meanings embedded in their iconographies and pictorial

themes were multivalent and unstable. For example, when painting or writing about demons in Zhong Kui's retinue in the Freer scroll, Gong Kai and other colophon writers from the Yuan dynasty did not restrict their imaginations to the unnamed disease demons (*yigui*) that appeared with the Demon Queller in early records but alluded to a dizzying array of ghosts and demons that are not necessarily associated with Zhong Kui. Multiple personas of Zhong Kui also are alluded to in the Freer scroll: even though Gong Kai embedded in his painting an allusion to the disgraced Tang Emperor Xuanzong or to the powerless scholar-elite class in face of national strife, several Yuan writers chose nevertheless to write about Zhong Kui as a violent exorcist, showing how his various identities co-existed in people's minds. My research also showed that the Freer scroll was open to multiple interpretations in the eyes of Yuan viewers, which allowed them to see, among other things, commentaries on Song gender dynamics and foreign policy in the imagery of the Freer scroll. In particular, the multivalent connotations of the nine-tailed fox—a creature at once protective and deadly—embodied the ambivalent feelings of male elites towards their liaisons with courtesans and the Mongols, both of which could be symbolized by the nine-tailed fox.

The multivalence of the Freer painting is manifested in the competing narratives offered by the painter and the responses of subsequent viewers. The meaning of the painting can only be understood as an ongoing negotiation between the artist's intent and the viewer's engagement with the images. As Arnold Hauser puts it in his *The Social History of Art*, "the artist's creation is shifted into another sphere or onto another level

when it is simultaneously or subsequently supplemented by the recipient."[499] Focusing on authorial intent alone, as most Zhong Kui painting studies to date tended to do, greatly limits the possible readings these works of art by insisting upon a single, unified interpretation. In contrast, I have tried to take into account viewers' perceptions of Zhong Kui and demon imagery to reveal "a depth, a profundity, and a richness of correlations which [the works of art] did not possess from the beginning."[500]

My study of the Zhong Kui paintings and their carnivalesque mixture of ideas and beliefs can serve as a foundation for further research that should expand the visual data to paintings and prints in the Ming dynasty and beyond to show how popular motifs, themes, and compositions relevant to Zhong Kui—many of which became standardized in the Ming dynasty—were already nascent in the Song and Yuan dynasties and featured in my three scrolls. Research could focus in particular on later images that pair Zhong Kui with demon acrobats and opera actors and draw also on imagery from ritual theater, street performances, harvest festivals, and athletic matches (figs. 4.2.6-7).

In addition to looking at how Zhong Kui images developed after the Yuan dynasty, future studies of Zhong Kui iconography should also extend into the realm of popular woodblock prints, since paintings and prints of the Demon Queller were intimately connected by the Northern Song, when engravings of Zhong Kui were made based on

[499] Arnold Hauser, *The Sociology of Art,* trans. Kenneth J. Northcott (New York: Routledge, 2011), 429.

[500] Ibid., 443.

tracing copies of a painting attributed to Wu Daozi. When studying Zhong Kui prints, art historians will need to collaborate with folklorists and scholars of the history of popular religion to prevent misinterpretation of contents and connotations of the prints.[501]

Finally, besides expanding the scope of inquiry into supernatural grotesque imagery in China beyond the fourteenth century and of different media, future studies of Zhong Kui and his demons should aim for a cross-cultural dimension by placing Chinese demonic imagery within global visual culture, beginning with a comparison of representations in China and Japan to see how different cultural contexts, indigenous beliefs, and religious ideas led to different characterizations of the same exorcist figure.[502] Depictions of Zhong Kui's demons should be compared also with

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[501] See Yang Yujun 楊玉君, "The Interpretatin and Misinterpretation of Folk Pictures: A Case Study of the Zhong Kui Pictures held in Russian Museums" 民俗畫的解讀與誤讀—以俄藏五鬼鬧判圖為例, Special Issue on Studies of Improvisation in Folk Theater, *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 (Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore) 181 (2013): 223-264.

[502] In both cultures, Zhong Kui assumes a political significance as a guardian of the nation in service of the ruler: in China his image would be distributed to officers by the emperor each year, while in Japan he was claimed to represent "shogunal authority." But Zhong Kui appears in slightly different contexts in Japan than in China. Instead of being displayed in bedchambers, on doors, and in central halls (*zhongtang*), Zhong Kui appears as rooftop statuettes, adorns pillars in buildings, and is displayed as flying banners by families with young boys during the Boy's Festival in Japan. He became a protector of boys in Japan, probably because the fifth day of the fifth lunar month on which the Boy's Festival in Japan takes place coincides with the Duanwu Festival in China on the lunar calendar, an occasion in which Zhong Kui would appear. In both cultures, he became a giver of sons: in Japan, women would pray to his statue and touch his penis to wish for pregnancy; this may be related to the fact that in China, he became interchangeable with the judge figure (*panzi* 判子), which happens to be a pun for the expression "looking forward to a child" (*panzi* 盼子). Zhong Kui is also often paired with courtesans in Japan. While it could have been inspired by a popular genre of painting in Japan involving beauties and ugly men, this idea for the grouping of the hideous demon queller

representations of demonic beings from Central Asia and the Middle East, since works that have been identified as possible sources or legacies of demons in the Zhong Kui scrolls were believed to be intimately connected to those from this region.[503] Further collaborations with art historians working on demonic imagery in the Islamic world will likely uncover new material that could establish the missing link between demonic forms in China proper and other parts of the world.

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with alluring women may have been inspired by Chinese pairings of Zhong Kui and his wife or sister. Given the many connections between Chinese and Japanese depictions of Zhong Kui, it would be interesting to continue establishing the legacy of the demon queller in Japan as a continuation of this project. For discussions of representations of Zhong Kui in Japan, see Wang Yong 王 勇, 中国の鍾馗と日本の鍾馗--画像イメージの比較を中心に (特集 日本文化に見る道教的要素) -- (聖と俗の間) *Intriguing Asia* 73 (2005): 74-82; and Stephen Addiss, *Japanese Ghosts and Demons: Art of the Supernatural*, New York: George Braziller, 1985.

[503] One of them is a fragment of a dark-skinned dancing figure dated to the eighth and ninth centuries from Qočo—the site of the ancient oasis city Gaochang on the northern rim of the Takalamakan Desert in Xinjiang, China; the other are depictions of dark-skinned demonic figures by a painter known as "Muhammed of the Black Pen" (Siyah Kalem) dated to the sixteenth century in the Topkapi Sarayi album in Turkey. Both James Cahill and Nancy Steinhardt have suggested possible links between images of demons in the Cleveland and Freer scrolls and those in this album. See Cahill's "Some Alternative Sources for Archaistic Elements in the Paintings of Qian Xuan and ZhaoMengfu," *Ars Orientalis* 28 (1998): 64-75; and Steinhardt's "Siyah Qalem and Gong Kai: An Istanbul Album Painter and a Chinese Painter of the Mongolian Period," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 59-71.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Gong Kai 龔開, Zhong Kui Travelling 中山出遊圖卷 (hereafter "Freer scroll"). Handscroll, ink on paper, 32.8 cm x 169.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (F1938.4) (Source: Nakata and Fu, Ō-Bei shūzō , plate 8)

Figure 2: Yan Hui 顏輝, *The New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui* 鍾馗元夜出遊圖 (hereafter "Cleveland scroll"). Handscroll, ink and slight color on silk, 24.8 x 240.3 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art (61.206) (Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 3: Attributed to Yan Geng 顏庚, *The Demon-Queller Zhong Kui Giving His Sister Away in Marriage* 鍾馗嫁妹圖 (hereafter "Met scroll"). Handscroll, ink on silk, 24.4 x 253.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1990.134). (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Figure 4: Section One of Freer scroll showing Zhong Kui and his five male attendants. From right to left: Zhong Kui on a sedan chair carried by two porters (demons 1-2), followed by a dwarfish attendant with a shoulder bag (demon 3) and two more porters carrying a sword (demon 4) and a large hat (demon 5). (Source: Author's photo, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

Figure 5: Section Two of Freer scroll showing Zhong Kui's female companion "Amei" with her five female attendants. From right to left: "Amei" on a sedan chair carried by two older porters (demons 6-7); three ladies-in-waiting carrying a cat (demon 8), a parcel (demon 9), and a pillow (demon 10). (Source: Author's photo, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

Figure 6: Section Three of Freer scroll showing porters carrying other items and miniature captive demons. From right to left, this scene shows porters carrying a rug (demon 11), miniature captive demons tied to sticks (demons 12-13), and parcels (demon 14). (Source: Author's photo, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

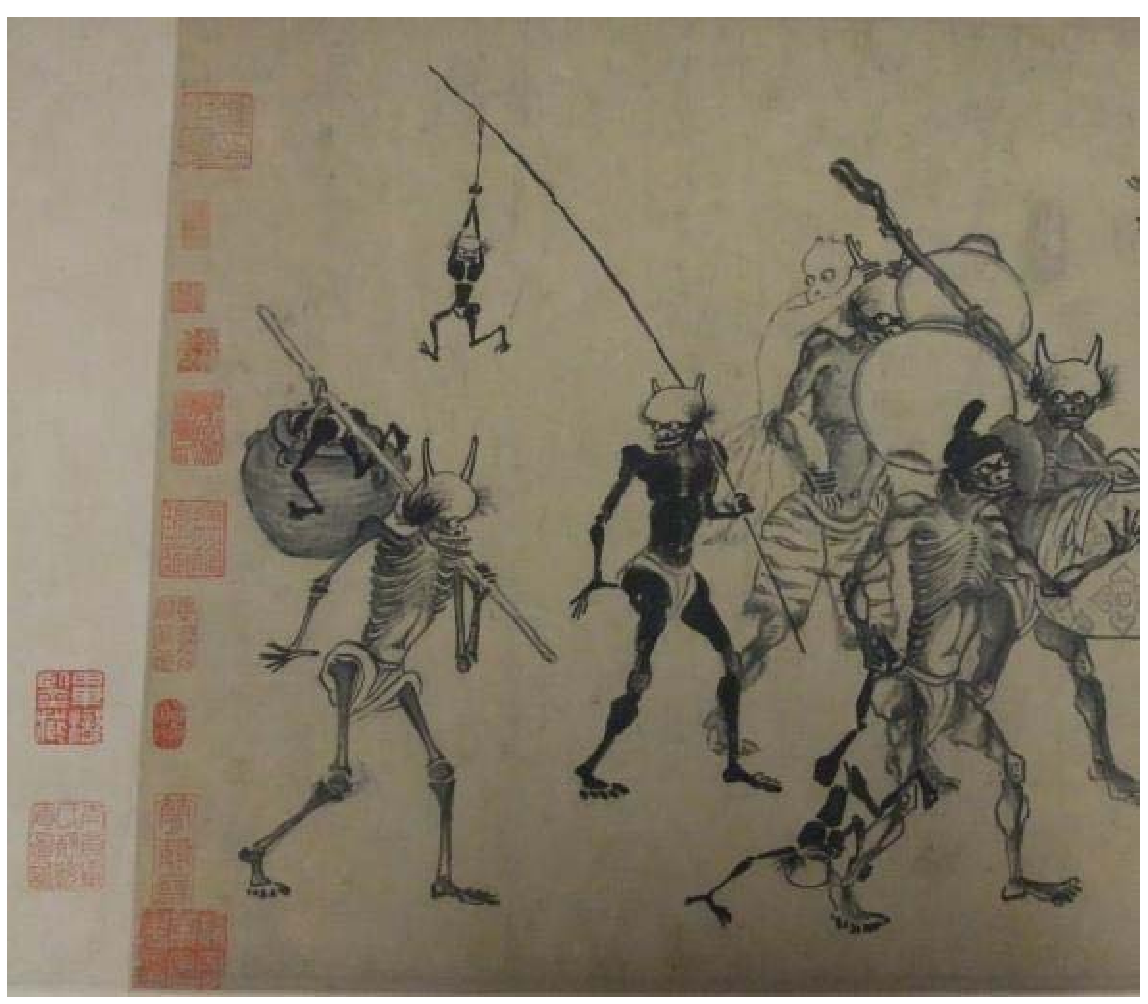


Figure 7: Section Three of Freer scroll showing porters carrying other items and miniature captive demons. From right to left, this scene shows porters carrying a large gourd on a stick (demon 15), dragging a captive demon by its limbs (demon 16), carrying a nine-tailed fox on his back (demon 17), and carrying two captive demons on sticks (demons 18-19). (Source: Author's photo, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art).

Figure 8: Opening section of Cleveland scroll. Shown here: the gong-striker announcing succeeding performers (demon 1). (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 9: Section of Cleveland scroll showing demons performing acrobatic and martial arts stunts. From right to left: demon lifting a rock (demon 2); demon doing a hand-stand (demon 3); demon balancing a jar (demon 4). (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 10: Section of Cleveland scroll showing demons performing acrobatic and martial arts stunts. From right to left: demon waging a spear (demon 5); demon swinging a sword (demon 6). (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 11: Section of Cleveland scroll showing demons performing acrobatic and martial arts stunts. From right to left: demon with a *yanyue* sword (demon 7); demon with a shield (demon 8). (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 12: Section of Cleveland scroll showing Zhong Kui's porters and human supplicants. From right to left: demon carrying a folding chair draped with animal skin (demon 9); demon carrying stationery, scrolls, and instrument (demon 10); man in rags with a bottle; man in rags with a cup and a saucer. (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 13: Closing section of Cleveland scroll showing Zhong Kui sitting on a "living throne" of demons followed by a troupe of demon musicians. From right to left: Zhong Kui sitting on the shoulders of three marching demons (demons 11-13); demon with a clapper (demon 14); demon with a torn umbrella and a drum (demon 15); demon flutist (demon 16); demon drummer (demon 17). (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 14: Detail of Met scroll showing demons performing acrobatics and martial art stunts. From right to left: demon striking a gong (demon 1); demon with an axe (demon 2); demon with a spear (demon 3); demon lifting a rock (demon 4). (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org)

Figure 15: Detail of Met scroll showing demons performing acrobatics and martial art stunts. From right to left: demon spinning a jar (demon 5); demon with a pole (demon 6); demon with a forked spear (demon 7). (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org)

Figure 16: Detail of Met scroll. From right to left: a pair of demons in a mock combat (demons 8-9); a pair of demons carrying a folding chair draped in animal skin (demon 10) and a torn umbrella (demon 11). (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org)

Figure 17: Detail of Met scroll showing Zhong Kui's female companion "Ayi" and attendants. From right to left: demon herder (demon 12); demon with parcel, scrolls, and stationery (demon 13); "Ayi" on a water buffalo with a demon riding behind her (demon 14). (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org)

Figure 18: Detail of Met scroll showing Zhong Kui and attendants followed by a troupe of musicians. From right to left: Zhong Kui on a donkey supported by three assistants (demons 15-17); demon with clapper and drum (demon 18); demon drummer (demon 19); demon flutist (demon 20). (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org)

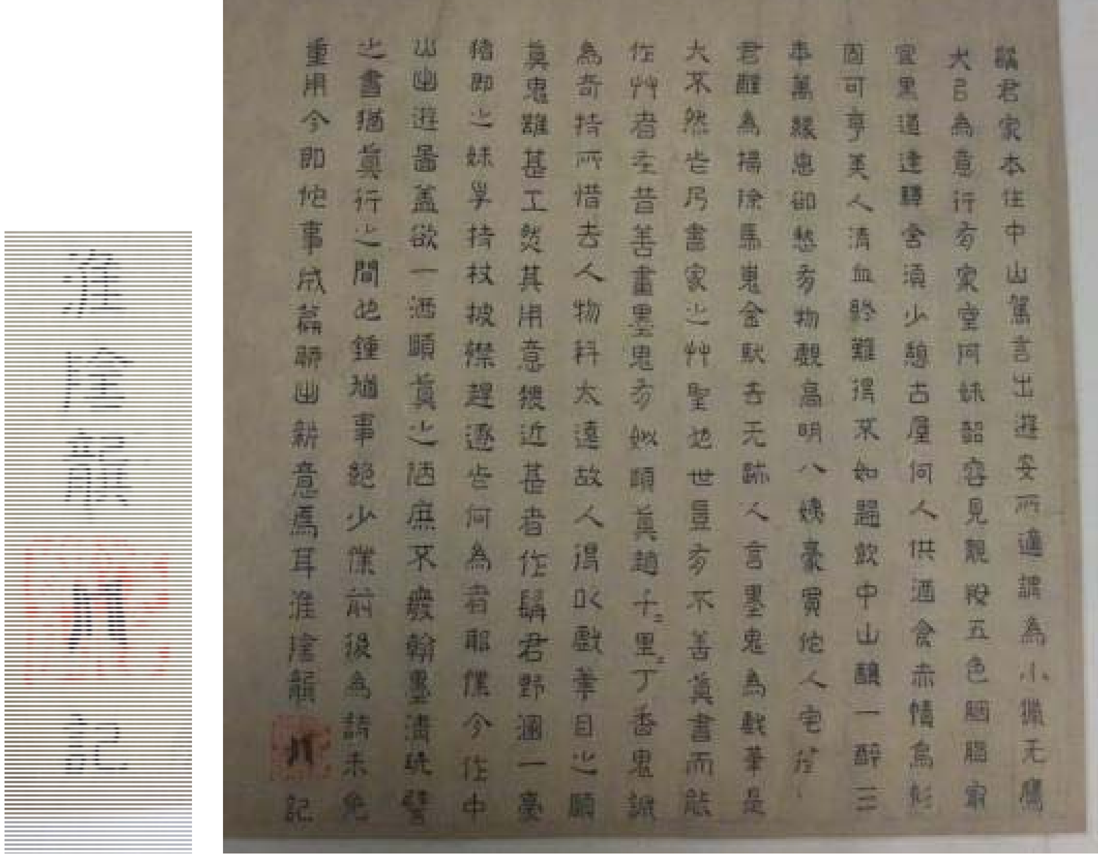


Figure 19: (Right) Gong Kai's inscription on the Freer scroll. *Bafen* clerical script, ink on paper. Inscription transcribed and translated in Appendix II-C-1. (Source: Author's photo, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

Figure 20: (Left) Detail of Gong Kai's signature and seal. Signature: "Recorded by Gong Kai of Huaiyin" (*Huaiyin Gong Kai ji* 淮陰龔開記). Seal: "Gong Kai of Huaiyin" (*Huaiyin Gong Kai* 淮陰龔開).

Figure 21: Frontispiece of Cleveland scroll. Inscription reads: "Qiuyue's [Yan Hui's] ink fantasy" (*Qiuyue mohuan* 秋月墨幻). Inscribed and signed by Niu Shuyu 鈕樹玉 (1760-1827). Standard script, ink on paper (Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 22: Frontispiece of Met scroll. Inscription reads: "A Leisurely Excursion and Miscellaneous Acrobatics" (xianyou boxi 閒遊博戲). Inscribed and signed by Huang Hui 黃輝 (jinshi 1589, active 1585-1630). Calligraphy in semi-cursive script, ink on silk (Source: Author's photo, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

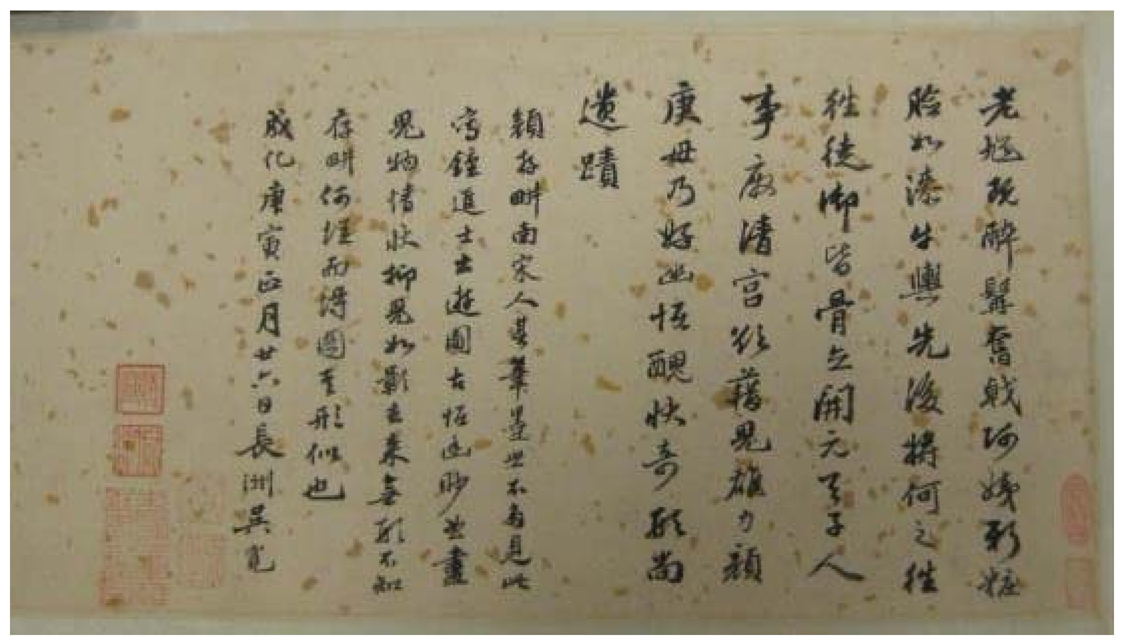
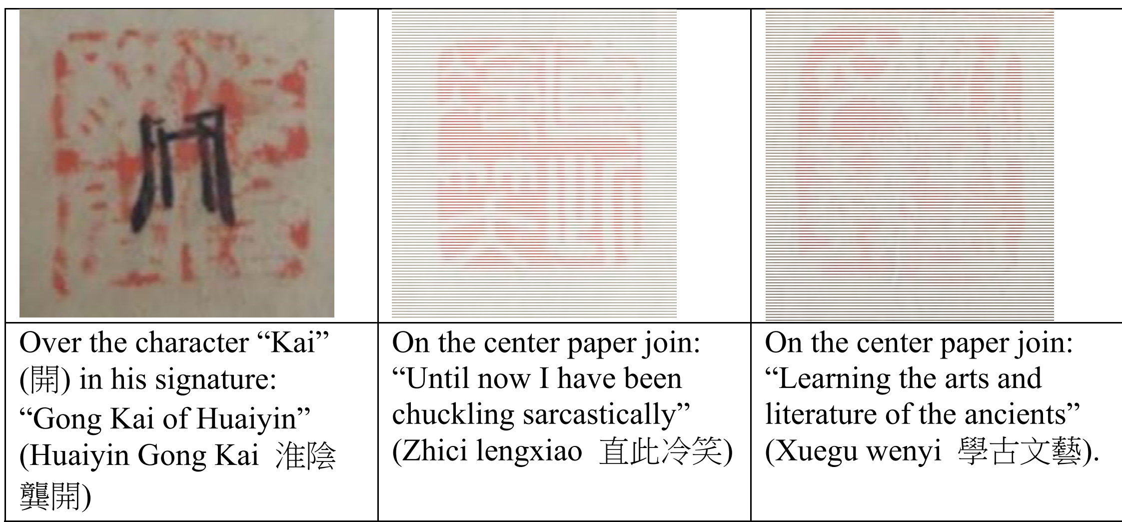


Figure 23: Colophon on the Met scroll. Inscription transcribed and translated in Appendix II-A. Attributed to Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504). Semi-cursive script, ink on decorated paper. Dated to the 26th day of the first month in the *gengyin* year of the Chenghua era 成化庚寅正月廿六日 (1470). Signed “Wu Kuan of Changzhou” (*Changzhou Wu Kuan* 長洲吳寬) with two seals, “Wu Kuan” 吳寬 and “Yuanbo” 原博. (Source: Author’s photo, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Figure 24: Detail of Wu Kuan’s signature and seals.



Over the character “Kai” (開) in his signature: “Gong Kai of Huaiyin” (Huaiyin Gong Kai 淮陰龔開)	On the center paper join: “Until now I have been chuckling sarcastically” (Zhici lengxiao 直此冷笑)	On the center paper join: “Learning the arts and literature of the ancients” (Xuegu wenyi 學古文藝).

Figure 25: Gong Kai’s seals on the Freer scroll. (Author’s photo)

Figure 26: (Left) Yan Hui’s signature and possible seal on the lower left corner of the Cleveland scroll. Signature: “Yan Qiuyue” 顏秋月 (last two characters damaged); seal: illegible rectangular intaglio seal impressed over the signature. (Source: Photo, courtesy of Tan Shengguan)

Figure 27: (Right) Yan Geng’s signature and seal on the lower left corner of the Met scroll. Signature: “Yan Geng” 顏庚. Seal: round seal with the characters “Cungeng” 存畊 in impressed over the signature. (Source: Author’s photo, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

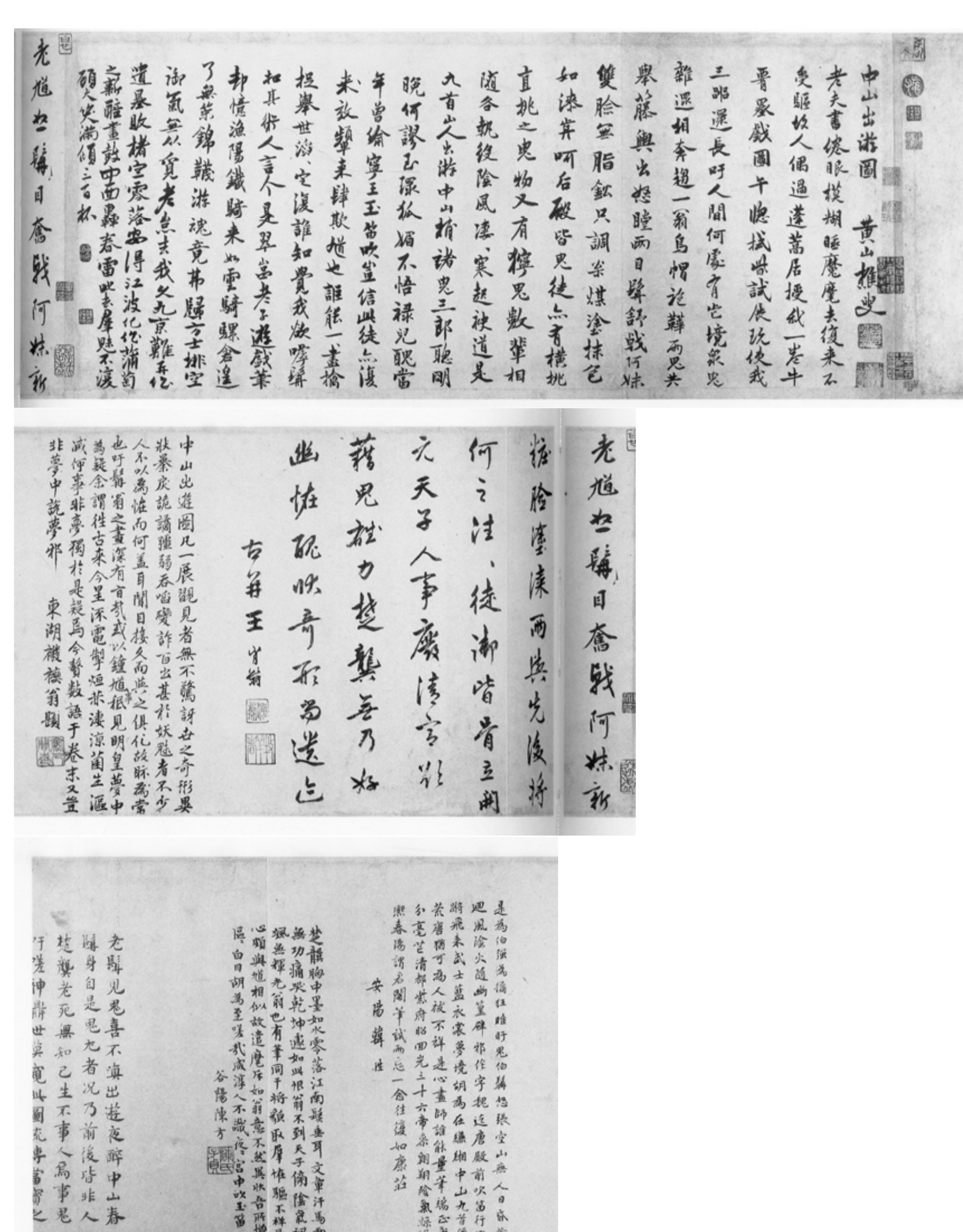


Figure 28: Freer scroll colophons Nos. 2-6 and parts of No.7. Ink on paper. (Source: Nakata and Fu, *Obei Shusho,* plate 7)

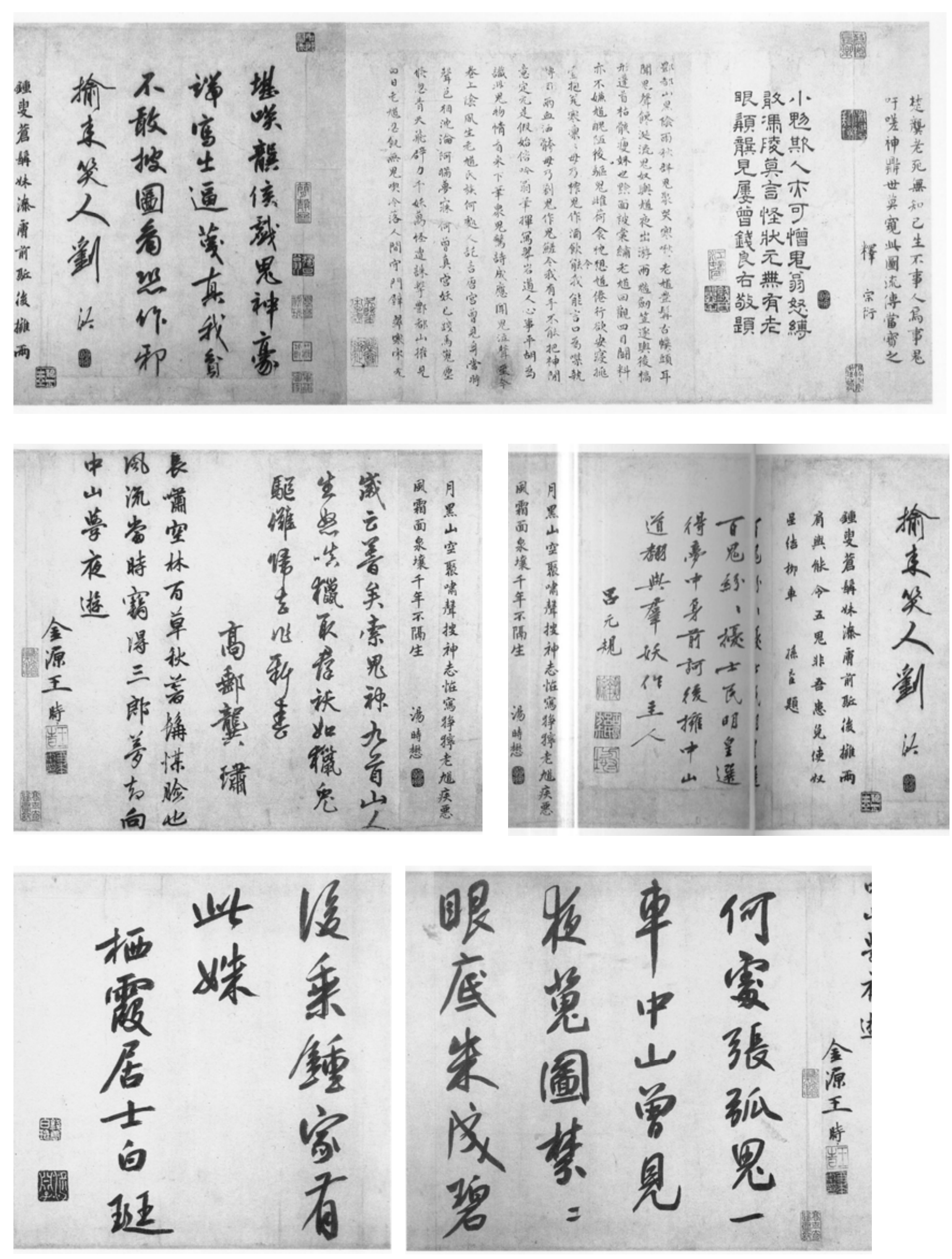


Figure 29: Freer scroll colophons Nos.7-16. No. 7 shown partially. (Source: Nakata and Fu, *Obei Shusho,* plates 9-10)

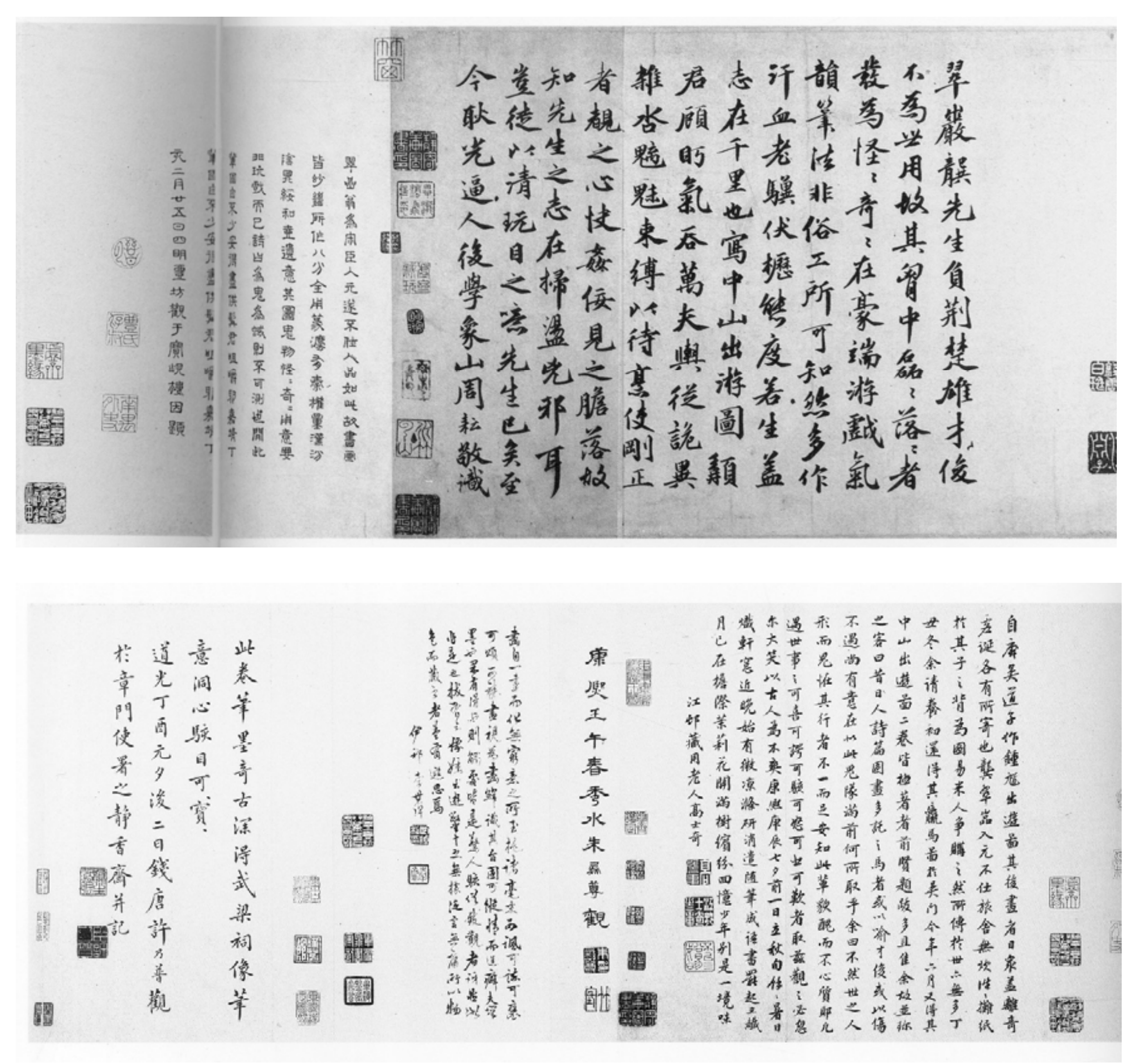


Figure 30: Freer scroll colophons Nos.17-22. (Source: Nakata and Fu, *Obei Shusho,* plate 10)

Figure I-1: *Māra's Attack of the Buddha* (*Xiangmo chengdao tu* 降魔成道圖). Hanging scroll. Ink and colors on silk. H: 144cm, W: 113 cm. Five Dynasties (1st half of 10th century). Musee Guimet (MG.17655). (Source: *Les arts de l'Asie*, Plate 5)

Top: Overview of entire scroll.

Bottom: Detail of demons (two o'clock direction)

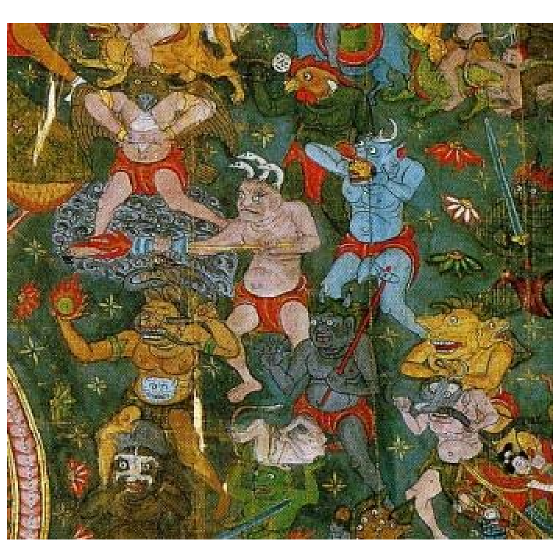


Figure I-2: *Ten Kings of Hell*. By Jin Chushi (active late 12th century). Hanging scroll, one of five from a set of ten. Ink and color on silk. 129.5 x 49.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1929 (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art http://www.metmuseum.org)
Clockwise from top left: Overview of scroll; detail of demon operating a burning spiked wheel; detail of demon crushing a prisoner’s leg with a hammer.

Figure I-3: Hungry ghosts surrounding the Demon King in *Demon King with the Burning Face* (*Qijiao dashi mianran guiwang* 起教大師面然鬼王). See below for source.

Figure I-4: Detail of the Official of Silkworms (*Canguan* 蠶官) and the “Five Ghosts” (*Wu Gui* 五鬼) Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. From a set of 139 hanging scrolls from Baoning Temple, Shanxi. Ming dynasty, mid-15th century. Shanxi Provincial Museum. (Source: *Baoningsi Ming dai shuilu hua*, plates 46, 128)

Figure I-5: Raising the Alms Bowl: The Conversion of Hariti (揭缽圖卷). By anonymous artist (18th century or later). Handscroll. Ink and color on golden paper. 27.3 x 106 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1927. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org)

Top: Segment of Hariti overseeing the rescue of her captured son from underneath an alms bowl.

Bottom: Details of demons in Hariti's retinue performing the rescue.

Figure I-6: *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Searching the Mountain for Demons, Leaf 48.* Album leaf, one from a set of fifty. Ink on paper. Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). H. 34.18 cm, W: 38.40 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art. John L. Severance Fund in honor of Dr. Ju-hsi Chou and Gift of various donors to the department of Asian Art (by exchange). (Source: http://www.clevelandart.org/art/2004.1.48)

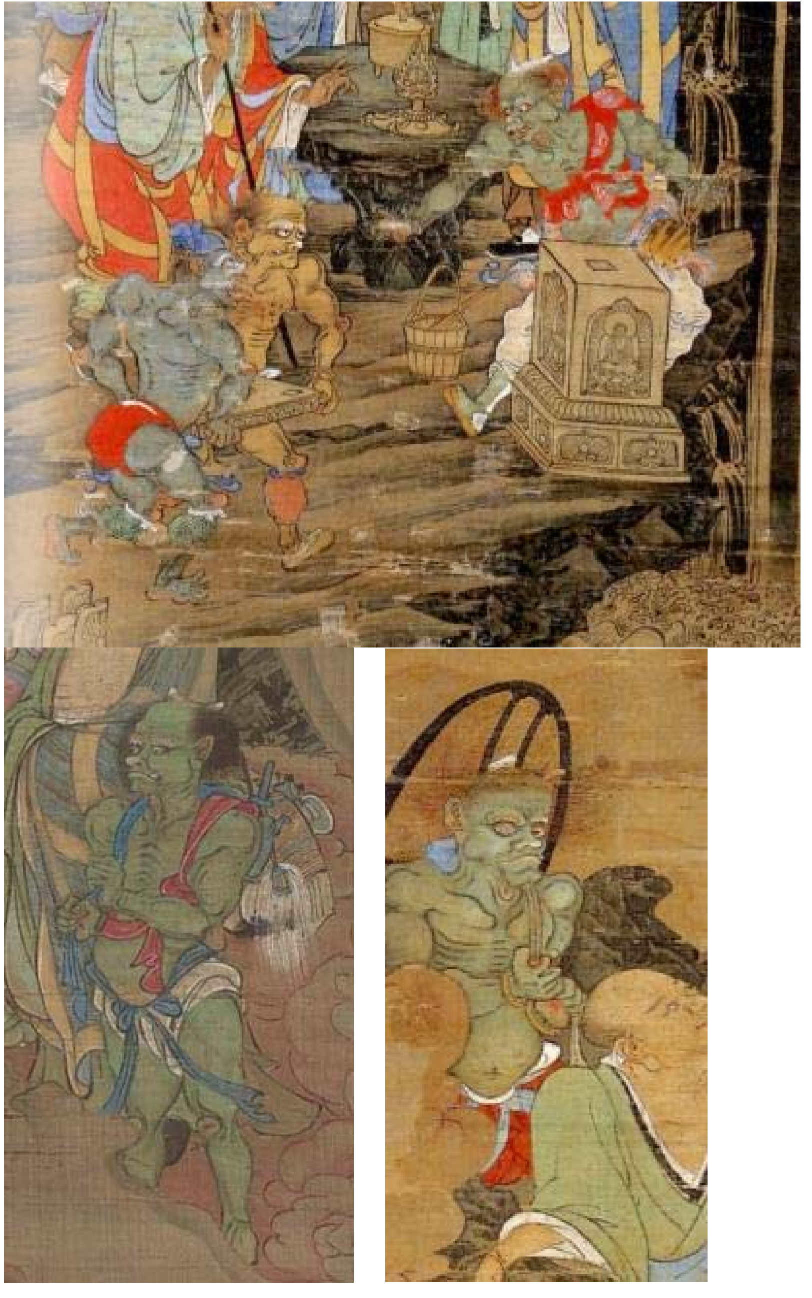


Figure I-7: Top and bottom right: Details of demon assistants to arhats from the *Daitokuji Five Hundred Arhats scroll*. By Zhou Jichang (second half of 12th century). ca.1178. (Source: Nara National Museum, *Sacred Ningbo*, pls. 78, 59)

Bottom left: Detail of demon assistant. *Lohan in meditation attended by a serpent*. By Zhou Jichang (second half of 12th century). ca. 1178. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Denman Waldo Ross Collection. (Source: http://www.mfa.org/collections/)

Figure I-8: Heavenly Kings standing on crouched demons. Painted wooden reliquary. Northern Song, 1013. Ink and color on wood. H. 123 cm, W. 42.5 cm. Formerly in Ruiguang Temple, Suzhou. Now in Suzhou Museum. (Source: Suzhou bowuguan, *Cultural Relics*, 148-155)

Figure I-9: Images of Non-Han Chinese peoples.

(4) Top left: Detail of *Nomads with a Tribute Horse* (*Fan ji tu* 蕃騎圖). Anonymous painter (Song Dynasty 960-1279).. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Source: *Song hua quan ji*.)
(5) Top right: Detail of *Foreign Ambassadors*. Mural painting, Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai, Shaanxi. Tang dynasty, 711.
(6) Bottom: Detail of *Tribute Bearers*. Handscroll. Ink and colors on silk. Attributed to Yan Liben 閻立本 (d. 673).

Figure I-10: Images of *zaju* opera actors.

(4) Left: Scene from the *zaju* opera *The Eye Doctor* (*Yanyao suan* 眼藥酸). Anonymous artist (Song Dynasty 960-1279). Album leaf. Ink and color on silk. H. 23.8 cm, W. 24.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. (Image from the public domain)

(5) Right: A pair of comedians. Detail of rubbing from brick relief carvings of actors in a Northern Song tomb in Jiuliugou, Yanshi City, Henan Province (河南偃師酒流溝北宋雜劇磚雕墓).

Figure I-11: Images of the suffering poor, workers, and prisoners.

(4) Top left: Detail of the poor. *Lohans bestowing alms on suffering human beings*. By Zhou Jichang (second half of 12th century). ca. 1178. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Denman Waldo Ross Collection. (Source: http://www.mfa.org/collections/)

(5) Top right: Detail of woman spinning thread. *Spinning Wheel*. By Wang Juzheng (Northern Song, 960-1127). Handscroll. Ink and color on silk. H. 26.1 cm, L. 69.2 cm. (Source: http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/117/@/6296.html)

(6) Bottom: Detail of prisoner. *Ten Kings of Hell*. By Jin Chushi (active late 12th century). One of five hanging scrolls from a set of ten. Ink and color on silk. 129.5 x 49.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1929 (Source: http://www.metmuseum.org)

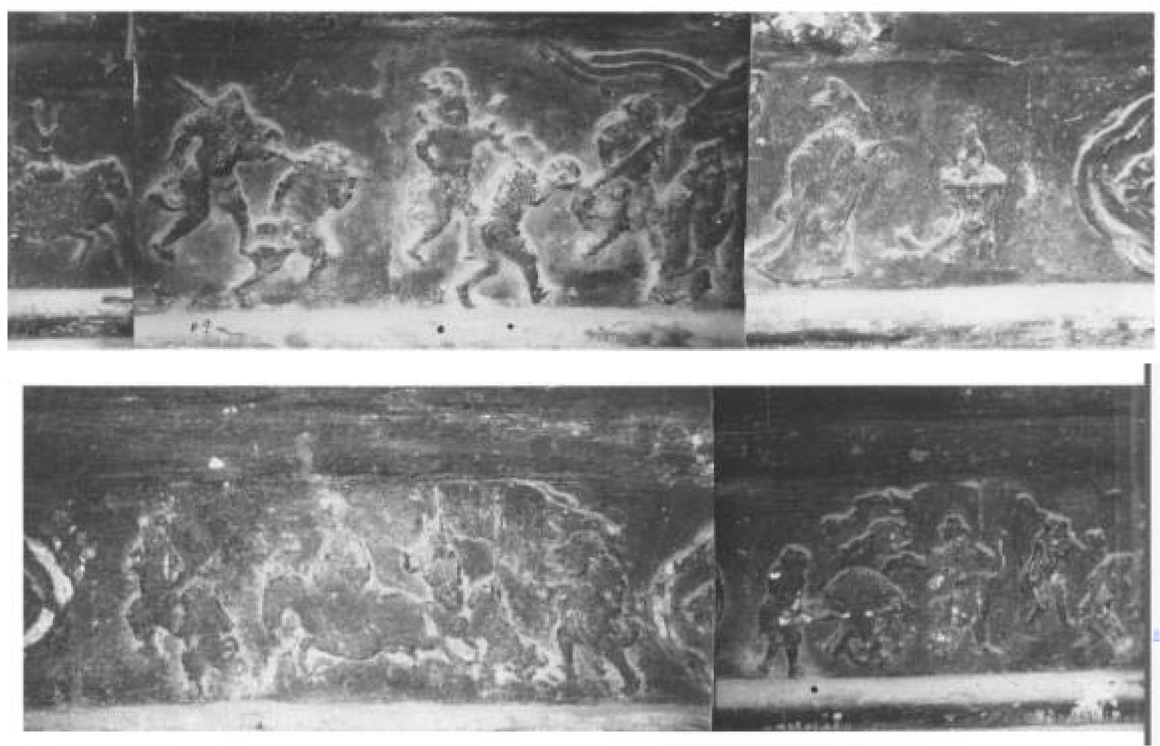


Figure 1.1: Stone relief from ground-floor base of Liuhe Ta (Six Harmonies Pagoda), Hangzhou. (Source: Lee, “Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year,” Fig. 1)

Figure 1.2: *Zhong Kui's Hunting Procession* (*Zhong Kui chulie tu* 鍾馗出獵圖). Attributed to Yan Hui. Handscroll, ink on paper. 27.5 x 446 cm. (Source: Christie's Hong Kong, *Ping Y. Tai*, Lot 1731)

Figure 1.3. Zhong Kui's modes of transportation. Clockwise from the top: details from the Freer, Met, Cleveland scrolls.

Figure 1.4. Zhong Kui's human-looking company.
Clockwise from the top left: details from the Freer, Cleveland, and Met scrolls.

Figure 1.5: *Noble Horse* (*Jungu tu* 駿骨圖). By Gong Kai. Handscroll and artist's colophon, ink on paper. 29.8 x 56.8 cm. Osaka Municipal Museum of Art. (Source: Watt, *The World of Khubilai Khan*, Figure 202)

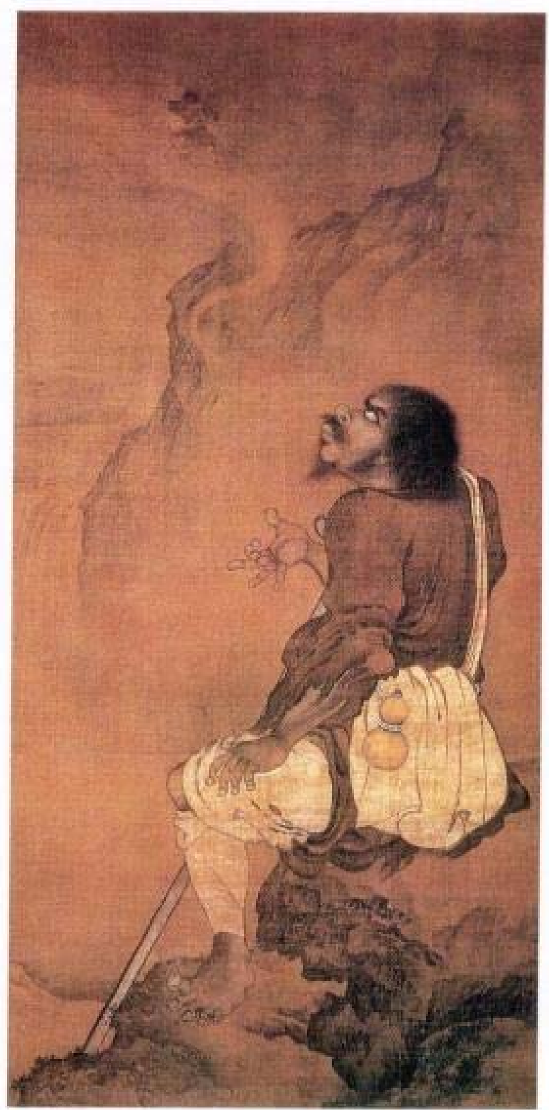


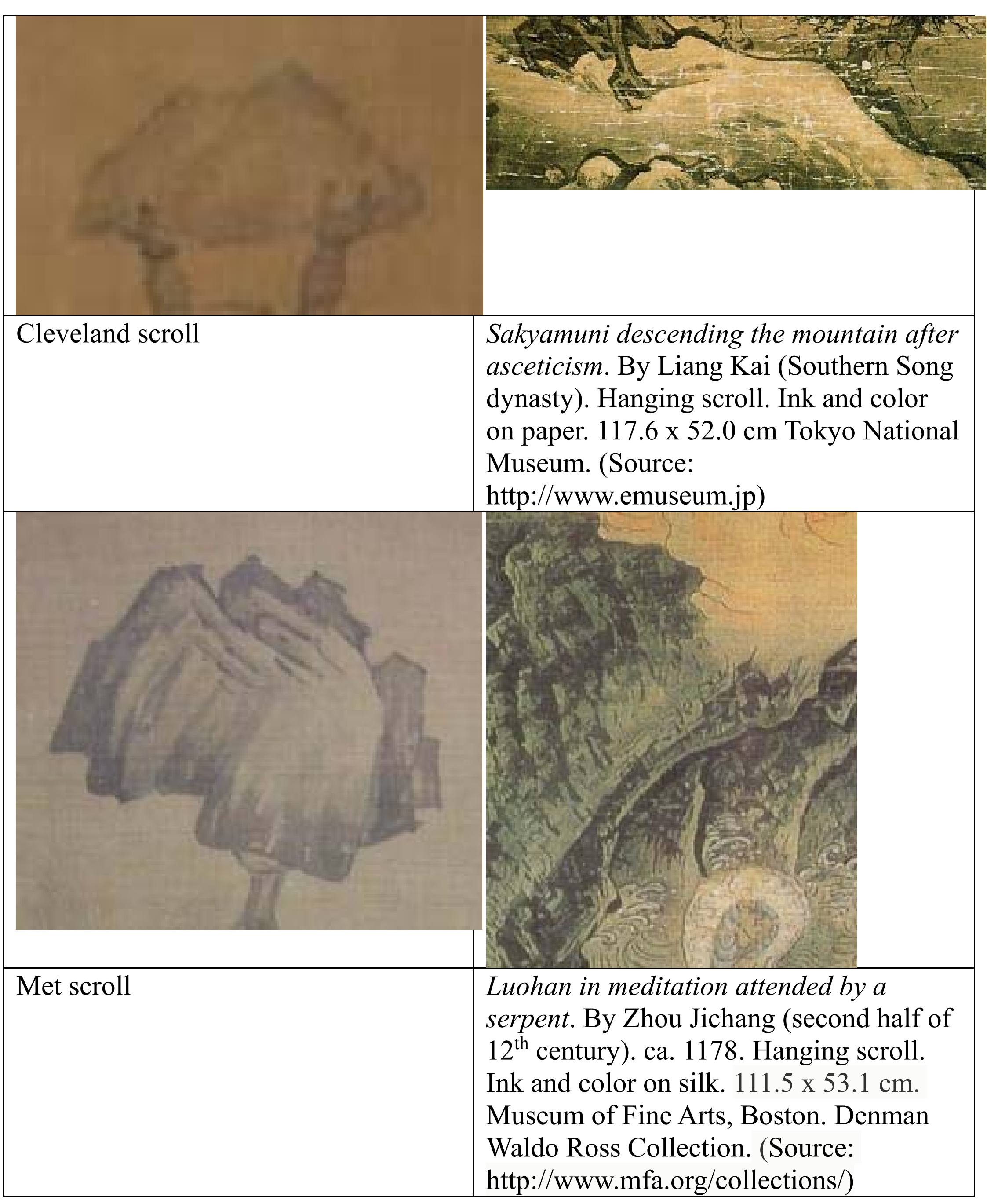
Figure 1.6. *The Immortal Liu Haichan and Li Tieguai*. By Yan Hui. A pair of hanging scrolls. Ink and color on silk. 161 cm x 79.8 cm each. Chion-ji, Kyoto, Japan. Important Cultural Property. (Source: Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* , plates 124-125)

Figure 1.7: Hanshan and Shide. Attributed to Yan Hui. Yuan dynasty, 14th century. A pair of hanging scrolls. Ink and color on silk. 127.6 x 41.8 cm each. Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property (Source: http://www.emuseum.jp/)

Figure 1.8: Comparable details of the Cleveland (left column) and Met scrolls (right column). From top to bottom row: gong-striking demons, spear-wielding demons, squatting demons, musician demons.

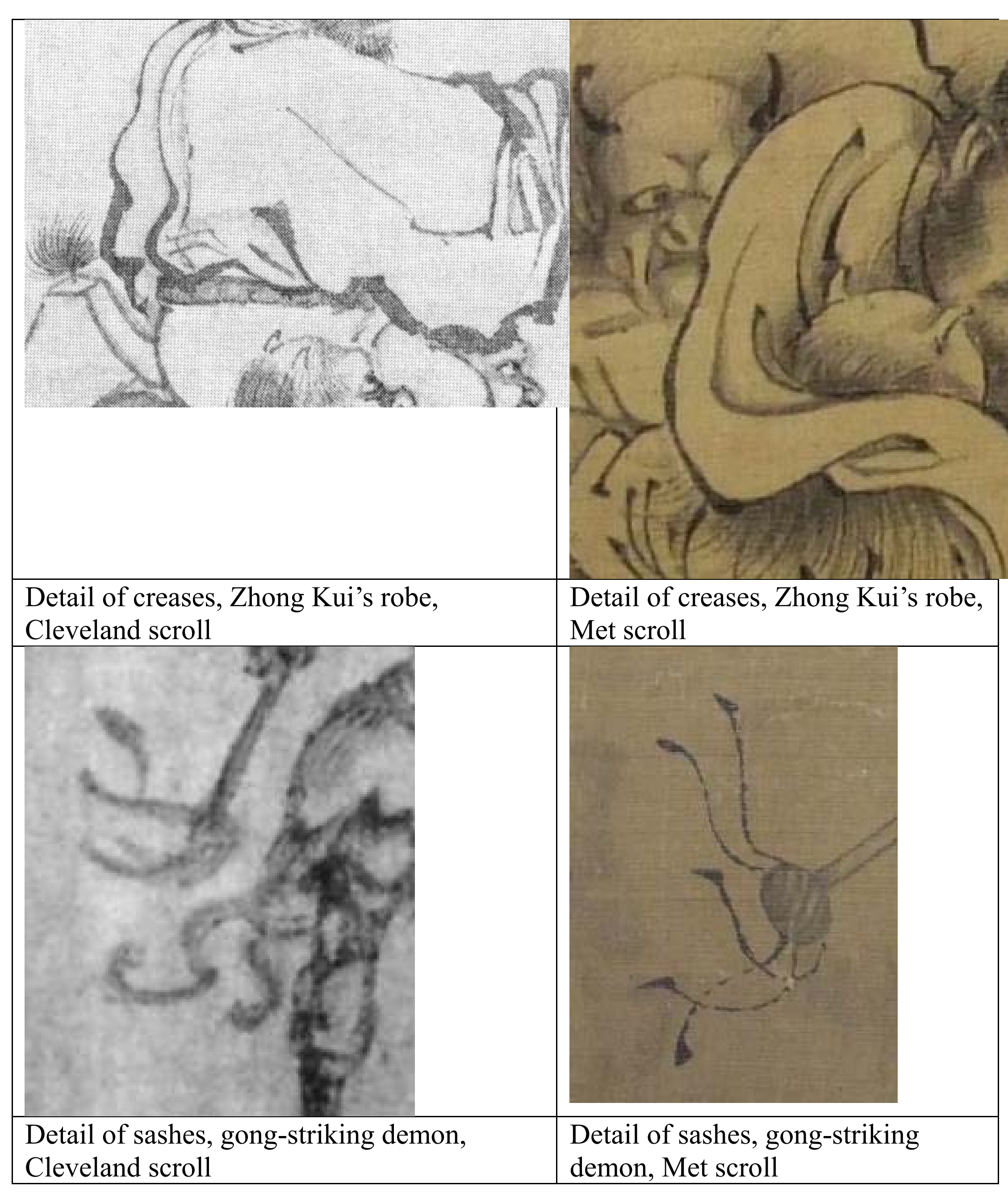
Figure 1.9: Comparisons of compositions of the three scrolls. From top to bottom: Cleveland, Met, Freer scrolls.

Figure 1.10: Assortment of demons in the Freer scroll.
Clockwise from the top left: fat, small male demon; young female demon; old female demon; skeletal, large male demon carrying miniature demon on a stick.



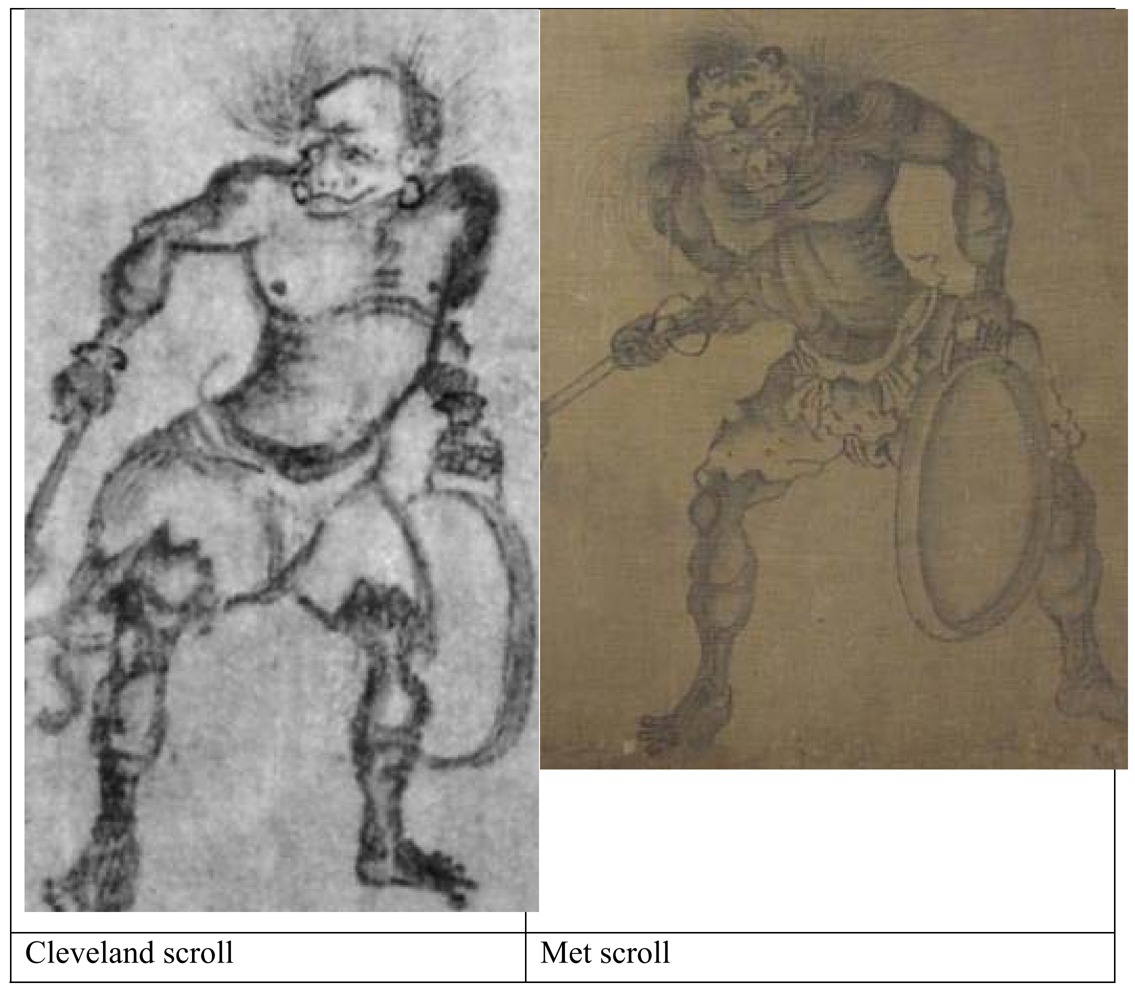
Cleveland scroll	*Sakyamuni descending the mountain after asceticism*. By Liang Kai (Southern Song dynasty). Hanging scroll. Ink and color on paper. 117.6 x 52.0 cm Tokyo National Museum. (Source: http://www.emuseum.jp)
Met scroll	*Luohan in meditation attended by a serpent*. By Zhou Jichang (second half of 12th century). ca. 1178. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk. 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Denman Waldo Ross Collection. (Source: http://www.mfa.org/collections/)

Figure 1.11: Comparison of styles of rocks.



Detail of creases, Zhong Kui's robe, Cleveland scroll	Detail of creases, Zhong Kui's robe, Met scroll
Detail of sashes, gong-striking demon, Cleveland scroll	Detail of sashes, gong-striking demon, Met scroll

Figure 1.12: Comparison of brushstrokes used for clothing creases.



Cleveland scroll	Met scroll

Figure 1.13: Comparison of anatomy and musculature.

Female demons	Details of patterns

Figure 1.14: Variety of brushstrokes in the Freer scroll.

dwarfish demon with a shoulder bag	Zhong Kui's female companion
miniature demon	female servant

Figure 1.15: Use of opaque ink in the Freer scroll.

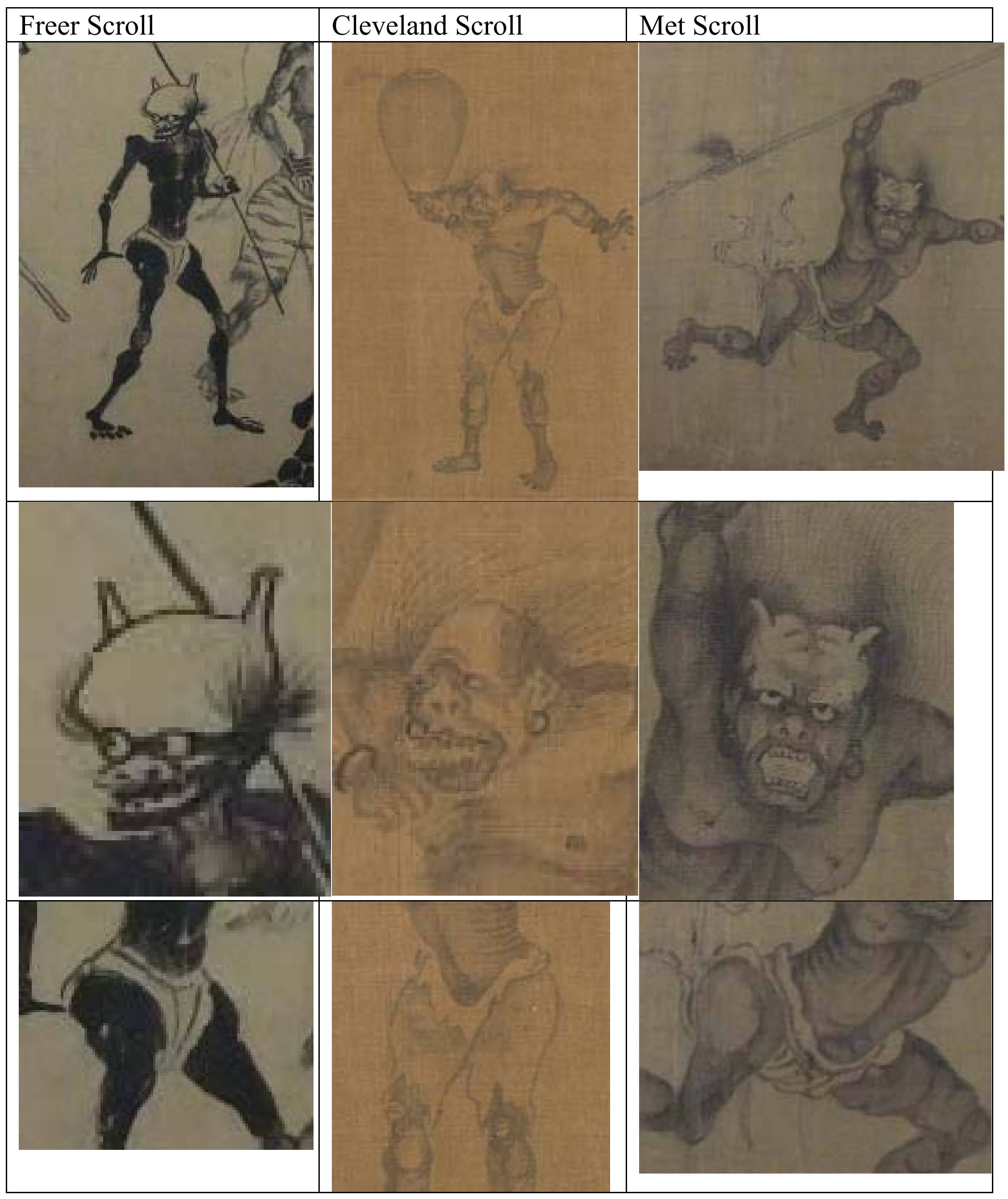
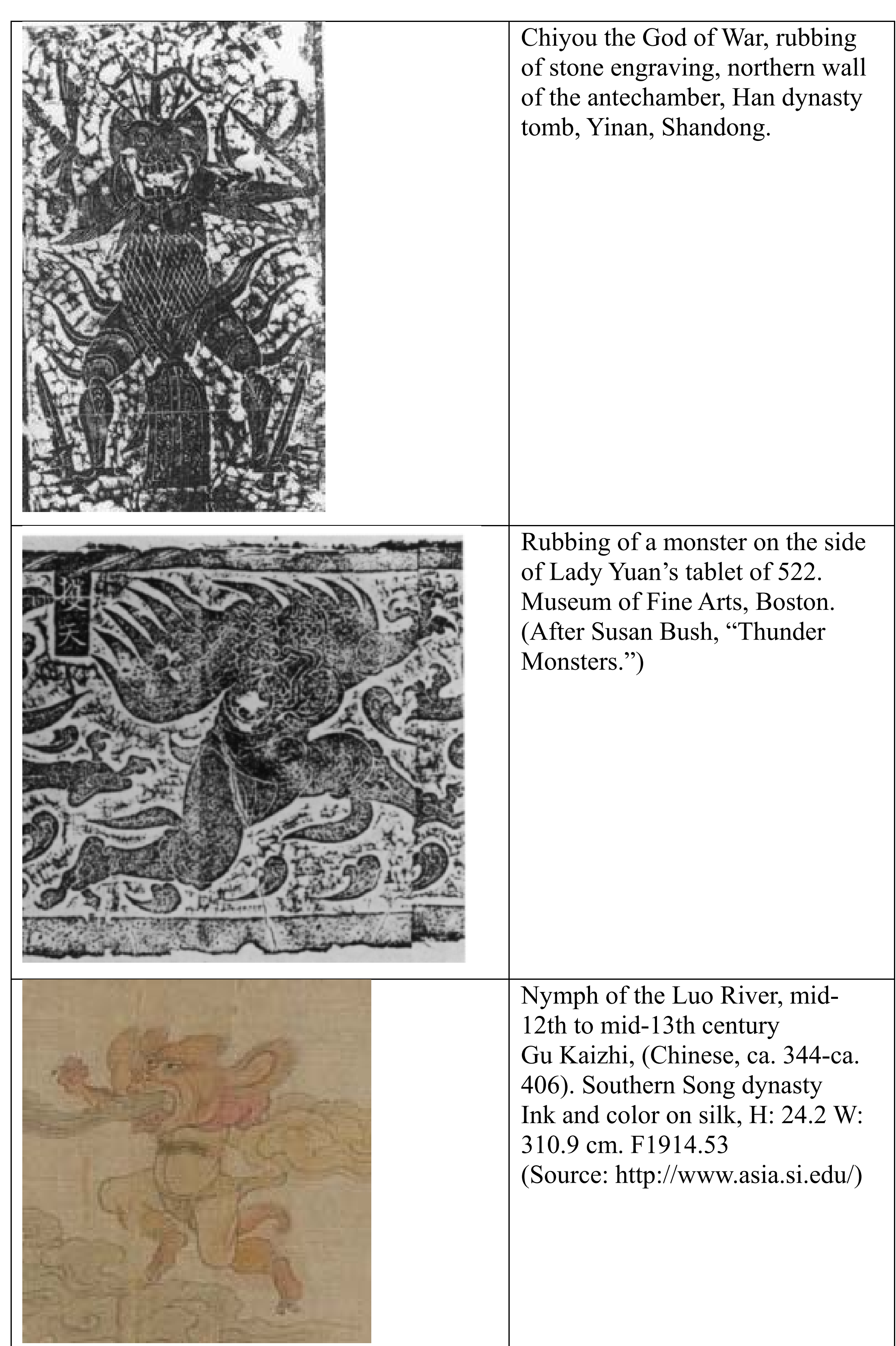


Figure 2.1: Typology of demons in the three scrolls.

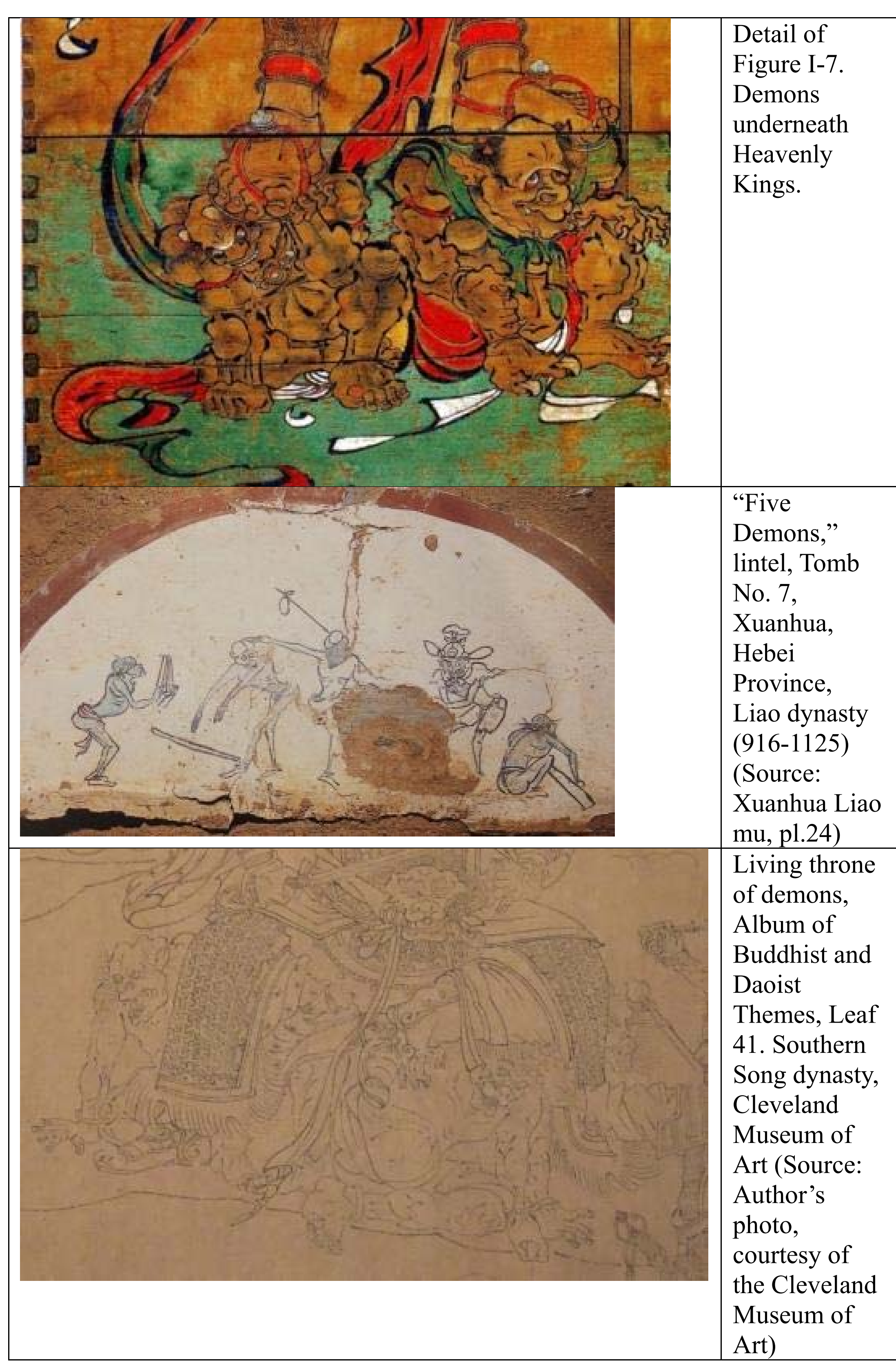


Chiyou the God of War, rubbing of stone engraving, northern wall of the antechamber, Han dynasty tomb, Yinan, Shandong.

Rubbing of a monster on the side of Lady Yuan's tablet of 522. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (After Susan Bush, "Thunder Monsters.")

Nymph of the Luo River, mid-12th to mid-13th century
Gu Kaizhi, (Chinese, ca. 344-ca. 406). Southern Song dynasty
Ink and color on silk, H: 24.2 W: 310.9 cm. F1914.53
(Source: http://www.asia.si.edu/)

Figure 2.2: Demonic creatures in Early China.

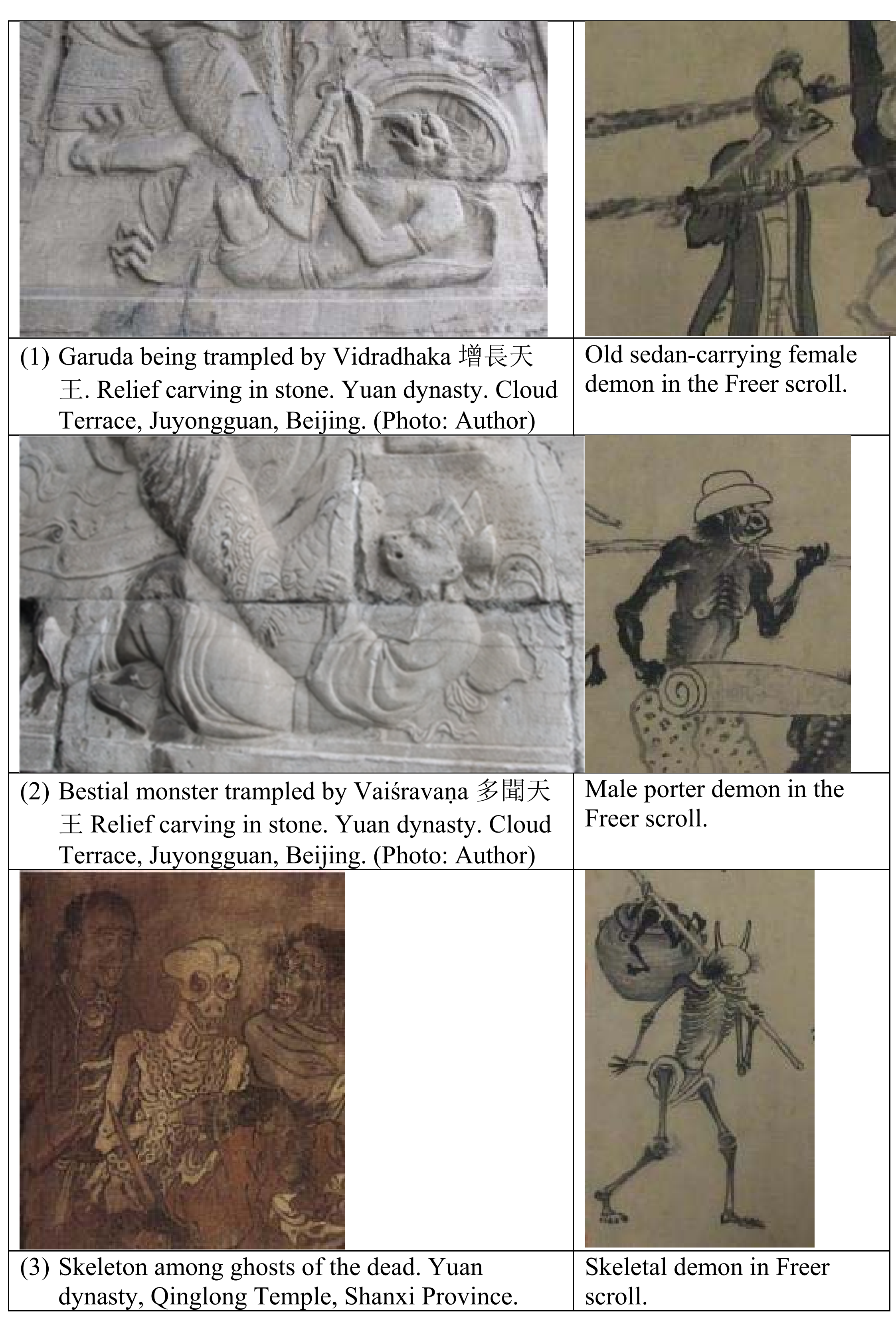


Detail of Figure I-7. Demons underneath Heavenly Kings.

“Five Demons,” lintel, Tomb No. 7, Xuanhua, Hebei Province, Liao dynasty (916-1125) (Source: Xuanhua Liao mu, pl.24)

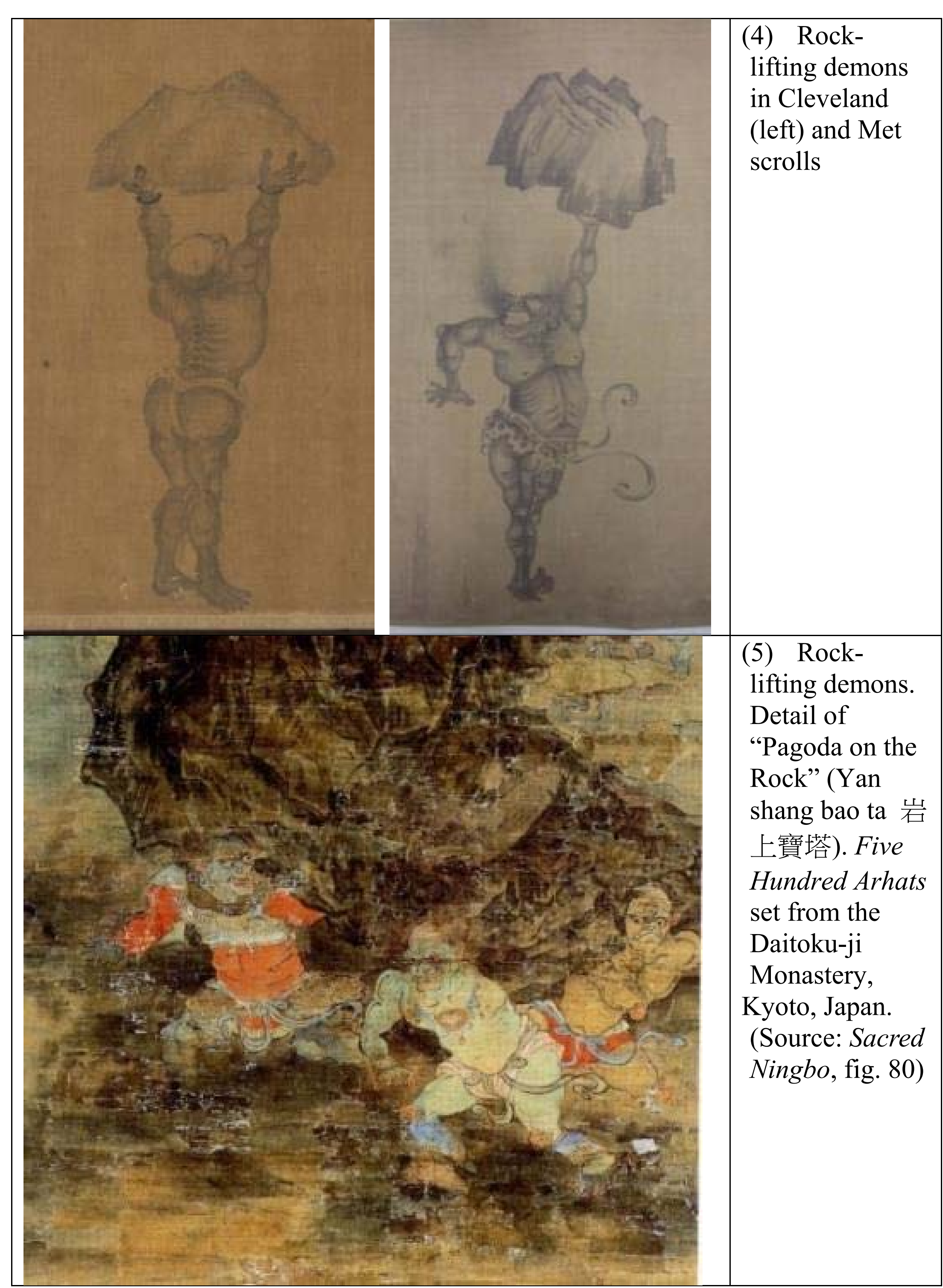
Living throne of demons, Album of Buddhist and Daoist Themes, Leaf 41. Southern Song dynasty, Cleveland Museum of Art (Source: Author’s photo, courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 2.3: Images of demons from the Song-Yuan periods.



(1) Garuda being trampled by Vidradhaka 增長天王. Relief carving in stone. Yuan dynasty. Cloud Terrace, Juyongguan, Beijing. (Photo: Author)	Old sedan-carrying female demon in the Freer scroll.
(2) Bestial monster trampled by Vaiśravaṇa 多聞天王 Relief carving in stone. Yuan dynasty. Cloud Terrace, Juyongguan, Beijing. (Photo: Author)	Male porter demon in the Freer scroll.
(3) Skeleton among ghosts of the dead. Yuan dynasty, Qinglong Temple, Shanxi Province.	Skeletal demon in Freer scroll.

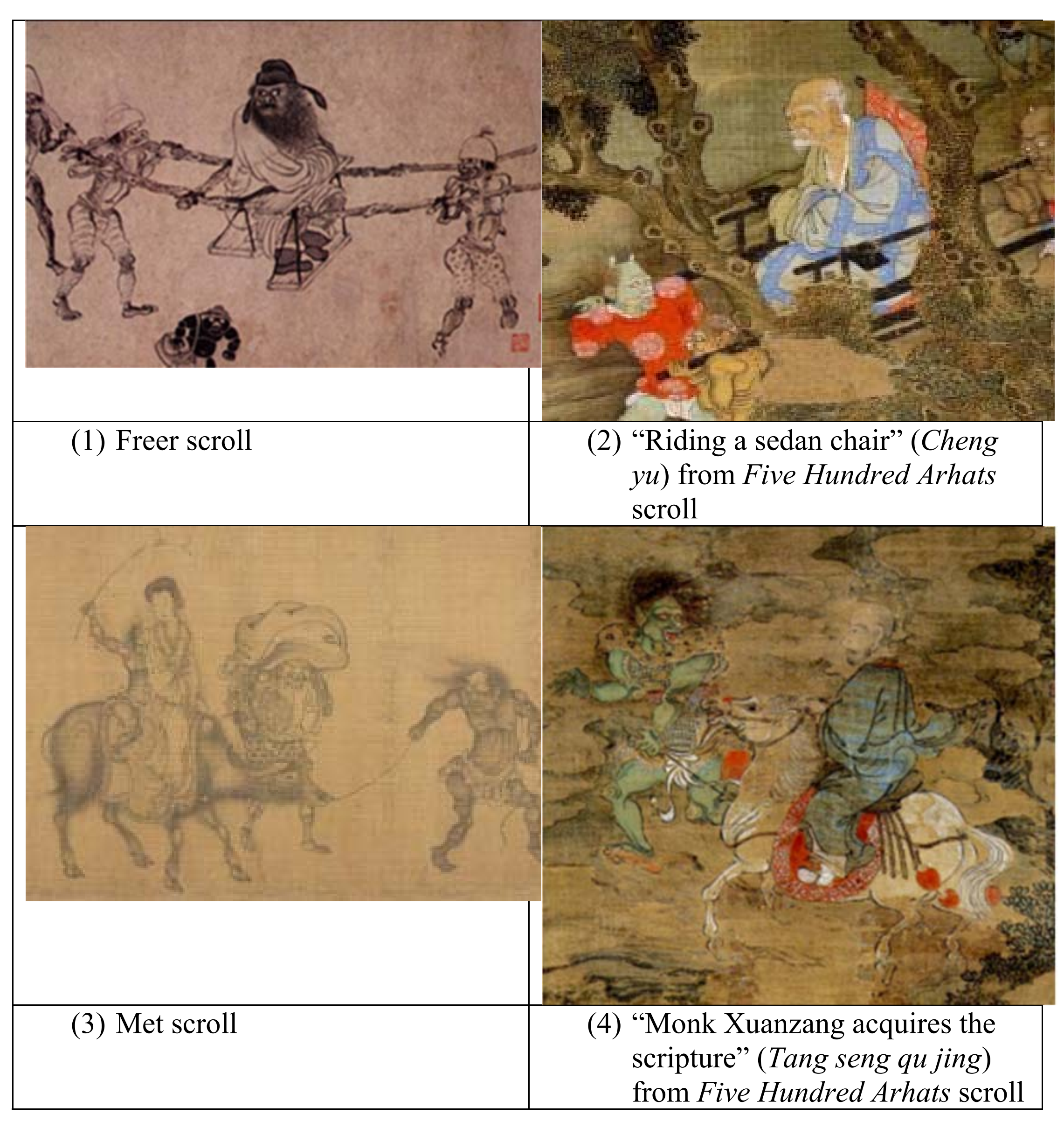
Figure 2.4: Comparison of images of demons from the Yuan dynasty.



(4) Rock-lifting demons in Cleveland (left) and Met scrolls

(5) Rock-lifting demons. Detail of "Pagoda on the Rock" (Yan shang bao ta 岩上寶塔). *Five Hundred Arhats* set from the Daitoku-ji Monastery, Kyoto, Japan. (Source: *Sacred Ningbo*, fig. 80)

Figure 2.5: Comparison of rock-lifting demons.



(1) Freer scroll

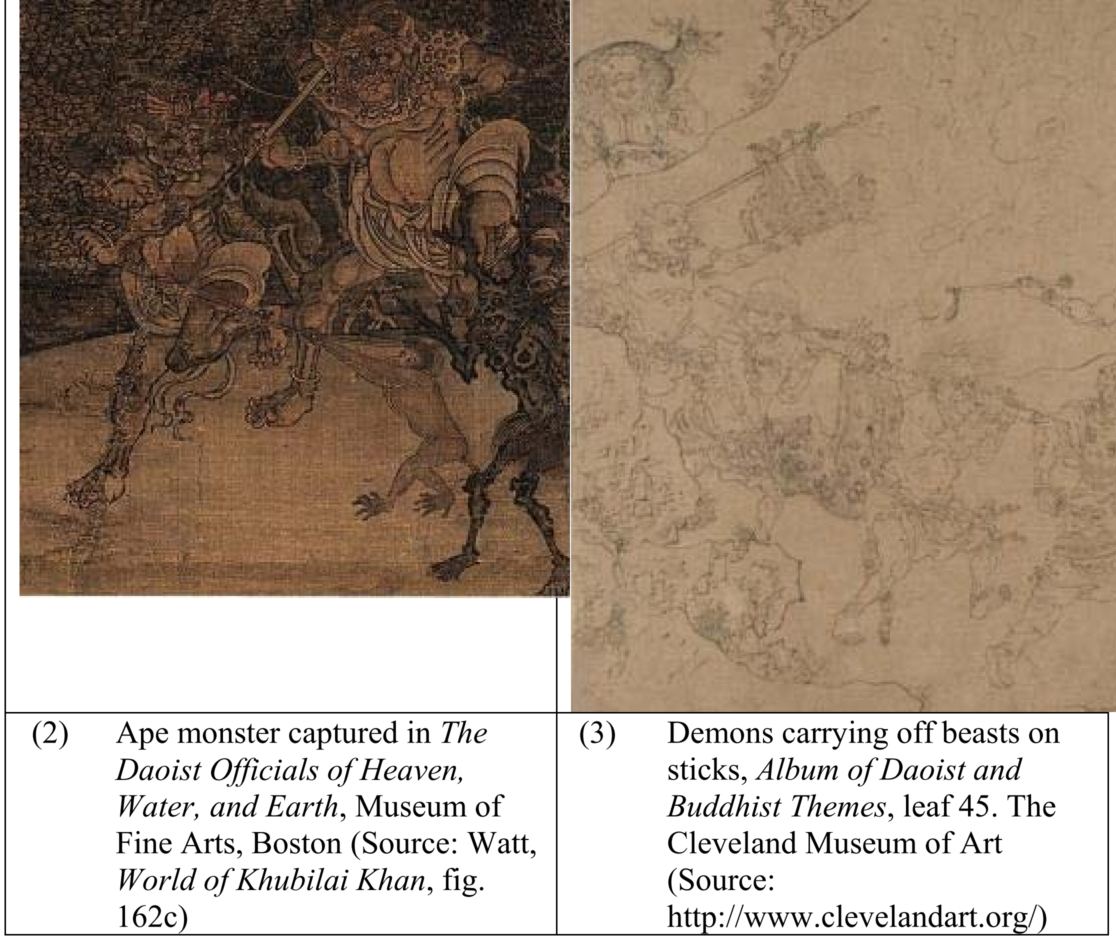
(2) “Riding a sedan chair” (*Cheng yu*) from *Five Hundred Arhats* scroll

(3) Met scroll

(4) “Monk Xuanzang acquires the scripture” (*Tang seng qu jing*) from *Five Hundred Arhats* scroll

Figure 2.6: Comparison of porter and herder demons.

(1) Freer scroll demons handling captives roughly.



(2) Ape monster captured in *The Daoist Officials of Heaven, Water, and Earth*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Source: Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, fig. 162c)	(3) Demons carrying off beasts on sticks, *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes*, leaf 45. The Cleveland Museum of Art (Source: http://www.clevelandart.org/)

Figure 2.7: Comparison of demons handling victims roughly.

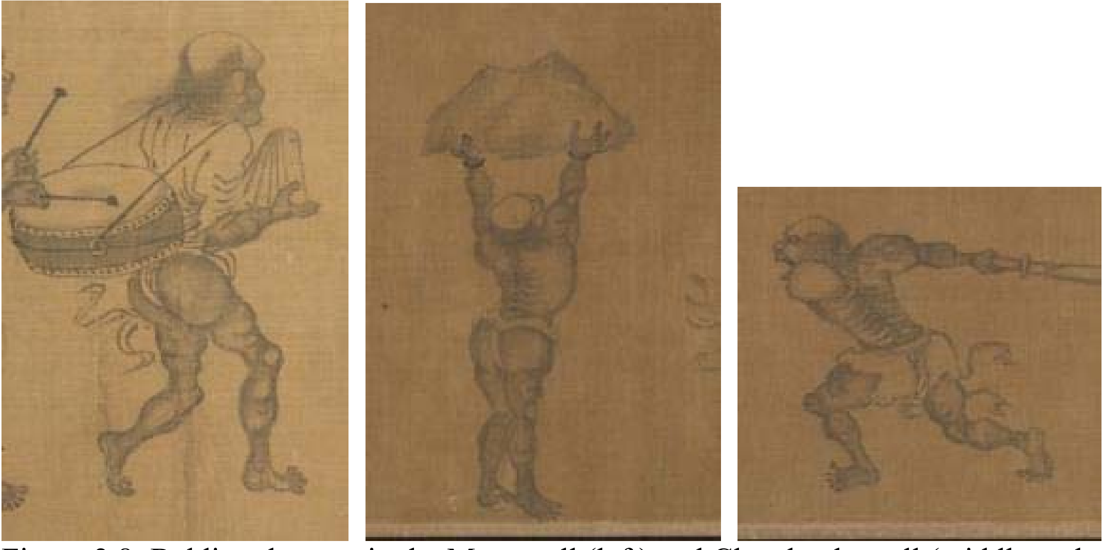


Figure 2.8: Balding demons in the Met scroll (left) and Cleveland scroll (middle and right).

Figure 2.9: (Left) *Kunfa* shaven hairstyles worn by Khitan men. Mural painting. Tomb in Balin Zuoqi Dishuihu (巴林左旗滴水湖). Liao Dynasty (916-1125).

Figure 2.10: (Right) Bald envoy. Detail of mural painting of foreign ambassadors, Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai, Tang dynasty, 8th century.

Figure 2.11: Demon with three tufts of hair in the Met scroll.

Figure 2.12: (Left) Painting of Mongolian aristocrat with *pojiao* hairdo, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368).

Figure 2.13: (Right) Servant wearing *pojiao* hairdo. Detail of tomb mural depicting Zhang Andabuhua and his wife Li Yunxian, 1269. Dongercun, Punchengxian, Shaanxi Province (Source: Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, fig. 115)

Figure 2.14: (Left): Demon flutist in the Met scroll with a long, striated feather on his cap.

Figure 2.15: (Middle): Feathered cap of the Goryeo envoy. Detail of mural painting of foreign ambassadors, Tomb of Prince Zhanghui, 8th century.

Figure 2.16: (Right): Feathered headdress of a foreign king. Detail of *Barbarian Royalty Worshipping Buddha*. Zhao Guangfu 趙光輔 (active mid-10th to early 11th century), 10th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of Severance and Greta Millikin. (Source: http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1957.358)

Figure 2.17: (Left) Conical hat worn by porter demon carrying Zhong Kui's sword, Freer scroll.

Figure 2.18: (Right) Pyramid-shaped hat worn by a demon carrying Zhong Kui, Cleveland scroll.

Figure 2.19: (Left): Figurine of Mongol dancer with a "pointed hat with a broad rim" (尖頂笠子帽), tomb in Xifeng, Jiaozuo, Henan Province. Jin (1115-1234) or Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) (河南焦作金元墓) (Source: Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, Fig. 68)

Figure 2.20: (Right): Man with pyramid-shaped hat. Illustration from *Shilin guangji*, published 1330 (Source: Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, Fig. 106)

Figure 2.21: (Left) *Dubikun* (“calf-snout shorts”) worn by a demon, Met scroll.

Figure 2.22: (Center): Salt workers wearing *dubikun* in the thirteenth-century medical manual *Monumenta Medica*.

Figure 2.23: (Right): Calf’s snout.

Figure 2.24: (Left to Right) Demons with round, rimless caps in the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls.

Figure 2.25: Headscarf of a demon, Met scroll.

Figure 2.26: Headscarf of a comedian (*hunguo* 諢裹) in the Southern Song album leaf "The Eye Doctor." Detail of Figure I-9 (1).

Figure 3.1: Zhong Kui as stout, bearded, and red-robed in paintings from the Qing (1644-1911) through the Republican (1911-1949) periods.

(3) “Drunken Zhong Kui” (*Zui Zhong Kui*). By Jin Nong (1687-1764), Qing dynasty. Detail of handscroll. (Source: Wang, *Zhong Kui bai tu*, no image number)

(4) “Chung K’uei [Zhong Kui] in Red Ink” (*Zhubi Zhong Kui*). By Pu Ju (1896-1963), Republican period. Detail of hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 86.2 x 42 cm. (Source: Liu, *Yinsui jifu*, fig. 24)

Figure 3.2: Zhong Kui participating in secular activities.

(3) Top: “Chung K’uei [Zhong Kui] Kicking a Ball” (*Zhong Kui cuju tu*). Anonymous (ca. 18th century), album leaf, ink on silk, 18.4 x 19.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei (Source: Liu, *Yinsui jifu*, fig. 15a)
(4) Bottom: “Night Life in the Family of Zhong Kui” (detail). Anonymous (13-14th century; formerly attributed to Shi Ke), ink and light colors on paper. Formerly in Chen Rentao Collection, Hong Kong.

Figure 3.3: Lady Feng (center) guarding Western Han Emperor Yuandi (r. 48-33 BC), from an escaped black bear. *The Admonitions Scroll* (detail). (Source: McCausland, *The Admonitions Scroll*, 37-38)

Figure 3.4: Zhong Kui's beard.

(3) Clockwise from top left: Details from the Cleveland, Met, and Freer scrolls.
(4) Bearded musicians of Western origins. Detail of *Camel with musicians*. Glazed earthenware. H: 58.4 cm. Tang dynasty (618-907). (Source: Watt, *China: Dawn of a Golden Age*, fig. 200)

Figure 3.5: Zhong Kui and disheveledness.

(4) Top left: Zhong Kui with crooked cap in the Met scroll; Top right: a demon with an umbrella with uneven edges in the Met scroll.
(5) Bottom left: Zhong Kui with crooked cap in the Cleveland scroll; a demon shields him with a badly-ripped umbrella.
(6) Bottom right: Zhong Kui baring his legs in the Freer scroll.

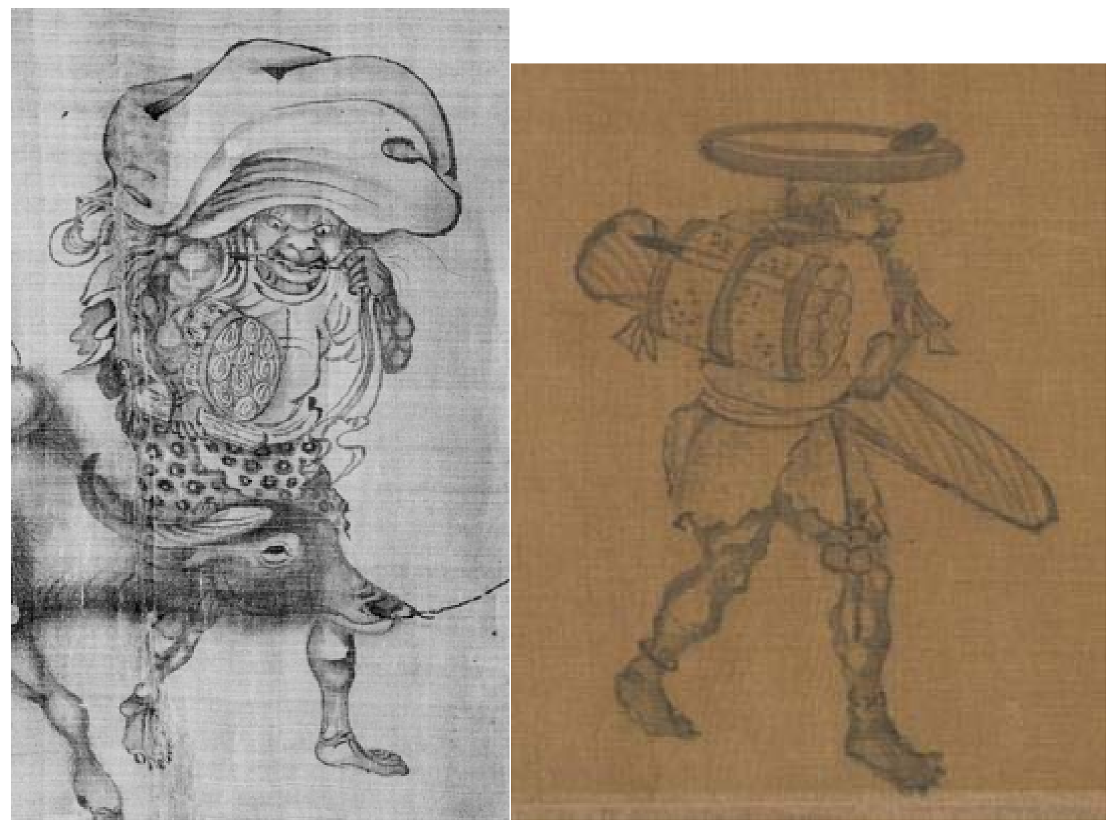


Figure 3.6: Demons carrying Zhong Kui’s stationery in the Met (left) and Cleveland scrolls (right).

Figure 3.7: Top left: Drunken Zhong Kui riding a donkey with the assistance of three demons in the Met scroll.

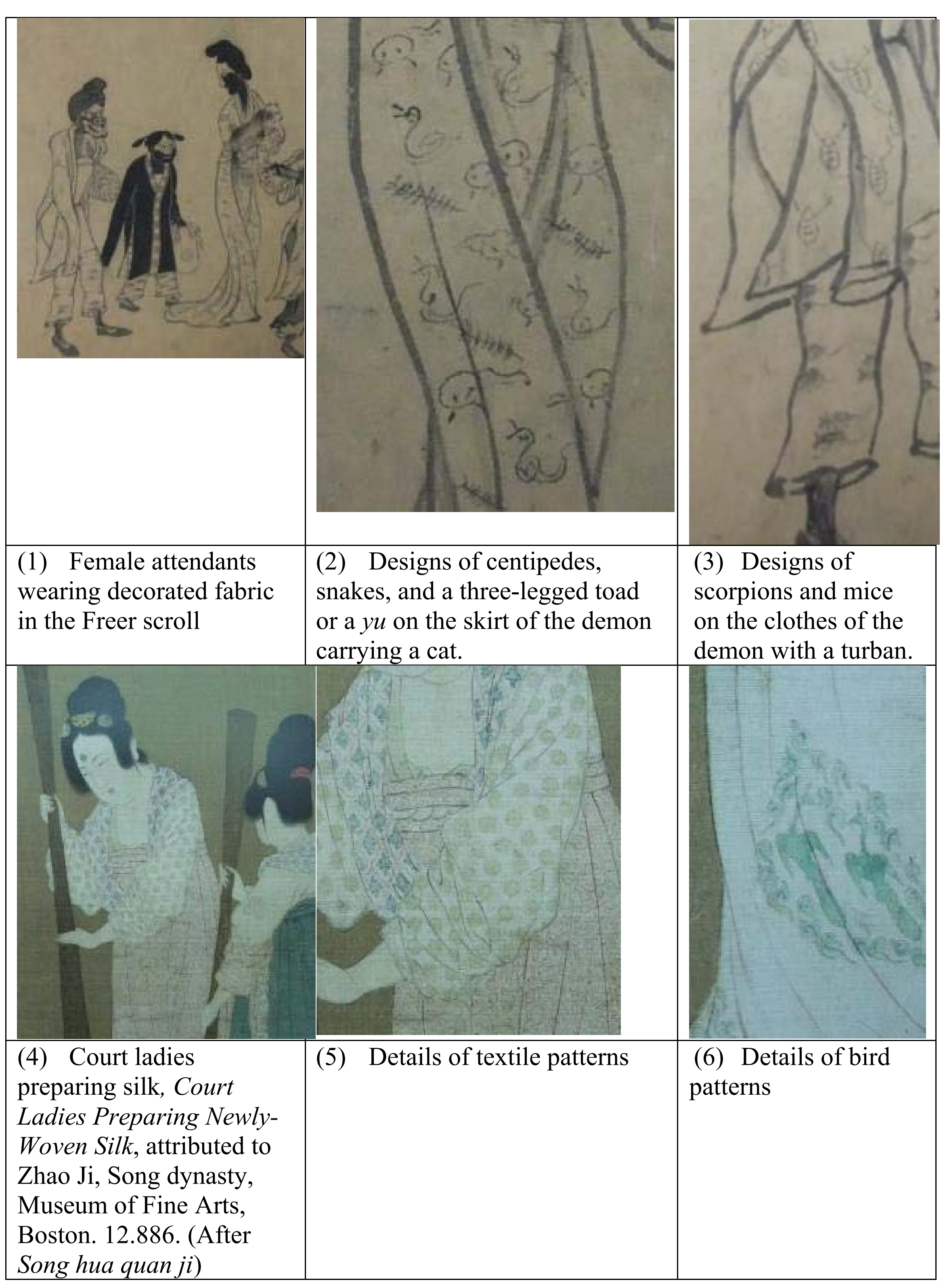
Figure 3.8: Top right *Returning Home Drunk on a Horseback*, a rubbing from a stone tablet from the tomb of Zheng Zhe in Luoyang, attributed to the Northern Song figure painter Li Gonglin (c.1049-1106) (Source: Cheng, *Images of Happy Farmers*, Fig. V.10, p. 398)

Figure 3.9: Two male figures approaching Zhong Kui with cups and bottles in the Cleveland scroll.

Figure 3.10: Large gourd, possibly for wine, in the Freer scroll.

Figure 4.1.1: (Top row) Excerpts from Puming (普明, ca. 1150s) *Ten Ox-Herding Songs with Illustrations,* showing an ox with black hide when wild (left) and turning white from the head down after being tamed (right). Reproduced by Hong Kong Buddhist Publication, Hong Kong, 1976. (Source: *After Jang*, "Ox-Herding Painting," Fig. 13)

Figure 4.1.2: (Bottom row) Details of females in the Freer scroll with white foreheads against blackened skin.



(1) Female attendants wearing decorated fabric in the Freer scroll

(2) Designs of centipedes, snakes, and a three-legged toad or a *yu* on the skirt of the demon carrying a cat.

(3) Designs of scorpions and mice on the clothes of the demon with a turban.

(4) Court ladies preparing silk, *Court Ladies Preparing Newly-Woven Silk*, attributed to Zhao Ji, Song dynasty, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 12.886. (After *Song hua quan ji*)

(5) Details of textile patterns

(6) Details of bird patterns

Figure 4.1.3: Comparison of textile patterns on Freer scroll demons' robes and Song court ladies' robes.

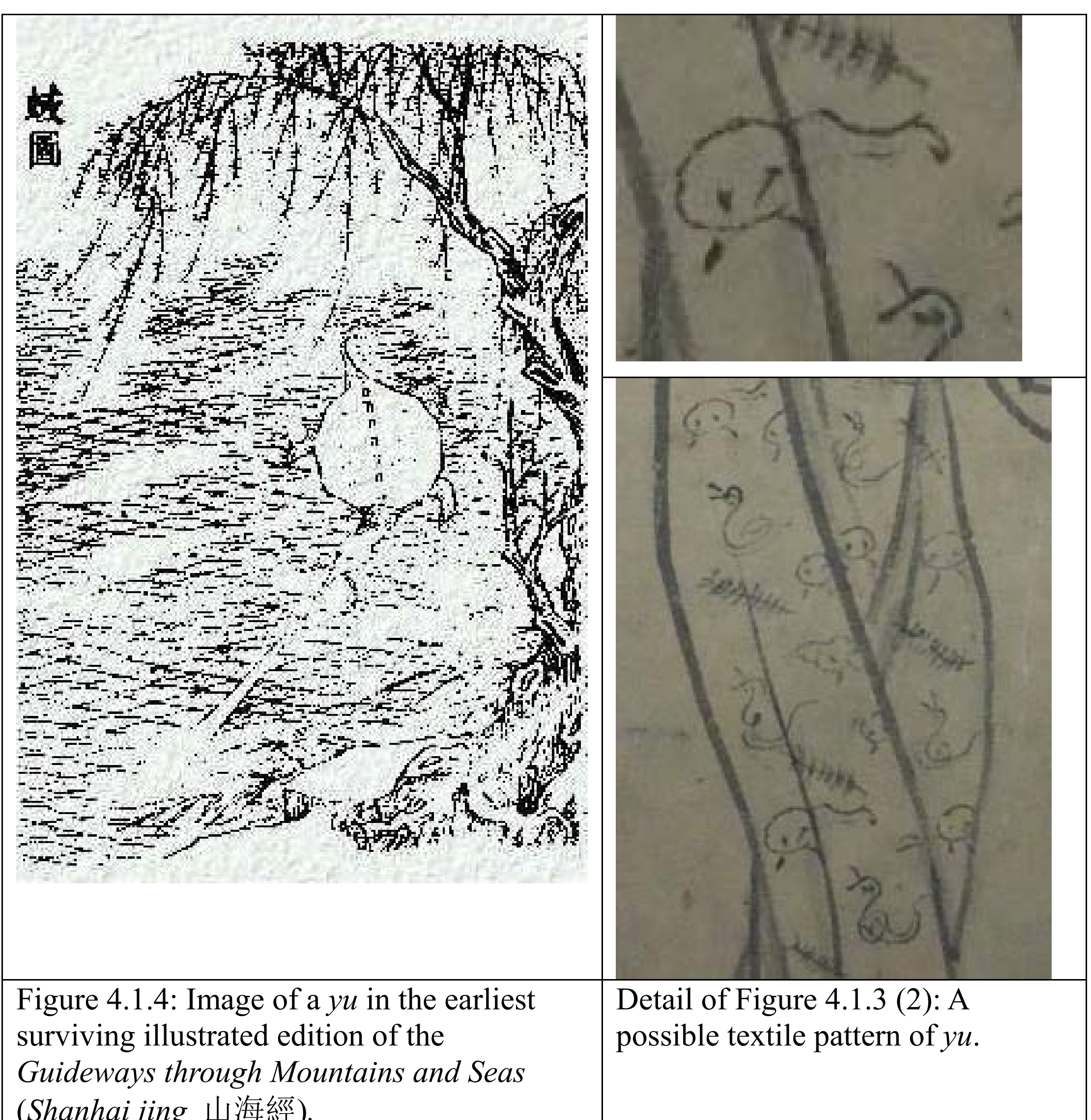


Figure 4.1.4: Image of a *yu* in the earliest surviving illustrated edition of the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經).	Detail of Figure 4.1.3 (2): A possible textile pattern of *yu*.

Figure 4.1.5: Detail of “nine-tail fox” in the Freer scroll.	Figure 4.1.6: Illustration of nine-tail fox in *Shanhai jing*, 1597 edition, National Library of China, Beijing.

Figure 4.1.7: Worried glances exchanged by Zhong Kui and his female companion, Freer scroll.

Figure 4.1.8: Comparison of make-up styles (Clockwise from top left):

(4) Zhong Kui's female companion.
(5) "Three white" (*sanbai* 三白) make-up style worn by a female attendant in *Northern Qi Scholars Collating Classic Texts*, anonymous Song painter, handscroll, ink and color on silk, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (After *Song hua quan ji*).
(6) "Three white" (*sanbai* 三白) make-up style worn by female attendants in *Chu Yun Breaking the Balustrade*, anonymous Song painter, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. (After *Song hua quan ji*).

Figure 4.1.9: Image of Shang tyrant's favorite consort Daji revealing her true self as a nine-tailed fox in the story of King Wu of Zhou's attack of King Zhou of Shang in *Xinkan Quanxiang pinghua* 新刊全相平話武王伐紂書, Yuan Zhizhi era edition (1321-23) (Source: National Archives of Japan 國立公文書館內閣文庫所藏番號重 2-2)

Figure 4.1.10: *Emperor Minghuang's Journey to Shu,* attributed to a Tang dynasty (618-907) painter, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Detail of travelers, lower right corner.

Figure 4.1.11: (Top) Nine-tailed fox being carried on the back of a larger demon, Freer scroll.

Figure 4.1.12: Treatment of the young and weak in Chinese painting.

(3) (Bottom left): Servant carrying a boy on his shoulders. Detail, *Yang Pu Moving His Family*. Anonymous Yuan painter (1271-1368). Handscroll, ink and light color on paper. 52.7 x 231.1 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago. Kate S. Buckingham Endowment, 1952.9 (Source: Digital Scroll Painting Project, University of Chicago, http://scrolls.uchicago.edu/)

(4) (Bottom right): Demon carrying his peer on his back. Detail, *Zhong Kui tu*. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 24.2 x 112.8 cm. Museum of Huai'an County, Jiangsu Province (Source: Sung, "Three Yin Masters," fig.1)

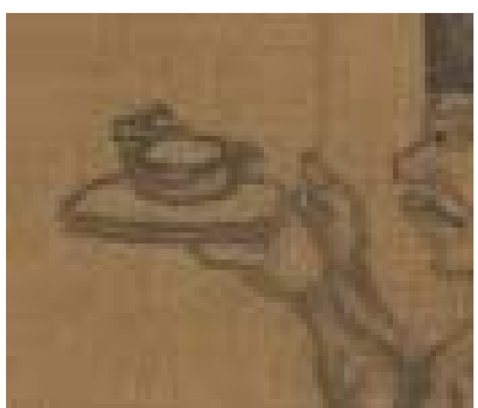


Figure 4.2.1: The cup and saucer a man in rags presented to Zhong Kui, Cleveland scroll.

Figure 4.2.2 (left): *Bowl and plate with dragon in repouss[e].* Silver, height of cup 17.8 cm; diameter of plate 16.8 cm, Hunan Provincial Museum. (Source: Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, Fig. 60)

Figure 4.2.3 (right): *Cup and plate with engravings and designs of Tashaxing lyrics.* Gilt silver. Southern Song. Shaowu Museum, Fujian, China.

Figure 4.2.4 (left): Zhong Kui propped up on shoulders of demons, Cleveland scroll.

Figure 4.2.5 (right): General sitting on a "living throne" formed by three crouching demons. *Album of Buddhist and Daoist Themes, Leaf 41,* Southern Song dynasty, Cleveland Museum of Art (Source: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 4.2.6 (left): Demon trapeze artists. Detail from “Chung K’uei [Zhong Kui] escorting his sister in marriage” (*Zhong Kui jiamei tu*). Attributed to Su Hanchen (fl. 12th century), dated to late-Ming. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. National Palace Museum, Taipei (After Liu, *Yinsui jifu*, plate 2-1, p.20)

Figure 4.2.7 (right): Zhong Kui watching demons performing juggling and balancing tricks. From “Five Demons and the Judge” (*Wugui nao pan*). New Year’s print. St. Petersburg Religious Museum. D3325-2 (After Yang, “Zhong Kui New Year’s Prints in Russia,” plate 12, p.255)

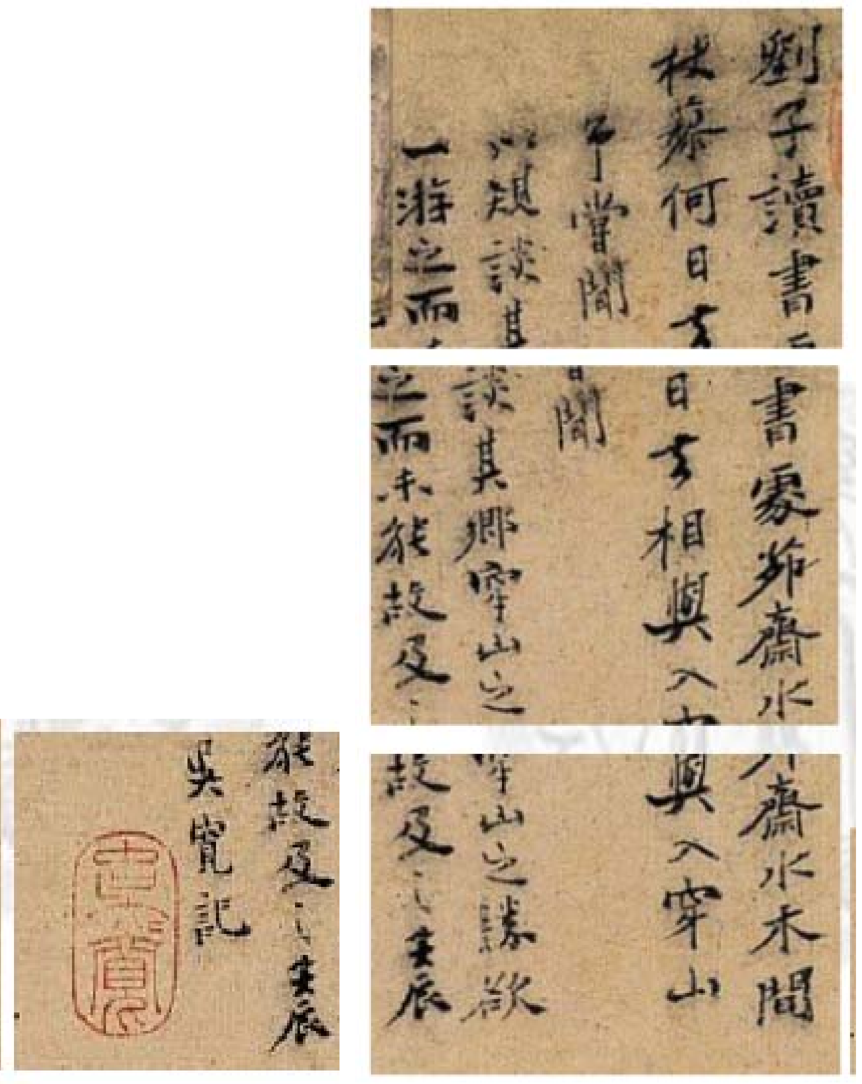
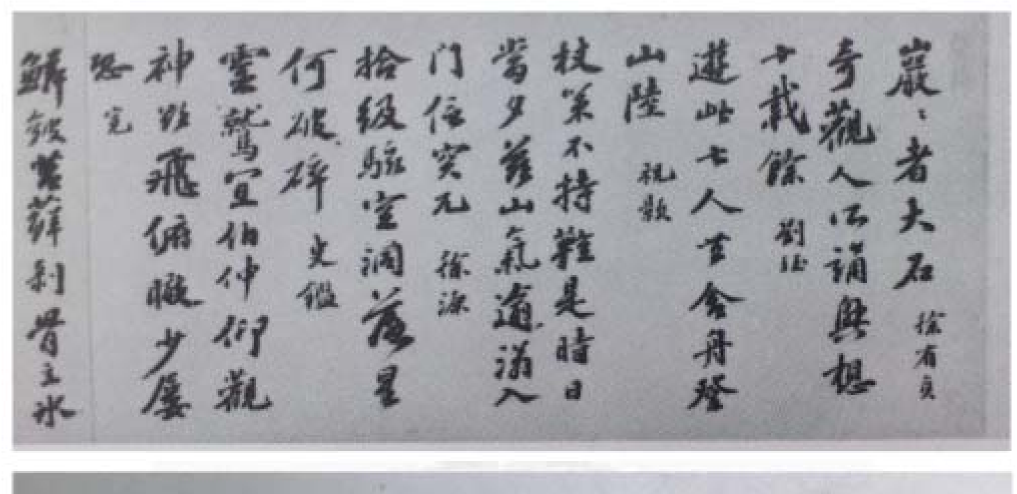
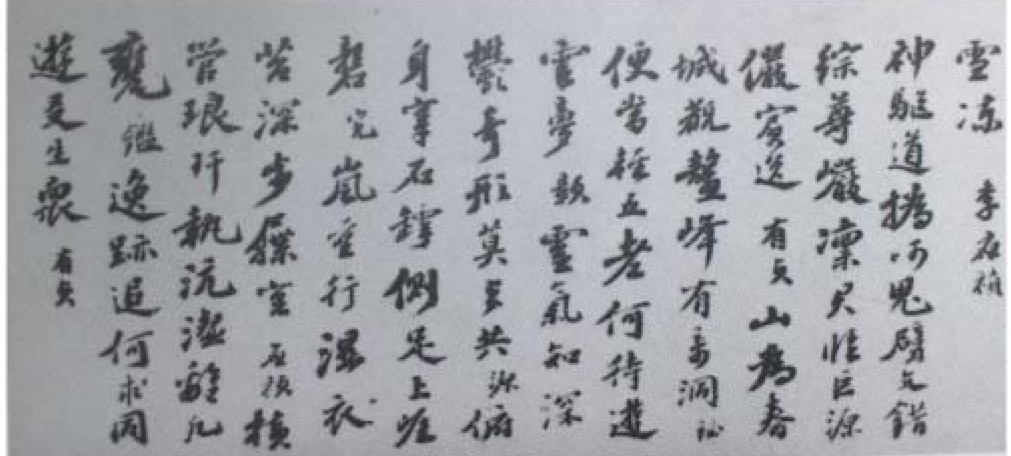


Figure 4.3.1: Wu Kuan, postscript written for Shen Zhou's paintings *High Mountain Long Bamboo* (*Chong shan xiu zhu tu* 跋沈周崇山修竹圖), 1472. National Palace Museum, Taipei. (Source: *After Wang*, "Wu Kuan's Calligraphy and Appraisal," Fig. 40)





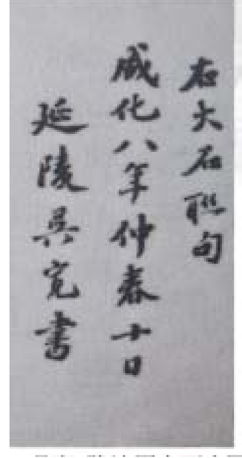


Figure 4.3.2: Wu Kuan, postscript written for Shen Zhou's *Great Rock Mountain* (*Da shi shan tu juan* 跋沈周大石山圖卷), 1472. Osaka Municipal Museum of Art (Source: After Wang, "Wu Kuan's Calligraphy and Appraisal," Fig. 41)

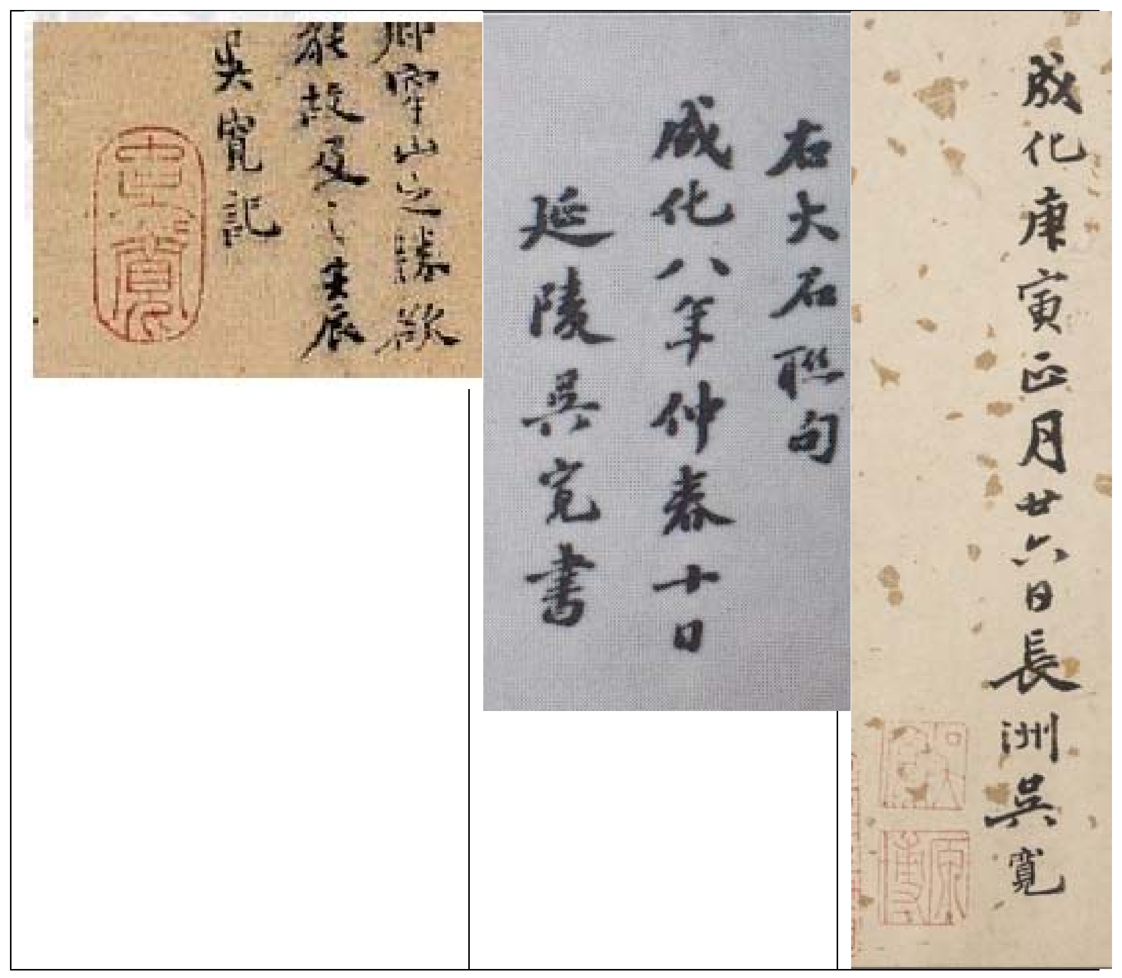


Figure 4.3.3: Comparison of the Met scroll colophon with Wu Kuan’s writings in 1470s . From left to right: signatures from *High Mountain and Lean Bamboos* scroll, *Great Rock Mountain* scroll, Met scroll

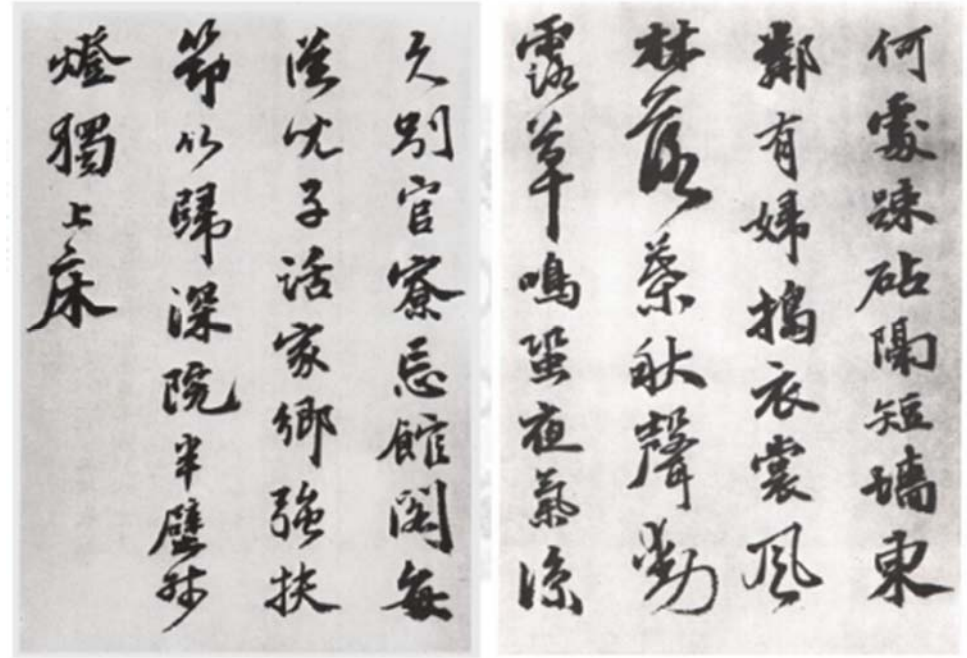


Figure 4.3.4: Wu Kuan, *Sitting up at Night [Listening to Women Washing Clothes]* (夜坐[聞砧] 詩帖), 1502. (After Wang, "Wu Kuan's Calligraphy and Appraisal," Fig. 49)

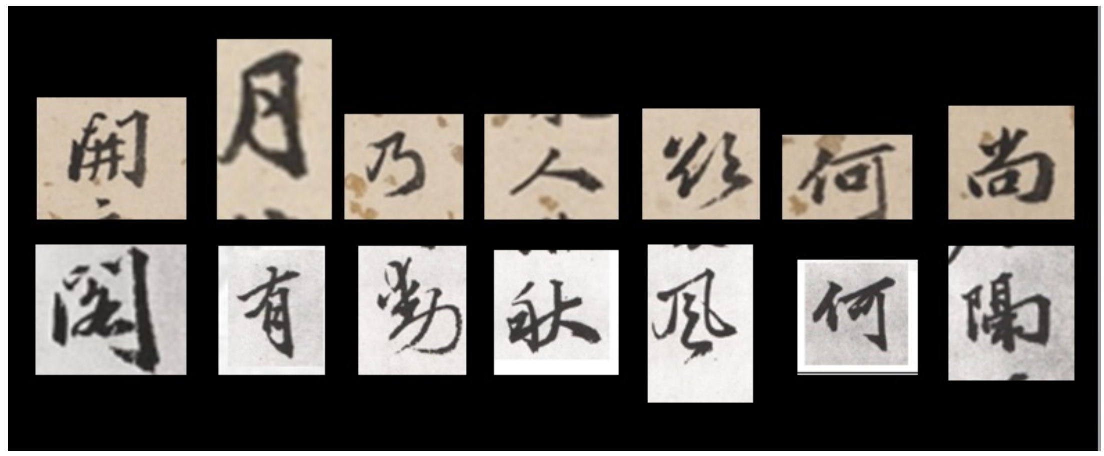
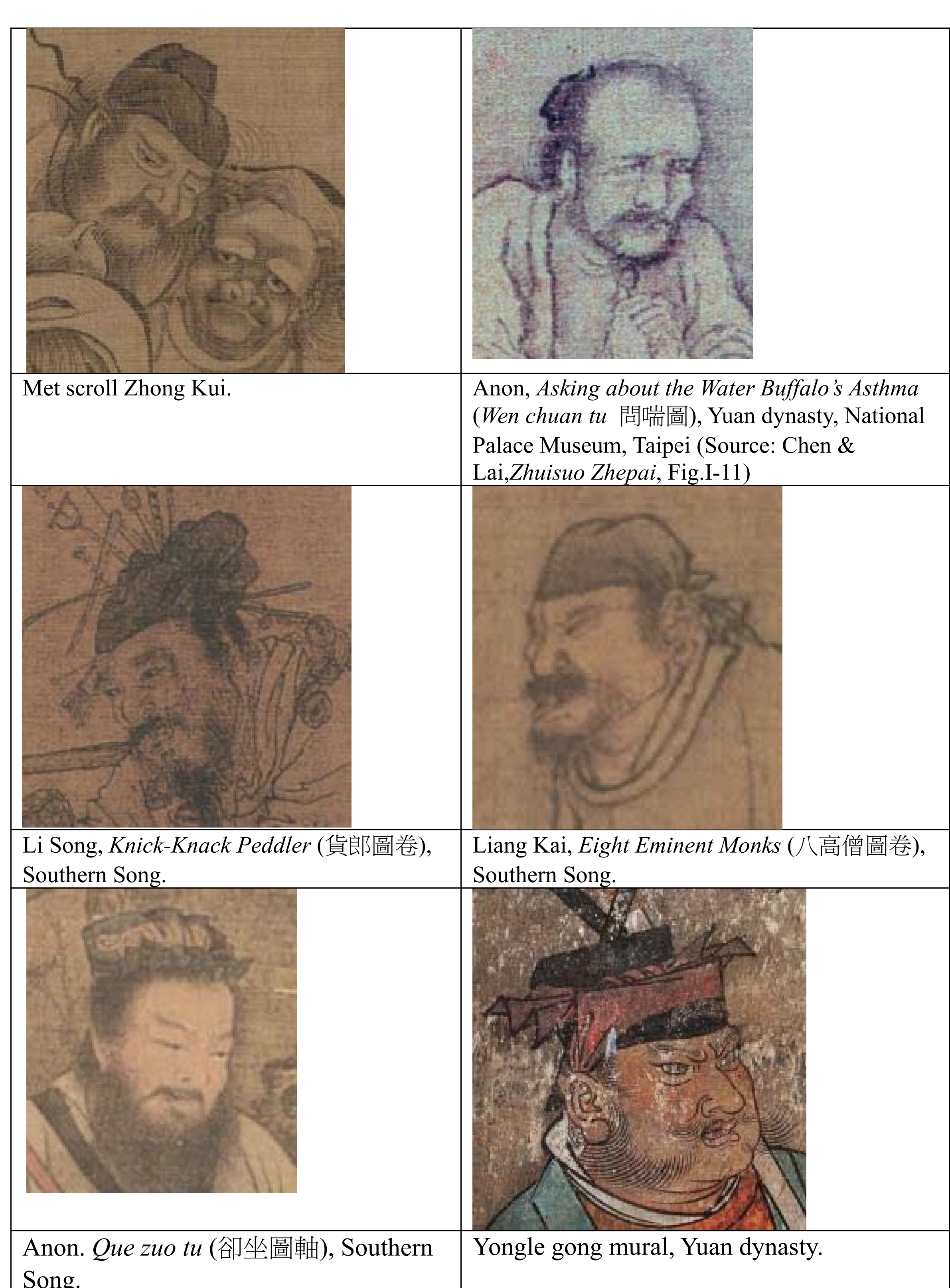
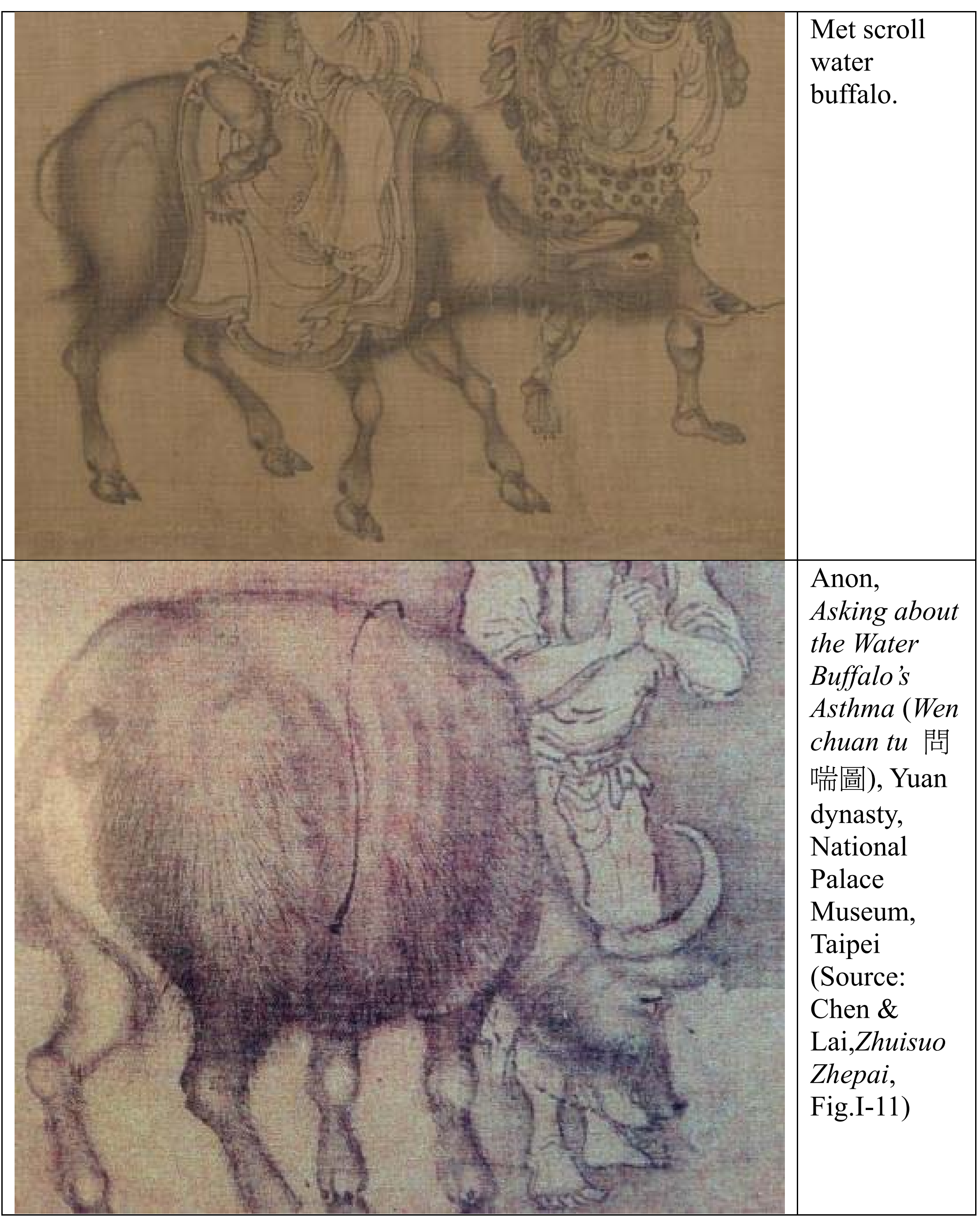


Figure 4.3.5: Comparison of Wu Kuan's writing style in the Met scroll colophon (1470) (top row) and *Sitting up at Night* (1502) (bottom row).



Met scroll Zhong Kui.	Anon, *Asking about the Water Buffalo's Asthma* (*Wen chuan tu* 問喘圖), Yuan dynasty, National Palace Museum, Taipei (Source: Chen & Lai,*Zhuisuo Zhepai*, Fig.I-11)
Li Song, *Knick-Knack Peddler* (貨郎圖卷), Southern Song.	Liang Kai, *Eight Eminent Monks* (八高僧圖卷), Southern Song.
Anon. *Que zuo tu* (郤坐圖軸), Southern Song.	Yongle gong mural, Yuan dynasty.

Figure 4.3.6: Comparison of Zhong Kui's face (top left) with images of men from Song and Yuan paintings.



	Met scroll water buffalo.
	Anon, *Asking about the Water Buffalo’s Asthma* (*Wen chuan tu* 問喘圖), Yuan dynasty, National Palace Museum, Taipei (Source: Chen & Lai,*Zhuisuo Zhepai*, Fig.I-11)

Figure 4.3.7: Comparison of water buffaloes in the Met scroll (top) and the Asking About the Water Buffalo’s Asthma scroll (bottom).

Figure 4.3.8: Comparison of demons' faces in the Met scroll with figures from Song-Yuan painting.

Top row: Faces of demons riding the water buffalo and keeping Zhong Kui on the donkey in the Met scroll.

Bottom left: A god of the Eight Trigrams (八卦神), mural painting in the main hall of the Temple of Eternal Joy (*Yongle gong* 永樂宮), Yuan dynasty.

Bottom right: *Nantimitolo* (慶有尊者像), one of the eighteen arhat saints. Hanging scroll. Anonymous Yuan painter. (Source: ZHQJ)

Figure 4.3.9: Comparison of Zhong Kui's sister's face with images of women from Song paintings.

Top left: Zhong Kui's sister, Met scroll

Top right: Woman in *Skeleton's Illusory Performance* (*Kulou huanxi tu* 骷髏幻戲圖), fan painting mounted as an album leaf. Palace Museum, Beijing (artwork in the public domain). (Source: ZHQJ)

Bottom left: Woman in Mou Yi's (ca. 1178-ca. 1243) *Pounding Cloth*. Handscroll, ink on paper. (*Daoyi tu* 擣衣圖卷). National Palace Museum, Taipei. (Source: ZHQJ)

Bottom right: Woman in *Vimalakirti Lecturing* (*Weimo yan jiao tu* 維摩演教圖卷).Anonymous Southern Song painter (Source: ZHQJ)

Figure 4.3.10: Comparison of Zhong Kui's sister's face with images of women from Yuan paintings.

Top left: Met scroll.

Top right: Goddess in Zhang Wuo's (d. ca. 1356), *Copy after Li Longmian's Nine Songs* handscroll (*Lin Li Longmian Jiuge tu juan*). Jilin Provincial Museum, China (Source: ZHQJ 8:63-69).

Bottom left: Wounded demon in female form. *Searching the Mountains for Demons* (*Soushan tu*). Yuan dynasty. Palace Museum, Beijing.

Bottom right: Female deity in mural painting, Temple of Eternal Joy (*Yongle gong*), Yuan dynasty.

Figure 4.3.11: Top: Met scroll.

Figure 4.3.12: Bottom: *Zhong Kui's Hunting Procession* (*Zhong Kui chulie tu*, hereafter "Yunhuizhai scroll"**).** Attributed to Yan Hui. Handscroll, ink on paper. 27.5 x 446 cm. (Source: Christie's Hong Kong, *Important Chinese Classical Paintings*, Lot 1731)

Figure 4.3.13: (Top) Attributed to Gu Hongzhong, National Palace Museum, Taipei, 16th -17th century (hereafter “NPM scroll”) (Source: Liu, Yinsui jifu, fig. 1)

Figure 4.3.14: (Bottom) Attributed to Dai Jin, private collection, current location unknown, 18th century (hereafter “CST scroll”). (Source: Christie’s Hong Kong, Important Chinese Classical Paintings)

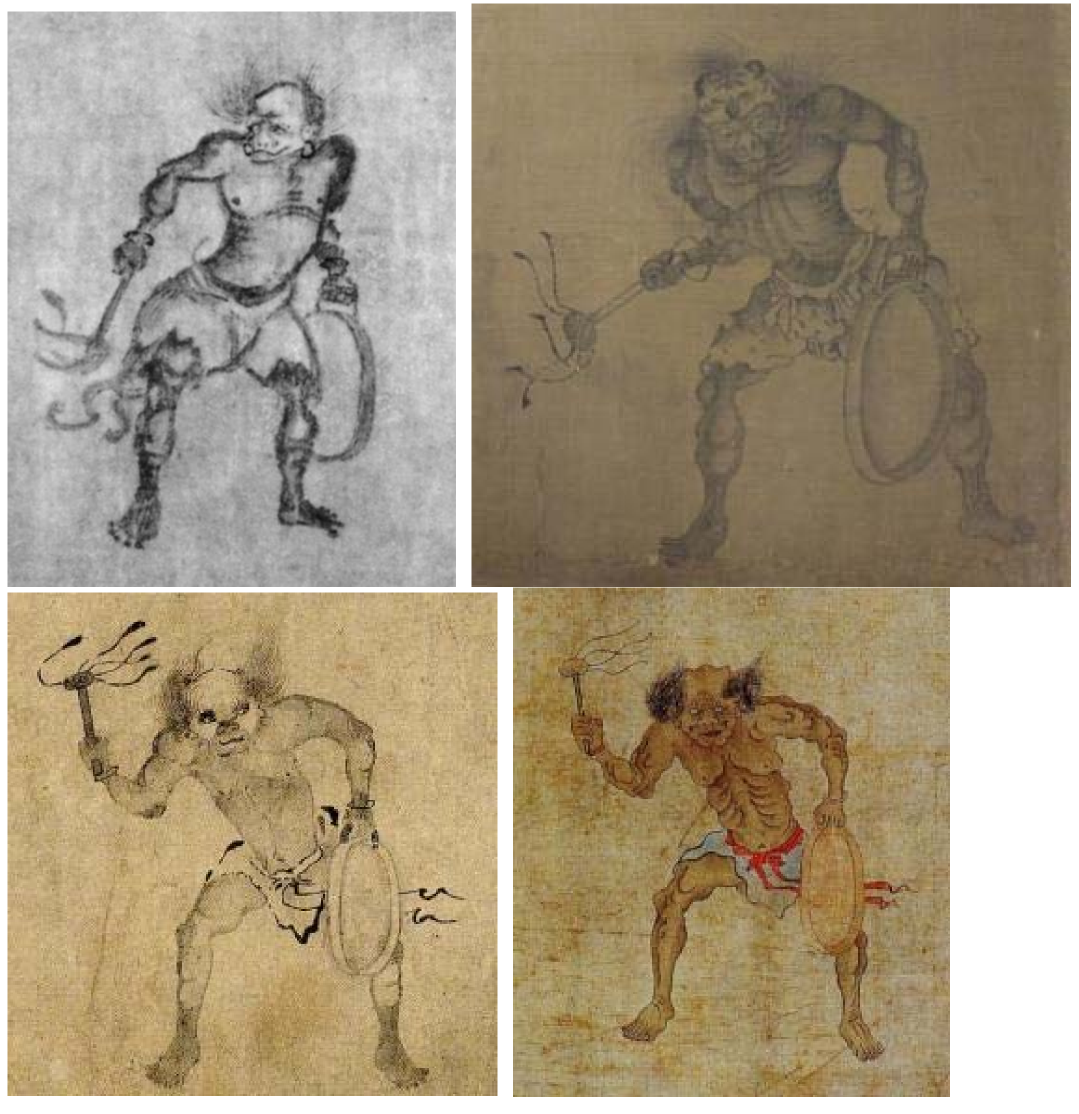


Figure 4.3.15: Top left: Cleveland scroll gong-striking demon.

Figure 4.3.16: Top right: Met scroll gong-striking demon.

Figure 4.3.17: Bottom left: Yunhuizhai scroll gong-striking demon.

Figure 4.3.18: Bottom right: NPM scroll gong-striking demon.

Figure 4.3.19: (Top left) Porter demons in the Cleveland scroll.

Figure 4.3.20: (Top right) Porter demons in the Met scroll.

Figure 4.3.21: (Bottom left) Porter demons in the Yunhuizhai scroll.

Figure 4.3.22: (Bottom right) Porter demons in the NPM scroll.

Figure 4.3.23: (Top) Section of Met scroll showing Zhong Kui and his sister riding on a donkey and a water buffalo.

Figure 4.3.24: (Bottom) Details of Farmers' Wedding (Tianjia jiaqu tu 田家嫁娶圖), Palace Museum, Beijing (Source: http://www.dpm.org.cn)

Figure 4.3.25: Zhong Kui riding a donkey with the assistance of three demons, Met scroll.

Figure 4.3.26: Detail of Returning Home Drunk from the Spring Prosperity Festival (Cunshe zuigui tu 村社醉歸圖).

Figure 4.3.27: Yang Pu Moving His Family. Anonymous Yuan painter (1271-1368). Handscroll, ink and light color on paper. 52.7 x 231.1 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago. Kate S. Buckingham Endowment, 1952.9 (Source: Digital Scroll Painting Project, University of Chicago, http://scrolls.uchicago.edu/).

Figure 4.3.28: Returning late on a spring outing (Chunyou wangui tu 春遊晚歸圖). Anonymous Southern Song painter (1127-1279). Album leaf, ink and color on silk. (Source: ZHQJ 6-96)

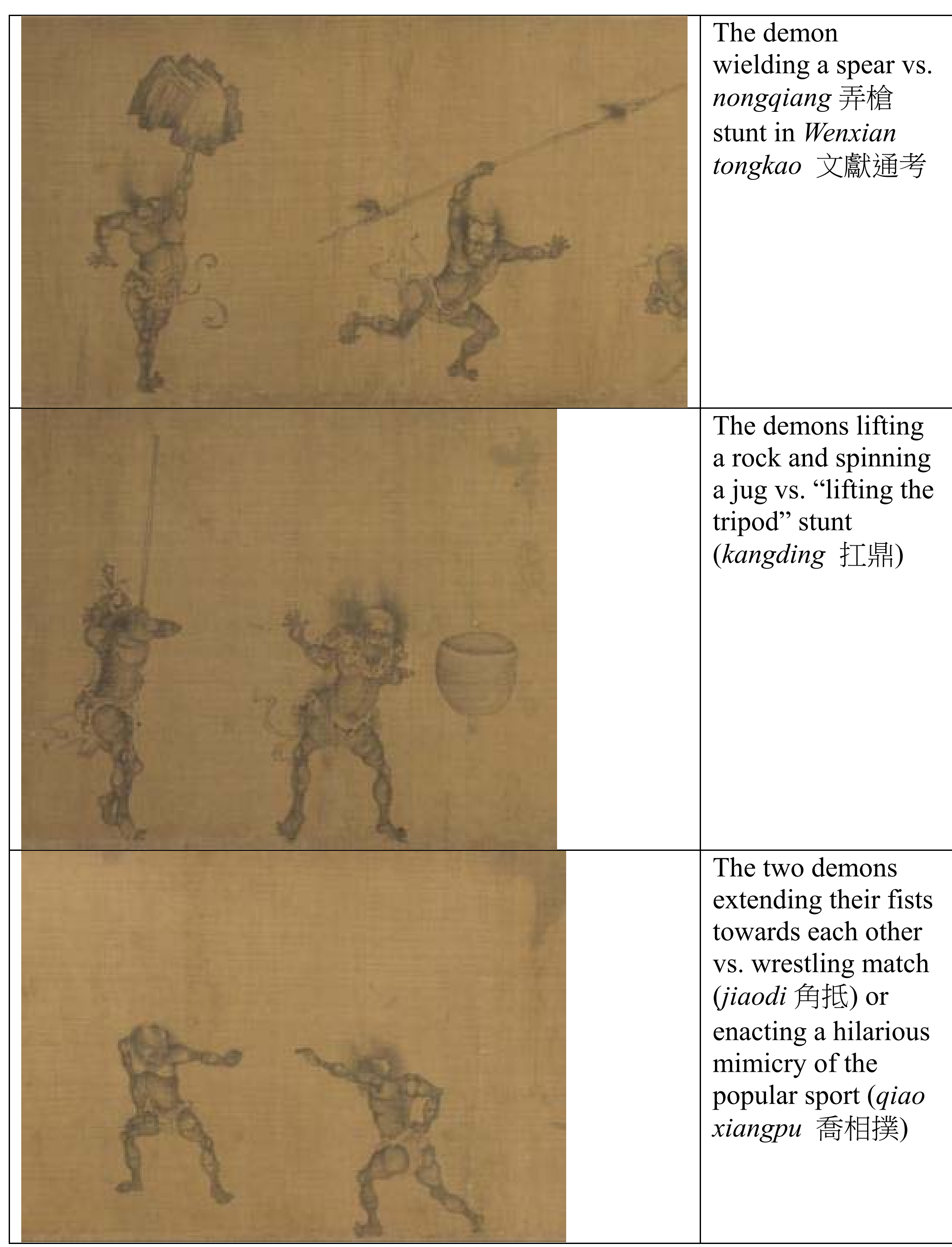


Figure 4.3.29: Demons performing acrobatic stunts in Met scroll.

Figure 4.3.30: Mobile and dynamic celestial officials in *Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water* (天地水三官圖) triptych, traditionally attributed to Wu Daozi (689-after 755). Jin-yuan dynasty, late 12th -13th century. Set of paintings mounted as panels. Ink, color, and gold on silk. 125.7 x 55.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Special Chinese and Japanese Fund 12.880-12.882 (Source: After Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, Fig. 162)

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APPENDIX I:
The Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls at a glance

Note: Unless specified, information on the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls below are based respectively on (1) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Yan Geng" [internal object file]; (2) Chou, "Yan Hui" [unpublished draft] (3) The Freer Gallery of Art, "Gong Kai" [online catalogue].

Title	*Zhong Kui jiamei tu juan* 鍾馗嫁妹圖卷 The Demon-Queller Zhong Kui Giving His Sister Away in Marriage	*Zhong jingshi yuanye chuyou tu juan* 鍾進士元夜出遊圖卷 The New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui (previously as: The Lantern Night Excursion of Zhong Kui)[504]	*Zhongshan chuyou tu juan* 中山出遊圖卷 Zhong Kui Travelling (also as: Zhongshan Going on an Excursion)
Repository and Accession	Metropolitan Museum of Art The Dillon Fund Gift and Rogers Fund, 1990.134	Cleveland Museum of Art Mr. and Mrs. William Martlatt Fund, 1961.206	Freer Gallery F1938.4
Painter	Yan Geng 顏庚 (active Southern Song) Place of origin unknown. One (1) signature: *Yang Geng* 顏庚 One (1) seal: *Cungeng* 存畊	Yan Hui 顏輝 (ca. 1258-1340)[505] Native of Jiangshan, Zhejiang Province. One (1) signature: *Yan Qiuyue* 顏秋月 One (1) probable seal	Gong Kai 龔開 (1222-1307) Native of Huaiying, Jiangsu Province. One (1) signature: *Gong Kai* 龔開 Three (3) seals: *Huaiyin Gong Kai* 淮陰龔開 *Zhici lengxiao* 直此冷笑 *Xuegu wenyi* 學古文藝

[504] Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year," 211.

[505] Several theories regarding Yan Hui's dates of activity have been proposed. I adopt Chen Chun-chi's theory as it is most convincing; see his "Huihua fengge," 5-6. Chou Ju-his proposes Yan Hui to be active 1270-1310; see his "Yan Hui" draft, first two pages. Sherman Lee proposes Yan Hui to be active before 1298 until around 1324; see his "Yan Hui, Zhong Kui, and the New Year," 215.

Medium	Ink on silk	Ink and slight color on silk	Ink on paper
Dimension	24.4 cm x 253.4 cm	24.8 cm x 240.3 cm	32.8 cm x 169.5 cm
Provenance	Christie's New York *Important Classical Chinese Paintings*, May 31, 1990	Frank Caro of New York was a former owner.	Tonying and Company, New York.
Frontispiece	Inscription: "A leisurely excursion and miscellaneous play" (閑遊博戲) Inscriber: Huang Hui 黃輝 (*jinshi* 1589, active 1585-1630)	Inscription: Qiuyue's Ink Fantasy" (秋月墨幻) Inscriber: Niu Shuyu(鈕樹玉, 1760-1827)	Inscription: none Seal: 11 collectors seals[506]
Colophon(s)	One (1) colophon (in place), dated to 1460, attributed to Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504). (see Appendix II-A)	Total of two (2) colophons (not in place): One (1) dated to 1389, signed "Mountain dweller of the purple fungus" (*Zizhi shanren* 紫芝山人) One (1) not dated, attributed to Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504). (see Appendix II-B)	Total of twenty-two (22) colophons (all in place): One (1) artist's colophon, not dated; Sixteen (16) additional Yuan dynasty colophons, none are dated; One (1) Ming dynasty colophon, dated to 1527; Four (4) Qing dynasty colophons, three of which date respectively to 1700, 1702, 1837. (see Appendix II-C)
Calligraphers' Seals	Two (2) calligrapher's seals of Wu Kuan.	Unavailable	Thirty-one (31) calligraphers' seals[507]

506 For details, see Freer Gallery of Art, "Gong Kai," 1.

507 1Ibid.

Collectors' Seals	Seven (7) collector's seals: One (1) of An Guo 安國 (1481-1534) Two (2) of Chen Xun 成勳 (18th c.) Four (4) of unidentified collectors	Thirty-one (31) collector's seals:[508] Two (2) of Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365-1444) Two (2) of An Guo 安國 (1481-1534) Eight (8) of Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525-1590) Two (2) of Geng Zhaozhong 耿昭忠 (1640-1686) Four (4) of Pu Tong 溥侗 (1877-1952) Seven (7) of Tan Jing 譚敬 (20th C.) One (1) of Liu Ting-chi (20th C.) Five (5) unidentified	One hundred and one (101) collectors' seals: Six (6) of An Guo 安國 (1481-1534) Two (2) of Han Shineng 韓世能 (1528-1598) Five (5) of Han Fengxi 韓逢禧 (1576-after 1655) One (1) of Han Fengyou 韓逢祐 (late 16th c-mid-17th c.) One (1) of Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1592-1676) Seventeen (17) of Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1703) Eighteen (18) of Bi Long 畢瀧 (1733-1797) Seven (7) of Zeng Xiejun 曾協均 (active 1843-after 1864) Eleven (11) of Cai Hongjian 蔡鴻鑑 (1854-1881, or 1806-1876) Twenty-one (21) of Pang Yuanji 龎元濟 (1864-1949) Twelve (12) of unidentified collectors
Conservation	NA	NA	The painting is on two separate sheets of paper. The lower right edge of the first sheet is damaged; one foot of demon 1is missing.

[508] Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho also agree there are 31 collector's seals but identify their owners differently. They list four (4) of Geng Zhaozhong, six (6) of Tan Jing, four (4) of Niu Shuyu, and no unidentified ones. The rest correspond with Chou's reading.

Composition	The scroll features Zhong Kui on a procession with a female companion and acrobat, servant, and musician demons. The scroll opens with a gong-striker demon announcing the arrival of Zhong Kui and his retinue. Then follows a long queue of evenly spaced demons performing martial arts and acrobatic stunts. This is followed by Zhong Kui—who appears drunk—and his female companion, riding respectively on a donkey and an ox, surrounded by servant demons who carry their belongings and assist them on their rides. The scroll ends with musician demons that play the drums, clapper, and flute. The painting is devoid of any background.	The scroll features Zhong Kui on a procession with acrobat, servant, and musician demons. The scroll opens with a gong-striker demon announcing the arrival of Zhong Kui and his retinue. Then follows a long queue of evenly spaced demons performing martial arts and acrobatic stunts. This is followed by two servant demons carrying Zhong Kui's belongings and Zhong Kui himself—who appears alert—riding on the shoulders of three demons. He signals to two men in rags holding bottles and cups coming towards him in the opposite direction of the procession. The scroll ends with musician demons that play the drums, clapper, and flute. The painting is devoid of any background.	The scroll features Zhong Kui on a procession with a female companion with servant demons. The scroll opens with Zhong Kui riding on a sedan chair carried by two male demons; they are followed by two other male demons carrying Zhong Kui's sword and over-sized hat. In the center of the scroll is Zhong Kui's female companion, who also rides a sedan chair carried by two female demons; they are followed by three other female attendants carrying a cat, a parcel, and a pillow. The scroll closes with a large group of male demons, who carry rugs, parcels, gourds, sticks, and jugs. One of the porter demons in this section carries a white, fox-like creature on his back; a few others carry diminutive demons, who are dragged by their limbs, tied on sticks, or stuffed in jugs. The painting is devoid of any background.

APPENDIX II:

Translations and Transcriptions of Colophons on the Met, Cleveland, and Freer Scrolls

Note: Unless specified otherwise, information on the Met, Cleveland, and Freer scrolls below are based respectively on (1) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Yan Geng" (internal object file); (2) Chou, "Yan Hui" (forthcoming essay) (3) The Freer Gallery of Art, "Gong Kai" (online catalogue]. All translations and words in brackets are mine. The following document is organized as follows:

1. **Inscriber's Information**
   Information on the inscribers' dates, signatures, and seals at the beginning of each entry.

2. **Translations of Colophons**
   Of the 22 colophons on the Freer scroll, 14 are translated in full here for the first time. The remaining 8 are modified from translations by Stephen Allee, Thomas Lawton, and Peter Sturman; I interpret key content differently from these scholars.

3. **Transcriptions of Colophons**
   The numbering of the colophons corresponds to the order in which they appear from right to left at the end of the Freer scroll.

4. **Analyses of Colophons**
   Literary references alluded to in each colophon are documented in the footnotes. The readings specific to each colophon are include in the "Notes" section after each entry. Common themes and implications pertaining to the colophons as a whole are discussed in Chapter One.

5. **Other**
   Images of the colophons can be found under Illustrations. ForWu Kuan's colophon on the Met scroll, see fig. 23; for the Freer scroll colophons, see fig. 19, figs. 28-30. Colophons by Feng Zizhen and Zheng Yuanyou (Nos. 23-24) are not physically attached to the Freer scroll but have been included here because they were very likely written for it, given the fact that the content of the painting they describe is almost identical to that of the Freer scroll.

A. MET SCROLL

Colophon by Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504), 11 columns in semi-cursive script, dated 1470:

1 Once drunk, Old Kui's beard bristles like spears.
2 After applying fresh make-up, Ayi's face looks black.
3 Where is the ox cart going?
4 The servants on foot are but standing skeletons.
5 During the Kaiyuan era (713-741) court affairs were neglected;
6 To purge the court [of evil] the power of demonic heroes are called for.
7 Yan Geng must be fond of the occult and the strange;
8 [He] leaves behind ugly shapes and strange forms.[509]

9 Yan Cungeng [Yan Geng] lived in the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), whose paintings are rarely seen.
10 This one depicts the scholar Zhong's excursion in a grotesque, unearthly manner, fully capturing the features of the demons.
11 Demons, however, are like shadows, amorphous in their movements.
12 I wonder how Cungeng managed to portray them so convincingly.

13 On the 26th of the first lunar month of the *gengyin* year in the Chenghua reign era [February 26, 1470] Wu Kuan from Changzhou [Wu Xian, Jiangsu][510]
[seals]: *Wu Kuan, Yuanbo*

老馗既醉髯奮戟，阿姨新粧臉如漆。牛輿先後將何之，往往徒腳皆骨立。
開元天子人事廢，清宮欲藉鬼雄力。顏庚毋乃好幽怪，醜狀奇形尚遺蹟。

顏存畊南宋人，其筆墨世不多見。此寫《鍾進士出遊圖》，古怪幽眇，曲盡鬼物情狀，抑鬼如影去來無形，不知存畊何從而得圖其形似也。成化庚寅正月廿六日長洲吳寬 [印]：吳寬，原博

Notes:

Lines 1-4 describe the content of the painting. Most details are accurate, except that the female figure in the painting does not have a black face and that the servants shown are not emaciated as described. These are probably taken directly from Wang Xiaoweng's poem from the Freer scroll.

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[509] The poetry section of the colophon from "Once drunk…" to "…strange forms" are my translations. For an alternative translation of this section, see "The Demon Queller Zhong Kui Giving His Sister Away in Marriage," The Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Collection Online, accessed January 21, 2015, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/40294?=&imgNo=0&tabName=object-information.

[510] The translation of lines from "Yan Cungeng…" to "…Wu Kuan from Changzhou" are taken from the Met website above.

Lines 5-6 present the painting as a political allegory. By calling upon Zhong Kui to rid the Tang court of rampant demons, the author implies that similar action needs to be taken against corrupted individuals on the current political scene.

Lines 7-10 provide further information on the painter and the painting, pointing out the painter's interest and skills in painting demons, the subject of the painting, and how it is perceived.

Lines 11-12 pose the question of how painters overcame the challenge of painting demons.

Lines 13-14 imply that the colophon writer viewed the painting in the first lunar month, the time of the year when Zhong Kui images are traditionally viewed and displayed.

B. CLEVELAND SCROLL

1. Colophon previously attributed to Yu He 俞和 (1307-1382), re-attributed to Yuan scholar Jiang Hui 蔣惠 (dates unknown),[511] number of columns and script type unknown, dated 1389:

Mr. Sha [Yende] is as knowledgeable as Zhang Hua.[512] He excels especially in connoisseurship in ancient paintings. He rarely misses a chance to buy paintings that are in the "inspired" category. On the other hand, those imitations by incompetent artists with only a superficial likeness could hardly fool his eyes. Subsequently, his family collection of masterpieces from the three periods of [Tang], [Song], and [Yuan] is very rich. Scholars who love paintings always sought [Yende's] authentication before they would make any purchase. For this reason his opinion was even more valued.

One warm day this summer, [Yende] came to show me a handscroll, saying "This is [Zhong Kui's] Lantern Night [New Year's Eve] Excursion by Yan Qiuyue [=Yan Hui]." Unrolling the scroll, I saw a small platoon of demons leading a procession. One is beating a drum; one is lifting a large rock; one is standing [on his hands] upside down and trying to drink; one walks while balancing a jar on his elbow; one is wielding a spear; one is brandishing a sword; one is dancing with a buckler [offensive shield]; one is busy with a large chopper; one holds a wine bottle, while the other is about to present a drink; one carries a chair, the other carries a [*qin* lute], books, brush, and inkstone. Following this is [Zhong Kui] himself, carried by three demons. Several demons walk behind as retainers; one holds a canopy, while the others beat a drum, play a flute, and sound musical clappers. The bizarre appearance of these demons is indeed the ultimate of form and gesture.[513]

Yende asked me to inscribe at the end of the picture. I heard that the Zhong Kui we know of is a native of Zhongnan. He failed the civil examination and [killed himself] on the [palace] steps. He was honored with a *jinshi* degree, given a robe and a tablet by the emperor, and appeared in the dream of [Tang] Xuanzong saying, "As your servant I will purge the evil of Xu Hao [the demon] from the world." Now we have this painting. Does it depict what was seen in the dream?

Ghosts and gods have no form and cannot be seen, how come they assume forms like this here? Was the painter advertising his bravura,

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[511] See Chou, "Yan Hui," page 8 [unpublished draft].

[512] Zhang Hua (b. 232-300) is the knowledgeable Western Jin writer, poet, and politician known for his book *Bowuzhi* 博物志 (Treatise on Curiosities), an encyclopedia compendium of myth, history, geography, zoology, and the occult arts.

[513] Translated of preceding section ["Mr. Sha…form and gesture"] taken from Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, entry 206, no page number. Words in brackets are mine.

displaying his skills, and showing the array of strange forms [he is able to paint], despite that none of what he painted exists? Even if [demons] do not exist, the painting shows how the spirit of the *jinshi* from Zhongnan [=Zhong Kui] is still efficacious and how he continues to eliminate demons from the world. They [the demons] are clearly [metaphors of] humans; how could anyone who sees this painting not be shocked and warned [of the evil people among us]? This was the thoughtful intent of the good craftsman [Yan Hui]; his critique of the world is profound.[514]

In the [sixth] month of the summer of the year [*jisi*] [1389], of the reign of Hung-wu [Hongwu], recorded by *Zizhi shanren* [Mountain dweller of the purple fungus].[515]

顏秋月鍾進士元夜出遊圖卷　題顏秋月寫鍾馗圖後[516]

沙公彥德挾張華之識，猶能精鑒古人名畫. 凡入神品者，靡不購得之，而拙工摹倣形似者，不能以欺其明焉，故家蔵唐宋元三代名蹟甚富，士大夫之好畫者，必先經彥德鑒定而後收蓄，以是人益器重之.

今夏隆暑中，彥德持一卷示予曰: 此顏秋月所繪鍾進士元夜出遊圖也. 披而觀之，乃寫衆鬼作小隊，前導有鳴金者，有擎大石者，有顛立而欲飲者，有肘甕而行者，有持鎗者，有揮刃者，有舞盾者，有卓大刀者，有執壺漿者，有捧觴進者，有負椅者，有攜琴書筆硯者. 鍾馗於後三鬼載之而行，又數鬼擁從，有張盖者，鳴鼓者，吹笛擊板者，詭態異狀，各盡形勢.

彥德求余題其後，余聞世傳鍾馗者，終南人也，不第而死階下，因以進士袍笏賜之. 既而示形於玄宗夢中曰: 臣當為陛下除天下虛耗之孽，今是圖也. 其所謂夢中者耶? 且鬼神無形視之不見，何其有形之若是耶? 豈畫者揚其巧，擅其妙，窮其怪狀而其實無有耶? 無亦彰終南進士死有靈爽，尚為天下剪除妖孽. 彼明為人者，視此圖不惕然警省哉! 然則良工用心之苦，盖有諷於世道者深矣!

洪武己巳歲夏六月　紫芝山人識

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[514] Translation of preceding section ["Yende asked me…is profound."] is mine.

[515] Translation of these lines ["In the sixth month…Zizhi shanren"] taken from Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, no page number. Words in brackets are mine.

[516] Transcription taken from SGTSHHK, *juan* 52, *hua* 22, Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition. Also reproduced in Kondo, "Lun Yan Hui," 54 note 21.

Notes:

Paragraph 1 establishes the credentials of the owner of the scroll, vouching for the authenticity and quality of the painting. It describes the occasion of the viewing and the title of the painting. The fact the painting was viewed on a summer day shows that by the late-fourteenth century, the viewing of Zhong Kui images were no longer restricted to the New Year's. Paragraph 2 narrates the contents of the scroll almost in the exact order in which they appear in the Cleveland scroll. Paragraph 3 recounts the legend of Zhong Kui. It cites an advertisement of painting skills and a critique of the world with demons as metaphors for evil humans as two possible motivations behind Yan Hui's creation of the scroll.

2. Colophon by Wu Kuan (1435-1504), not dated:[517]

1 Yan Qiuyue, named Hui, is from Jiangshan during the Yuan dynasty. 2 Smart and quick-witted by nature, he has the disposition of a Confucian, is good at painting Daoist and Buddhist figures; 3 he was once revived from death, so he is especially skilled at painting demons. 4 This handscroll depicts Old Zhong [Kui] going on an excursion on Lantern Night. 5 The brushwork is extraordinary; it captures the life and vitality from all directions. 6 When unrolled and viewed, the scroll shocks and frightens. 7 No one without a deep understanding of the beauty of nature could have achieved this! 8 This painting should be cherished as if it were a jade disk, and guarded for generations so it doesn't become lost.

顏秋月，名輝，元之江山人，生而穎敏，有儒者風度，善畫道釋人物，嘗死而復生，故畫鬼尤工. 此卷為老鍾元夜出遊圖，筆法奇絕，有八面生意，展閱間令人駭目，非深得造化之妙者，曷克臻此！當珍如拱璧，世守勿失.

Notes:

Lines 1-3 provides information on the painter—his dates, native place, character, and reason behind his expertise in painting demons. Line 4 identifies the subject of the painting. Lines 5-8 praise the quality of the painting and the painter's skill.

[517] Translation of Wu Kuan's colophon is mine. Transcription from SGTSHHK, *juan* 52, *hua* 22, Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition. Also reproduced in Kondo, "Lun Yan Hui," 54 note 21.

C. FREER SCROLL

1. Gong Kai 龔開 (1222-1307)

Signature: "Gong Kai" (龔開)
Date: None
Seals: (x1) "Gong Kai of Huaiyin" (淮陰龔開)

1	髯君家本住中山，	The Bearded Lord originally resided at [the famous wine country] Zhongshan.[518]
2	駕言出遊安所適，	It is said[519] he went on an excursion, [but] where was he headed?
3	謂為小獵无鷹犬，	Some say he went on a small hunt, yet there were no hawks nor hounds;
4	以為意行有家室。	Others believed he went on a casual stroll, but he brought his wife or family along.
5	阿妹韶容見靚�youts，	His younger sister's beautiful face is adorned by cosmetics;
6	五色胭脂最宜黑，	Of the myriad shades of make-up, black suited her best.
7	道逢驛舍須小憩，	On the way they arrived at a relay station and took a rest;
8	古屋何人供酒食。	But who can serve them food and wine in that old house?
9	赤幘烏衫固可亨，	Red Turban and Black Shirt[520] could certainly be cooked,

[518] Zhongshan 中山 ("Central Mountain") is a fiefdom in the latter half of the Zhou dynasty located in the northeast of modern-day Hebei province. The term Zhongshan later became a synonym for good, strong wine, which is a specialty of the region. The references to Zhongshan wine in line 11 and to being drunk for three years in line 12 are both related to this.

[519] Aside from "it is said," the term *jiayan* (駕言) can be translated alternatively as "riding a carriage or a sedan chair."

[520] "Red turban" (*chize* 赤幘) refers to the red headscarfs worn by lower-ranked soldiers in ancient times, as recorded in the costume section in the *History of the Later Han* (*Hou Han shu yufu zhi xia* 後漢書輿服志下); later it became a synonym for soldiers. "Black shirt" (*wushan* 烏衫) is the outfit typically worn by servants or the poor; it may also refer to soldiers, since there was a military camp in the Three Kingdoms period (220-280) known as the "black-robed camp" (*wuyi bingying* 烏衣兵營). In the context of the painting, however, it is likely they referred to the last two of the female attendants: the one with pigtails and a parcel in her hand wears a dark shirt, while the one with a pillow in her arms wears a turban.

10	美人清血終難得，	But the blood[521] of a beauty was hard to obtain.
11	不如歸飲中山釀，	It was better to return and drink the wine from Zhongshan,
12	一醉三年萬緣息。	Once drunk, for three years[522] be oblivious to all.
13	卻愁有物覷高明，	Yet the prospect of demons spying on the powerful[523] is worrisome;
14	八姨豪買他人宅，	Ba Yi (Lady Qinguo, an elder sister of Yang Guifei) buys others' estates by force.
15	□□君醒為掃除，	[If we wait for the Bearded] Lord to expunge them when he becomes sober,[524]
16	馬嵬金馱去无跡。	The golden load at Mawei [where Yang Guifei was executed] would have been gone without a trace.
17	人言墨鬼為戲筆，是大不然。	People say that painting demons in ink is a mere play of the brush, how wrong they are!

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[521] *Qingxie* 清血 ("clear blood") also means "tears."

[522] The idea of the wine being so strong that it makes one unconscious for three years might be an allusion to the "Thousand Day Wine" (*qianri jiu* 千日酒) from Zhongshan in a legend in Zhang Hua's 張華 *Naturalis Historia* (*Bowuzhi* 博物志). Fascicle 5 of the book tells of a man named Liu Yuanshi 劉元石 who became so drunk after drinking the aforementioned wine that he failed to wake up for several days. Believing him dead, his family buried him. It was not until three years, or approximately one thousand days later, that Liu finally awoke from his death-like slumber.

[523] This may refer to the idea that "demons spy on households of the rich and powerful" (高明之家，鬼瞰其室) proposed by the late Western Han philosopher and writer Yang Xiong (53 BCE-18 CE) in his essay "Resolving Mockery" (*Jiechao* 解嘲).

[524] My interpretation of line 15, of which the first two characters are illegible, differs fromthe versions in Lawton's *Chinese Figure Painting* and the Freer Gallery of Art's online Song-Yuan painting catalogue (hereafter Freer online catalogue). From the context of the poem, I believe Gong Kai intended to say that Zhong Kui was debating whether to return home for wine, worrying that it might be too late to deal with the disruptive forces at the Tang court when he recovers from intoxication. Lawton's translation implies that the offending individuals "made a clean sweep" when Zhong Kui woke up. The online catalogue proposes a happier ending, implying through his translation that the disruptive forces would be "swept...all away" when Zhong Kui awakes.

18	此乃書家之艸聖也，世豈有不善真書，而能作艸者？	[Paintings as such] are comparable to cursive script in calligraphy. Was there anyone who was able to write cursive scripts without mastering standard script first?
19	在昔善畫墨鬼，有姒頤真、趙千里。	Painters famous for painting demons in ink from the past include Si Yizhen and Zhao Qianli [Zhao Boju, ca. 1120—ca.1170].
20	千里《丁香鬼》誠為奇特，所惜去人物科太遠，故人得以戲筆目之。	Qianli's *Clove Demon* painting was certainly unique, but it was so different from typical figure paintings that people saw it as a mere play of the brush.
21	頤真鬼雖甚工，然其用意猥近，	Although Yizhen's demon paintings are extremely well-crafted, their pictorial message is vulgar.
22	甚者作髯君野溷，一豪豬即之，妹子持杖披襟趕逐，此何為者耶？	He even made a picture of the Bearded Lord in a latrine [or pigpen] in the fields, with a porcupine approaching him, while his younger sister in tattered [or unbuttoned] clothing drives it away with a stick. What kind of painting is this?
23	僕今作《中山出遊圖》，蓋欲一洒頤真之陋，庶不廢翰墨清玩。	I've painted *Zhongshan on an Excursion* to sweep away the vulgarity of Yizhen's painting and hopefully not abandon the practice of ink play.
24	譬之書，猶真、行之間也。	Compared to calligraphy, this painting falls between the standard and running scripts.
25	鍾馗事絕少，僕前後為詩，未免重用，	Legends of Zhong Kui are extremely scarce. Had I included all of them in the poem, it is bound to be redundant.
26	今即他事成篇，聊出新意焉耳。	Thus I have compiled alternative information in this postscript to have something moderately new to say.
27	淮陰龔開記。	Recorded by Gong Kai of Huaiyin.

2. Li Mingfeng 李鳴鳳 (late 13th–early 14th century)

Signature: “The Old Woodcutter of Huangshan” (黃山樵叟)
Date: None
Seals: (x2) “Seal of Li Mingfeng” (李鳴鳳印); “Library of Huangshan” (黃山書房)

《中山出游圖》 黃山樵叟	***On an Excursion to Zhongshan*** **The Old Woodcutter of Huangshan**
1 老夫書倦眼模糊，	The old fellow (the author) is tired from reading and his eyes are blurry;
2 睡魔麾去復來不受驅。	The phantom of sleep was brushed away but returns again and refuses to be chased off.
3 故人偶過蓬蒿居，	A friend chanced upon my humble dwelling amid wild grasses,
4 授我一卷牛腰墨戲圖。	Offering me a playful ink scroll as thick as a cow’s waist.
5 午牕拭眥試展玩，	Near the window at midday, I rub my eyes and unroll the scroll to examine it;
6 使我三詘還長吁。	It made me cry out thrice and let out a long sigh.
7 人間何處有此境，	Where on earth can one find such a place;
8 衆鬼雜遝相奔趨。	Where hordes of demons mingle and run around?
9 一翁烏帽袍韡，	An old man (Zhong Kui) [wears] a black hat, a robe and leather boots;
10 兩鬼共舉藤輿出。	Carried by two demons, [he] goes out on an excursion on a rattan sedan chair.
11 怒瞠兩目髯舒戟，	[He] stares with angry eyes, [while his] beard bristle like long halberds;
12 阿妹雙臉無脂鈆，	A-Mei (his female companion) has no rouge or lead make-up on her cheeks,
13 只調松煤塗抹色如漆。	Instead she mixed charred pine and painted her face black.
14 前呵后殿皆鬼徒，	Those leading the way and trailing behind are all demon servants;
15 亦有橫挑直挑之鬼物，	There are demons carrying things horizontally and vertically;
16 又有獰鬼數輩相隨各執役。	Behind them a number of violent demons perform other tasks.
17 陰風淒淒寒起袂，	The gloomy wind is chilly, the bitter cold creeps up one’s sleeves;
18 道是九首山人出游中山捕諸鬼。	They say the Nine-Headed Hermit[525] (Zhong Kui) is on an outing to Zhongshan to capture demons.

[525] “Nine-Headed Hermit” is a clever epithet for Zhong Kui. Besides Li Mingfeng, Han Xing and Gong Su also use the term “Nine-Headed” to refer to Zhong

19	三郎聰明晚何謬，	Sanlang (Emperor Xuanzong) is a smart man, how come he became foolish in senility?
20	玉環狐媚不悟祿兒醜。	Yuhuan (Consort Yang) has a bewitching charm, [but] it never dawned on her how ugly Lu-er (An Lushan) was.
21	當年曾偷寧王玉笛吹，	[The demon who] played the jade flute stolen from Ningwang (Tang Emperor Xuanzong's brother Li Xian [679-742])—
22	豈信此徒亦復[來]效顰來肆欺?	Is it true [Lushan] returned in [the demon's] likeness to wreak havoc and deceive?
23	馗也詎能一一盡擒捉，	[Zhong] Kui cannot capture every one of [the demons];
24	舉世滔滔定復誰知覺，	The whole world is unsettled, who is aware?
25	我欲嘑髯扣其術，	I wanted to rub my beard and confiscate this magical painting,
26	人言个是翠嵓老子遊戲筆，	Which they say was painted playfully by Old Cuiyan [Gong Kai].
27	却憶漁陽鐵騎來如雲，	When the iron-clad cavalry charged from Yuyang (An Lushan's headquarters) like [surging] clouds,
28	騎騾倉遑了無策，	There was nothing [Emperor Xuanzong] could do except to escape on a mule in haste.
29	錦韈游魂[526]意弗歸，	The wandering soul in brocade stockings (Consort Yang) has not returned;

Kui in their Freer scroll colophons (nos. 5, 14). Not only can the words "Nine" (九) and "Head" (首) be combined into the word "Kui" (馗) in Zhong Kui's name, but the phrase "Nine-Headed" (九首) also alludes to a nine-headed serpent known for its tremendous strength in *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (山海經·海外北經)—an appropriate analogy for Zhong Kui, who was also known for his physical prowess and monstrous appearances. The phrase *shanren* 山人 also carries multiple connotations associated with Zhong Kui. When translated as "hermit," it refers to how Zhong Kui is dormant for most of the year except during the New Year, when he emerges to exorcize demons. When interpreted as "man of the mountain," it may refer to Zhong Kui's abode in Zhongshan (Central Mountains). A respectful term for scholars, it alludes to Zhong Kui's scholarly background that became part of his legend in the Song. The term also denotes officers in charge of the mountains and forests in ancient times. Since demons were thought to reside in the wilderness, it seems appropriate to refer to Zhong Kui as the overseer of the abode for demons.

[526] The usage of "a wandering soul in brocade stockings" (*jinwa youhun*) to refer to Consort Yang originated in Du Fu's poem "Ai Jiangtou" 哀江頭. See Elizabeth Marie Owen, "Love Lost: Qian Xuan (c. 1235-c. 1307) and Images of Emperor Ming Huang and Yang Guifei" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2005), 132.

30	方士排空御氣無从覓。	Even Daoist adepts who soar in the sky and ride on the air cannot find [her].[527]
31	老嵓去我久，	It’s been a long time since Old Yan (Gong Kai) has passed away.[528]
32	九京難再作，	The graves cannot be built again,
33	遺墨敗楮空零落，	The leftover ink and rotten paper are idle and scattered,
34	安得江波化作蒲萄之新醅。	Could the waves of the river be transformed into fresh wine?
35	畫鼓四面轟春雷，	Four painted drums roar like spring thunder,
36	叱去羣魅不復顧，	[They] scare away hordes of demons that do not look back.
37	大笑滿傾三百杯。	With a hearty laugh, I pour three hundred cups [of wine].

[527] The description of Daoist magicians soaring in the sky alludes to the failed attempt by Daoist adepts at summoning the soul of Consort Yang from paradise was mentioned in Bai Juyi’s *Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (*Chang hen ge* 長恨歌) and in the coda of Chen Hong’s *Legend of the Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (*Chang hen ge zhuan* 長恨歌傳), one of the most famous ballads based on the tragic romance of the royal couple. See Owen, “Love Lost,” 140, 143.

[528] The comment that Gong Kai (1222-1307) was long dead when this colophon was penned is significant. Assuming that all colophons appear in the order in which they were inscribed, this comment implies that Li’s colophon—which is the first to appear after the artist’s own inscription—and all subsequent colophons on the Freer scroll by Yuan writers were written after Gong Kai’s death in 1307.

3. Wang Xiaoweng 王肖翁 (1272–1336)

Signature: "Wang Xiaoweng" (王肖翁)
Date: None
Seals: (x2) "Fufeng" (傅鳳); "The Shepherd" (牧羊者)

1	老馗怒髯目奮戟，	Enraged, Old Kui's beard and glance resemble bristling spears;
2	阿妹新粧臉塗漆。	After applying fresh make-up, A-Mei looks as if she has smeared black paint over her face.
3	兩輿先後將何之，	Where are the two sedan chairs in succession of each other headed?
4	往往徒御皆骨立。	The porters are but standing skeletons.
5	開元天子人事廢，	During the Kaiyuan era (713-741) court affairs were neglected;
6	清宮欲藉鬼雄力。	To purge the court [of evil] the power of demonic heroes are called for.
7	楚龔無乃好幽恠，	Gong [Kai] of Chu [Jianghuai] must be fond of the occult and the strange;
8	醜狀奇形尚遺迹。	[He] leaves behind ugly shapes and strange forms.

4. Boshiweng 襏襫翁 (unidentified; late 13th–early 14th century?)

Signature: "Old Man with a Raincape" (襏襫翁)
Date: None
Seals: (x1) "Residing in the Human World" (寓人間世)

Whenever *On an Excursion to Zhongshan* is unrolled for amusement, those who see it are invariably surprised. The strange shapes and unusual forms of our time—the fierce and cruel, the wily and cunning, [the ways] the strong and the weak swallow and gnaw at each other, the hundreds of ways in which they transform and deceive—are more [bizarre] than the demons [depicted here], but very few consider [the phenomenon of our time] strange. Perhaps because people have seen and heard so much about [these strange things], they have grown accustomed to them, to the point that [the bizarre] seems normal. Ah! The meaning behind this painting by the Bearded Lord (Gong Kai) is profound. Perhaps [Gong Kai] didn't believe that the Zhong Kui legend occurred only in Minghuang's (Emperor Xuanzong's) dream. In my opinion, everything from the past to the present, from shooting stars to bolts of lightning, from glamor to bleakness, from fungus sprouting to bubbles bursting—everything is a dream. Why do we doubt the truthfulness of the Zhong Kui legend? [If life is but a dream], then isn't my writing these superfluous words at the end of the scroll also an act of talking of dreams in a dream? Inscribed by Boshiweng ("Old Man with a Raincape") of Donghu.

《中山出遊圖》，凡一展翫，見者無不驚訝。世之奇形異狀，暴戾詭譎，彊弱吞啗，變詐百出，甚於妖魅者，不少人不以為恠而何，盖耳聞目接，久而與之俱化，故眎為常也。吁！ 髯翁之畫，深有旨哉。或以鍾馗事，衹見明皇夢中為疑。余謂往古來今，星流電掣，烜赫淒涼，菌生漚滅，何事非夢，獨於是疑焉。
今贅數語于卷末，又豈非夢中說夢邪？東湖襏襫翁題。

Notes:

The writer is trying to say that Zhong Kui's demons are not restricted to those that appeared in Minghuang's dreams but are prevalent in the human world. He records people's astonishment upon see the strange forms in the Freer scroll and makes a philosophical point that just as Zhong Kui was a dream vision of Emperor Xuanzong, so everything in this world is but a dream, even the author's musings is just sleep talk. Translation of this poem modified from the Freer online catalogue, page 9.

5. Han Xing 韓性 (1266–1341)

Signature: "Han Xing of Anyang" (安陽韓性)
Date: None
Seals: None

1	是為伯強為獝狂，	Was it the *boqiang* disease demon or the *yukuang* evil demon,
2	睢盱鬼伯髯怒張，	that caused Uncle Demon (Zhong Kui) to look up with wide eyes and puff out his beard in rage?
3	空山無人日昏黃，	The mountain is devoid of humans and the sun is dimming,
4	迴風陰火隨幽篁。	circling winds and shady flicks appear amid dark and quiet bamboo groves.
5	辟邪作字魏迄唐，	From the Wei Dynasty to the Tang Dynasty, [Zhong Kui] had been used to expel evil and employed as people's names;
6	殿前吹笛行踉蹡，	[the mischievous demon] plays the flute in front of the palace and stumbles around.
7	飛來武士藍衣裳，	A warrior in a blue robe flies in;
8	夢境胡為在縑緗?	why is a dream recorded in the books?
9	中山九首彌荒唐，	The Nine-Headed One from Zhongshan (Zhong Kui) extinguishes corruption,
10	猶可為人祓不祥，	he could still purge the inauspicious for people;
11	是心畫師誰能量，	What artist understands the [honorable] intention of [Zhong Kui]?
12	筆端正爾分毫芒。	The tip of the brush is so upright even the bristles are visible.
13	清都紫府昭回光，	His soul returned to his body from the palace of the (heavenly) emperor and the land of the Daoist immortals;
14	三十六帝參翱翔。	he soars with the thirty-six emperors.
14	陰氣慘澹熙春陽，	The atmosphere is gloomy and bleak, but the spring sun is bright;
15	謂君閣筆試兩忘，	I ask him to put away his brush and let everything go;
16	一念往復如康莊。	To think of the past as if it were prosperous.
17	安陽韓性。	[Signed,] Han Xing of Anyang

Notes:

The writer associates Zhong Kui with other demons that are evil and cause disease in Chinese mythology. He cites details from the Zhong Kui legend. Then he praises the painter Gong Kai for declaring his desire to purge his country of demons through images of Zhong Kui. The writer implies that Gong is concerned about the injustice in

the world even in his death. He comforts Gong by saying that there is hope and urges him to rest in peace.

6. Chen Fang 陳方 (died 1367?)

Signature: "Chen Fang" (陳方)
Date: None
Seals: (x1) "Chen shi Zizhen" (陳氏子貞)

1	楚龔胸中墨如水，	The ink in the bosom of Mr. Gong of Chu (Gong Kai) is flowing like water;
2	零落江南髮垂耳，	But he is left wandering in Jiangnan, with his hair hanging below his ears.
3	文章汗馬兩無功，	He was rewarded neither for his literary talents nor his military prowess;
4	痛哭乾坤遽如此。	He wails that his country has suddenly become such.
5	恨翁不到天子傍，	I regret that the old man (Gong Kai) cannot [aid] the emperor by his side;
6	陰氣颯颯無輝光。	A chilling air rustles, there is no light.
7	翁也有筆同干將，	The old man's brush is as mighty as the legendary sword made by Gan Jiang;
8	貌取羣恠驅不祥。	His looks stand out from demons and drives away evil.
9	是心頗與馗相似，	His intention [to rid evil] is similar to that of [Zhong] Kui;
10	故遣麾斥如翁意，	Thus I dispel my urge to scold and consent to the old man's wishes;[529]
11	不然異狀吾所憎，	Otherwise I am disgusted by strange forms;
12	區區白日胡為至?	Why are they here in broad daylight?
13	嗟哉咸淳人不識，	Alas! People of the Xianchun era (Emperor Duzong's reign [r.1265-1274] of the Southern Song) do not recognize [the demon],
14	夜夜宮中吹玉笛。	Who plays the jade flute in the palace night after night.
15	谷陽陳方。	[Signed by] Chen Fang of Guyang

Notes:

The author presents Gong Kai as a loyalist who regrets not being able to apply his talents in his emperor's aid. He conflates Gong Kai with Zhong Kui, noting how both have distinct appearances and share the goal of ridding the world of evil. He clearly

[529] It is not entirely clear what "as the old man wishes" (如翁意) means in line 10. The author seems to imply that, were it not for Gong Kai, he would not have inscribed this painting because he detests demons.

compares the disruptive demon that broke in the Tang palace at night to play music with people in the Southern Song whose vicious nature went unnoticed.

7. Zongyan 宗衍 (1309–1351)

Signature: "Shi Zongyan" (釋宗衍)
Date: None
Seals: None

1	老髯見鬼喜不嗔，	Old Beard (Zhong Kui) is not mad but delighted to see demons;
2	出遊夜醉中山春，	He goes on an excursion and gets drunk on a spring evening at Zhongshan.
3	髯身自是鬼尤者，	The Bearded One himself is a preeminent demon,
4	況乃前後皆非人。	In fact, no one in his company is human.
5	楚龔老死無知已，	Gong [Kai] of Chu died alone without a bosom friend; [530]
6	生不事人焉事鬼，	Shouldn't one tend to the living instead of the dead while alive?[531]
7	吁嗟神鼎世莫窺，	Alas! Since no one has seen [Yu's] magical caldron [and the demons depicted on it];
8	此圖流傳當寶之。	This painting [of demons] should be treasured.
9	釋宗衍。	[Signed,] Monk Zongyan.

Notes:

The writer evokes the title and the content of the painting in the first two lines. He refers to Zhong Kui as "Old Beard," "Bearded One," and "preeminent demon" based on the demon queller's signature beard and the characterization of him as a "large demon" in Shen Gua's legend. The writer laments that Gong Kai died without being understood, which could imply that Gong Kai was not given a chance to make a difference with his talent in government, or that the moral of the painting is often mistaken. Quoting a famous teaching of Confucius in line 6, the writer reminds us that this-worldly affairs matter more than supernatural ones. He sees the Freer scroll as fulfilling a similar purpose as the bronze cauldron casted by the legendary ruler Yu (大禹), on which images of demons in the world were represented to help people identify these sources of evil and protect themselves accordingly. These imply that the writer saw the Freer scroll as a warning to people of the evil in the human world.

[530] This line makes it clear that the inscription was written after Gong Kai's death.

[531] This probably refers to Confucius's famous quote in the section of "Men of Former Times" (*Xianjin* 先進) in *Analects of Confucius*: "If one has not fulfilled the duties of serving the living, how could one talk about worshipping the spirits?" (未能事人，焉能事鬼？).

8. Qian Liangyou 錢良右 (1278–1344)

Signature: "Qian Liangyou" 錢良右
Date: None
Seals: (x2) "Resident of the River Village" (江村民); "Qian shi Yizhi" (錢氏翼之)

1	小鬽欺人亦可憎，	The little *mei* demons are deceptive and detested;
2	鬼翁怒縛敢馮陵，	The Old Demon angrily bundles them up and threatens to bully them.
3	莫言怪狀元無有，	Do not say that there never were such strange creatures,
4	老眼髯龔見屢曾。	With his old eyes, Bearded Gong had seen them frequently.
5	錢良右敬題。	Respectfully inscribed by Qian Liangyou.

Notes:

Zhong Kui is portrayed as angry and violent. The writer lends credibility to these demonic forms by saying that Gong Kai has seen them with his own eyes. Many painters of supernatural realms and creatures were believed to have the ability to see what they painted. A Tang painter famous for painting hell scenes was believed to have travelled to the underworld; the Qing painter Luo Ping, who famously painted handscrolls of assorted ghosts, also claimed to have the power of seeing ghosts with his green eyes. Translation of this poem modified from the Freer online catalogue, page 12.

9. Song Wu 宋无 (1260–after 1340)

Signature: “Song Wu” (宋无)
Date: None
Seals: (x2) “Song Zixu, The Carefree Man of the Wu Region” (吳逸士宋子虛);
“Studio of the Verdant Cold” (翠寒齋)

1	酆都山黑陰雨秋，	The mountain at [the Ghost Capital] Fengdu is dark, the autumn is gloomy and rainy;
2	群鬼聚哭寒啾啾，	There the demons gather and howl, making chilling high-pitched chirping noises.
3	老馗豐髯古幞頭，	Old [Zhong] Kui has a thick beard and wears an old headscarf,
4	耳聞鬼聲饞涎流，	His mouth waters upon hearing noises made by the demons.
5	鬼奴舁馗夜出游，	The demon servants take [Zhong] Kui on a carriage ride at night,
6	兩魑劍笠逐輿後，	Two *chi* demons scurry behind, carrying a sword and a sunhat.
7	槁形蓬首枯骸瘦，	[The demons have] gaunt forms, disheveled hair, and [are as] thin as dry bones;
8	妹也黔面被裳繡，	Sister also has her face darkened and wears an embroidered robe.
9	老馗回觀四目鬪，	Old Kui turns his head to look behind him and [their] four eyes meet,
10	料亦不嫌馗醜陋。	It seems that [Sister] doesn’t mind [Zhong] Kui being ugly.
11	後驅鬼雌荷衾枕，	Behind [them] female demons carry pillows,
12	想馗倦行欲安寢，	Perhaps [Zhong] Kui is tired from his travels and wishes to sleep.
13	挑壺抱瓮寒凜凜，	In the biting cold, [the servants] carry water bottles on [their] shoulders and jugs in their arms;
14	毋乃榨鬼作酒飲，	Could it be [that they are] juicing demons to make wine?
15	令我能言口為噤。	[The thought of this] made me unable to utter a word.
16	執縛罔兩血洒髂，	The *wangliang* ghosts are tied up, with blood splattered on their crotches;
17	毋乃剁鬼作鬼鮓，	Could it be [that they are] dicing demons to make appetizers?
18	令我有手不能把，	[The thought of this] rendered my hands useless.
19	神閒意定元是假，	A relaxed attitude and a calm mind are impossible,
20	始信吟翁筆揮寫。	Now I believe that the Old Man (Gong Kai) had painted this with a sweeping brush.
21	翠岩道人心事平，	The Daoist of the Verdant Rock (Gong Kai) has an unperturbed heart,

22	胡為識此鬼物情?	How would he know what demons (or amorous love between them) looked like?
23	看來下筆衆鬼驚，	It seems that he frightened the demons with his painting;
24	詩成應聞鬼泣聲，	[So realistic is his portrayal that] when this poem is completed one should be able to hear the demons cry;
25	至令卷上陰風生。	To the extent haunted winds form on the handscroll.
26	老馗氏族何處人，	Where did Old Kui's family come from?
27	託言唐宮曾見身，	Legend has it that he made an appearance in the Tang palace.
28	當時聲色相沈淪，	At the time [Emperor Xuanzong] indulged in sounds and sights,
29	阿瞞夢寐何曾真，	A-Man's [Emperor Xuanzong] nightmare never became real.
30	宮妖已踐馬嵬塵，	The *yao* demon of the palace had been trampled upon and became dust at Mawei.
31	倏忽青天飛辟力，	Suddenly from the blue sky a thunderbolt strikes,
32	千妖萬怪遭誅擊，	Thousands of *yao* demons and tens of thousands of *guai* demons were killed and attacked.
33	酆都山摧見白日，	The mountain at Fengdu was destroyed and the bright sun appeared;
34	老馗忍飢無鬼喫，	[Leaving] Old Kui hungry from having no demons to eat,
35	泠落人間守門壁。	Alone, he guards the gates and walls in the human world.
36	翠寒宋无	"Verdant Cold" Song Wu

Notes:

Lines 1-2 evoke the eerie atmosphere and traditional abodes associated with ghosts. Lines 3-18 describe characters in the painting. Lines 21-25 praise Gong Kai for his superb skills in portraying lifelike demons. Lines 26-30 refer to the Emperor Xuanzong-Consort Yang legend. Lines 31-33 refer to thunder troops employed by Daoist masters to subjugate demons in the Song dynasty.[532] The collapse of Mount Fengdu may refer to the "attack on hell" (*poyu*) operation on the first night of the Yellow Register Purgation;[533]in fact, there's a talisman called the *Qingxuan tianzun jiuku po Fengdu fu* (Talisman of the Breaking Open of Fengdu and Salvation of the Suffering by the Heavenly Venerable of the Azure Mystic), which has the power to

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[532] Daoist masters of the Song dynasty used thunder gods—also called Black Killers (*heisha*)—who works for the Department of Exorcism (*Quxieyuan*) to subjugate demonic forces. See Susan Huang, True Form book, 330; Ibid., 328 n262 for thunder rites; Ibid., 328 n264 for the employment of thunder gods for subjugating demons.

[533] Ibid., 255.

save suffering souls from imprisonment at Fengdu). Lines 34-35 predict a bright future without harassment from demons where Zhong Kui will be put out of work.

10. Liu Hong 劉洪 (unidentified; late 13th–early 14th century)

Signature: "Liu Hong" (劉洪)
Date: none
Seals: none

1	堪咲龔侯戲鬼神，	[One] can laugh at Lord Gong's dallying with the demons and gods;
2	豪端寫出逼天真，	Lifelike [images spring from] the tip of his brush.
3	我貧不敢披圖看，	Poverty-stricken, I dare not steal a glance at the unrolled painting;
4	恐作邪揄來笑人。	For fear that [the demons] would laugh at my [uneventful career].
	劉洪。	Liu Hong

Notes:

This inscription praises Gong Kai's painting skills and notes how Gong Kai's playful painting of supernatural beings provokes laughter in viewers. While in previous inscriptions the demons are often associated with strange phenomena in the human world, people that caused the downfall of the Song and Tang royal houses, or disease demons exorcised by ritual, here the author alludes to the legend of "Demons Laughing" (*gui ye yu*) in which demons laughed at people not able to get ahead in their careers. Here the author pokes fun at his lackluster career, perhaps also expressing sympathy with Gong Kai's similarly uneventful professional life.

11. Sun Yuanchen 孫元臣 (unidentified; late 13th–early 14th century)

Signature: "Sun Yuanchen" 孫元臣
Date: none
Seals: none

1	鍾叟蒼髯妹漆膚，	Old Man Zhong has a black beard while Sister has black skin;
2	前駈後擁兩肩輿，	They are surrounded by [servants] who run in front of them, crowd up to them, and carry sedan chairs on their shoulders;
3	能令五鬼非吾患，	[Since he] can command the five demons [of poverty], I am not concerned;
4	免使奴星結柳車。	There is no need to ask Xing the servant to make a carriage out of willow branches [to drive demons away].
	孫元臣題。	Inscribed, Sun Yuanchen.

Notes:

This inscription first describes very coarsely the protagonists of the painting and the layout. Then it associates the Zhong Kui with Five Demons, which was made into a play in the Ming dynasty. The inscription also associates the demons with metaphors of poverty that Han Yu was trying to drive away in his famous "Sending Away Demons of Poverty" essay. This is the second incident where demons were associated with poverty, frustrated careers of the literati among the Freer scroll colophons.

12. Lü Yuangui 呂元規 (unidentifed; late 13th–early 14th century)

Signature: “Lü Yuangui” (呂元規)
Date: none
Seals: (x3) “Zhixu” (執徐); “Gushou Lü shi” (古壽呂氏方叔); “Fangcundi” (方寸地)

1	百鬼紛紛擾士民，	Hundreds of motley demons form a motley crowd, unsettling the officials and civilians;
2	明皇選得夢中身，	Minghuang (Tang Emperor Xuanzong) summoned [Zhong Kui] to appear in his dreams.
3	前訶後擁中山道，	With those cursing in the front and shoving from the back, [he] travels on the road to Zhongshan,
4	翻與羣妖作主人。	[there he] becomes the master of *yao* demons.
	呂元規。	Lü Yuangui

Notes:

The author sees demons as a disturbance, which is in line with how demons are portrayed in the Shen Gua story—disruptive to the palace. He links Zhong Kui to the Minghuang legend again. In the last two lines, Lu may be commenting on how Minghuang (instead of Zhong Kui) was surrounded by fawning figures on his road to neglect and drunkenness and how he intended to purge the palace of demons but instead became the master of them. If this explanation works, the inscription is highly political—using the past to satirize the present.

13. Tang Shimao 湯時懋 (unidentified; active early 14th century)

Signature: "Tang Shimao" (湯時懋)
Date: none
Seals: none

1	月黑山空聚嘯聲,	Long howls resound under the dim moon in the empty mountain;
2	搜神志恠寫猙獰,	[Gong Kai] searches for the supernatural, records the strange, and paints the horrific.
3	老馗疾惡風霜面,	Old Kui who detests the evil has a weathered face;
4	泉壤千年不隔生。	Despite having been in the grave for thousands of years, [his face] is still familiar.
	湯時懋。	Tang Shimao.

Notes:

Tang identifies the figure as Zhong Kui, associates the subject with tales of the strange in Soushenji and in the *zhiguai* genre, and perceives the demons as horrific and Zhong Kui as having a weathered face.

14. Gong Su 龔璛 (1266–1331)

Signature: "Gong Su" (龔璛)
Date: none
Seals: none

1	歲云暮矣索鬼神，	The year is ending, dusk arrived, [the time has come to] search for demons and gods.
2	九首山人生怒嗔，	The Nine-Headed Hermit is enraged,
3	獵取羣祆如獵兔，	[He] hunts down *yao* demons as if they were hares;
4	驅儺歸去作新春。	After performing the *nuo* ritual, [he] leaves to celebrate the advent of the new year.
	高郵龔璛。	Gong Su of Gaoyou [Jiangsu]

Notes:

This inscription clearly links Zhong Kui to his original exorcist role. It repeatedly emphasizes Zhong Kui's appearance at the year's end. It interprets the painting as a demon hunt. This is also an example of how demons are sometimes referred to indiscriminately as *guishen* (demons and gods) in the Yuan. Again, Zhong Kui is portrayed as fierce and angry, a far cry from his demeanor in the painting. There's no mention of his Sister. Perhaps this poem was merely a modification of a generic one, loosely tied to the subject of the painting and not customized. Although there's no date for viewing on this one, this may be pulled out on New Year's Eve.

15. Wang Shi 王時 (active 1330s–1380s)

Signature: "Wang Shi" (王時)
Date: none
Seals: (x2) "Wang Shi" (王時); "Seal of Wang Benzhong" (王本中印)

1	長嘯空林百草秋，	Long cries [resound amid] empty groves and autumnal grasses;
2	蒼髯煤臉也風流，	[Even with] a dark beard and a charcoal-colored face, [Zhong Kui] hasn't lost his charm.
3	當時竊得三郎夢，	Back then I had the same dream Third Lad (Tang Emperor Xuanzong) did;
4	欲向中山學夜遊。	[I] long to go on night excursions like Zhongshan [Zhong Kui].
	金源王時。	Wang Shi of Jinyuan.

Notes:

The inscription sets the mood of the painting to a bleak autumn; although this is not when Zhong Kui comes out. The long cries may not directly refer to demons wailing. Despite having a thick dark beard and a blackened face, Zhong Kui and his companion are still charming. Third sentence could be translated various ways.
If *qie* means "I," it could mean he also dreamt of Zhong Kui ridding his residence of demons; if *qie* means "steal," it may refer to theft of precious objects by demon in the original legend. It seems that Zhongshan later became synonym for Zhong Kui.
Although Zhong Kui was not depicted as a drunkard in the FSG scroll, the title, painter's colophon, and viewer's inscriptions clearly associate him with drunkenness.

16. Bai Ting 白珽 (1248–1328)

Signature: "Lay Buddhist of the Qixia Temple, Bai Ting" (栖霞居士白珽)
Date: none
Seals: (x2) "Bai Ting of Qiantang" (錢唐白珽); "Man of the Dark Blue Pool" (湛淵子)

1	何處張弧鬼一車[534]，	Where did [Kuigu] aim his bow at a cart filled with demons?
2	中山曾見夜蒐圖，	At Zhongshan, a painting of a night search [for demons] was seen.
3	棼棼眼底朱成碧，	So numerous and chaotic [are the demons] they lead one to mistake red for green;
4	後乘鍾家有此姝。	The beauty from the Zhong family is riding in the back.
	栖霞居士白珽。	Lay Buddhist of the Qixia Temple, Bai Ting.

Notes:

The author alluded to the story in the Yijing (Book of Changes). The story may be interpreted on several levels. Literally speaking, the cart-full of demons refer to the numerous demonic beings in the painting. Because the moral of the story is that what were mistaken for demons were actually humans on a marriage procession, the story works on a metaphoric level too. The phrase implies that demons do not exist; those in the painting are allusions to humans in the world. The story also reinforces the association of Zhong Kui with travelling at night and may have led to the misinterpretation of the painting as Zhong Kui marrying off his sister by a colophon writer whose colophon is now lost mentioned by the seventeenth century inscriber Li Shizhuo. Although the earliest record of Zhong Kui marrying his sister dates to the Ming, far later than the composition of the painting and the current inscription, this might indicate that this association germinated in the Yuan; this theory can be strengthened by my work on the cultural meaning and popularity of village weddings in Song genre paintings. Connections with the *Searching the Mountains for Demons* (*Soushan tu*) genre are suggested here.

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[534] This story is taken from the story of a person named Kui (睽) in *Yijing* . In the story, Kui was travelling at night and almost fired arrows at a wedding party which he thought was a cart filled with demons and robbers towed by a pig. Since then, the expression, "a cart full of demons" (*zaigui yiche* 載鬼一車) has been used to describe fabricated scenarios and things that do not exist.

17. Zhou Yun 周耘 (unidentified; early 14th century?)

Signature: “Zhou Yun” (周耘)
Date: none
Seals: (x2) “[One missing character] Mountain [two missing characters] Cloud” (*X-shan XX yun* □山□□雲); “Master of Bamboo in Water and Cloudy Mountains” (*Shuizhu yunshan zhu* 水竹雲山主)

Mr. Gong Cuiyan (Gong Kai) is a talented man from the Jing-Chu region,[535]
[but his talents were] not employed in his time. Thus he transformed his unscrupulous thoughts into [depictions of] the strange and unusual. He is playful with his brush: the life [he breathes into his creations] and his brushwork are beyond what the common craftsmen can [hope to] attain. He frequently [paints images of] blood-sweating [steeds], [which, despite being] old thoroughbreds bent over their troughs, are vivacious owing to their determination to travel one thousand *li*. In his painting of *Zhongshan Going on an Excursion*, the Bearded Lord looks around majestically. Tens of thousands of men follow his sedan chair—what a motley crowd of the strange and alien. Mountain sprites and goblins are tied up to be cooked. The sight delights honest men and makes the corrupt cringe. It is clear Mr. [Gong’s] intent was to sweep away evil; how could [the painting] be seen as mere entertainment? Oh, the master may have passed, but his character impresses us to this day! Respectfully inscribed by his junior colleague, Zhou Yun of Xiangshan.

翠巖龔先生，負荊楚雄俊才，不為世用，故其胸中磊磊落落者，發為怪怪奇奇。
在豪端游戲，氣韻筆法，非俗工所可知。然多作汗血，老驥伏櫪，態度若生，蓋志在千里也。寫《中山出遊圖》，髯君顧盼氣吞，萬夫輿從，詭異雜沓，魑魅束縛以待烹，使剛正者覩之心快，姦佞見之膽落，故知先生之志，在掃盪兇邪耳，豈徒以清玩目之？噫！ 先生已矣，至今耿光逼人。後學象山周耘敬識。

Notes:

The author laments Gong Kai not being employed properly in his time. He thinks Gong Kai expressed his frustration into demonic forms. He thinks Gong Kai’s painting is not to be confused with those created by ordinary craftsman. The painting will make righteous viewers happy and corrupted ones cower. Gong Kai’s point was to rid the world of corruption and evil, the painting is not to be taken merely as pure entertainment. Translation of this poem modified from the Freer online catalogue, pages 18-19.

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[535] The Jing-Chu region narrowly refers to modern Hunan and Hubei provinces, but it may denote to the territory of the Chu kingdom during the Zhou dynasty, which encompasses Gong Kai’s native place in Huaiyin, modern-day Jiangsu province.

18. Feng Fang 豐坊 (1492–1563)

Signature: "Feng Fang" (豐坊)
Date: Twenty-fifth day in the second lunar-month of the *dinghai* year in the Jiajing reign period [March 25, 1527] (嘉靖丁亥二月廿五日)
Seals: (x3) "Jinyun" (晉雲); "Feng shi Cunshu" (豐氏存叔); "Nanyu waishi" (南禺外史)

Old Man Cuiyan (Gong Kai) was an official in the Song, but he refrained from posts in the Yuan government. With a character as such, [it's not surprising that his] calligraphy and painting are both exceptional. The *bafen* script he wrote is written entirely in seal script which is reminiscent of [the calligraphy on] steelyards from the Qin dynasty (221–207 BC) or the Fenyin tripod and Suihe pot from the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). While the demonic creatures he depicted are strange and odd, they were not intended simply to be playful. The Classic of Poetry says: "The likes of demons and *yu*[536] cannot be fathomed." There is no shortage of people comparable to these creatures in the world. How can the Bearded Lord run out of things to devour? On the twenty-fifth day in the second lunar-month of the *dinghai* year in the Jiajing era (March 25, 1527), viewed and inscribed by Feng Fang of Siming in the Baoxian (Precious Hill) Pavilion.

翠嵒翁為宋臣，入元遂不仕。人品如此，故書畫皆妙絕。所作八分，全用篆灋，有秦權量、漢汾陰鼎、綏和壺遺意。其圖鬼物，怪怪奇奇，用意要非玩戲而已。詩曰，『為鬼為蜮，則不可測』。世間此輩，固自不少，安得盡供髯君咀嚼耶。嘉靖丁亥二月廿五日，四明豐坊觀于寶峴樓因題。

Notes:
Translation of this poem modified from the Freer online catalogue, pages 19-22.

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[536] A type of mythical creature famously known for its ambivalent identity.

19. Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645–1704)

Signature: “Gao Shiqi” (高士奇)
Date: one day before Seventh Night [in the seventh lunar-month] of the *gengchen* year in the Kangxi reign period [August 20, 1700] (康熙庚辰七夕前一日)
Seals: (x3) “Gao Zhanshi” (高詹事); “Jiangcun Shiqi zhi zhang” (江邨士奇之章); “Bu yi sangong yi ci ri” (不以三公易此日)

Ever since Wu Daozi (active ca. 710–760) of the Tang dynasty painted *Zhong Kui Going on an Excursion*, painters of this subject have multiplied by the day, expressing themselves through the bizarre and fanciful. As Gong Cuiyan (Gong Kai) did not hold a government post under the Yuan, he often had to spread paper on his son’s back to make pictures in exchange for rice when he ran out of food at his inn. People competed to buy his work, yet few have been passed down. In the winter of the *dingchou* year (1697), upon returning from my leave of absence, I acquired his *Emaciated Horse* in Wumen (Suzhou). This year in the sixth lunar month, I also acquired his *Zhongshan Going on an Excursion*. Both scrolls are extremely well-known, and the accompanying colophons by former worthies are numerous and splendid, I prize them equally. A visitor once said: “Many poems and paintings by men of the past feature the horse, using it as a metaphor for great talent or talent that went unrecognized; works like this are at least meaningful. But what is one to gain from a painting filled with demons like the one in front of us?” I replied: “Not so, for many people in the world appear human but behave like demons. How can we know that the ugly demons depicted here are not candid at heart? Whenever I encounter something in life that inspires joy, honesty, fear, anger, grief, or awe, I look at this and get a good laugh quickly, for the ancients never fail [to do so]. On the day before Seventh Night[537] in the *gengchen* year of the Kangxi reign period (August 20, 1700), the lingering summer heat blazes at my studio window despite being more than ten days since the beginning of autumn. It cooled down a bit towards the evening, so I rinsed off my inkstone to pass time and casually wrote this. After I was done writing, I rose and saw the slender moon at the edge of the eaves. The blooming jasmine flowers fill the bushes with an explosion of color, reminding me of my youth and transporting me to another period in time. The old collector of River Village, Gao Shiqi.

自唐吳道子作《鍾馗出遊圖》，其後畫者日衆，盖離奇虛誕，各有所寄也。龔翠嵒入元不仕，旅舍無炊，往往攤紙於其子之背，為圖易米。人爭購之，然所傳於世亦無多。丁丑冬，余請養初還，得其《羸馬圖》於吳門。今年六月又得其《中山出遊圖》。二卷皆極著者，前賢題跋多且佳，余故竝珎之。客曰：『昔[日]人詩篇圖畫，多託之馬者，或以喻才俊，或以傷不遇，尚有意在。似此鬼隊滿前，何所取乎？』余曰：『不然。世之人形而鬼恠其行者，不一而足，安知此輩貌醜而不心質耶？凡遇世事之可喜、可諤、可駭、可怒、可悲、可歎者，取兹觀之，必忽尓大笑，以古人為不爽。』康熙庚辰七夕前一日，立秋旬餘，餘暑日熾軒窓，近晚始有微涼，滌研消遣，隨筆成語。書

[537] The day on which the legendary lovers Herd Boy and Weaver Girl reunite each year. Translation of this poem modified from the Freer online catalogue, pages 21-22.

罷起立，纖月已在檐際，茉莉花開，滿樹繽紛，回憶少年，別是一境味。江邨藏用老人高士奇。

20. Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709)

Signature: "Zhu Yizun" (朱彝尊)
Date: Spring of the *renwu* year in the Kangxi reign period [1702] (康熙壬午春)
Seals: (x2) "Zhu Yizun yin" (朱彝尊印); "Zhucha" (竹垞)

Spring of the *renwu* year in the Kangxi era (1702), respectfully viewed by Zhu Yizun of Xiushui.
康熙壬午春，秀水朱彝尊觀。

Notes: Translation of this colophon taken from the Freer online catalogue, page 23.

21. Li Shizhuo 李世倬 (1687–1765)

Signature: "Yiqi Li Shizhuo" (伊祁李世倬)
Date: none
Seals: (x2) "Shizhuo siyin" (世倬私印); "Guzhai" (轂齋)

A painting originates from a single stroke, but can be transformed endlessly from there. Whatever comes to mind can be executed by the tip of the brush.
People consider images that can satirize, admonish, praise, eulogize, and pray for paintings, but they rarely understand their messages. Because of this, the painter can freely express his obsessions with brush and ink. Once someone realizes the morals of the painting, elements that shock and surprise can be found everywhere one looks. This is such a painting. The colophon at the end claims the subject of the painting to be [Zhong Kui] marrying off his sister and going on an excursion. This claim is not supported and there is no need to spread the rumor. People who seek out this painting and collect it are motivated by fantasy. Li Shizhuo of Yiqi.

畫自一畫，而化無窮，意之所至，托諸毫末。可諷、可諫、可褒、可頌、可禱，盡視為畫，鮮識其旨，固可縱情而逞癖夫筆墨也。果有得也，則觸處皆是驚人駭俗，致觀者訝然，此作是也。跋有云嫁妹出遊，鑿言之無據，泛言無庸，所以物色而藏之者，蓋有遐思焉。伊祁李世倬。

Notes:

Author seems to be commenting that paintings can assume myriad forms, and that it's a transcription of the mind. People seem to overlook the pictorial messages of paintings, thinking they are just paintings. This frees the painter to indulge in his fantasies. However, once people start noticing the message of paintings, they notice shocking things everywhere. He mentions the shock value of the painting.
The painting originally has a colophon that identified the painting as a marriage scene.

22. Xu Naipu 許乃普 (1787–1866)

Signature: "Xu Naipu" (許乃普)
Date: Second day after the Lantern Festival (fifteenth day of the first lunar-month) in the *dingyou* year of the Daoguang era (February 6, 1837) (道光丁酉元夕後二日)
Seals: (x2) "Seen by the man from Yunnan" (滇生過眼); "Your Servant Xu Naipu" (臣許乃普)

This handscroll is painted in a strange and archaic style. Deeply influenced by the style [of figures] at Wu Liang Shrine, it astounds the mind and shocks the eye. It is to be treasured, to be treasured. On the second day after the Lantern Festival (fifteenth day of the first lunar-month) in the *dingyou* year of the Daoguang era (February 6, 1837), viewed by Xu Naipu of Qiantang and recorded at the Studio of Tranquil Fragrance in the Zhang Gate commissioner's office.

此卷筆墨奇古，深得武梁祠像筆意，洞心駭目。可寶可寶。道光丁酉元夕後二日，
錢唐許乃普觀於章門使署之靜香齋并記。

Notes: Translation of this colophon is modified from the Freer online catalogue, page 24.

23. Feng Zizhen 馮子振 (1257-1348)《鍾馗圖》[538]

1	老馗兀[輿?]二鬼肩，	The barren carriage of Old Kui is carried by two demons;
2	一鬼勃窣袋影懸，	A demon limps along with a bag hanging [over its shoulder];
3	一鬼負劍帽帶旃，	Another demon carries a sword and wears a felt hat;
4	一鬼頂顱雙角駢。	Still another has two horns on its head.
5	老馗之婦輿蹁躚，	Old Kui's wife lumbers on another carriage;
6	其荷輿者鬼婢[處?]，	Those that bear the weight of her carriage are unmarried female demon servants;
7	貓抱掌握鬼妾妍，	An attractive demon concubine carries the cat in her arms;
8	提其奩具雌袂玄。	The female attendant that carries [Old Kui's wife's] cosmetic box wears black sleeves;
9	攜枕而從服飾鮮，	The one that follows her with a pillow wears a bright outfit.
10	鼠蠍粘綴袴亦然。	[Her shirt is] adorned with decorations of mice and scorpions, and so are her pants.
11	擎擔最緩行李便，	Those carrying luggage move at the slowest pace.
12	鬼之嬰孺盛穿聯。	The demon youngsters are fond of wearing clothes that are stitched together.
13	囊包橐裹琴能仙，	To wrap with a parcel and fold into a sack, the *qin* zither can turn one into an immortal;
14	瓠壺穹挂呼可憐。	A gourd hung high asks for mercy.
15	揭竿之魅悉攀緣[539]，	The *mei* demons are tied to poles and climb along them,
16	最後甕鬼束縛椽。	The demon in a jar arriving last is tied to a beam.
17	尸而行者猶能前，	Even dead bodies are walking and advancing,
18	肌肉消盡骨骼纏。	The flesh is gone and the bones are tangled.
19	物怪種種來無邊，	The miscellaneous kinds of monsters pour in from all directions,
20	神禹鑄鼎今幾年。	How many years has it been since the Divine Yu had a cauldron cast?

[538] See inscriptions on paintings of gods and ghosts in Siku quanshu (清四庫題畫詩神鬼類).

[539] Analogy for people who climb the social ladder; also implies how things are ever-changing and unreliable in the Buddhist sense of the word.

21	罔兩在此猶翩翩，	*Wangliang* demons are still flying around here.
22	吁嗟吁嗟問老天。	Alas! Alas! Go ask heaven.

24. Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐 (1292-1364)

	鍾馗部鬼圖	***Zhong Kui Delegates Demons***
1	老髯足恐迷陽棘，	Old Beard is afraid to hurt his feet in thorny bushes;
2	鬼肩籐輿振雙膝。	[He has] demons carry [him on] a rattan sedan chair [from which his] legs dangle.
3	前驅肥身兒短黑，	Leading the way is a child who is plump, short, and dark;
4	非髯嬌兒則已腊。	Despite without a beard, the beloved boy now has wrinkled skin.
5	後從衆醜服厮役，	Behind him a number of ugly servants follow;
6	擔攜鬼脯作髯食。	They bring preserved demons to feed the Bearded One.
7	鬼肌未必能肥腯，	But demon flesh is not enough to fatten [him];
8	餔之空勞髯手擘。	When there is nothing to eat for dinner, the Bearded One must make the catch with his own hands.
9	彼瘦而巾褙長窄，	He is thin and his scarf and cape are long and narrow;
10	無乃癯儒執髯役。	Could he be a skinny Confucian scholar performing the Bearded One's duties?
11	其餘醜狀千百態，	The rest [of his retinue] are ugly and come in all shapes and sizes,
12	專為世人尸辟怪。	They worship and drive away the anomalous for people in the world.
13	楚龔獰老非其類，	Gong of Chu (Gong Kai) does not belong to the ranks of the old and hideous,
14	請問何由識其槩？	How could he have known what they (the demons) looked like?
15	想龔目睛爍陰界，	Perhaps Gong [Kai] could see [beings] in the underworld with his sparkling eyes;
16	行屍走鬼非殊派。	To him animated corpses and walking ghosts are nothing peculiar.
17	民膏民脂飽死後，	After those who devour people's hard-earned money die,
18	却供髯餐縮而瘦。	They shrink and thin, becoming the Bearded One's food.
19	無由起龔問其候，	There is no way for Gong to learn their status;
20	有嘯於梁妖莫售。	The *yao* demons that howl on beams cannot exert their powers.
21	大明當天百祿輳，	The sun shines in the sky and good fortune converges,
22	物不疵癘民長壽。	In the absence of diseases and disasters, the people live long.

Notes:

Although this poem is not affixed to the Freer scroll, its description of the content of the painting and its mention of “Gong of Chu” as its creator hint that the poem was written for the Freer scroll.

APPENDIX III:
Additional Chinese Texts

1. Excerpts from “Guji liezhuan” 滑稽列傳 (Biographies of jesters) in *Shiji* 史記 (completed in 91 BCE) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86? BCE).

(1) 淳于髡者，齊[威王時]之贅婿也。長不滿七尺，滑稽多辯，數使諸侯，未嘗屈辱。
(2) 優孟，故楚[莊王時]之樂人也。長八尺，多辯，常以談笑諷諫。
(3) 優旃者，秦[始皇時]倡侏儒也。善為笑言，然合於大道。

2. Excerpt of “Kailu shenjun” 開路神君 (Trail-Blazing God) in *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 (Whole book on searching the deities of the complete history of e Three Teachings), by an anonymous author from the Ming dynasty:

開路神君乃是周禮之方相氏是也。 […] 其神身長丈餘，頭廣三尺，鬚長三尺五寸，鬚赤面藍，頭戴束髮金冠，身穿紅戰袍，腳穿皂皮靴，左手執玉印，右手執方天畫戟，出柩以先行之，能押諸凶煞，惡鬼藏形，行柩之吉神也。

3. Excerpt of “Song Qiong wen” 送窮文 (Sending away the poverty demons) by Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824):

元和六年正月乙丑晦，主人使奴星結柳作車，縛草為船[…]。三揖窮鬼而告之曰：「聞子行有日矣，[…] 竊具船與車，[…] 利行四方，[…] 我有資送之恩，子等有意於行乎？」

4. Full entry of “Chuxi” 除夕 (New Year’s Eve) in *Dongjin meng hua lu* 東京夢華錄 (Dreaming of the Eastern Capital), by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (Southern Song):

至除日，禁中呈大儺儀，並用皇城親事官，諸班直戴假面，繡畫色衣，執金槍龍旗。教坊使孟景初身品魁偉，貫全副金鍍銅甲裝將軍。用鎮殿將軍二人，亦介冑，裝門神。教坊南河炭醜惡魁肥，裝判官。又裝鐘馗、小妹、土地、竈神之類，共千餘人。自禁中驅祟出南薰門外轉龍彎，謂之『埋祟』而罷。是夜禁中爆竹山呼，聲聞於外。士庶之家，圍爐團坐，達旦不寐，謂之『守歲』。凡大體與禁中節次，但嘗見習按，又不知果為如何。不無脫略，或改而正之，則幸甚。

5. Excerpt of “Jiadeng Baojinlou zhujun cheng baixi” 駕登寶津樓諸軍呈百戲 (The Emperor ascends the Pavilion of the Treasured Dock to watch various military regiments perform miscellaneous stunts) in

Dongjing menghua lu 東京夢華錄 (Dreaming of the Eastern Capital), by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (Southern Song): [540]

駕登寶津樓，諸軍百戲呈於樓下。先列鼓子十數輩，一人搖雙鼓子，近前進致語，多唱青春三月，驀山溪也。唱訖，鼓笛舉，一紅巾者弄大旗，次獅豹入場，坐作進退，奮迅舉止畢。次一紅巾者，手執兩白旗子，跳躍旋風而舞，謂之撲旗子。及上竿、打筋斗之類訖，樂部舉動，琴家弄令。有花妝輕健軍士百餘，前列旗幟，各執雉尾、蠻牌、木刀，初成行列拜舞，互變開門奪橋等陣，然後列成偃月陣。樂部復動蠻牌令，數內兩人出陣對舞，如擊刺之狀，一人作奮擊之勢，一人作僵仆。出場凡五七對，或以鎗對牌，劍對牌之類。忽作一聲如霹靂，謂之爆仗。則蠻牌者引退，煙火大起，有假面披髮、口吐狼牙煙火、如鬼神狀者上場。著青帖金花短後之衣，帖金皂袴，跣足，攜大銅鑼隨身，步舞而進退，謂之抱鑼。繞場數遭，或就地放煙火之類。又一聲爆仗，樂部動拜新月慢曲，有面塗青碌、戴面具、金睛，飾以豹皮錦繡看帶之類，謂之硬鬼。或執刀斧，或執杵棒之類，作腳步蘸立，為驅捉視聽之狀。又爆仗一聲，有假面長髯，展裹綠袍鞾簡如鍾馗像者，傍一人以小鑼相招和舞步，謂之舞判。繼有二三瘦瘠、以粉塗身，金眼白面，如髑髏狀，繫錦繡圍肚看帶，手執軟仗，各作魁諧趨蹌，舉止若排戲，謂之啞雜劇。又爆仗響，有煙火就湧出，人面不相覩，煙中有七人，皆披髮文身，著青紗短後之衣，錦繡圍肚看帶，內一人金花小帽、執白旗，餘皆頭巾，執真刀，互相格鬥擊刺，作破面剖心之勢，謂之七聖刀。忽有爆仗響，又復煙火。出散處以青幕圍繞，列數十輩，皆假面異服，如祠廟中神鬼塑像，謂之歇帳。又爆仗響，卷退。次有一擊小銅鑼，引百餘人，或巾裹，或雙髻，各著雜色半臂，圍肚看帶，以黃白粉塗其面，謂之抹蹌。各執木棹刀一口，成行列，擊鑼者指呼，各拜舞起居畢，喝喊變陣子數次，成一字陣，兩兩出陣格鬥，作奪刀擊刺之態百端訖，一人棄刀在地，就地擲身，背著地有聲，謂之扳落。如是數十對訖，復有一裝田舍兒者入場，念誦言語訖，有一裝村婦者入場，與村夫相值，各持棒杖互相擊觸，如相毆態。其村夫者以杖背村婦出場畢，後部樂作，諸軍繳隊雜劇一段，繼而露臺弟子雜劇一段，是時弟子蕭住兒、丁都賽、薛子大、薛子小、楊總惜、崔上壽之輩，後來者不足數。…

6. Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002-1060), "Viewing paintings of demons in a tug-of-war match with some scholars from Jianglin" (_He Jianglin ji xueshi hua gui bahe pian_ 和江鄰幾學士畫鬼拔河篇): [541]

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[540] Reprinted in *Xinyi Dongjing menghua lu* 新譯東京夢華錄, annotated by Yan Wenru 嚴文如, edited by Hou Naihui 侯迺慧 (Taipei: Sanmin, 2004), 223-225.

[541] *Wanling xiansheng ji* 宛陵先生集, *juan* 58. Reprinted under "Zhan Ziqian" 展子虔 in Chen Gaohua 陳高華's *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* 隋唐畫家史料, 20.

蒲中古寺壁畫古，昰者隋代展子虔。
分明八鬼拔河戲，中建二旗觀却前。
東廂四鬼苦用力，索尾拽断一鬼顛。
西廂四鬼來背挽，雙手搥下抵以肩。
龍頭魚身霹靂使，持钺植立旗左偏。
拔山夜叉右握斧，各司勝負如争先。
兩旁挝鼓鼓四面，聲勢助勇努眼圓。
劈鼻張拳擊棒首，似與暴謔意態全。
正中大鬼按膝坐，三鬼帶韣一執旃。
操刀擐囊力指督，怒髮上直筋舊纏。
虎尾人身又踣顧，蒺蔾短挺金鎚堅。
高下尊卑二十四，二十四鬼無黄泉。
角雄競强欲何睹，曷不各各還荒埏。

7. Su Song 蘇頌 (1020-1101), "Viewing the painting of demons in a tug-of-war match with some friends" (*He zhujun guan hua gui bahe* 和諸君觀畫鬼拔河)[542]

關中古有拔河戲，傳聞始盛隋唐世。
長絙百尺人兩朋，递以勇力相牽制。
芳華樂府務誇大，梨園公卿謾輕肆。
拔山扛鼎烏足矜，引繩排根非勝事。
當時好尚人競習，鬼物何為亦能是。
展吳畫格入神品，陸法尤長寫靈異。
蒲津古寺筆迹奇，世疑二子之紀置。
旗門雙立眾鬼環，大石當中坐渠帥。
蓬頭圜目互奮踊，植鼓揚桴各凌厲。
東西挽引力若停，賦彩自分傾奪勢。
畫來已歷數百年，墻壁巋然今不廢。
觀風使者集賢翁，每游其下幾忘味。
因令搨手裂齊纨，横卷傳看得形似。
精神氣韵信瑰詭，毫髪輕濃皆彷佛。
持來都下示朋僚，一見飄然動詩思。
諸公詩豪固難敵，形容物象尤精緻。
氣完語健隽眾口，二子聲名轉增貴。
予觀昔之善畫者，心手規橅无不至。
窮奇極怪千萬端，特出一時之用意。
鬼神冥漠不可詰，豈有便能人勇智。
仙官佛像亦如斯，變態隨時轉奇麗。

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[542] *Su Wengong ji* 蘇文公文集, *juan* 1. Reprinted under "Zhan Ziqian" 展子虔 in Chen Gaohua 陳高華's *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* 隋唐畫家史料, 18-19.

遂令來者信有說，塔廟從而增侈费。
後賢雖欲究端倪，竟亦无由革頹弊。
因知怪誕一崇長，漸靡成風滋巧偽。
茲圖他日遂流傳，更使人心惑魑魅。

8. Zhao Shuizhi 晁說之(1059-1129), "Upon my first visit to Hezhong to see the 'Demons in a Tug-of-War Match' painting, someone informed me the mural had been destroyed due to Scholar Lu's attempted to move it. With a deep sense of regret, I write this" (*Zhi Hezhong shoufang Gui bahe tu youren yun yin Lu xueshi yi qi bi [character missing] hui cun jin, linren gankai zhongri you zuo* 至河中首访《鬼拔河》图，有画人云，因陆学士移其壁，□毀寸盡，令人感慨終日，有作)[543]

坎坎分明拔河戲，盛在北朝唐尚爾。
畫手何人展子虔，妙不戲人惟戲鬼。
更无獰厲可嚴怖，既曰依人人是擬。
家家賈勇負勝餘，見之心寧不知耻。
最是隋宮窈窕春，汗妝蓬髮羞相比。
故宜落筆在蒲州，門外河來三萬里。
鄰幾舍人有搨本，詩翁賦詩名更起。
咏詩想畫二十年，客舍此邦心自喜。
攬真永絕偽物欺，顧影豈盡形儀美。
嗟予斷絕百事心，痴處留情獨在此。
魑魅魍魎好奔迸，文彩風流終棄圮。
出門訪之无處所，惜哉史君陸子履。
但欲便坐易瞻玩，不知壁古難移徙。
豈无剝落一寸餘，我願寶之若瓊蕊。
不然當学補亡詩，收拾粉本细綱紀。
或謂前年九鼎成，時无雜糅清如水。
雖有高室誰瞰之，亦莫揶揄毛手指。
帖壁不祥宜遁逃，彩門抛梭方靡靡。

9. Liu Tang 劉鏜 (1219-after 1306), "Observing the Nuo" (*Guan Nuo* 觀儺):[544]

寒雲岑岑天四陰，畫堂燭影紅簾深。

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[543] Songshan wenji 嵩山文集, *juan* 4. Reprinted under "Zhan Ziqian" 展子虔 in Chen Gaohua 陳高華's *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* 隋唐畫家史料, 21-22.

[544] Jiangxi shizheng 江西詩徵, *juan* 24. Reprinted in Qu and Qian 656. For further discussion of the Nuo ritual dance in Jiangxi described in the poem, see Lan Fan 藍凡, *Zhonghua wudao zhi Jiangxi juan* 中華舞蹈志江西卷 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2001).

鼓聲淵淵管聲脆，鬼神變化供劇戲。
金窪玉注始淙潺，眼前倏已非人間。
夜叉蓬頭鐵骨朵，赭衣藍面眼進火。
魑魊罔象初傳伶，跪羊立豕相嚘嚶。
紅裳姹女掩蕉扇，綠綬髯翁握蒲劍。
翻筋踢斗臂膊寬，張頤吐舌唇吻乾。
搖頭四顧百距躍，斂身千態萬罫索。
青衫舞蹈忽屏營，彩雲揭帳森麾旌。
紫雲金章獨居案，馬[illegible]牛權兩披判。
能言禍福不由天，躬履率越分愚賢。
蒺藜奮威小鬼服，鬣緣揚聲大鬿哭。
白面使者竹筱槍，自誇搜捕無遺藏。
牛冠箝卷試閱檢，虎冑肩戟光睒閃。
五方點隊亂紛紜，何物老嫗綳獶熏。
終南進士破鞮綺，嗜酒不悟鬼看覷。
奮髯矘目起婆娑，眾邪一正將那何？
披髮將畢飛一吷，風卷雲收鼓蕭歇。
夜闌四坐慘不怡，主人送客客盡悲。
歸來桃菊坐深蕑，翠鶚黃狐猶在眼。
自歌楚些大小招，坐久魂魄遊逍遙。
會稽山中禹非死，鑄鼎息壤乃若此。
又聞鬼姦多馮人，人姦馮鬼姦入神。
明日冠裳好妝束，白晝通都人面目。

10. Full entry of "Shi-er yue" 十二月 (The Twelfth Month) in *Mengliang lu* 夢粱錄 (Record of the Dream of the Millet), *juan* 6, by Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. 1270):

季冬之月，正居小寒、大寒時候。若此月雨雪連綿，以細民不易，朝廷賜關會，給散軍民賃錢，公私放免不征。自冬至後戌日，數至第三戌，便是臘日，謂之「君王臘」。臘月內可鹽豬羊等肉，或作臘犯，法魚之類，過夏皆無損壞。惠民局及士庶修制臘藥，俱無蟲蛀之患。此月八日，寺院謂之「臘八」。大剎等寺，俱設五味粥，名曰「臘八粥」；亦設紅糟，以麩乳諸果筍芋為之，供僧，或饋送檀施、貴宅等家。二十四日，不以窮富，皆備蔬食餳豆祀竈。此日市間及街坊叫買五色米食、花果、膠牙餳，萁豆聲，叫聲鼎沸。其夜家家以燈照於臥床下，謂之「照虛耗」。二十五日，士庶家煮赤豆粥祀食神，名曰「人口粥」，有貓狗者，亦與焉。不知出於何典。考之此月雖無節序，而豪貴之家，如天降瑞雪，則開筵飲宴，塑雪獅，裝雪山，以會親朋，淺斟低唱，倚玉偎香，或乘騎出湖邊，看湖山雪景，瑤林瓊樹，翠峰似玉，畫亦不如。詩人才子，遇此景則以臘雪煎茶，吟詩詠曲，更唱疊和。或遇晴明，則邀朋約友，夜遊天街，觀舞隊以預賞元夕。歲旦在邇，席鋪百貨，畫門神桃符，迎春牌兒，紙馬鋪印鐘馗，財馬、回頭馬等，饋與主顧。更以蒼朮、小棗、辟瘟丹相遺。如宮觀羽流，以交年疏、仙術湯等送檀施家。

醫士亦饋屠蘇袋，以五色線結成四金魚同心結子，或百事吉結子，並以諸品湯劑，送與主顧第宅，受之懸於額上，以辟邪氣。街市撲買錫打春幡勝、百事吉斛兒，以備元旦懸於門首，為新歲吉兆。其各坊巷叫賣蒼朮小棗不絕。又有市爆杖、成架煙火之類。自此入月，街市有貧丐者三五人為一隊，裝神鬼、判官、鐘馗、小妹等形。敲鑼擊鼓，沿門乞錢，俗呼為「打夜胡」，亦驅儺之意也。

11. Full entry of "Chuye" 除夜 (New Year's Eve) in *Mengliang lu* 夢粱錄 (Record of the Dream of the Millet), *juan* 6, by Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. 1270):

十二月盡，俗雲「月窮歲盡之日」，謂之「除夜」。士庶家不論大小家，俱灑掃門閭，去塵穢，淨庭戶，換門神，掛鐘馗，釘桃符，貼春牌，祭祀祖宗。遇夜則備迎神香花供物，以祈新歲之安。禁中除夜呈大驅儺儀，並係皇城司諸班直，戴面具，著繡畫雜色衣裝，手執金槍、銀戟、畫木刀劍、五色龍鳳、五色旗幟，以教樂所伶工裝將軍、符使、判官、鐘馗、六丁、六甲、神兵、五方鬼使、竈君、土地、門戶、神尉等神，自禁中動鼓吹，驅祟出東華門外，轉龍池彎，謂之「埋祟」而散。是日，內司意思局進呈精巧消夜果子合，合內簇諸般細果、時果、蜜煎、糖煎及市食，如十般糖、澄沙團、韻果、蜜姜豉、皂兒糕、蜜酥、小鮑螺酥、市糕、五色萁豆、炒槌栗、銀杏等品，及排小巧玩具頭兒、牌兒、貼兒。小酒器上插□□□□□□□盒子中做造像生大安輦或玉輅、九□□□□□□等。是夜，禁中爆竹嵩呼，聞於街巷。□□□□□□煙火屏風諸般事件爆杖，及送在□□□□□□爆杖聲震如雷。士貪不以貪富家□□□□□□如同白日，圍爐團坐，酌酒唱歌，鼓□□□□□□謂之「守歲」。

12. Excerpt of "Suichu" 歲除, from *Qian Chun suishi ji* 乾淳歲時記 (Record of seasonal customs during the Qiandao and Chunxi periods), by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298):

禁中以臘月二十四為小節，夜三十日為大節，夜呈女童驅儺，裝六丁六甲六神之類，大率如夢華所載，後苑修內司，各進消夜果兒，以大合簇飣，凡百餘種，如蜜煎珍果，下至花餳箕豆，以至玉杯寶器，珠翠花朵，犀象博戲之具，銷金鬥葉，諸色戲弄之物，無不備具，皆極小巧，又於其上作玉輅，高至三四尺，悉以金玉等為飾，護以貼金龍鳳羅罩以奇侈求勝一合之費不啻中人十家之產止以資天顏一笑耳，後妃諸閣又各進歲軸兒及珠翠百事吉利市袋兒，小樣金銀器皿，並隨年金錢一百二十文，旋亦分賜親王貴邸宰臣巨璫，至於爆仗，有為果子人物等類不一，而殿司所進屏風，外畫鐘馗捕鬼之類而內藏藥線，一爇連百餘不絕，簫鼓迎春，雞人警唱，而玉漏漸移，金門已啟矣.

13. "Preface" of *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (Records of Wulin [Hangzhou]), 1279-90. By Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298):

乾道、淳熙間，三朝授受，兩宮奉親，古昔所無。一時聲名文物之盛，號「小元佑」。豐亨豫大，至寶佑、景定，則幾於政、宣矣。予曩於故家遺老得其 梗概，及客修門閒，聞退璫老監談先朝舊事，輒耳諦聽，如小兒觀優，終日夕不少倦。既而曳裾貴邸，耳目益廣，朝歌暮嬉，酣玩歲月，意謂人生正復若此，初 不省承平樂事為難遇也。及時移物換，憂患飄零，追想昔游，殆如夢寐，而感慨系之矣。歲時檀欒，酒酣耳熱，時為小兒女戲道一二，未必不反以為誇言欺我也。 每欲萃為一編，如呂滎陽《雜記》而加詳，孟元老《夢華》而近雅，病忘慷惰，未能成書。世故紛來，懼終於不暇紀載，因摭大概，雜然書之。青燈永夜，時一 展卷，恍然類昨日事，而一旦朋游淪落，如晨星霜葉，而余亦老矣。噫，盛衰無常，年運既往，後之覽者，能不興慨我寤歎之悲乎！四水潛夫書。

14. Entry on "Yan Hui" 顏輝 in HJBY:

顏輝，字秋月，廬陵人。宋末時能畫山水、人物、鬼神，士大夫皆敬愛之。

15. "Jinzhi zhuangban Si Tianwang" 禁治粧扮四天王 (Prohibition on impersonations of the Four Heavenly Kings), under "Xinbu shijiu zhujin zajin" 刑部十九諸禁雜禁 (Criminal law, chapter 19, various and miscellaneous prohibitions), in *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 (Legal Statues of the Yuan Dynasty), *juan* 57, dated 1281.

至元十八年十一月，御史台承奉中書省箚付: 據宣徽院呈，提點教坊司申，閏八月廿五日，有八哥奉御、禿烈奉御傳奉聖旨: 道與小李，今後不揀甚麼人，十六天魔休唱者，雜劇裏休做者，休吹彈者，四天王休妝扮者，骷髏頭休穿戴者。如有違犯，要罪過(者)。欽此。

16. Excerpts from "Xinfa si" 刑法四 (Criminal Law part four), in *Yuanshi* 元史 (Yuan History):

(1) 嚴禁民間報賽迎神。
(2) 民間多有祈賽神社，置到神案、旗牌、鑼鼓、傘蓋、交椅、儀從等物，若不拘收，切恐因而別生端。

17. "Xinbu shijiu: jin juzhong" 刑部十九禁聚眾 (Criminal law part 19: prohibition of gatherings), from *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 (Legal Statutes of Yuan Dynasty), *juan* 57:

禁治不嚴親民州縣正官各决一十七下。

18. Wu Lai 吳萊 (1297-1340), "Shi Nuo" 時儺 (Current Nuo rituals), from *Yuanying ji* 淵穎集, *juan* 2:

古人重儺疫，時俗事禬禳。歲陽欲改律，輿鬼燉耀鋌。

厲神乃恣肆，魃蜮並猖狂。侲僮幸成列，巫覡陳禁方。
虎頭眩金目，元製炳赤爙。桃弧驅菑沴，豆礫斃瘴剛。
八靈悉震慴，六合高褰張。清寧信不害，動静維吾常。
世途頗險盭，人魅更跳梁。狐鼠戴介幘，夔魖竊香囊。
煎熬到膏髓，擊剥成疕瘍。乘風作國蠹，抵隙為民殃。
自從九鼎没，誰使百怪藏。瘃寒服褫帛，肌餒食閒糧。
蘆花敝汝体，橡栗饞吾腸。地虞竟卷去，天孽俱離傷。
神荼欲呀啖，蟠木蔓不長。蒙倛強顔貌，枯竹無耿光。
聖言謂近戲，五祀徒驚惶。惜哉六典廢，述此時儺章。

19. Du Xi 杜禧 (fl. Yuan dynasty), "Ti Wang Guyun 'Zimo jiaodi tu'" 題王孤雲漬墨角抵圖 (Colophon for Wang Guyun's painting of acrobats in puddled ink)[545]

魚龍百戲、角觝之技，而舞緪高擎、足梯竿瓮釜、又吞刀弄丸等，極為巇險艱難，其餘諸技流莫能及也，故目之為鬼百戲。是技也，方之精絕，維鬼物可以能之。畫工因其名稱繪為斯圖，蓋有取之也。至於山海有經、楚辭天問所著，又燃犀牛渚、朱衣異類之迹，皆稱其形貌，未嘗言其機巧也。

20. Feng Zizheng 馮子振 (1253-1348), "Feng Huangjie Dazhang gongzhu min ti Wang Guyun 'Zimo jiaodi tu'" 奉皇姊大長公主命題王孤雲漬墨角抵圖 (Colophon for Wang Guyun's painting of acrobats in puddled ink under the command of Princess Sengge Ragi):

年來鬼弄人，狡獪出幻戲。崖公亦兒嬉，隊伍連鼓吹。
獸吻魑魅頤，顛倒垂舞袂。擎梯旋注碗，駭汗增妙意。
跳躑向虛空，渾如履平地。生蛇縛樊籠，鱗鬣尚黏綴。
獵圍鏖虎貔，賈勇雷電沸。戈旂誇戰鬥，獰卒彌膽氣。
最後大將麾，胡床專尊貴。代閒鐵門限，失笑詎玩世。
罔兩曾問景，莊周語言繼。幽冥一理耳，分別自愚智。
百齡千萬齡，伸詘肘不易。懸知碧桃花，長戀老仙轡。
五窮莫移檄，文字安敢祟。

21. Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1773), painter's inscription for the hanging scroll entitled *Zui Zhong Kui* (Drunken Zhong Kui):[546]

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545 Recorded under *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (Studies of Paintings and Calligraphy in the Shigu Tang Studio), *juan* 48, *hua* 18, by Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645-1712), Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition.

546 The image containing the inscription is reproduced in Wang Lanxi and Wang Shucun, eds., *Zhong Kui baitu* (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chuban she, 1990), plate 12.

唐吳道子畫《趨殿鍾馗圖》、張渥有《執笏鍾馗》、五代牟元德有《鍾馗擊鬼圖》、宋石恪有《鍾馗小妹圖》、孫知微有《雪中鍾馗》、李公麟有《鍾馗嫁妹圖》、梁楷有《鍾馗策蹇尋梅圖》、馬和之有《松下讀書鍾馗》、元王蒙有《寒林鍾馗》、明錢穀有《鍾老馗移家圖》、郭诩有《鍾馗雜戲圖》、陳洪綬有《鍾馗元夕夜游圖》，未有畫及醉鍾馗者。余用禪門米汁和墨吮筆寫之，不特禦邪拔厲，而其醉容可掬。想見終南進士嬉遨盛世慶幸太平也。昔人於歲終畫鍾馗小像以獻官家，祓除不祥。今則專施之五月五日矣。農又記。