

REPRESENTING THE DAOIST GOD ZHENWU, THE PERFECTED WARRIOR,
IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA

By

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ABSTRACT

Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, emerged as an anthropomorphic deity in the early Northern Song (960-1126) and reached the peak of his popularity in the Ming (1368-1644). Prior to this time he was known as Xuanwu, the Dark Warrior, and appeared as a tortoise entwined with a snake. Widely varying representations of this Daoist god, one of the most prominent in the Daoist pantheon, coexisted throughout the Song and later history of his cult. Different images fashioned to serve different audiences reveal the wide social range of Zhenwu believers and shifting beliefs about the god's powers.

Literary evidence combines with the ubiquitous pictorial and three-dimensional images to demonstrate Zhenwu's pervasive presence in the religious and cultural landscape. A scripture, sets of ritual scrolls, pictorial stele, cave temple, and an album depicting a corps of thunder marshals affiliate Zhenwu with the Daoist Thunder Department and with certain of its members, notably the Four Saints (*si sheng*). Zhenwu also appears in Daoist and Buddhist assembly paintings, murals and scroll sets, linked to performances of the *huanglu zhai* [purgation rite of the yellow register] and the *shuilu fahui* [rite for deliverance of creatures of water and land]. Fervent Yuan and Ming imperial patronage of the god's home, Mt. Wudang, gives evidence of Zhenwu's emergence as an independent deity with a cadre of assistant martial divinities. Many Ming statues represent his role as a tutelary god and his participation in the pantheon of Chinese popular religion. Ming illustrations of his hagiography in a woodblock-printed collection of stories, a canonical Daoist scripture, a painted album, a complex piece of sculpture, and an edition of the vernacular novel *Beiyou ji* [Journey to the North] indicate the appeal of specific episodes of his life story and show how they were adapted for different

audiences. Through interdisciplinary analysis of the literary, historical, social, and religious contexts of key Zhenwu images, this case study demonstrates the extent to which Daoist imagery permeated the visual culture of late imperial China.

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for MJG

Preface

The initial impetus for this project came not only from a fascination with Zhenwu images but also from a frustration that few artworks had been published or discussed in scholarly literature. As an art historian, my primary questions were prompted by the images themselves. What are the basic elements of Zhenwu's iconography and how can we explain their symbolism, development, and variations? What aspects of the god's hagiography are reflected in images of him? What types of images of the god were most prevalent and when were they created? Who made these images and for whom? Where and how were the images installed in their original contexts and how did people use them?

When I first embarked on this project, I had planned to focus imperially commissioned images of Zhenwu from the Ming period. In the early stages of the research, I began to discover a host of compelling images that fell outside my original parameters and I decided to widen the scope of the study. The diversity of images dictated a broad, interdisciplinary investigation as the best approach to answering my questions about Zhenwu. In order to incorporate these additional artworks, it was necessary to delve into the muddy area of the god's early history in the Song period and deal with materials such as small stoneware and porcelain statuary as well as woodblock-printed illustrations that required me to expand beyond my previous focus on paintings and bronze sculpture. I believe that these forays into largely uncharted territory have enriched this project and helped to accomplish the aims of this dissertation.

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- 3.1 Wu Zongyuan 武宗元, *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. Northern Song period. Handscroll, ink on silk. 58 x 777.5 cm. Private Collection.
- 3.2 *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. East Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural. 1042 x 306.5 cm. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).
- 3.3 *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. West Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural. 1042 x 306.5 cm. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).
- 3.4 Zhenwu and Tianpeng. *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. East Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural. 1042 x 306.5 cm. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).
- 3.5 Layout of Sanqing Hall [Hall of the Three Pure Ones] at Yongle gong [Palace of Eternal Joy]. From Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999, 146.
- 3.6 North Wall (east side). Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.
- 3.7 North Wall (west side). Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.

- 3.8 East Wall. Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.
- 3.9 West Wall. Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.
- 3.10 Zhenwu and Tianyou. West Wall (north end). Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.
- 3.11 Yisheng and Tianpeng. East Wall (north end). Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.
- 3.12 The Four Saints in *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 [Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao Tradition] (DZ 942-962). From *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004, vol. 34, 272.
- 3.13 The Four Saints in *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Protocols of the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] (DZ 508). From *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004, vol. 43, 545.
- 3.14 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Lingbao Tradition] (DZ 466). From *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004, vol. 39, 25.
- 3.15 The Four Saints. Baoning si 寶寧寺 [Precious Peace Monastery]. Ming period, c. 1460. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. 119.2 x 62 cm. Shanxi Provincial Museum.
- 3.16 East Wall. Pilu Hall. Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei.
- 3.17 West Wall. Pilu Hall. Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei.
- 3.18 Zhenwu and Tianpeng. West Wall (north section). Pilu Hall. Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei.

- 3.19 Yisheng and Tianyou. East Wall (north section). Pilu Hall. Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei.
- 3.20 *Generals Who Died for their Country and Officials of Former Times*. Ming period. Hanging scroll; ink, colors and gold on silk. 135 x 75 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts (99.116).

Chapter 4

- 4.1 *Zhenwu and His Entourage*. Early Ming period, 15th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. 132 x 98 cm. Herbert Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.
- 4.2 *Zhenwu and His Entourage*. Early Ming period, 15th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. 122.7 x 63.3 cm. Reiunji, Tokyo.
- 4.3 Xuandi shenghao 玄帝聖號 [Dark Emperor's Sainly Title] (entry 7) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995, volume 32: 1022-61.
- 4.4 *Fuwei kangong* [Returning to the Throne at Kan Gong] (entry 42) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995, volume 32: 1022-61.
- 4.5 Shang Xi (active early 15th century), *Guandi Capturing an Enemy General*. Ming period. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 200 x 237 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 4.6 Martial Figure from Jiyi miao. Mural. Ming period. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji, siguan bihua*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe. volume 13.
- 4.7 Skanda. Fahai si. Mural. Ming period, 1439-43. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji, siguan bihua*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, volume 13: figure 120.
- 4.8 Zhenwu's Sword and Flag Attendants. Ming period, 1416. Gilt bronze. Jindian 金殿 [Golden Hall] at Taihe gong 太和宮 [Palace of Supreme Harmony] on Mt. Wudang. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館 [Hubei Provincial Museum, Wudang shan 武當山. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991: no. 135.

- 4.9 Puhua tianzun 普化天尊 [Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation] from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.
- 4.10 Shrine with Daoist Deities including Puhua tianzun and Zhenwu. Longquan celadon. Ming period, dated 1406. 49.5 cm high. British Museum (OA 1929.1-14.1).
- 4.11 *Puhua tianzun and His Entourage*. Ming period, dated 1596. Hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk. 266 x 100 cm. Ethnographic Collection, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (B.4358).
- 4.12 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1586. Ink rubbing of a stele from Liuhe ta 六和塔 [Six Harmonies Pagoda]. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. (F88-45/345).
- 4.13 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1416. Gilt bronze. 1.8 m high. Jindian 金殿 [Golden Hall] at Taihe gong 太和宮 [Palace of Supreme Harmony] on Mt. Wudang. . From Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館 [Hubei Provincial Museum, Wudang shan 武當山. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991: no. 134.
- 4.14 Chen Yanqing 陳彥清 (act. early 15th century). Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1439. Gilt bronze. 36.4 cm high. Art Institute of Chicago (1950.1054).
- 4.15 Zhenwu. Ming period, 15th-16th century. Bronze. 133 cm high. British Museum 1908.7-25.2).
- 4.16 Zhenwu. Ming period. Gilt bronze. Wang Shixiang Collection. From Wang Shixiang. *Zi hen ji: Lisong juchang wuzhi* 自珍集：徧松居長物志 [Self-Cherished Treasures of Twin-Pine Studio: A Listing of Items]. Beijing: Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2003: 55.
- 4.17 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1424. Bronze. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.
- 4.18 Inscription from back of Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1424. Bronze. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.
- 4.19 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1544. Bronze. 47.5 cm high. From *Fine and Rare Chinese Works of Art and Ceramics: Summer Exhibition*. London: Roger Keverne Gallery, 2004: 14-5.

- 4.20 Zhenwu Shrine. Ming period. Fahua ware. 28.3 cm high. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (B60 P518).
- 4.21 Zhenwu Shrine. Ming period. Fahua ware. British Museum (2003.7-29.1).
- 4.22 Zhenwu. Ming period? Blue-and-white porcelain. 35.5 cm high. Christie's South Kensington. Sale COR-8215. November 26, 1998. Lot 639.
- 4.23 Zhenwu. Ming period, Wanli (1573-1620). Blue-and-white porcelain. 46 x 20 x 15 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1979.785).
- 4.24 Zhenwu and Guanyin Shrine. Ming period. Longquan celadon. Cincinnati Art Museum (1991.163).
- 4.25 Zhenwu. Ming period. Longquan celadon. Sotheby's Amsterdam. Sale AM0860. December 4, 2002. Lot 175.
- 4.26 Zhenwu. Ming period. Cizhou stoneware. 28.8 cm high. Beijing Cultural Relics Research Institute. From Grace Wong, *Urban Life in the Song, Yuan, and Ming*. Singapore: Empress Palace Museum, 1994: 70-71.
- 4.27 Zhenwu. Late Ming period. Dehua porcelain (blanc de Chine). 24.7 cm high. Donnelly Collection. From P. J. Donnelly. *Blanc de Chine: The Porcelain of Tehua in Fukien*. London: Faber and Faber, 1969: no. 248.
- 4.28 Zhenwu. Ming period, seventeenth century. Dehua porcelain (*blanc de Chine*). 24 cm high. Hickley Collection at the Asian Civilizations Museum, Singapore (2000.3471). From Rose Kerr, John Ayers, and Chuimei Ho. *Blanc de Chine: Porcelain from Dehua*. Richmond: Curzon, 2002: no. 26.

Chapter 5

- 5.1 *Huangbang ronghui* 黃榜榮輝 [Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor] (entry 1) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.2 *Jianlin yingxiang* 壽林應祥 [Auspicious Appearance of Jianlin (Trees)] (entry 3) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.3 *Wangong dansheng* 王宮誕聖 [Birth of the Sacred Being (Zhenwu) at the Imperial Palace] (entry 21) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.4 *Jingshu mohui* 經書默會 [Quiet Realization of the Scriptures] (entry 22) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.5 *Ciqin mudao* 辭親慕道 [(Zhenwu) Saying Goodbye to Parents and (Going to) Seeking the Dao] (entry 23) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.6 *Yuanjun shoudao* 元君授道 [Yuanjun Gives (Zhenwu) the Dao] (entry 24) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.7 *Tiandi cijian* 天帝賜劍 [Jade Emperor Bestows a Sword] (entry 25) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.8 *Wuchu chengzhen* 悟杵成針 [Pounding a Pestle to Become a Needle] (entry 28) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.9 Penglai xianlu 蓬萊仙侶 [Immortals from Penglai Accompany (Zhenwu)] (entry 30) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.10 *Zixiao yuandao* 紫霄圓道 [Getting the Dao at Purple Tenuity (Mountain)] (entry 31) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.11 *Wulong pengsheng* 五龍捧聖 [Five Dragons Hold the Sacred Being (Zhenwu)] (entry 32) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.12 *Santian zhaoming* 三天詔命 [Three Heavens Create an Edict and Commandment] (entry 33) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.13 *Wudang fayuan* 武當發願 [Making a Wish at (Mount) Wudang] (entry 49) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.14 Lu Dongbin. Yuan period, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. 110.5 x 44.4 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (62-25).
- 5.15 *Yuqing yanfa* 玉清演法 [Practicing Methods in the Jade Purity (Palace)] entry 37) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.16 *Chaojin tianyan* 朝觀天顏 [Going to the Palace to see the Heavenly Face (of Yuanshi tianzun)] (entry 38) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.17 *Yujing jiaogong* 玉京較功 [Comparing Virtue at the Jade Capital] (entry 43) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.18 *Qiongtai shouce* 瓊臺受冊 [Receiving the Tally at the Jade Platform] (entry 44) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.19 *Tiangong jiaqing* 天宮家慶 [Family Celebration at the Heavenly Palace] (entry 45) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.20 *Xiangmo dongyin* 降魔洞陰 [Subduing Demons at Dong Yin] (entry 39) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.21 *Fenpan rengui* 分判人鬼 [Dividing and Judging Humans and Ghosts] (entry 40) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.22 *Kaixuan qingdu* 凱還清都 [Returning Victorious to the Pure Capital] (entry 41) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.23 *Fuwei kangong* 復位坎宮 [Returning to his Throne at Kan Gong] (entry 42) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.24 *Ganlin yingdao* 甘霖應禱 [Sweet Rain in Response to Prayers] (entry 47) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.25 *Gongsheng chongshi* 供聖重時 [Making Offerings to the Sacred (Being) at Chong Time] (entry 52) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.26 *Dongtian yungai* 洞天雲蓋 [Clouds Cover the Grotto Heaven] (entry 55) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.27 *Dimian yingpan* 地面迎蟠 [Entwined (Turtle and Snake) Face the Earth] (entry 58) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.28 *Ershi huaguang* 二士化光 [Two Men Transform into Light] (entry 62) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.29 *Fanzhen tonghe* 藩鎮通和 [Harmonious Conquest of the Warlords] (entry 72) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.30 *Piaoqing sanwan* 瓢傾三萬 [The Dipper Empties 30,000 (Times)] (entry 73) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.31 *Fenglang jiuyan* 風浪救岳 [Saving the Cliff from Wind and Waves] (entry 76) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.32 *Heiyun ganying* 黑雲感應 [Efficacious Response of a Black Cloud] (entry 2) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.33 *Tianzhen xianxian* 天真顯現 [Heavenly Perfected Being Manifests on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth lunar month in the tenth year of Yongle (1412)] (entry 8) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.34 *Yuanguang xianying* 圓光顯應 [Manifested Response in a Round Halo on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month in the tenth year of Yongle (1412)] (entry 10) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.35 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 12) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.36 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 13) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.37 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 14) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.38 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 15) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.39 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 17) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.
- 5.40 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the nineteenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 18) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.

- 5.41 *Langmei chengrui* 榔梅呈瑞 [Auspicious Appearance of Betel-nut Plums] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.42 *Heiyun ganying* 黑雲感應 [Efficacious Response of a Black Cloud] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.43 *Jianlin yingxiang* 騫林應祥 [Auspicious Appearance of Jianlin (Trees)] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.44 *Huangbang ronghui* 黃榜榮輝 [Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.45 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.

- 5.46 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.47 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.47 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.49 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.50 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.51 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.

- 5.52 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.53 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.54 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.55 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.
- 5.56 *Ershi huaguang* 二士化光 [Two Men Transform into Light] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.
- 5.57 *Wudang fayuan* 武當發願 [Making a Wish at Wudang (Mountain)] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.

- 5.58 *Xiangmo dongyin* 降魔洞陰 [Subduing Demons at Dong Yin] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.
- 5.59 *Yubi chaocan* 玉陛朝參 [Paying Respects at Court on the Jade Platform] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.
- 5.60 *Bairi shangsheng* 白日上昇 [The White Sun Rises] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.
- 5.61 Zhenwu Ascending from Mt. Wudang to the Celestial Court. Ming period, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Bronze. 121 cm high. British Museum (BM OA 1990.12-15.1).
- 5.62 Detail of coin-shaped mark on Zhenwu Ascending from Mt. Wudang to the Celestial Court. Ming period, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Bronze. 121 cm high. British Museum (BM OA 1990.12-15.1).
- 5.63 Text of Entry for Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 [Newly Compiled Combined Record of the Search for the Supernatural]. Yuan period (1279-1368). Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 2: 26-29.
- 5.64 Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 [Newly Compiled Combined Record of the Search for the Supernatural]. Yuan period (1279-1368). Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 2: 25.
- 5.65 Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 三教源流聖帝佛祖大全 [Compendia of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist Patriarchs of the Three Religions]. Seven juan version. Ming period, early-mid sixteenth century. Woodblock-printed book. For a 1909 reprint (by Ye Dehui 叶德辉), see *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (958), (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 31: 644.

- 5.66 Text of Entry for Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]. Ming period, dated 1593. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 4: 79-83.
- 5.67 Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]. Ming period, dated 1593. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 4: 78.
- 5.68 *Zushi shanglao zhong jiang* 祖師賞勞眾將 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) Rewarded Many Generals] (picture 225) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.69 *Zushi shouba tianmen* 祖師守把天門 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) Guards the Heavenly Gate] (picture 226) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.70 *Zhong jiang shou ? can jian* 眾將受? 參見 [Generals Receive Their Titles and Positions, Pay Their Respects and Meet (Zhenwu)] (picture 227) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.71 *Zushi xiafan jian jiu yao* 祖師下凡間救妖 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) Descends to Earth to Save (People from) Demons] (picture 228) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.

- 5.72 *Yudi she yan hui qunchen* 玉帝設宴會群臣 [The Jade Emperor Holds a Banquet for Officials] (picture 1) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.73 *Guowang yan dai chun chen* 國王宴待群臣 [The King Holds a Banquet for Officials] (picture 47) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.74 *Kang Xi ying daoshi ru dong* 康蔭迎道士入洞 [Kang Xi Welcomed the Daoist to Enter the Cave] (picture 166) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.75 *Tudi ying jie xuantian shangdi* 土地接玄天上帝 [The Earth God Welcomes and Meets the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven] (picture 115) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.76 *Zhu Yanshi xiang xuantian shangdi* 朱彥失降玄天上帝 [Zhu Yanshi Surrenders to the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven] (picture 155) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.

- 5.77 *Shangdi zhi xiang Dang Guiji* 上帝智降當歸藉 [The Supreme Emperor (Zhenwu) Uses His Wisdom to Force the Surrender of Dang Guiji] (picture 163) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.78 *Zhongbai xing wang kong bai xie zushi* 眾百姓王空拜謝祖師 [Commoners Looked at the Sky, Bowed, and Thanked the Patriarch (Zhenwu)] (picture 164) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.79 *Zushi bei jin zhong gai zhu* 祖師被金鐘蓋住 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) was Covered by a Golden Bell] (picture 165) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.80 *Simin she gong xuantian shangdi* 四民設供玄天上帝 [People from the Four Directions Make Offerings to the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Zhenwu)] (picture 236) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.
- 5.81 *Xuantian shangdi jishi* 玄天上帝忌食 [Food Taboos (Regarding) the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Zhenwu)] (picture 237) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.

- 5.82 *Shangdi xiang fan* 上帝降凡 [Supreme Emperor (Zhenwu) Descends to Earth] (picture 238) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.

Introduction

“Only the Northern Emperor of the Dark Heaven [Zhenwu] has the most mercy for my country—how great he is . . . Zhenwu controls auspicious events and arranges our vast civilization. His beating creates lightning and his whipping [causes] thunder. He and his entourage are grand and bold. As he passes by, many leaves scatter beautifully and we suddenly hear the sound of surging waters . . . When Zhenwu comes the wind is cool and refreshing. He drives a flying dragon and rides along flowing stars, eight *luan* and nine *feng*¹ approached in front of and from behind Zhenwu. Suddenly he arrived and then he quickly ascended . . . His sword’s light spits and devours the forces of *yin* and *yang*, flames [from his sword] are like lightning, the blow [of his sword] is like thunder . . . Zhenwu has destroyed evil, swept away the plague, and people now enjoy material prosperity. [We present Zhenwu with] clear wine, fragrant meat and fish dishes, and fruits to reward Zhenwu with 10,000 sacrifices made with sincerity.”²

--*Yuzhi zhenwu miaobei* 御制真武廟碑 [Stele Inscription from an Imperial Zhenwu Temple], written on the thirteenth day of the eighth month in the thirteenth year of Yongle (1415)

Taken from an imperial dedication for a temple in the capital Beijing, the passage above demonstrates that, by the fifteenth century, Zhenwu 真武 [the Perfected Warrior] had become a major deity in the Daoist pantheon and a particular favorite of Chinese emperors and the court. Regarded as a protector of the country and its people, Zhenwu was a martial deity associated with the North. Imperial edicts, historical records, gazetteers, liturgical manuals, hagiographical texts, and surviving images point to the existence of a major corpus of Zhenwu images. Yet these images have been largely overlooked in both Western and Asian scholarship.

¹ *Luan* 鸞 is term for the male and *feng* 鳳 indicates a female Chinese phoenix.

² Stele text preserved as an addition at the end of *Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heavens in the Great Ming] (DZ 959) in *Daozang* 道藏 [Daoist Canon] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 640-1.

This study examines images of Zhenwu from his emergence as an anthropomorphic deity in the early Northern Song (960-1126) through the peak of his popularity in the Ming (1368-1644). The development of Zhenwu images did not follow a straight linear trajectory, and widely varying representations of the deity coexisted throughout the history of his cult. By investigating how and why different images of Zhenwu were fashioned to serve different audiences, this dissertation reveals the wide range of believers in his cult and demonstrates shifts in Zhenwu's powers and people's belief in him. By placing key Zhenwu images in artistic, historical, social, and religious contexts, this project shows how thoroughly Daoist deity images were woven into the visual culture of later imperial China.

Defining Daoism and its Relationship to Chinese Popular Religion

Because this dissertation is offered as a contribution to the burgeoning field of Daoist studies, it is necessary to present a definition of Daoism and briefly outline some of the problematic aspects of its use as a term. Several recent introductions to Daoism (also Romanized as Taoism)³ balance the need to acknowledge the inherent complexity of the term "Daoism" with the necessity of establishing a definition for it that facilitates

³ Some scholars have continued to use "Taoism" which reflects the older Wade-Giles Romanization of the Chinese word 道 "Way" as opposed to the contemporary Pinyin Romanization "Daoism." Scholars such as Russell Kirkland believe that Taoism has become a recognized English word that should not be altered even though the majority of international scholars now use Pinyin to Romanize Chinese words. Kirkland's recent book is *Taoism: the Enduring Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2004). Like many other Daoist studies scholars, I use Pinyin Romanization throughout this dissertation for clarity and consistency with other disciplines within Chinese studies. For a more extensive discussion of the issue of Daoism vs. Taoism, see Norman J. Girardot, James Miller, and Xiaogan Liu, eds., *Daoism and Ecology: Ways Within a Cosmic Landscape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001): xxxi.

understanding.⁴ Daoism is an organized religious tradition indigenous to China.⁵ Daoism actually encapsulates elements from three Chinese terms: *daojia* 道家 [school of the Dao], *daojiao* 道教 [traditions of the Dao], and *daoshu* 道術 [arts of the Dao].⁶ *Daojia* is the oldest of the three terms and was originally used as a bibliographical classification for works such as the *Daode jing* 道德經 [Scripture of the Way and Its Virtue]. *Daojiao* refers to the transmission of Daoist teachings mainly within an institutionalized, religious setting when priests and nuns are trained and ordained. *Daoshu* encompasses meditation, breathing exercises, and energy movements that one may practice in a formal religious context, under the auspices of a lay Daoist organization, or on one's own. *Daojia* has often been misleadingly translated into English as “philosophical Daoism” and set up in opposition to “religious Daoism,” the common translation for *daojiao*.⁷ These translations are the legacy of nineteenth-century Western missionaries who praised texts such as the *Daode jing* while simultaneously reviling Daoist religious practices of the time.

Missionaries highly valued “philosophical Daoism” contained in ancient Daoist texts but

⁴ James Miller, *Daoism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Productions, 2003); Russell Kirkland, *Taoism: The Enduring Tradition*; and Kohn, *Daoism and Chinese Culture* (Cambridge: Three Pines Press, 2001).

⁵ Though Daoism is indigenous to China, it spread to Korea and Japan. The practice of Daoism is not confined to China or even geographically or ethnically Asian peoples. In contemporary times, numerous practitioners in the West identify themselves as Daoists.

⁶ James Miller presents one of the most clear and concise explanations of these Chinese terms along with the history and implications for their use in scholarly works. My discussion of this issue closely follows Miller's. Miller, *Daoism: A Short Introduction*: 16-35.

⁷ Although Daoists did not use the term *daojiao* to identify their own tradition until the fifth century, most scholars believe that *daojiao* began with Zhang Daoling's vision of Lord Lao (the deified form of Laozi) and the formation of Wudoumi Dao 五斗米道 [Five Pecks of Rice Daoism] also known as Tianshi Dao 天師道 [Way of the Heavenly Masters] in Sichuan province in the second century. Wu Hung, “Mapping Early Taoist Art: The Visual Culture of Wudoumi Dao” in Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, exhibition catalogue (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago and University of California Press, 2000): 77-93.

condemned “religious Daoism” as based on superstition and inferior to Christianity. Developments in Chinese academic circles actually seemed to perpetuate this view of Daoism in China and the West through two thirds of the twentieth century. Intellectuals such as Hu Shi, Chan Wing-tsit, and Feng Youlan who lived through the dismantling of traditional China at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century struggled with issues of Chinese identity and they endeavored to reposition China in the modern world.⁸ These scholars and many Asian scholars and Western Sinologists that followed in their footsteps did not acknowledge Daoism as an integral part of Chinese culture.⁹ They saw “religious Daoism” as based on superstition, spirit mediums, magic, and folk beliefs; and this was not the image of China that they wanted to promote. The majority of modern Western and Asian scholars now reject the rubrics of “philosophical” and “religious” Daoism in favor of a more nuanced and balanced view of Daoism that incorporates aspects of *daojia*, *daojiao*, and *daoshu*.¹⁰

⁸ These authors gravitated toward Confucianism. Each of these authors has numerous books in Chinese and English. For some insight into Feng Youlan, see *The Hall of Three Pines: An Account of My Life*, translated by Denis C. Mair (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000); Huang Kejian and Wu Xiaolong, compilers 黄克剑, 吴小龙, *Feng Youlan ji 冯友兰集* [Selections from Feng Youlan] (Beijing: Qunyan chubanshe, 1993), and Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan Press, 1948). Chan wing-tsit is best known for his text, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). He also published many books on Zhu Xi.

⁹ Stephen Little has pointed this out in his introductory article “Taoism and the Arts of China” in Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 16.

¹⁰ For example, Isabelle Robinet states that “this distinction is much like the distinction between contemplative Taoism and the kind of Taoism seen as ‘purposeful,’ that is to say ‘involved’ or ‘directed’ (what I render as ‘practical’ Taoism), concerned with the achievement of longevity. Much ink has been spilled on this matter, but usually, it must be admitted, by people who have not studied the texts of ‘religious Taoism.’ We shall see again and again that this division has no significance.” Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, translated by Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997): 3-4. Similarly, James Miller argues that “earlier attempts to distinguish Daoist philosophy from Daoist religion depend on Western views about the content of ‘philosophy’ and ‘religion,’ and, usually, the value of the former over the latter. This internal Western conflict has no place in Daoism because Daoism views the body as a single organism in which

In the same way that certain aspects of Daoism were denigrated as superstition, Chinese popular religion has also been disparaged as “folk religion.” In the past few decades, scholars have not only worked to develop a definition for Chinese popular religion but also asserted that the prevalence of its ideas and practices make it as worthy of study as those of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism. It is important to present some of the characteristics of Chinese popular religion here and to acknowledge Daoism’s complex and shifting relationship with it. As Stephen Teiser has pointed out, the term “popular religion” has been used to refer to beliefs and practices in China in two main senses.¹¹ Popular religion can refer to activities that almost all Chinese people engage in regardless of their socio-economic status, level of literacy, regional location, or explicit religious affiliation. Chinese funerals and memorial services, lunar New Year’s festivals, and consultation with a spirit medium are all examples of this sense of popular religion. Scholars have also used the term “popular religion” to refer to the religion of the lower classes as opposed to that of the elite. Such “popular” practices can also be localized to a region or community. The lower socio-economic position of the adherents of popular religion in this second sense affects people’s style of religious practice and their interpretation of their experiences. Several scholars have discussed Daoism’s varying relationship with Chinese popular religion.¹² Edward Davis contrasts two prevalent

mental, emotional, and physical activities take place in constant interaction with each other.” Miller, *Daoism: A Short Introduction*: 34.

¹¹ Stephen Teiser, “The Spirits of Chinese Religion” in Donald Lopez, Jr., ed. *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 21-5.

¹² A detailed discussion of the ongoing debate about the relationship between Daoism and Chinese popular religion is beyond the scope of this study. Philip Clart’s website includes an extensive bibliography of Western scholarship on Chinese popular religion: http://web.missouri.edu/~clartp/bibliography_CPR.html.

opinions about this relationship: the late Michel Strickmann believed that Daoists sought to eradicate popular religious cults while Kristofer Schipper emphasized Daoists' assimilation and sublimation of popular religious gods and practices.¹³ History is replete with examples of Daoism's shifting antagonistic and symbiotic relationship with Chinese popular religion.¹⁴ Throughout this dissertation, my references to popular religion incorporate both senses of the term described here, with more emphasis on non-elites and their tendency to view gods as concrete, personal beings capable of granting favors or exacting punishments in the earthly and terrestrial realms.

Research on Daoist Art

Since this project is one of the few within the field of Daoist studies to employ an art historical approach, it is useful to provide some background on the history of research on Daoist art. Although the work of Chinese art historians is interdisciplinary, drawing on language study, literature, history, and religion, we have not been able to look to these fields for much help in interpreting Daoist art because, until recently, Daoism was most often discussed as a philosophy, not a tradition of the type that generated iconography and required art.¹⁵ By the 1960s and 70s, European and Japanese scholars had produced

¹³ Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in the Song* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001): 8-11. Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002) and Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, translated by Karen C. Duval (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Strickmann's book was published posthumously and edited by Bernard Faure. Schipper's book was first published in French as *Le corps taoïste* in 1982.

¹⁴ Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in the Song*: 11.

¹⁵ Stephen Little reiterates this point in his introductory essay in the catalogue for the exhibition *Taoism and the Arts of China*. Although scholarly views of Daoism had shifted by the time of the exhibition in 2000 to no longer laud "philosophical Daoism" as superior to "religious Daoism," or even to use those misleading labels, much of the potential audience for the show was not aware of these developments in the field of Daoist

works that expanded our understanding of Daoism, nevertheless art history did not receive much attention within these studies.¹⁶ Art historians have been slow to turn their attention to Daoist art because, as Stephen Little has written, “Daoist art” as a category has remained somewhat ambiguous compared with Buddhist art and other well-established areas such as court or literati painting.¹⁷ The nebulous nature of Daoist art as a category is demonstrated in two of the major introductory surveys of Chinese art in English, Sherman Lee’s *A History of Far Eastern Art* and Michael Sullivan’s *The Arts of China* (fourth edition).¹⁸ Among this generation of survey books, the inclusion of a five-page

studies. As a result, Little and Eichman presumably chose to use the terms “Taoism” and “religious Taoism” throughout the exhibition and catalogue in order to appeal to and introduce Daoist art to a wide variety of visitors and readers.

¹⁶ The majority of European scholars working on Daoism in this period were based in France. Henri Maspero, *Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971) was translated into English by Frank A. Kierman, Jr., as *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981). These works were published after Maspero’s death in 1945 and represent compilations of his work in the 40s. Max Kaltenmark, *Lao tseu et le taoïsme* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1965) was translated into English by Roger Greaves as *Lao Tzu and Taoism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969). Rolf Stein, “Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to Seventh Centuries” in Holmes Welch and Anna K. Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979): 53-82. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* [Historical Studies on Daoist scriptures] (Tokyo: Dōkyō kankōkai, 1955). Ōfuchi Ninji, *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū* [Studies on the History of Daoism] (Okayama: Okayama daigaku kyōsaikai shosekibu, 1964) and “The Formation of the Taoist Canon” in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979): 253-67.

¹⁷ Stephen Little, “What Is Daoist Art?” *Orientalism* 31 (December 2000): 26.

¹⁸ Writing survey books is a valiant enterprise that is essential to the field. My comments here are not meant to demonize the authors, but merely to point out the impact of their choices on the study of Daoist art.

Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art, fifth edition* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1994) and Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China, fourth edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China, third edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971). Sullivan’s book was first published in 1967, Lee’s book in 1964, and Sickman and Soper in 1956.

Lee includes only two illustrations of what he considers “Daoist works:” Yan Hui’s painting of Li Tieguai and an album leaf from Shi Tao’s *Eight Views of Huangshan*. In the latter case, Lee mentions that “the inscription incorporated into the page . . . reveals that this is a Daoist subject.” Regarding the Yan Hui painting, Lee provides a caption: “Li Tieguai, Daoist Immortal.” There is no discussion of Li’s iconography or that he belonged to a larger group of Daoist immortals that were a popular subject in art. Lee does include a full-page detail of *Eighty Seven Immortals* attributed to Wu Zongyuan, but his discussion does not even identify the subject of the painting as Daoist. Lee uses this painting to highlight Wu Daozi’s style, mentioning

chapter on “Supernatural and Daoist Themes” in Sickman and Soper’s *Art and Architecture of China* further muddied our conception of Daoist art.¹⁹ The elusive nature of Daoism makes categorizing works as “Daoist art” challenging. In spite of this, we can classify several types of works as “Daoist art” based on their subject matter. Images of immortals, adepts, and deities of the Daoist pantheon; objects employed in the performance of Daoist rituals including swords, talismans, vestments, and implements; and printed, brushed, and/or illustrated editions of Daoist scriptures, liturgical manuals, hagiographies, and temple gazetteers are all examples of Daoist art. Fortunately, recent surveys of Chinese art by Craig Clunas, Robert Thorp, and Richard Vinograd include more works whose subject matter is identifiably Daoist.²⁰ While neither book includes more than a handful of these images, their inclusion and the discussion of Daoist art alongside

that “Daoist and Buddhist subjects were his specialty” (298). Lee includes a few lines on the Yongle gong [Palace of Eternal Joy] in his section on Yuan painting, he says: “Religious painting endured, including brightly colored works in Tang and Song style that preserved . . . the ideas of the great early Daoist and Buddhist paintings. Many of those are in the form of wall paintings, such as those of the ‘Yongle Palace’ originally a Daoist temple in Shanxi where extensive mural decoration was completed in 1325. The entire temple is now preserved in Ruicheng, some twelve miles east of the original site” (455). However, descriptions of the paintings and illustrations are not included. Sullivan’s survey of Chinese art contains even less “Daoist” material. The third edition of his survey merely illustrated a section from Chen Rong’s *Nine Dragons* handscroll, but he neither discussed dragons as a Daoist subject nor does he mention the inscription or accompanying colophons by Daoist priests (171-2). The 1999 fourth edition of Sullivan’s book does take some small steps toward including Daoist art. For example, this edition includes an illustration of Zhang Lu’s *Laozi Riding a Water Buffalo* but makes no comment in the text on the painting (223). In the section on “Art Under the Mongols.” Sullivan illustrates a guardian from the Yongle gong and identifies it as a temple dedicated to the Daoist deity Lu Dongbin. However, he provides no further comments about the image. In this latest edition, Sullivan also mentions Yan Hui saying that “Yan and his many followers painted both Buddhist and Daoist subjects” (224). But he does not include any paintings by the artist.

¹⁹ In this brief chapter, Sickman illustrates Fan Zimin’s *Ox Herding* and Chen Rong’s *Nine Dragons* as examples of Daoist art by outlining the symbolism of the water buffalo and the dragon (267-69). Intermediate books by James Cahill that helped determine the canon of Chinese painting up through much of the 1980s do not include many Daoist paintings either. Exhibition catalogues of Chinese art in Western and Asian museums followed a similar pattern.

²⁰ Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Robert Thorp and Richard Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture* (New York: Prentice Hall and Harry Abrams, 2001).

Buddhist art under such topics as “imperial patronage of religious art” marks a significant step toward raising the profile of Daoist art within Chinese art history.

The situation for Daoist art scholarship has improved dramatically in recent years because of the availability and accessibility of resources. The publication of numerous primary sources, reference books, and secondary studies on Daoism, as well as exhibitions of Daoist art, exhibition catalogues, and a few art historical projects have served to encourage the serious study of Daoist art. Two of the most important primary sources for the study of Daoism are the *Zhentong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the (Ming) Zhengtong Reign] and the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏 [Supplement to the Daoist Canon]. However, for many years, access to this material was limited.²¹ The availability of the *Daozang* was a considerable factor in encouraging the study of Daoism. Moreover, the subsequent publication of several concordances and guides to this massive compilation of Daoist literature was even more important for the study of Daoism.²² The 2004 publication of the long-awaited guide to the Ming Daoist canon by a team of

²¹ *Zhentong Daozang* was first published in 1444-5 and the *Xu Daozang* in 1607. These two collections are usually referred to simply as *Daozang*. A photographic reproduction of the *Daozang* was first made in 1923-26 in Shanghai, making the canon available to scholars for the first time. Although many Asian and European scholars embarked upon research based on their examinations of the Shanghai reprint, the Daoist canon became much more widely available with the 1962 Taiwanese reprint of a smaller, sixty-volume edition that made its way into institutional and personal libraries around the world.

²² The first major scholarly study of the canon in Chinese was Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanliu kao* [Studies on the Origins and Development of the Taoist Canon], 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963). Chen's study was first published in 1949. The Harvard-Yenching index and concordance to the *Daozang* became available in 1966 while Schipper's *Concordance du Tao-tsang* was published in 1975. In addition, the *Daozang tiyao*, which includes summaries of the contents of the *Daozang* was published in 1984. Judith Boltz's 1987 *Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Century* made the material in the *Daozang* even more accessible to Western scholars.

international scholars is the most extensive work of its kind.²³ A newly organized edition of the canon, also published in 2004, has further increased the availability of the Daoist canonical texts that are vital to any research in the field.²⁴ The publication of other collections of primary source material such as Chen Yuan's *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Summary of Daoist Metal and Stone Inscriptions], *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon], and *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊 [Collectanea of Chinese Daoist Temple Gazetteers] has also encouraged scholars to explore Daoist topics.²⁵ Religious studies scholars, historians, and anthropologists have begun to turn their attention to Daoism in earnest in the past fifteen years, creating a veritable boom of scholarship on Daoist topics much of it in Western languages.²⁶ Several

²³ The guide to the Ming Daoist canon was a collaborative project involving twenty-nine scholars who provided a historical abstract, content summary, as well as information on authorship and original dating for each of the more than 1500 texts. Franciscus Verellen and Kristofer Schipper, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Louis Komjathy's *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Cambridge: Three Pines Press, 2002) provides concordances not only to the Daozang but other collections of Daoist material. His side-by-side comparison of the locations of Daoist texts in multiple editions is another useful tool for Daoist studies.

²⁴ Zhang Jiyou 張繼禹, ed., *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004). The *Zhonghua Daozang* is a punctuated edition printed with moveable type. The forty-eight volume collection reorganizes texts into topics such as Daoist schools (Quanzhen, Shangqing, etc.), ritual compendia, hagiographies, descriptions of practices, and commentaries on major texts. Like several of the reprints following the 1977 editions produced in Taiwan, *Zhonghua Daozang* does not preserve the traditional pagination of the canon.

²⁵ Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Summary of Daoist Metal and Stone Inscriptions] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988); *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992-94), 36 volumes; and *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊 [Collectanea of Chinese Daoist Temple Gazetteers] (Nanjing and Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2000), 36 volumes. A supplement to the set of Daoist temple gazetteers was published in 2004: Zhang Zhi 張智 and Zhang Jian 張健, compilers, *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan xubian* 中國道觀志叢刊續編 [Supplement to Collectanea of Chinese Daoist Temple Gazetteers] (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2004), 28 volumes.

²⁶ A comprehensive review of recent Daoist scholarship is beyond the scope of this study. For a listing of over 3000 articles and books on Daoist topics that includes scholarship in Asian and Western languages, see the bibliographic database on the Daoist Studies website at: <http://www.daoiststudies.org/bibliography.php>.

authors have addressed individual deities and their cults²⁷ while others have concentrated on particular schools of Daoism and the Daoist clergy.²⁸ Another recent approach focuses on particular periods, notably the Song.²⁹ Yet another area receiving more attention is practice, such as inner alchemy and the performance of Daoist rituals.³⁰ Several collections of essays on Daoist topics have appeared in recent years, along with a handful of much-needed introductory books about Daoism.³¹ Still, Daoist art remains a frontier in

²⁷ These include: Suzanne Cahill on Xiwangmu 西王母 [Queen Mother of the West], Paul Katz on Marshal Wen 溫元帥, Ursula-Angelika Cedzich on Wu tong 五通, Terry Kleeman on Wenchang 文昌, Poul Anderson on Wuzhiqi 無支祁 and Livia Kohn on Doumu 斗母 [Dipper Mother] and Laojun 老君 [Lord Lao]. See Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, "The Cult of Wu-t'ung: Wu-hsien in History and Fiction" in David Johnson, ed. *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1995): 137-218; Terry Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale: The Book of Transformations of Wenchang, the Divine Lord of Zitong* (Albany: State University of New York Press 1994); Poul Anderson, *The Demon Chained Under Turtle Mountain: the History and Mythology of the Chinese River Spirit Wuzhiqi* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2001); Livia Kohn, "Doumu: The Mother of the Dipper," *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 8 (2001): 149-95; and Kohn, *God of the Dao: Lord Lao in History and Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

²⁸ Such as Stephen Eskildsen's work on Quanzhen Daoism, Vincent Goossaert's research on the Daoist clergy of the early twentieth century, Florian Reiter's study of the Tang Daoist priesthood and Livia Kohn's translation of several monastic manuals. Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004); Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); Kohn, *The Daoist Monastic Manual: A Translation of the Fengdao Kejie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Florian C. Reiter, *Aspirations and Standard of Taoist Priests of the T'ang Dynasty* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

²⁹ Edward Davis, Robert Hymes, and Lowell Skar have all published research based on their analysis of Daoist liturgical texts from the Song. See Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*; Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Song and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Lowell Skar, "Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 9 (1996-1997): 159-202.

³⁰ Fabrizio Pregadio, *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005) and Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*.

³¹ For works of collected essays, see Kohn, *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) and Kohn and Harold Roth, eds. *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). For surveys of Daoism, see Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion* (Stanford University Press, 1997); James Miller, *Daoism: A Short Introduction*; Russell Kirkland, *Taoism: The Enduring Tradition*; Kohn, *Daoism and Chinese Culture*; Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 中國道教史 [History of Chinese

both Daoist studies and the study of Chinese art history.³² The groundbreaking 2000 exhibition, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, and the accompanying catalogue were important milestones for Daoist art.³³ They showcased the tremendous range and high quality of Daoist art and identified major categories of Daoist subject matter.³⁴

Scholars in the field of Daoist studies have called for more research on the material culture of Daoism. A pioneering example of such research is Stephen Little's essay on Daoist art in the *Daoism Handbook*. This essay helped to establish the study of Daoist art as a scholarly field comparable in importance to research on the *Daodejing*, *neidan* 內丹 [inner alchemy], and major Daoist traditions.³⁵ Studies by Anning Jing (1994), Liu Yang (1997), Stanley Abe (2001), Shih-shan Susan Huang (2002), Wang Yucheng (2003), and Hu Wenhe (2004) also demonstrate the tremendous wealth of unstudied (and understudied) Daoist material and the promise of rich rewards for such efforts.³⁶ Two

Daoism], 4 volumes (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996); Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美, *Chûgoku no Dôkyô* 中国の道教 [Daoism in China] (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1998); and Maruyama Hiroshi 丸山宏, *Dôkyô girei monjo no rekishiteki kenkyû* 道教儀禮文書の歴史的研究 [Research on the History of Daoist Ritual Texts] (Tokyo: Kyûko shoin, 2004).

³² The only English language dissertation completed prior to the 1990s was Arthur Pontynen, "The Early Development of Taoist Art" Ph.D. dissertation (University of Iowa, 1983).

³³ Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China*. Stephen Little also organized a smaller exhibition of Daoist art at the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1998: Little, *Realm of the Immortals: Daoism in the Arts of China*, exhibition catalogue (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1998).

³⁴ Three volumes from China and Taiwan published between 1999-2004 also helped to raise the profile of Daoist art. *Daojiao shenxian huaji* 道教神仙畫集 [Album for Taoist Deities and Divine Immortals] (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1994), *Daojiao wenwu* 道教文物 [Cultural Artifacts of Daoism] (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1999) and *Guanmiao guanjiao: Shanxi sheng guanzang daojiao wenwu* 觀妙觀微：山西省館藏道教文物 [Ancient Daoist Art from Shanxi Province], exhibition catalogue (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004).

³⁵ Stephen Little, "Daoist Art" in Livia Kohn, ed. *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000): 709-46.

³⁶ Anning Jing 景安寧, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty" Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1994); Liu Yang 柳揚, "Manifestation of the Dao: A Study in Daoist Art from the Northern Dynasties to the Tang (5th-9th Centuries)" Ph.D. dissertation (School of

separate collaborative digital databases of Daoist images with iconographic identification information and scholarly essays are currently under construction.³⁷ The participation of art historians—who are accustomed to working primarily with visual materials—in these collaborative efforts is vital to their success. As one of the many largely unexplored avenues within Daoist studies, research on the visual culture of Daoism promises to enrich the field significantly. It is my hope that this study of Zhenwu images will form another bridge between Daoist studies and Chinese art history.

Previous Scholarship on Zhenwu

The majority of previous studies concerning Zhenwu fall into two categories: attempts to trace the origins of the god and his cult using textual sources and efforts to elucidate the history of Zhenwu belief and practice in specific locales through fieldwork conducted mostly in Taiwan. In the earliest study in the first category, Xu Daoling presents a series of quotations regarding Zhenwu drawn from textual sources including historical records, local gazetteers, dramas, Daoist scriptures, and vernacular novels.³⁸ Similarly,

Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997); Stanley Abe, *Ordinary Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001); and Shih-shan Susan Huang, "The Triptych of Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water and the Making of a Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279)" Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, 2002); Wang Yucheng 王育成, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu yanjiu* 明代彩繪全真宗祖圖研究 [Research on Pictures of Ming Paintings of Quanzhen Patriarchs] (Beijing : Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003); and Hu Wenhe 胡文和, *Zhongguo daojiao shike yishu shi* 中国 道教 石刻藝術史 [The History of Art of Daoist Caves in China] (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004).

³⁷ Poul Anderson is spearheading the Daoist Iconography Project (DIP) and Fabrizio Pregadio is organizing work on a Daoist illustrations database.

³⁸ Like most of the works from this first category, Xu's study extracts numerous textual passages but offers scant analysis and comparison of the excerpts. Xu Daoling 許道齡, "Xuanwu zhi qi yuan jiqi tuibian kao," 玄武之起源及其蛻變考 [Examination of Xuanwu's Origin and His Evolution] *Shi xue jikan* 史學集刊 (May 1947): 223-40.

Wong Shui-hon's 1988 essay concentrates on gleaned information about Zhenwu from seventeen different books in the Daoist canon.³⁹ Eight different theories about Zhenwu's origins are outlined in Jian Rongcong's 1994 article.⁴⁰ These works identify some of the primary textual sources for studying the history of the god and highlight some of the incongruous accounts. Many of the reports from the second category were published in 1998-99 in the journal *Dao Yun* 道韻 [Daoist Resonance] in two volumes dedicated to Zhenwu.⁴¹ These fieldwork reports show the tremendous popularity of Zhenwu and the localization of Zhenwu beliefs and practice throughout China and Taiwan up to the present day.

Three recent studies have introduced and analyzed additional primary sources fundamental to the study of Zhenwu. Two explore the intertwined history of Mt. Wudang 武當山 (Zhenwu's home in modern Hubei province) and the god based on textual

³⁹ Wong Shui-hon (Huang Zhaohan) 黃兆漢, "Xuandi kao," 玄帝考 [Research on the Dark Emperor] in *Daojiao yanjiu lunwen ji* 道教研究論文集 [Collection of Essays Researching Daoism] (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1988): 121-56. Zhu Yueli published a more limited study based on similar materials in 1998, see Zhu Yueli 朱越利, "Daozang yu Xuantian shangdi 《道藏》與玄天上帝 [Xuandian shangdi and the Daoist canon]," *Dao Yun* 道韻, vol. 3 (1998): 32-72.

⁴⁰ Jian Rongcong 簡榮聰, "Xuandian shangdi xinyang fazhan ji qi renwen kaobian" 玄天上帝信仰發展及其人文考辨 [The Development of Belief in the Emperor on High in the Dark Heaven and Presentation of Various Studies on This Theme] in *Taiwan Wen Xian* 臺灣文獻 46, no. 2, (1995): 121-31.

⁴¹ *Dao Yun* 道韻, vol. 3 (1998): *Xuanwu jing yun* 玄武精蘊 and *Dao Yun* 道韻, vol. 4 (1999): *Xuanwu yu daojiao keji wenhua* 玄武與道教科技文化. Other studies regarding worship of Zhenwu at temples in Taiwan and Guangdong appeared in the late 80s and mid 90s. Three of the best of these studies are: Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, "Dazu yinying xia de minjin shen chongbai: Shawan de Beidi xinyang" 大族陰影下的民間神崇拜: 沙灣的北帝信仰 [Worship of Popular Deities Under the Shadow of Big Clans: The Cult of the Northern Emperor in Shawan] in *Proceedings of the Conference on Temples and Popular Culture*. (Taipei: The Center for Sinology, 1994): 707-22; Gao Lizhen 高麗珍, "Taiwan minzu zongjiao zhi kongjian huodong—yi Xuandian shangdi jisi huodong weili" 臺灣民俗宗教之空間活動—以玄天上帝祭祀活動為例 [Space and the Activities of Taiwan's Popular Religion: A Case Study of the Activities of Worshipping the Emperor of Dark Heaven] M.A. thesis, (Taiwan Normal University, 1988) and Ishida Kenji 石田憲司, "Taiwan nanbu no shinbujin shinkô ni tsuite" [On the Belief in the Deity Zhenwu in Southern Taiwan: Investigative Report Regarding Zhenwu during the Qing Dynasty] *Toho Shukyo* 85 (May 1995): 24-40.

sources. In their 1993 monograph Yang Lizhi and Wang Guangde trace the history of what they call *Wudang dao* 武當道 [Wudang Daoism] from its beginnings all the way to the Republican era (1912-49) and its reemergence in the 1980s. Pierre-Henry deBruyn constructed a history of Mt. Wudang in his 1997 dissertation.⁴² These authors' collection and analysis of the contents of many local gazetteers and texts from the Daoist canon reveal the complex history of Zhenwu's cult and the depth of imperial engagement with the god. In addition, Chao Shin-yi's highlighting of passages about Zhenwu in Daoist liturgical manuals, stele texts from temples, and *baojuan* [precious scrolls] evince Zhenwu's role in Daoist rituals and Chinese popular religion.⁴³ This dissertation employs some of these same primary sources in exploring imperial patronage of Zhenwu from an art historical perspective.

Two primary sources, the collection of hagiographic tales *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 [Chronicle of Supernatural Miracles and of Numinous Revelations of the Emperor on high from the Dark Heaven] and the late Ming vernacular

⁴² See Yang Lizhi 楊立志 and Wang Guangde 王光德, *Wudang dao jiao shi lue* 武當道教史略 [A Brief History of Wudang Daoism] (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 1993) and Pierre-Henry deBruyn, "Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs" [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]" Ph.D. dissertation (Université de Paris VII, 1997). For a brief overview of deBruyn's research in English, see Pierre-Henry deBruyn, "Wudang Shan: The Origins of a Major Center of Modern Taoism" in *Religion and Chinese Society: Volume II, Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, ed. by John Lagerwey (Paris and Hong Kong: École française d'Extrême-Orient and Chinese University Press, 2004): 553-90. Two additional articles address the issue of pilgrimage to Mt. Wudang. See John Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang shan" in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. by Susan Naquin and Yü Chun-fang (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992): 293-332 and Gu Wenbi 顧文璧, "Mingdai Wudang shan de xingsheng he Suzhou ren de da guimo Wudang jinxiang lüxing," 明代武當山的興盛和蘇州人的大規模武當進香旅行 [Pilgrimages to Wudang shan of People from Suzhou During the Ming Period] *Jiangnan kaogu* 江漢考古 (1989), no. 1: 71-5.

⁴³ Chao Shin-yi, "Zhenwu: The Cult of a Chinese Warrior Deity from the Song to the Ming Dynasties (960-1644)" Ph.D. dissertation (University of British Columbia, 2002).

novel *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North], are central to my study of woodblock-printed book illustrations of Zhenwu.⁴⁴ Chuang Hung-I's 1994 dissertation included translations and analyses of several of the stories from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. Gary Seaman translated *Beiyou ji* and provided an introduction to the novel in his 1987 book.⁴⁵ While this dissertation draws upon the textual analysis and translations of Chuang and Seaman, it focuses on the illustrations for these Zhenwu stories and explores relationships between the texts and the images.

Despite the god's prominence in Daoist and popular religious practice and the large number of Zhenwu images that have survived, only four scholars have documented specific Zhenwu images to any significant extent. During extensive fieldwork in rural northern China during the 1940s, Belgian missionary Willem A. Grootaers and his Chinese research team recorded the locations, names, and contents of 169 Zhenwu temples in Chahar (modern Inner Mongolia) and Shanxi provinces.⁴⁶ Regrettably, Grootaers published just a handful of poor-quality pictures of the temples and their images, most of

⁴⁴ These works are discussed in detail in chapter five of this dissertation, "Manifestations, Miracles, and Interventions: Constructing Visual Narratives for Zhenwu."

⁴⁵ See Chuang Hung-I 莊宏誼, "Les croyances concernant la divinité Taoïste Xuanwu (Xème-XIIIème siècles)" [Beliefs Concerning the Daoist Divinity the Dark Warrior (Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries)] Ph.D. dissertation (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1994). While Chuang's dissertation concentrated on the Song period, his later article re-evaluated some of the sources for his dissertation, dating them to the Yuan period. See Chuang Hung-I, "Yuandai daojiao xuantian shangdi xinyang yanjiu" 元代道教玄天上帝信仰研究 [Research on Belief in the Daoist Deity Emperor on High of the Dark Heaven During the Yuan Period] in *Daojiao yu wen hua xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 道教與文化學術研討會論文集 [Collection of Essays from Research for the Symposium on Taoism and Culture] (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2000): 125-57 and Gary Seaman, *Journey to the North: An Ethnohistorical Analysis and Annotated Translation of the Chinese Folk Novel Pei-yu Chi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

⁴⁶ Chahar 察哈爾 province was a named used during a very limited period of time in the first half of the twentieth century for a geographic area that is now part of Inner Mongolia. It was named after the Chahar Mongolians.

which were subsequently destroyed, in his five studies. However, his descriptions of statues of Zhenwu and his attendants and their placement in the temples, listings of the locations and layouts of several sets of hagiographic murals featuring Zhenwu, and brief accounts of some of the mural scenes from the illustrated *Beiyou ji* provide a plethora of precious details about the contexts for images of Zhenwu.⁴⁷ Wang Yucheng reported on a set of painted album leaves of Zhenwu images that Jiade in Beijing sold to a private collector in 1998. His article reproduces several of the leaves, describes many of the pictures and transcribes several of the accompanying texts. His report serves as the basis for my analysis of this album.⁴⁸ In his research based on an illustrated scripture from the Ming Daoist canon, Lin Shengzhi introduces other images of Zhenwu and Mt. Wudang as points of comparison.⁴⁹ Lin's article touches on several works that this dissertation examines in greater detail such as images of Zhenwu with martial divinities and an early Ming illustrated book of stories about the god, *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of

⁴⁷ Grootaers most extensive material on Zhenwu is found in Willem A. Grootaers, "The Hagiography of the Chinese God Chen-wu: The Transmission of Rural Traditions in Chahar," *Folklore Studies* 12, no. 2 (1952): 139-81. For his other temple surveys, see Willem A. Grootaers (with Li Shiyu 李世瑜), "Rural Temples Around Hsüan-Hua (South Chahar), Their Iconography and Their History," *Folklore Studies* 10, no. 1 (1951): 1-116; Willem A. Grootaers with Li Shih-yü and Chang Chi-wen, "Temples and the History of Wanch'üan 萬全 (Chahar): The Geographical Method Applied to Folklore," *Monumenta Serica* 13 (1948): 209-316; Willem A. Grootaers with Li Shih-yü and Wang Fu-shih, "The Sanctuaries in a North-China City: A Complete Survey of the Cultic Buildings in the City of Hsüan-Hua (Chahar)," *Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, vol. 26 (1995): 1-121; and Willem A. Grootaers, "Les temples villageois de la region au sud-est de ta'ong (cmansi nord), leurs inscriptions et leur histoire," *Folklore Studies* 4 (1945): 161-212.

⁴⁸ Wang Yucheng 王育成, "Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tu ce," 明永樂彩繪《真武靈應圖冊》 [The Painted Album, Numinous Responses of Zhenwu during the Reign of the Ming (Emperor) Yongle] *Dao Yun*, vol. 4 (1999): 10-72.

⁴⁹ Lin Shengzhi 林聖智, "Mingdai daojiao tuxiangxue yanjiu: yi 'Xuantian ruiying tu' weili," 明代道教圖像學研究：以《玄帝瑞應圖》為例 [Research on Ming Daoist Images: Using 'Pictures of the Dark Emperor's Auspicious Responses' as an Example] *Meishu shi yanjiu jikan* 美術研究集刊, no. 6 (1999): 131-94.

Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang].⁵⁰ Thirteen works of art related to Zhenwu were featured in the 2000 exhibition *Taoism and the Arts of China*, which devoted a gallery to the god.⁵¹ Because the works selected for the exhibition are high quality and representative of major types of Zhenwu images, several of them are incorporated into this dissertation. My discussion of Ming paintings and small statues picks up threads from the exhibition catalogue and weaves them into a quilt that helps to fill out our picture of Zhenwu in late imperial China.

Building on the scholarship mentioned above, this dissertation offers a broad interdisciplinary analysis of Zhenwu images.⁵² While based on the surviving works of art, this project also draws upon a wide variety of textual sources including *shillu* 實錄 [veritable records], dynastic histories, imperial edicts, *leishu* 類書 [encyclopedias] and *congshu* 叢書 [collectanea], gazetteers, art catalogues, collections of inscriptions, Daoist scriptures, liturgical manuals, hagiographies, preserved stele texts, prefaces to extant and lost works, travel diaries, and vernacular novels. By examining how and why images of Zhenwu were produced, how they corresponded to religious texts, practices, artistic traditions and other images, and how they functioned within Daoist and Buddhist ritual

⁵⁰ Zhenwu's appearance with marital divinities is explored in chapters two and four and *Wudang jiaqing tu* is examined in chapter five.

⁵¹ Shawn Eichman contributed two of the Zhenwu catalogue entries and co-wrote one other. Stephen Little also presented two unpublished papers on Zhenwu images that were largely based on material from the *Taoism and the Arts of China* exhibition catalogue: "Manifestations of Zhenwu in Ming Painting" (delivered at Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting in San Diego, CA in March 2000) and "Dimensions of a Mountain: Wudang Shan in Chinese Religion and Art" (delivered at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia in March 2004). Little and Eichman have pointed me toward many other Zhenwu images in the footnotes to the catalogue and through personal correspondence.

⁵² This study is not intended to serve as an encyclopedic compendium of Zhenwu images (for they are far too numerous).

contexts, this study will highlight differences and conformities between elite and popular visions of the deity.

Overview of Chapters

Zhenwu's history extends back into the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) when he was known as Xuanwu 玄武 [Dark Warrior]. Chapter One surveys early representations of Xuanwu from the Warring States period through the Southern Song, beginning with representations of the Dark Warrior as a tortoise entwined with a snake. Xuanwu emerged as an anthropomorphic god near the beginning of the Northern Song.⁵³ Historical records point to strong imperial patronage of Zhenwu at the courts of the Northern Song, Southern Song (1127-1279) and Tangut Xia (1038-1227),⁵⁴ but few images from these periods have survived. By examining the few surviving images from the tenth through twelfth centuries along with accounts of lost images, auspicious responses, and encounters with the deity, the chapter also introduces Zhenwu's basic iconography.

Many Song (960-1279) and Yuan (1279-1368) period images of Zhenwu highlight his affiliation with the Daoist Thunder Department. Chapter Two explores Zhenwu's position in the department and his relationships with its other members. We also discuss

⁵³ Over the centuries, Zhenwu received a variety of titles and was known by several names. Many of these will be introduced within the body of this study. In 1012, the Northern Song emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 998-1022) imposed a taboo on the old name *xuan* and thus, Xuanwu became Zhenwu. Because the majority of this study deals with images of the deity from the eleventh century and later, references to the deity use the name Zhenwu.

⁵⁴ The traditional Chinese name for the Tangut Xia is Xixia 西夏 [Western Xia].

the god's membership in the group known as the Four Saints (*si sheng* 四聖). By investigating the iconography, style, contexts, and formats of Zhenwu's appearances in an illustrated thunder scripture, pictorial stele, a cave temple, and an album depicting a cadre of thunder marshals, the chapter reveals trends and variations in the god's appearance within the Daoist Thunder Department.

Zhenwu also participates in assemblies of deities drawn from both the Daoist and Buddhist pantheons. These assemblies were linked with Daoist rituals including the *Huanglu dazhai* 黃籙大齋 [Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] and Buddhist rituals such as the *shuilu fahui* 水陸法會 [(Buddhist) Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land]. Chapter Three delves into images of Zhenwu in Daoist temple assembly murals and Buddhist *shuilu fahui* paintings. Zhenwu's prominence within and integration into these major Daoist and Buddhist pantheons demonstrates the deity's pervasive presence in the religious landscape of late imperial China.

Yuan and Ming emperors and members of their courts were some of the most fervent and generous patrons of Zhenwu. They commissioned paintings, statues, and buildings in honor of Zhenwu, many of which were designated for use in temples on Mt. Wudang. Using surviving images as well as records of temple donations, Chapter Four investigates images of Zhenwu as an independent deity with his own retinue of assistants and attendants and reveals concurrent shifts in the god's appearance. This chapter also addresses the confusion between depictions of Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun 普化天尊 [Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation] and offers an analysis of the major types of

bronze, ceramic, stoneware, and porcelain statues of Zhenwu widely produced during the Ming.

Zhenwu's popularity and ubiquity reached their peak in the Ming, when many works of art concentrated on illustrating stories from Zhenwu's hagiography. Chapter Five traces the development of narrative images of the god during the Ming. Representative of the fifteenth century is a woodblock-printed collection of illustrated Zhenwu stories. Assessment of the styles and subjects of images in a Yongle period (1402-24) illustrated scripture from the Daoist canon and a set of paintings from an album will point to specific patrons and audiences for these works. Consideration of a narrative sculptural image of the god reveals its portrayal of a specific moment in Zhenwu's hagiography. Tracking changes in depictions of Zhenwu in several editions of woodblock-printed compendia of deities highlights shifts in the god's appeal during the period. An analysis of a seventeenth century illustrated edition of the vernacular novel *Beiyou ji* demonstrates how visual narratives of Zhenwu were adapted to appeal to a more popular audience.

Conclusion

This study examines works from the large corpus of Zhenwu images produced in virtually every major format from painting and large bronze sculpture to woodblock printed scriptures and books, and small porcelain, ceramic, and stoneware statues. By providing iconographic criteria for identifying images of the god and explaining shifts in his appearance, this dissertation reveals the development of depictions of one of the most prominent figures in the Daoist pantheon. This project's exploration of images that portray

episodes from Zhenwu's hagiography demonstrates the rich visual and literary traditions surrounding the god. Discussions of extensive imperial patronage and popular appeal of representations of the god emphasize his ubiquity. This dissertation not only raises Zhenwu's profile and elevates him to his rightful place alongside deities like the bodhisattva Guanyin, who were similarly pervasive in late imperial China, but also contributes to continuing efforts to redress the dearth of Daoist images within the canon of Chinese art history.

Chapter One

Xuanwu to Zhenwu: Metamorphosis from Directional Symbol to Anthropomorphic God

Zhenwu's history extends back into the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) when he was known as Xuanwu 玄武 [Dark Warrior].¹ Initially represented by a tortoise entwined with a snake, Xuanwu emerged as an anthropomorphic god near the beginning of the Northern Song. Historical records point to strong imperial court patronage of Zhenwu at the courts of the Northern Song, Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279) and Tangut Xia (1038-1227), but few images from this period have survived. This chapter begins with a survey of early representations of Xuanwu from the Han through Tang periods. By examining the few surviving images from the tenth through twelfth centuries and accounts of images, auspicious responses, and encounters with the deity, the rest of the chapter provides an introduction to Zhenwu's basic iconography and the early development of his cult.

Xuanwu Images in the Han through Tang Periods

Represented by a tortoise entwined with a snake, Xuanwu symbolizes the north as one of the four directional animals known as the *sishen* 四神 [Four Deities].² According to

¹ The Warring States military strategist Wu Qi 吳起 in his book, *Wuzi* 吳子, mentions Xuanwu and the other three directional animals.

² The other three symbols are the red bird of the south, the white tiger of the west, and the blue-green dragon of the east. The tortoise is generally associated with longevity, endurance, and strength in China. With its shell resembling the vaulted heavens and its underside representing earth, the tortoise is also symbolic of the universe. It can often be found as the base for stele. The snake is at times viewed as a dangerous and wily creature, while at other times the snake is seen as more benevolent and associated with water.

wuxing 五行 [five phases] cosmology, Xuanwu is associated with the north, black, and water.³

As a member of the *sishen*, Xuanwu appears on bronze mirrors, paintings, coffins, and tomb bricks dating to the Han period.⁴ A TLV patterned mirror now in the collection of the Tenri University Sankokan Museum in Nara incorporates Xuanwu (fig. 1.1). Another mirror excavated near Xi'an in Shaanxi province also depicts Xuanwu (fig. 1.2).⁵ Xuanwu and the other theriomorphic deities are also represented on stone coffins from the Han (fig. 1.3). Most surviving painted representations of Xuanwu come from tombs dating to the Han and Xin (8-23 CE) periods.⁶ Xuanwu is among the images on the walls of the rear chamber of a Xin tomb in Jingyuan in Luoyang. Later Japanese and Korean tombs feature similar representations of Xuanwu (figs. 1.4 and 1.5).⁷ Bricks excavated from tombs throughout China dating to the Han and Eastern Jin (317-420 CE) present low relief images of Xuanwu and the other *sishen*. An Eastern Han tomb brick from Shandong (fig. 1.6) and another from the Western Han tomb of the Jingdi 景帝 emperor (r. 156-141 BCE) near Xi'an (fig. 1.7) both feature Xuanwu. Another

³ For historical overviews of Five Phases cosmology, see Inoue Satoshi 井上聡. *Xianqin Yinyang Wuxing* 先秦阴阳五行 [Pre-Qin Yinyang and Five Phases] (Hankou: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997); Donald Harper, "Yin-Yang and Five Phases" in *Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 860-65; and Peng Yoke Ho, *Li, Qi, and Shu: An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2000).

⁴ As John Major points out, the use of Xuanwu as the symbol of the north among the *sishen* was not standardized until the Eastern Han period. Mirrors and other objects from earlier periods sometimes used horses or camels to symbolize the north. John Major, "New Light on the Dark Warrior," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 13/14 (1985-86): 68-9.

⁵ Bronze mirrors appear in Chinese tombs as early as the fourth century BCE. Placed close to the body, mirrors were believed to reflect and radiate light that eternally illuminated the tomb.

⁶ Xuanwu and the *sishen* also appear in painted images such as the astronomical diagram on a ceiling preserved in Xi'an from the first century CE. Several centuries later during the Western Wei (535-557), Xuanwu appears on the east slope of the ceiling of cave 285 at Dunhuang amidst the other *sishen* and a host of other fantastic beings and *apsaras*.

⁷ Xuanwu appears on the north wall of the tomb chamber of Takamatsuzuka 高松塚 of the Asuka period (542-645) in Nara and in a mural in the Great Tomb at Kangso near Pyongyang from the early seventh century.

brick excavated in Zhenjiang in Jiangsu province dates to 398 in the Eastern Jin (fig. 1.8). In these microcosmic tomb contexts, representations of Xuanwu functioned apotropically.⁸ Images of the *sishen* fashioned into Han ceramic roof tiles functioned similarly above ground (fig. 1.9). Depicting Xuanwu as an entwined tortoise and snake is fairly standardized, with minor variations depending on the area for the composition. In tomb bricks and other rectangular compositional spaces, the snake coils around the tortoise horizontally with its head and tail appearing at opposite ends of the tortoise. Tomb paintings and roof tiles tend to depict the snake coiling in a circle above and around the tortoise, in consideration of the circular or square compositional space that these images occupy.

Tomb art from the Northern Wei (386-534) and Tang (618-907) periods represent Xuanwu on sarcophagi and bronze mirrors. The foot slabs of two extant Northern Wei sarcophagi feature an image of Xuanwu. The entwined tortoise and snake on the foot slab of the well-known Northern Wei sarcophagus in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City and on another example from a private collection (fig. 1.10) demonstrates continued belief in the protective power of Xuanwu.⁹ Although few examples of Daoist art from the Tang have survived, records and a handful of excavated objects reinforce Xuanwu's role as a member of the *sishen* who was invoked and depicted as a protector against evil forces.¹⁰

⁸ An inscription on a Han brick from the Sichuan University Museum featuring the *sishen* suggests that the deities were also intended to insure longevity and happiness. For a reproduction, see Cheng Te-k'un, "Yin-Yang and Wu-Hsing in Han Art" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20, no. 1/2 (June 1957): plate VI, fig. 14.

⁹ Nelson sarcophagus dates to around 525 in the Northern Wei period and is best known for its linear-carved designs of stories of filial piety.

¹⁰ For an analysis of records and some surviving Tang Daoist images, see Liu Yang, "Images for the Temple: Imperial Patronage in the Development of Tang Daoist Art" *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 189-261. Surviving images from Japan suggest that the *sishen* were also incorporated into designs for the enshrinement of Buddhist deities during the seventh and eighth centuries. For example, Xuanwu appears on the back of the base (its north

For example, Xuanwu appears on a Tang mirror inscribed and dated to 650 (fig. 1.11) as well as a painting on a coffin panel recently excavated in Qinghai province (fig. 1.12).¹¹ Even emperor Tang Taizong (r. 627-49) invoked the god's protective powers by naming the north gate of his palace in the capital the Xuanwu men 玄武門 [Dark Warrior Gate].¹²

Zhenwu in the Northern Song

By 1012, when the Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 998-1022) changed Xuanwu's name to Zhenwu to avoid a taboo on the name of his imperial ancestor, Zhenwu was established as an anthropomorphic deity with his own budding cult.¹³ Texts from the period indicate that by the tenth century, images of the god were enshrined in temples dedicated to him.¹⁴ This new

side) for the well-known Hakuho period (645-710) Yakushi statue at Yakushiji in Nara. For a reproduction, see *Yakushiji 樂師寺* (Osaka: Kinki nihon tetsudō kabushiki kaisha, 1965): 11.

¹¹ The Qinghai coffin painting of Xuanwu was discovered in 2002 and comes from an area heavily influenced by Tibetan and Xianbei peoples. Some scholars refer to these works as Tubo-Tuyuhun to indicate the links with these non-Chinese ethnic groups. See "New Discoveries in Qinghai," *China Heritage Newsletter* (Australian National University), no. 1 (2005): fig. 2.

¹² This is one of the earliest examples of the continuing tradition of using Xuanwu in the names of gates, doors, and pools of water to protect palaces, towns, and villages from threatening forces from the north. Later texts have attempted to retroactively date the development of a cult dedicated to Xuanwu to the Tang period. For example, the early Ming text *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啟聖錄 [Chronicle of Sacred Revelations of the Emperor on High of the Dark Heaven] claims that the Tang empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690-705) gave Xuanwu the title *lingying zhenjun* 靈應真君; see *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* (DZ 958) in *Daozang* 道藏. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 570-631.

¹³ The Song imperial ancestor's name was Zhao Xuanlang 趙玄郎. Zhenwu also served as a member of the Four Saints (sisheng 四聖) who had cult of their own that first gained popularity in the Song. The mother of the Southern Song emperor Gaozong (r. 1127-62) was a devotee of the Four Saints and a patron of a temple to the group. See Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. 1276), *Mengliang lu* 夢輜錄, juan 8: 198 in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1983). For a more extensive discussion of the Four Saints, see chapter two of this study.

¹⁴ In her research, Chao found evidence of a tenth century Zhenwu image and temple that was mentioned in a letter from Cheng Jianyong 程建用 to the famous literatus Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). Chao: 28-31 and Shuzhong guangji 蜀中廣記, juan 30:9a in *Siku quanshu*, volume 591: 371. For an overview of belief in Zhenwu during the Song, see Chuang Hung-I, "Songdai xuantian shangdi xinyang de liuzhuan yu jifeng yishi" 宋代玄天上帝信仰的流傳與祭奉儀式 [Ceremonies, Offerings, and Biography of Supreme Emperor of the

personified form of the deity did not completely displace the older entwined tortoise and snake form of Xuanwu. After the miraculous appearance of a tortoise and snake to a group of soldiers in 1017, a spring began to flow in the same spot. Later that year, Zhenzong commissioned the building of a temple called Xiangyuan guan 祥源觀 [Palace of the Propitious Spring] and an image of Zhenwu for its main hall. He also granted Zhenwu the title lingying zhenjun 靈應真君 [Perfect Lord of Numinous Response] in 1018. Zhenzong reportedly visited Xiangyuan guan every year until his death.

Northern Song imperial patronage of Zhenwu continued under Renzong (r. 1023-63). After a fire destroyed the imperial Zhenwu temple Xiangyuan guan, Renzong ordered its rebuilding in 1055 as Liquan guan 醴泉觀 [Abbey of the Sweet Spring].¹⁵ Texts maintain that Renzong believed Zhenwu cured his illness in 1056. He also awarded long honorary titles to the tortoise and snake.¹⁶ Yuan and Ming texts claim that Renzong commissioned the compilation of a set of 104 pictures for an imperially restored Zhenwu temple called Baoying ge 寶應閣 [Pavilion of Precious Response]. Some scholars have suggested that these pictures were temple murals and that their content mirrored a mid-eleventh century textual collection of

Dark Heaven Belief in the Song Period] in *Daojiao shenxian xinyang yanjiu* 道教神仙信仰研究 [Research on Beliefs in the Deities and Immortals of Daoism] (Taipei: Zhonghua daotong chubanshe, 2000): 458-549.

¹⁵ Zhou Cheng 周城 (active eighteenth century) wrote a twenty juan book, *Song Dongjing kao* 宋東京考 that recounts many activities in Kaifeng during the Song. The preface of Zhou's book dates to 1738 in Qianlong period of Qing. For his account of the Renzong's rebuilding, see Zhou Cheng, *Song Dongjing kao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian Beijing faxing suofa xing, 1988): 180.

¹⁶ The tortoise and snake received their titles in 1059. See *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 武當福地真記 [Record of All the Truths Concerning the Blessed Land of (Mt.) Wudang] (DZ 962), xia juan: 14b-15a. At least one Ming gazetteer claims that Renzong gave Zhenwu the title Xuantian shangdi in 1059. See Ren Ziyuan 任自垣, *Chijian dayue Taihe shan zhi* 敕建大岳太和山志 [Imperially Commissioned Gazetteer of the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony], reprinted in *Mingdai Wudang shan zhi er zhong* 明代武當山志二種 [Two Ming Period Gazetteers of Mt. Wudang] (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1999). For more on this gazetteer, see chapter four of this study. Records from the Song and Yuan prove that Renzong did not elevate Zhenwu to *shangdi*.

Zhenwu stories.¹⁷ However, surviving references to Yuan collections of Zhenwu pictures make it seem more likely that Renzong's compilation was an illustrated book—if it existed at all.¹⁸

Huizong's (r. 1101-25) well-documented patronage of Daoism included granting Zhenwu new titles and commissioning court paintings of the deity.¹⁹ In 1108, the emperor added *yousheng* 佑聖 [Aiding Saint] to Zhenwu's title.²⁰ A biography of one of Huizong's Daoist advisers, Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (c. 1076-1120) relates an incident when the emperor enlisted Lin's help in summoning Zhenwu to appear before him. Records document many auspicious omens and visions during Huizong's reign.²¹ The account of Zhenwu's appearance to the emperor is worthy of a full translation since it provides a vivid description of the deity's iconography and evidence of paintings of the god in the imperial collection.

The emperor said, I would like to see Zhenwu's holy image. The master [Lin Lingsu] said, please allow me some time to submit a petition to Xujing Tianshi 虛靜天師 [to ask for permission]. Then Lin went to sleep in the [palace] hall. He fasted until noon. At that time, black clouds blocked the sun. Lots of thunder crashed. In the lightning, [people could] see a blue tortoise and a large snake. [The animals] filled the hall. The

¹⁷ Judith Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California-Berkeley Center for Chinese Studies, China Research Monograph 32, 1987: 88

¹⁸ 1055 and 1057 are the years usually associated with the compilation of the set of 104 pictures according to *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啟聖錄 [Chronicle of Sacred Revelations of the Emperor on High of the Dark Heaven] (DZ 958). juan 6:2a. All the information on this collection of pictures allegedly sponsored by Renzong comes from texts that date to the Yuan and Ming. Because other details in these later texts that purport to relate events in the Song and earlier times are clearly fictitious, we cannot be sure that Renzong's collection really existed. For a more extensive discussion of illustrated books related to Zhenwu, see chapter five of this study.

¹⁹ For a series of excellent case studies on Huizong, see Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006). For an overview of Huizong's Daoist activities, see Ebrey, "Taoism and Art at the Court of Song Huizong" in *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 95-111.

²⁰ *Zhenwu lingying zhenjun zengshang yousheng zunhao cewen* (DZ 776).

²¹ Peter Sturman discusses other examples in his article "Cranes Above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong" *Ars Orientalis* XX (1990): 33-68.

emperor offered incense, prayed and bowed many times. He spoke to [Zhenwu through the tortoise and snake]. I would like to see the perfected lord descend and show me my true self [i.e., give me advice, hold up a mirror]. There was a clap of [thunder]. The tortoise and snake disappeared. [He] could see a huge foot that filled the imperial hall. The emperor offered incense and bowed again. I [the emperor] bowed and prayed that Xuanyuan shengzu 玄元聖祖 [Zhenwu] would appear. [If] I am showered by [Zhenwu's] mercy and benevolence, I will feel *really* fortunate. [At the next] moment, then [Zhenwu] appeared. He was more than one *zhang* tall.²² His countenance was upright and dignified and [his whole body] had a splendid appearance. [His] hair was unbound [and it] draped [down his back] and he wore a black robe that hung to the ground. He wore golden armor and [his robe] had broad sleeves. He wore a jade belt and grasped a sword. His feet were bare. Above his head there was a round halo. Flying scarves encircled him. [He] stood [there] for one *shi*.²³ The emperor himself sketched a portrait [of Zhenwu]. Moreover, he commanded [members of the] painting academy to complete the painting. [Then Zhenwu] suddenly disappeared.

The next day, [the painting was] installed and offerings were made. A *jiao* was held as an expression of thanks.²⁴ Cai Jing²⁵ submitted a memorial that said: I'm afraid that Zhenjun 真君 [Zhenwu] could not have descended to earth so easily.²⁶ In the past, emperor Taizong (of the N. Song, r. 976-97) once commanded Zhang Shouzhen 長守真 (a Daoist priest) to request that [Zhenwu] descend. [Taizong] also had a painting [made on the occasion]. This painting was marked with the imperial seal and sealed in a box. [The painting] was stored in a hall. No officials were allowed to see it. I beg you to retrieve it so that [we] can make a comparison. Then we can see whether or not [the new painting] is genuine or fake. [An official] announced an imperial edict [to fetch the earlier painting of Zhenwu]. The imperial seal of Taizong was still in place. [They] opened the box to see [the painting]. It was the same as the new painting. There were not any differences. The Emperor [Huizong] was even more pleased. The emperor called for Beidou 北斗 [Northern Dipper] and Qizhen 七真 [Seven Perfected],²⁷ the envoys [of Zhenwu] to appear [and they] descended riding in golden sedan chairs, but these [figures] were not painted or recorded. The emperor bowed to the envoys and they [delivered a] message to the emperor. [They

²² One *zhang* 丈 is equivalent to about ten feet.

²³ One *shi* is equivalent to about two hours.

²⁴ *Jiao* 醮 [offering] is a Daoist rite of renewal.

²⁵ Cai Jing 蔡京 was a notorious Northern Song official who exerted a great deal of control in court politics during Huizong's rule.

²⁶ This passage suggests that Cai Jing attempted to discredit Lin Lingsu in the eyes of the emperor.

²⁷ Qizhen 七真 [Seven Perfected] usually refer to the group of Quanzhen patriarchs. Because these figures are not normally associated with Zhenwu, it is possible that *qizhen* refers to the gods of the seven stars of the dipper.

said}: you should move to another place quickly. Do not admire a [life] of splendid luxury. [You] should make a sacred decision. Do not listen to corrupt advisers. After the envoys delivered the words [of the message], they slowly ascended to heaven.²⁸

The tortoise and snake continue to be associated with Zhenwu but, by the Northern Song, the personified version had become the penultimate form of the deity. Although they do not survive, Zhenwu paintings were part of the Northern Song imperial collection.²⁹ In this imperial vision, the animal pair appears to Huizong as signs of Zhenwu, followed by the anthropomorphic manifestation of the deity. The tortoise and snake are intermediaries for the god. Later manifestations and representations feature the animal pair physically accompanying Zhenwu or as demons that the god conquers and converts. Huizong's description of the deity provides valuable iconographic details. The long draping hair, black robe, golden armor, bare feet, and halo mentioned in this passage remain part of Zhenwu's basic iconography throughout his history. Huizong describes the deity as wearing a jade belt and grasping a sword. Zhenwu's sword will accompany him in future images as well. But, as his cult progresses, an attendant increasingly takes care of the deity's sword.³⁰ Because this reputed imperial encounter with the god was recorded after the fall of the Song, its later

²⁸ *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals Who Have Embodied the Dao Through the Ages] (DZ 296), 53: 7b-8b. The text later asserts that Cai Jing felt threatened when he recognized that the message was a warning to the Emperor not to trust him.

²⁹ The catalogue of the Northern Song imperial collection includes a reference to a painting of Zhenwu by the Song artist Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (active early eleventh century). *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 [Painting Catalogue of the Xuanhe Era (of Song Huizong)] juan 4: 11.

³⁰ This type of image is particularly prevalent during the Ming period. For an examination of those images of Zhenwu, see chapters four and five of this study.

authors use several details to try to absolve Zhenwu of any link to the fall of the dynasty.³¹ Without surviving images from the Northern Song, we cannot confirm that the description of Zhenwu in this Yuan record corresponds to his appearance in the earlier period or even that the encounter between Zhenwu and Huizong actually took place. This account of the deity's appearance seeks to certify Zhenwu as an anthropomorphic god with a history traceable to the Northern Song period. Establishing a Song history for Zhenwu was an aim of Yuan and Ming authors who sought to further legitimize the cult of the god in late imperial China.

Zhenwu During the Tangut Xia

The Tangut Xia (1038-1227) were an ethnically non-Han Chinese empire that controlled much of northwest China for almost two hundred years.³² Tangut Xia patronage of Buddhist art at cave temple sites such as Dunhuang 敦煌 and Yulin 榆林 in Gansu province is well known.³³ The majority of material remains from Tangut Xia sites evince strong

³¹ In fact, his envoys tried to warn Huizong about devious officials and steer him away from danger. The author of *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* was a Daoist master from Zhejiang named Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294-1307). The authors of the colophon and a preface were both Song loyalists. Their passages date to 1294. For more on this text and its two later supplements, see Boltz: 56-7 and the entry by Jean Lévi and Franciscus Verellen in Schipper and Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon*, vol.2: 887-93.

³² Chinese texts refer to the Tangut Xia as Xixia 西夏 [Western Xia]. Scholars disagree about the starting date for the Tangut Xia. While the majority of studies use 1038, others have suggested a variety of earlier dates. For a discussion of this issue, see Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov, "The State of Great Xia (982-1227)," in Mikhail Piotrovsky, ed., *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X-XIIIth Century)* (Milan: Electa, 1993): 49-50. The most extensive English study of the Tangut Xia is Ruth Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).

³³ For studies of Tangut Xia Buddhist art, see Noelle Giuffrida, "In the Service of the Tangut Xia: Conscious Heterogeneity in the Buddhist Murals of Cave 3 at Yulin," M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1999; Rob Linrothe, "Usnishavijaya and the Tangut Cult of the Stupa at Yu-lin Cave 3," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 31, no. 4/5 (1996): 1-24; Mikhail Piotrovsky, ed., *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X-XIIIth Century)*; Patricia Berger, "Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China," in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art and the University of Hawaii Press, 1994): 89-124; Ruth Dunnell, "Portraiture and Patronage in Tangut Buddhism: Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries," in Rob Linrothe and Henrik H. Sorenson, eds., *Embodying Wisdom:*

patronage of Buddhism. Many finds show Tangut interest in esoteric Buddhist deities from the Tibetan tradition combined with more metropolitan Chinese-influenced images of Mahayana deities like Puxian 普賢 (Skt. Samantabhadra) and Wenshu 文殊 (Skt. Manjusri).³⁴ Such images often include donor or attendant figures in ethnic Tangut dress. Two hanging scroll paintings featuring Zhenwu come from the remains of Hongfo ta 宏佛塔 [Great Buddha Pagoda] in Ningxia 寧夏.³⁵ Like at other Tangut Xia sites, images found at Hongfo ta include images that draw from Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist models and incorporate figures in Tangut dress.

These two Zhenwu scrolls are the only known surviving paintings of the deity from the eleventh or twelfth century. Although the elements in the two paintings are rendered in different styles, many of the main iconographic features of the deity are similar (fig. 1.13 and 1.14). The god sits on a rock wearing a black robe with armor underneath. He has bare feet, long hair, a halo, and holds a sword. A mixture of male and female attendants accompanies the god. A female attendant holds his scabbard while a male attendant holds his black flag.³⁶ In the painting from the State Hermitage Museum, his rock seat is a dark three-dimensional mass amidst an ink landscape setting in the foreground (fig. 1.13). The deity wears a black

Art, Text, and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism (Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies Monographs, 2001): 101-38; Han Xiaomang 韓小忙, et. al., *Xixia meishu shi* 西夏美術史 [History of Western Xia Art] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001); and Lei Runze 雷潤澤, Yu Cunhai 于存海, and He Jiying 何繼英, *Xixia fota* 西夏佛塔 [Buddhist Pagodas of the Western Xia] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995).

³⁴ For example, cave 3 at Yulin includes images of Puxian, Wenshu, and Usnisavijaya.

³⁵ Ningxia is the modern name for a portion of the area once occupied by the Tangut Xia. The Chinese government classifies this area as an “autonomous region” of the Hui people who are an ethnic minority in China.

³⁶ Later paintings of Zhenwu rarely incorporate female attendants and a male attendant always holds Zhenwu’s sword or scabbard.

robe trimmed in blue that covers his brightly colored armor exposed at his chest, forearms, and ankles. His garment is a *doupeng* 斗篷 [cloak or cape] that drapes over his shoulders and upper arms but does not have sleeves. The other Hongfo ta painting has suffered some damage and is paler with only a few remaining sections of faded black and red (fig. 1.14). Zhenwu sits at the center near the lower edge of the painting. His rock seat appears less substantial and is mostly covered by a red-trimmed cloth and his robe. A sliver of armor peeks out at his chest without any other indication of armor under the deity's pants and long-sleeved robe covering his arms and legs. The god's black *doupeng* is less substantial in this painting. Instead of draping down to his forearms, this cloak only covers his shoulders. In both paintings, a nearby female attendant holds the deity's scabbard. Both images show one of Zhenwu's legs bent at the knee and supported by the rock while the other stretches downward. His bare feet are exposed. In the Hermitage painting, his long hair is dark and rendered like a cap that extends onto the top of his forehead. We can see one of his long sideburns that drapes in front of his ear. At first glance, Zhenwu's head appears to be shaved in a tonsure.³⁷ But we can see a bit of long hair behind the deity's left ear and down the side of his neck.³⁸ The deity's halo is blue with a border of gold and red in the Hermitage painting; a large halo framing blank silk appears in the other. While the god holds a sword in both paintings, he rests his palm on a downward-pointing sword in the Hermitage painting. He grasps the hilt of an

³⁷ A stone statue from Mt. Wudang that has been traditionally identified as Zhenwu also portrays the deity in a monkish manner. The Wudang statue features Zhenwu seated in lotus posture with his hands folded in his lap. He wears a simple robe that covers his arms and legs. A thin band of armor appears on his chest. This statue is frequently dated to the Yuan period but the piece offers few clues to support such a date. *Zhongguo shiku diaosu quanji* 中國石窟雕塑全集, vol. 10: 173 (fig. 175).

³⁸ The condition of Zhenwu's hair may be the result of fading in the painting. His hair was probably originally rendered in fine lines hugging his head.

upward-pointing sword in the other painting. Zhenwu has a larger group of attendants and a large semicircular black flag with a rippled black edge in one of the paintings. The Hermitage painting features a small group of four attendants and the black flag is triangular-shaped and adorned with the seven stars of the Dipper.³⁹ An entwined tortoise and snake appear at the deity's feet in the Hermitage painting but they are absent in the other.⁴⁰ Despite the fading and damage, the quality of the details of Zhenwu's face and the headgear, hands, feet and faces point to elite patronage and highly skilled painters familiar with Chinese dress styles and figure types. The bright colors on silk combined with the somewhat childlike faces of the figures in the Hermitage painting suggest that this work was designed to appeal to patrons of means with different aesthetic sensibilities.

The iconographic similarities between these two images of Zhenwu provide evidence of an established visual tradition for representing the god as early as the eleventh century. The other images found with these Tangut Xia Zhenwu paintings suggest a Buddhist context for these works. Zhenwu's appearance in Buddhist contexts suggests that the god's popularity had already transcended religious boundaries between Daoism and Buddhism. While the god continues to be worshipped as a Daoist god throughout his history, we will see even more examples of his incorporation into other religious contexts in the Yuan and Ming.

³⁹ The name of Zhenwu's sword *Santai qixingjian* 三臺七星劍 [Seven Star Sword of the Three Terraces] also refers to the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and the potent nearby *Santai* constellation.

⁴⁰ It is possible that the tortoise and snake appeared in the section of the painting that was trimmed off at the bottom. Several later texts describe a famous incident where the Tanguts requested a painting of Zhenwu from the Song along with instructions for performing rituals dedicated to the God. The emperor commanded court painters to produce a painting for the Tanguts but specified that the tortoise and snake not be included. This incident is recorded in *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*, 2: 13b-14b. For an English translation of this passage, see Gary Seaman, "The Emperor of the Dark Heavens and the Han River Gateway into China," in *Ecology and Empire: Nomads in the Cultural Evolution of the Old World* (Los Angeles: Ethnographics/USC, Center for Visual Anthropology, University of Southern California, 1989): 172-4.

Zhenwu in the Southern Song

Anecdotes preserved in Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123-1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷減志 [Record of the Listener] show widespread popular belief in Zhenwu during the Southern Song period (1127-1279).⁴¹ These tales mention miraculous appearance of images of the deity, the creation of images, and the building of temple halls dedicated to him. In one story, a scholar discovers a painting of Zhenwu floating in the water that is miraculously dry. In the painting, he sits on a rock with a sword in his hand. A fierce divine general wielding an axe stands behind the deity.⁴² Zhenwu's appearance here corresponds to the two surviving paintings from the Tangut Xia period discussed above (fig. 1.13 and 1.14).⁴³

Imperial patronage of the god continued in the Southern Song with the founding of new imperial Zhenwu temples in Hangzhou and the awarding of additional titles to him. Shortly after he ascended the throne, Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163-89) ordered the conversion of his princely residence into a temple dedicated to Zhenwu. The new temple in Hangzhou was

⁴¹ For overviews of *Yijian zhi*, see Barend ter Haar, "Newly Recovered Anecdotes from Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi*," *Journal of Song and Yuan Studies* 23 (1993): 19-41 and Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): 17-23. Numerous stele records from the Southern Song also mention Zhenwu halls and statues. Many of these are reproduced in Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Summary of Daoist Metal and Stone Inscriptions]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988: 209-428.

⁴² *Haizhong zhenwu* 海中真武 [Zhenwu (Floating) in the Sea] in *Yijian zhi*, 夷減志, jing juan 3 景卷第三. Reprinted in He Zhuo 何卓, ed., *Yijian zhi*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981): 905. Another story in the *Yijian zhi* describes Zhenwu as appearing with long loose hair and wielding a sword (*Yijian zhi*, 夷減志, yi juan 8; reprinted in He Zhuo, *Yijian zhi*, vol. 2: 250). For an English translation, see Hansen: 171-2.

⁴³ We do not find surviving evidence of the inclusion of fierce, weapon-wielding deities with Zhenwu in the same composition until the Yuan and Ming periods (see chapters three, four, and five of this study). This anecdote raises the possibility that martial divinities may have appeared in paintings with Zhenwu much earlier.

called Yousheng guan 佑聖觀 [Abbey of the Aiding Saint].⁴⁴ In 1177, Xiaozong dedicated Yousheng dian 佑聖殿 [Hall of the Aiding Saint] along with a statue of Zhenwu that supposedly looked like him.⁴⁵ *Yijian zhi* records that, on at least one occasion, the god appeared to Xiaozong in a dream.⁴⁶ Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1195-1224) and Lizong 理宗 (r. 1224-1264) granted the deity several new titles including: Beiji 北極 [north pole], Fude 福德 [rich and virtuous], Yanqing 衍慶 [perpetual celebration], Renji 仁濟 [benevolent aid] and Zhenglie 正列 [upright and noble].⁴⁷ Near the beginning of his reign, Lizong established his own Zhenwu temple in Hangzhou called Zhensheng guan 真聖觀. Artists created a statue of the god for the temple, and the emperor wrote an encomium to him on the occasion.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Wu Zimu 吳自牧 (fl. 1276), *Mengliang lu* 夢輻錄 (20 juan) mentions founding of Yousheng guan by Xiaozong in juan 8. This temple remained active as an imperial temple at least through the end of the Southern Song period. Records indicate that emperor Lizong (r. 1224-1264) renovated the temple twice during his reign.

⁴⁵ Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1166-1243) *Jiyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 in *Lidai shiliao biji congkan*, *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* 歷代史料筆記叢刊，唐宋筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000): vol. 1: 80 (original text: *ji* 甲集, juan 2). Many records claim that statues of deities were fashioned to look like specific imperial patrons. For a discussion of another Zhenwu statue that supposedly resembled a Ming emperor, see chapter four of this study.

⁴⁶ *Yousheng guan meng* 佑聖觀夢 [Dream of the Observatory of the Aiding Saint] in *Yijian zhi*, 夷滅志, xin juan 2. Reprinted in He Zhuo, *Yijian zhi*, vol. 3: 1397.

⁴⁷ Ningzong added the first two phrases to Zhenwu's title during the first decade of the thirteenth century. Lizong added the remaining three phrases in 1257.

⁴⁸ The Southern Song gazetteer *Xian chun linan zhi* 咸淳臨安志 records this episode. *Xian chun linan zhi* in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu: Huazhong difang* 中國方志叢書: 華中地方, vol. 49, part 3 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970): juan 75, p. 9.

Conclusion

Despite the dearth of surviving images of Zhenwu from the early period of his cult from the tenth through twelfth centuries, creating and worshipping images played an integral part in imperial and popular engagement with the deity. Yuan and Ming authors of tracts about the deity and Zhenwu believers regularly refer to the god's actions and history in the Song period as one way to bolster the legitimacy of Zhenwu's cult. As we will see in later chapters, many of these Song "historical" details cannot be verified, yet the existence of such well-developed images like the Tangut Xia paintings confirms Zhenwu's importance and hints at a more extensive tradition of images of the god. In the absence of a wider selection of extant images and records from this period, we cannot develop a full picture of the conventions for representing the god. The two Tangut Xia paintings indicate a well-developed visual tradition for representing the god by the eleventh century and demonstrate Zhenwu's appearance in Buddhist contexts. Throughout the remaining history of representing Zhenwu, images of the god coexist in Daoist, Buddhist, and popular contexts. Some of the basic elements of Zhenwu's iconography as an anthropomorphic deity that we explored in this chapter link him with other martial divinities and exorcistic Daoist deities. Our next chapter explores Zhenwu's connections with these gods and his role in the Daoist Thunder Department.

Chapter Two

Images of Zhenwu and Daoist Entourages of Thunder

Many Song (960-1279) and Yuan (1279-1368) period images of Zhenwu highlight his affiliation with the Daoist Thunder Department.¹ This chapter traces the deity's role in the Thunder Department and his relationships with its other members. We begin by examining Zhenwu's appearance in an illustrated thunder scripture, pictorial stele, and a cave temple. Then we turn to the god's presence in an album depicting a cadre of thunder marshals and his membership in the group known as the Four Saints (*si sheng* 四聖). This exploration of the iconography, style, contexts, and formats of images of Zhenwu and his martial compatriots reveals trends and variations in depictions of the god within the Daoist Thunder Department.

The process of deifying thunder's powerful natural force began as early as the third century BCE in China.² Several Daoist traditions created complex systems of divine bureaucracy incorporating a large and powerful Thunder Department (*leibu* 雷部) populated

¹ Edward Davis, Lowell Skar, and Poul Anderson have addressed Song thunder traditions by focusing on Daoist scriptures and ritual manuals preserved in the Daoist canon. However, the iconographic information contained in these thunder texts has received comparatively little attention. Several sets of images featuring members of the large pantheon of the Daoist Thunder Department survive. By combining and comparing descriptions in texts with these images, we can establish an iconographic baseline for identifying individual members of the Daoist Thunder Department.

Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001) and Lowell Skar, "Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 9 (1996-1997): 159-202. Poul Anderson is currently spearheading a collaborative called the Daoist Iconography Project (DIP) that aims to create a database of images along with sources of iconographic information and scholarly essays. Mark Muelenbeld addresses thunder deities during the Ming in his dissertation. Muelenbeld, "Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature." Ph.D. dissertation. (Princeton University, 2007). For a discussion of thunder divinities and their relationships with Zhenwu during the Ming, consult chapter four of this dissertation.

² Davis has traced references to deities known as *leishi* 雷師 or *leigong* 雷公 back to the third century BCE. See Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 24, note 18.

with a host of thunder deities, officials, soldiers, and assistants. Daoist practitioners summoned members of the Thunder Department to intervene in the terrestrial world. Thunder deities were called upon not only to bring rain, but also to exorcise demons that cause illness or misfortune for individuals, families, and communities. By the Southern Song, Daoist specialists had developed a wide variety of therapeutic thunder rituals (*lei fa* 雷法) involving techniques such as ensigillation (the use of seals [*yin* 印]), incantations (*zhou* 咒), talismans (*fu* 符), self-cultivation, and inner alchemy (*neidan* 内丹).³ Martial deities' exorcistic prowess made them dominant among thunder deities. With the rise of the Tianxin 天心 [Celestial Heart], Qingwei 清微 [Pure Tenuity], and Shenxiao 神霄 [Divine Empyrean] traditions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, scriptures codified elaborate thunder rites that invoked an array of deities.⁴

³ For more on ensigillation, see Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 123-93. For a brief overview of inner alchemy, see James Miller, *Daoism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003), 112-121. Isabelle Robinet, Lowell Skar, Monica Esposito, and Fabrizio Pregadio have also written extensively on *neidan*.

⁴ Shenxiao associated with Lin Lingsu (dates; active until 1116), who flourished during the reign of Song Zhenzong (997-1022) and other later Song rulers. Deities of Shenxiao pantheon preside over or play a role in different kinds of rites (*fa* 法). Great numbers of popular deities were enrolled as agents of the exorcistic Thunder rites. For more on Shenxiao, see Michel Strickmann, "Sodai no raigi: Shinshoundo to doka nanshu nit suite no ryaku setsu" [Thunder Rites of the Song: Concerning the Divine Empyrean Movement and the Southern School of Daoism] *Toho Shukyo* 46 (1975): 15-28. For studies of Tianxin, see Poul Anderson, "Taoist Talismans and the History of the *Tianxin* Tradition" *Acta Orientalia* 57 (1996): 141-152. By the end of the Northern Song period, Celestial Masters [Tianshi 天師] practitioners had also incorporated thunder rites into their ritual repertoire. This group is also commonly referred to as the Zhengyi 正一 [Orthodox Unity] tradition or school. For some background on Qingwei, see Lowell Skar, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformations of Daoism in the Song and Yuan Times" in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook*, 413-65.

The 1333 Illustrated *Yushu jing*

One of the most important texts for thunder rites is *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot, Spoken by the Heavenly Worthy of Universal Transformation of the Sound of the Thunder of Responding Origin in the Nine Heavens]. While the Ming Daoist canon preserves an undated text-only version of this book, an earlier illustrated version of the scripture survives in the collection of the British Library.⁵ The latter work can be dated by one of its colophons to the late Yuan period (1333).⁶ Its illustrations provide evidence that Zhenwu held a prominent position within the expanding pantheon of the Daoist Thunder Department.

Although the title *Gaoshang shenxiao yushu leiting baojing fuzhuan* 高上神霄玉樞雷霆寶經符篆 [Uppermost Highest Spirit Thunder Jade Pivot Thunderous Peal Precious Scripture with Talismanic Seals]⁷ appears on the cover of the British Library's accordion-style woodblock printed scripture, this book is a version of the *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing*.⁸ Here it will be referred to as *Yushu jing*. The frontispiece depicts an

⁵ Various accession numbers for British Library version of the *Yushu jing* are: 15103.aa2 and ORB 99/161. Thanks to Graham Hutt and Frances Wood for their assistance in locating the text and allowing me to examine it. Shawn Eichman, who wrote the catalogue entry for it in the 2000 exhibition catalogue, *Taoism and the Arts of China* first alerted me to this book.

⁶ The colophon that dates this book to 1333 was written by the 39th Celestial Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (d. 1344). A handwritten note at the end of the book contains a date of 1646. I believe this note is evidence of late Ming ownership of this copy of the *Yushu jing* and not that the entire text and illustrations were created in the Ming.

⁷ For more on the content and possible authorship of this work, see Kristopher Schipper, Franciscus Verellen, et al., *The Taoist Canon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), vol. 2, 1082-83.

⁸ This "title" appears in the text following the initial assemblage, images of deities, and a short series of incantations. In the notes to his catalogue entry on the scripture, Eichman states that the British Library version corresponds to *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經集註 (DZ 99). Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago and University of California Press, 2000), 237, note 1. The latter book has only the glosses and

assembly of deities and stretches almost two feet. A series of single leaf illustrations of individual deities and a few pairs follows the initial assemblage. A title accompanies each of these illustrations (Figs. 2.1-2.41). The remainder of the book commences with a picture of a stele offering the standard wishes for long life to the emperor (*huangdi wansui wanwansui* 皇帝萬歲萬萬歲) and continues with a series of incantations (*zhou* 咒). Revelatory text then alternates with multi-leaf scenes featuring an array of deities, priests, and devotees. Several talismans are integrated into the text near the end of the book. These are followed by additional texts and a commentary attributed to Xu Daoling 徐道齡 (act. fourteenth century), two colophons, and a closing image of a stele. The 1333 illustrated *Yushu jing* is valuable as an art historical benchmark because it contains a large number of high quality, clearly illustrated images of members of the Daoist pantheon accompanied by labels that identify each by name. A full explication of the text and illustrations of the *Yushu jing* is beyond the scope of this study, an analysis of the iconography, titles, and sequence of deities depicted at the beginning of the *Yushu jing* provides an invaluable key not only for identifying Zhenwu and deities of the Thunder Department, but also serves as baseline for tracking the development of these images.

Forty-two leaves with images follow the opening frontispiece. The majority of the leaves depict a single figure, while five feature pairs of figures. Based on the titles that appear in the upper right hand corner of each illustration, six basic types of deities are represented: *zhenjun* 真君 [perfected lords], *xian* 仙 [immortals], *zhenren* 真人 [perfected beings], *yuanjun*

commentaries regarding *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun yushu baojing* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經 (DZ 16)—it does not include the text of the original scripture.

元君 [primordial sovereigns], *tianjun* 天君 [celestial lords] and *yuanshuai* 元帥 [celestial marshals]. Among these, two figures each are identified as *zhenjun*, *xian*, *zhenren*, and *yuanjun*. The figures belonging to each type share some basic iconographic features that signal their membership within a type. For instance, the *zhenjun* are attired as Daoist priests with long robes and caps. The two *xian* are readily recognizable as Daoist immortals Lu Dongbin and Zhongli Quan. Each *zhenren* has bare feet and carries a fan. Daoist *yuanjun* appear as effeminate or female figures.

All of the figures enumerated above are well-known members of many common Daoist pantheons. The rest of the figures are affiliates of the Daoist Thunder Department. Amidst the remaining deities, eleven are *tianjun* while twenty-one are *yuanshuai*. Both of these types possess iconographic features that distinguish them as martial deities. With partially or completely exposed armor beneath robes and weaponry, all of the *tianjun* and *yuanshuai* are outfitted for battle. Based on additional iconographic features, we can identify three subgroups among the larger set of thunder deities listed below.⁹ The figures in the first subgroup appear as generals: each is bedecked in military regalia including armor, helmet and boots while brandishing a customary martial weapon such as a sword, spear, or halberd (9, 26-28, 30-33, 35-38, 40-45 according to the list below).¹⁰ Figures with multiple faces and/or arms, a third eye, and who appear pedaling on or manipulating flaming wheels (19, 25, 34, 39) belong to a second subgroup that resemble esoteric Buddhist deities. The third subgroup features figures

⁹ The first four *tianjun* in the *Yushu jing* are the some of the most commonly depicted members of the thunder department (Deng, Xin, Zhang, and Zhu). Their position near the beginning of the procession as well as their titles as *tianjun* (rather than *yuanshuai*) reinforce the higher rank of these deities.

¹⁰ For detailed description of elements of Chinese armor (in English), see William White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes: A Study of Three Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1940), 102-6.

that appear barefoot with loose, long hair equipped with some form of sword (1, 10, 11, 24,

29). The deities illustrated in this section of the *Yushu jing* are (first to last):

1. Wanfa jiaozhu 萬法教主 (Zhenwu) (fig. 2.2)
2. Donghua jiaozhu 東華教主 (fig. 2.3)
3. Dafa tianshi 大法天師 (Zhang Daoling) (fig. 2.4)
4. Shengong miaoji xu zhenjun 神功妙濟許真君 (fig. 2.5)
5. Haiqiong bai zhenren 海瓊白真人 (fig. 2.6)
6. Luoyang Sa zhenren 洛陽薩真人 (fig. 2.7)
7. Zhulei Deng tianjun 主雷鄧天君 (fig. 2.8)
8. Xin Tianjun – damaged label (fig. 2.9)
9. Feijie Zhang tianjun 飛捷張天君 (fig. 2.10)
10. Yuebei Zhu tianjun 月孛朱天君 (fig. 2.11)
11. Dongxuan jiaozhu Xin zushi 洞玄教主辛祖師 (fig. 2.12)
12. Qingwei jiaozhu Zu yuanjun 清微教主祖元君 and
13. Qingwei jiaozhu Wei tianjun 清微教主魏天君 (fig. 2.13)
14. Dongxuan jiaozhu Ma yuanjun 洞玄教主馬元君 (fig. 2.14)
15. Hunyuan jiaozhu Lu zhenjun 混元教主lu 真君 and
16. Hunyuan jiaozhu Ge zhenjun 混元教主葛真君 (fig. 2.15)
- 17 & 18. Shexiao chuanjiao Zhonglu zhen xian 神霄傳教鐘呂真仙
(Zhongli Quan and Lu Dongbin) (fig. 2.16)
19. Huode Xie tianjun 火德謝天君 (fig. 2.17)
20. Yufu Liu tianjun 玉府劉天君 (fig. 2.18)
- 21 & 22. Ning ren er da tianjun 甯任二大天君 (2) (fig. 2.19)
23. Leimen Gou yuanshuai 雷門苟元帥 (fig. 2.20)
24. Leimen Bi yuanshuai 雷門畢元帥 (fig. 2.21)
25. Lingguan Ma yuanshuai 靈官馬元帥 (fig. 2.22)
26. Dudu Zhao yuanshuai 都督趙元帥 (fig. 2.23)
- 27 & 28. Huqiu Wang Gao er yuanshuai 虎丘王高二元帥 (fig. 2.24)
29. Hunyuan Pang yuanshuai 混元龐元帥 (fig. 2.25)
30. Dongshen Liu yuanshuai 洞神劉元帥 (fig. 2.26)
31. Huoluo Wang yuanshuai 豁落王元帥 (fig. 2.27)
32. Shenlei Shi yuanshuai 神雷石元帥 (fig. 2.28)
33. Jiansheng Gao yuanshuai 監生高元帥 (fig. 2.29)
34. Fenglun Zhou yuanshuai 風輪周元帥 (fig. 2.30)
35. Diqi Yang yuanshuai 地祇楊元帥 (fig. 2.31)
36. Langling Guan yuanshuai 朗靈關元帥 (fig. 2.32)
37. Zhongjing Zhang yuanshuai 忠靖張元帥 (fig. 2.33)

38. Rensheng Kang yuanshuai 仁聖康元帥 (fig. 2.34)
39. Taisui Yin yuanshuai 太歲殷元帥 (fig. 2.35)
40. Kaojiao Dang yuanshuai 考校党元帥 (fig. 2.36)
41. □ du Meng yuanshuai □都孟元帥 (fig. 2.37)
42. Yiling Wen yuanshuai 翎靈溫元帥 (fig. 2.38)
43. □ cha Wang fushi □察王副帥 (fig. 2.39)
44. Xianfeng Li yuanshuai 先鋒李元帥 (fig. 2.40)
45. Menglie Tie yuanshuai 猛烈鐵元帥 (fig. 2.41)

Accurate identification of images of individual figures within the Thunder Department can be challenging because many of the deities share basic features.¹¹ Therefore, identification of the iconographic features of individual figures along with analyses of the sequence and groupings of deities provides valuable clues regarding the position of Zhenwu and other members of the Thunder Department not only within the historical and religious contexts of the time, but also within the continuum of artistic traditions of representing them. Although some of these figures are better known than others, the confusion surrounding the identities of individual members of the large cadre of marshals has tempted some scholars to lump the entire phalanx into a generic group and refer to them as thunder marshals or the like.¹² While this approach improves on reference to the group as simply “Daoist figures,” it ignores the considerable significance of choices made in the initial production and usage of the images. The patrons who sponsored the production and the artists who fashioned the images made choices concerning which figures to include, the sequence and arrangement of deities,

¹¹ Even those who have read the correct sections of Daoist scriptures and liturgical manuals may not be able to use that knowledge to irrefutably identify an image of a particular deity.

¹² Scholars have often use this same approach has often been when referring to any Daoist images (i.e., if an images is not identifiably Buddhist, it must be Daoist). Such negative identifications do not state which aspects of the image are actually identifiably Daoist.

and the physical characteristics of each individual figure. In this version of the *Yushu jing*, these image choices do not correspond to textual components of the scripture or other texts of the period. Zhenwu and the other deities in the procession are not described or invoked in the scripture but their images were physically and contextually linked to the *Yushu jing*.

The very nature of printed books assured that, as long as the blocks were preserved, additional copies could be produced and distributed. In addition to promoting the spread of specific doctrines, rituals, and pantheons; the printing and diffusion of religious texts generated considerable religious merit for all parties involved. No specific records document that additional copies of this particular illustrated version of the *Yushu jing* were printed and disseminated. However, other versions of the *Yushu jing* and other thunder scriptures that survive in Chinese and Korean collections suggest that copies of the 1333 *Yushu jing* were probably also printed and circulated.¹³

Creating the original drawings for the figures and scenes, carving the numerous woodblocks necessary to produce the work, and printing the scripture from those blocks each required the specialized expertise of a host of craftsmen. By the Ming period, these activities were coordinated by a publisher who employed both individual artists and workshops of craftsmen to produce works commissioned by an assortment of lay and clerical patrons.¹⁴ Like the religious painting workshops based in the southern port city of Ningbo during the Southern

¹³ Schipper points out Bo Yuchan's 白玉蟾 (fl. 1194-1229) involvement in the printing and diffusion of *Shenxiao* thunder rites and related texts as recorded in *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄 [Recorded Sayings of Bo, the Zhenren from Qiongzhou (on Hainan)] (DZ 1307), 4.19b; in Schipper, Verellen, et. al., *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 2: 1092. So Bo may also have been involved in the same practices involving the illustrated *Yushu jing*.

¹⁴ For a recent collection of studies on Ming and Qing printing, see Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Chapter five of this study examines illustrations related to Zhenwu in several printed books from the Ming.

Song, printing workshops worked on projects where they were charged with representing Daoist, Buddhist, popular, and local deities.¹⁵ Although the figures illustrated in the *Yushu jing* are iconographically Daoist and appear in a Daoist context, the style and elements of the images reflect the non-denominational artistic conventions of woodblock printed images of the late Yuan.

In order to meet production demands for a variety of commissions, artists employed pictorial formulae that helped to streamline the process of creating a work to be printed and distributed. A number of pictorial elements appear repeatedly among the figures in the series at the beginning of the *Yushu jing*. Artists utilized a variety of combinations of these elements to create several basic types of figures. Then additional features and characteristics were added to create a series of individual, nevertheless composite, figures for the finished product.¹⁶ By combining a finite number of types of faces, feet, robes, poses, weapons or implements used in composite with one another, the craftsmen behind the *Yushu jing* produced forty-four individual figures, each with a distinctive iconography. Almost all of the figures are about the same height and body mass, with the obvious exception of female *yuanjun* and figures that appear as pairs on the same leaf. The first eleven figures possess the most distinctive sets of features. They are the highest ranking and most important deities in the series and do not share many repeated features with one another or with the remaining deities that follow them. However, even among this relatively diverse group, we can see

¹⁵ Shih-shan Susan Huang discusses Ningbo workshops in “The Triptych of “Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water” and the Making of Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period.” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2002), 129-47.

¹⁶ The best known example of this practice is the Qin terracotta army. For a study of these tendencies in workshop practices, see Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

several standard elements. All but the very first figure (Zhenwu) are shown in three-quarter view with their bodies oriented to the right as we look at the page.¹⁷ This bodily orientation continues throughout the rest of the series of figures, creating a procession moving from left to right. Throughout the procession, individual deities turn their heads as if to talk with one another. These pictorial conventions mirror those employed in murals depicting Daoist and Buddhist processions and assemblies.¹⁸ Deities' garments are drawn with elegant undulating lines and their capes and robes billow softly as if a divine wind is supporting the figures and sweeping them gently to the right toward the head of the procession. The positioning of the feet of the figures is precisely the same: whether barefoot or boot-clad, the figure's left foot is at a 90° right angle while the other foot is angled slightly outward to the left. There are variations in the actual rendering of the toes or the shading on the boots for individual figures. Overall, the feet and hands are proportionately small in comparison with the bodies of the figures. In most cases, the deities' hands are rendered somewhat clumsily. Zhenwu's hands positioned above his sword look comparatively elegantly rendered, suggesting that the draftsmen took special care on his hands. Moving further back in the procession, the repeated pictorial elements are more noticeable: types of eyes, eyebrows, moustaches, beards, and headgear are utilized in different combinations. Even though the composite elements mentioned above are most noticeable among the *tianjun* and *yuanshuai* in the latter half of the

¹⁷ Zhenwu and later in the series the twenty-ninth figure (Pang yuanshuai) face the viewer frontally.

¹⁸ Later sections of this chapter deal with *Chaoyuan tu* and murals at the Royal Ontario Museum and in the Sanqing Hall at Yongle gong.

series, the armor, capes, and robes of each figure are still highly detailed, richly patterned and individualized.¹⁹

In addition to the repeated elements of the figures, the format and background of each leaf is consistent. Each deity's title is positioned in the upper right corner. The swirling clouds form a kind of mandorla behind each figure. The cloud border the bottom of each illustration and sinewy clouds flow continuously across all the leaves. These features give this entire series a sense of continuity so that the whole section of the scripture appears cohesive. Despite the use of pictorial formulae to create the individual deities in the sequence, no two figures are exactly the same. Clearly, each was intended to represent a specific individual deity and we can determine the individual iconography of each from the composite of their features. Based on the placement of each figure within the series, we can also ascertain the relative importance of each in the hierarchy.

Zhenwu in the *Yushu jing*

Zhenwu appears at the beginning of the entire series of deities, reflecting his increasingly prominent position within the Daoist Thunder Department. The title that appears in the upper right of the image of Zhenwu reads *Wanfa jiaozhu* 萬法教主 [Teaching Patriarch of Myriad Methods] (fig. 2.2). That is not one of Zhenwu's standard titles, but a critical mass of visual evidence affirms that the figure is Zhenwu. He wears armor under his robe; Zhenwu shares this characteristic with many of the martial divinities in the illustrations that follow. He also has the long, loose hair, bare feet, and weapon that link him to other deities that appear

¹⁹ Some textile patterns do recur.

later in the sequence. The image of Zhenwu closely corresponds to many of the features of the twelfth figure in the sequence, *Dongxuan jiaozhu Xin zushi* 洞玄教主辛祖師 [Cavern (Penetrating) Mystery Teaching Patriarch Xin] (fig. 2.12). These two share the features of the martial types mentioned above and, in addition, both deities wear cloud-patterned black robes and have a long sword that points toward the ground. However, Zhenwu's pose and robe set him apart from *Xin zushi*. His robe is more detailed featuring a patterned lining in the folds of his sleeves, inside the back hem, and on the edges of his robe splayed open at his chest. His long hair flows across his shoulders, down his back and out to the side. Zhenwu also shares several features with *Hunyuan Pang yuanshuai* 混元龐元帥 [Celestial Marshal of Primordial Chaos Pang], who appears 29th in the series (fig. 2.25). Both figures have long flowing hair, bare feet, armor and a sword. But Pang has only a slight cape over his robe and he has a ribbon that wraps around his head that ties at the top of his forehead. Pang's sword is blunt and plain at its hilt compared with Zhenwu's weapon; but Pang grips his sword as if ready to strike at any moment. Zhenwu's sword points downward as he elegantly rests his hands at the end of the hilt with its cord looped casually through his fingers. Not wielded in preparation for battle, Zhenwu's sword functions as a symbol of his power. Pang and Zhenwu are two of only six figures in the sequence that face the viewer directly—all others are in profile or three-quarter view.

Because of the notable iconographic similarities between Zhenwu, *Xin zushi* and Pang *yuanshuai* in the *Yushu jing*, we need additional evidence to confirm Zhenwu's identity. Drawn with a decidedly more elegant face, Zhenwu has a thin nose, almond-shaped upward slanting eyes, gracefully angled thin eyebrows and moustache, with a short pointed wispy beard

extending from the middle of his chin. Zhenwu's face is rendered with a bit more attention to detail than the relatively similar face of the thirty-third figure, Gao yuanshuai, who is clearly based on the same type. Zhenwu has a halo behind his head and shoulders—only he and the three figures that follow him have halos. This confirms the elevated status and importance of the god since he appears first among this group of haloed figures. In addition, elaborate flowing scarves swirl around Zhenwu's feet and around behind his head. None of the other figures in the series have this feature. The presence of an entwined tortoise and snake at the deity's feet is the key piece that cinches the identification of the first figure as Zhenwu.

Zhenwu's presence at the head of this sacred procession preceding a scripture in which he is not mentioned or invoked shows the god's prominence within and association with the Daoist Thunder Department. Led by Zhenwu, this procession of gods represents a tradition of visual invocation that was not directly tied to the textual content of the scripture. Zhenwu's appearance in the *Yushu jing* demonstrates his role as an important god in the visual tradition of representing the Daoist Thunder Department.

Related Images on Song and Yuan Stele

Two other dated images of Zhenwu share many of the same characteristics and iconography as the one that appears in the *Yushu jing*. One is a stele rubbing from the Beijing Library collection that dates to 1099.²⁰ The stele depicts the god with four attendants in the top fourth of the stele (fig. 2.42). Below the text of a scripture titled □ *Shitian* □□ *Beifang*

²⁰ *Beijing tushuguan zang hua xiang ta ben hui bian* 北京圖書館藏畫像拓本匯編. *Beijing tushuguan shan ben bujin shi zubian* 北京圖書館善本部金石組編. Volume 7. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993, 1 (書60).

Zhenwu 始天 北方真武. Wu Zongmeng 武宗孟 authored the scripture, Song Zhuanzheng 宋溥正 transcribed it, and Zhang Shining 張士寧 carved it. Zhenwu's title, Beifang zhenwu lingying zhenjun 北方真武 靈應真君 [Perfected Lord of Numinous Response, Perfected Warrior of the Northern Region], is carved to either side of the god and his small entourage. The god sits on a rock throne with a flat top; a tortoise and snake appear at his feet. The latter are not entwined but turn toward one another in close proximity. The attendants closest to him bear Zhenwu's flag and sword. Two female attendants also present offerings. Although Zhenwu is seated, he rests his right hand on the hilt of his sword that points downward toward the ground as in the image of the god in the *Yushu jing*. Another stele rubbing of Zhenwu in the same collection dates to 1170.²¹ Although Zhenwu's overall appearance is not nearly as elegant as in the *Yushu jing*, this stele does show him resting his hands on the hilt of his downward-pointing sword (fig. 2.43). The deity appears heavier and older in this image. One can almost imagine his sword braced against the ground like a walking stick, helping him maintain his balance. Based on these dated images, it seems likely that one common type of image of Zhenwu in the Song and Yuan periods featured the deity not actively wielding his sword, but resting his hand(s) on its hilt with its point oriented toward the ground.²²

²¹ *Beijing tushu guan zang hua xiang ta ben hui bian* 北京圖書館藏畫像拓本匯編. *Beijing tushuguan shan ben bujin shi zubian* 北京圖書館本部金石組編. Volume 7. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993, 4 (書 472).

²² Another example of an image of Zhenwu standing with his sword pointed toward the ground appears in a copy of the Ming 1598 reprint of the *Daozang* from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chinois 954/1196) within *Taishang xuantian zhenwu wushang jiangjun lu* 太上玄天真武無上將軍籙 [Register of the Supreme General, the Great Highest Dark Heaven Perfected Warrior] (DZ 1213: 1b). For an illustration, see Schipper, et. al. *The Taoist Canon*, volume 2: 1198. He appears in a black robe with the tortoise and snake at his feet. However, he is

As in the *Yushu jing*, these stele images of Zhenwu show the god as an elegantly attired, haloed deity with a downward-pointing sword. Although his weapon suggests his martial prowess, the god does not actively wield it in these images. Such representations of Zhenwu assert his status as a powerful deity without visual emphasis on his martial prowess. As we will see, such images of Zhenwu coexisted with other more assertively martial representations of the god in other formats and contexts.

Zhenwu in the Junkunc-Cleveland Album

In addition to his presence in Daoist scriptures and stele, Zhenwu also appeared together with members of the Daoist Thunder Department in pictorial albums. An album, previously owned by Stephen Junkunc IV and currently in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, is the most extensive surviving album that depicts Zhenwu and his fellow thunder compatriots.²³ The fifty-leaf Junkunc-Cleveland album has traditionally been dated to the Southern Song based on the elegant line of its *baimiao* 白描 [plain line drawing] figures.²⁴

depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ view and his two hands clumsily grip the oddly long hilt of his sword. Shawn Eichman discusses this early fifteenth century register in *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 306-7.

There is evidence that images carved on stele (*zaoxiangbei* 造像碑 [dedicatory image stele]) may have been worshipped during rituals held at stele. Liu Shufen, "Art, Ritual and Society: Buddhist Practice in Rural North China during the Northern Dynasties." *Asia Major* 8, no. 1 (1997): 1-49.

²³ Recent scholarship refers to the album as the Junkunc album. Cleveland curators have given the album the name, *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes* (2004.1.11). Sotheby's originally purchased this album from F. R. Martin from Munich, Germany. Martin published the album in a book called *Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tse aus de Götter-und Sagenwelt Chinas* in 1913. Accordingly, this album has often been referred to by the misnomer, *Daozi mobao* [Ink Treasure by (Wu) Daozi]—even though it is obviously not a surviving work by the legendary Tang painter. Sotheby's London then sold the album at auction on March 25, 1947 (lot 118) to Stephen Junkunc IV. The album resurfaced in 2000 when Christies New York sold the album in their September 21st auction (lot 204). Cleveland accessioned the album in 2004 (bought with the John L. Severance Fund in honor of Dr. Ju-hsi Chou and with gifts from various donors to the Department of Asian Art).

²⁴ The dating of specific leaves in the album is discussed later in this chapter.

The album can be divided into three major sections: a procession of Daoist deities (leaves 1-26), images of the Ten Kings of Hell in their courts (27-40), and *Soushan tu* [Search the Mountain Pictures] (41-51).²⁵ Many of the elements in this seemingly disparate collection of images share an association with the maintenance of harmony and order in the earthly and nether realms. The Daoist thunder deities and the protagonists in the *Soushan tu* vanquish demons and other negative forces. The Ten Kings of Hell preside over courts that mete out judgments and punishments to souls of the departed. In the face of dire political circumstances and the advancing Jurchen Jin, the imperial court of the Southern Song may have commissioned such a combination of figures.

Among the first twenty-six leaves of the Junkunc-Cleveland album, seven leaves contain images of figures from the Daoist Thunder Department (leaves 11, 12-16 and 19).²⁶ In total, the album illustrates thirty-nine members of the thunder department.²⁷ A name is inscribed near each of the figures. Although trimming of the leaves has cut off some characters and others have been incorrectly written or otherwise obscured, it is possible to determine most of the names associated with the figures.

²⁵ Carmelita Hinton examines *Soushan tu* in "The Mountain of Anomie: Transformations of the *Soushan tu* Genre," Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 2000).

²⁶ The current numbering system for the leaves of the album does not reliably reflect their original order. The leaves are marked using a numbering system in white in the upper right of each leaf. It is most likely that one of the later owners of the album added these numbers. Leaves 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 19 each contains six figures. Leaf 11 depicts five figures.

²⁷ 39 of the figures are thunder marshals. An additional figure in leaf 11 (Simu Laoweng) and another in leaf 15 (Hehe taibao) are depicted among the marshals. These figures were sometimes associated with thunder marshals.

Leaf 11

(left to right):

(fig. 2.44)

Yousheng zhenjun 祐聖真君

Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖寶德真君

Tianyou fu yuanshuai 天猷副元帥

Tianpeng da yuanshuai 天蓬大元帥

smaller figure above is labeled Cang jie 倉頡²⁸

Leaf 12

left to right (lower row):

(fig. 2.45)

Dudu Zhao yuanshuai 都督趙元帥

Lingguan Ma yuanshuai 靈官馬元帥

Zhongjing Zhang yuanshuai 忠靖張元帥

Langling Guan yuanshuai 朗靈關元帥²⁹

left to right (upper row):

Fenglun Zhou yuanshuai 風輪周元帥³⁰

yuanshuai 元帥³¹

Leaf 13

left to right (lower row):

(fig. 2.46)

Zhaobao Pan yuanshuai 招寶潘元帥

Taisui Yin yuanshuai 太歲殷元帥

Sheng Kang yuanshuai 聖康元帥³²

Shenlei Shi yuanshuai 神雷石元帥

left to right (upper row):

Huoluo Wang yuanshuai 豁落王元帥,

Dongshen Liu yuanshuai 洞神劉元帥³³

Leaf 14

left to right (lower row):

(fig. 2.47)

Xianfeng Li yuanshuai 先鋒李元帥³⁴

Menglie Tie yuanshuai 猛烈鐵元帥

Jiansheng Gao yuanshuai 監生高元帥

Huqiu Wang yuanshuai 虎丘王元帥³⁵

left to right (upper row):

□□ yuanshuai 元帥³⁶

□□ yuanshuai 元帥³⁷

²⁸ This figure is mislabeled and will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

²⁹ The first character is damaged.

³⁰ Only last 3 characters remain.

³¹ Only the character *shuai* is clear (and probably part of *yuan*) for this figure that has a bow and arrow.

³² The first character has been omitted, he is probably Rensheng kang yuanshuai 仁聖康元帥.

³³ Characters are damaged, only a possible *liu* and *yuanshuai* are visible.

³⁴ The character for *feng* is written incorrectly, it looks like only the right side of character.

³⁵ He appears as one of a pair with Gao yuanshuai in *Yushu jing*.

³⁶ The first two characters are damaged.

³⁷ The first character is missing, the second character is damaged.

Leaf 15

left to right (lower row): Zhangxian Sheng yuanshuai 張賢 聖元帥
(fig. 2.48) Yao yuanshuai 陶元帥³⁸

Peng yuanshuai 彭元帥
Huolun Xie tianjun 火輪謝天君

left to right (upper row): Tian yuanshuai 田元帥
Hehe taibao 和合太保³⁹

Leaf 16

left to right (lower row): Renda yuanshuai 任大元帥
(fig. 2.49) Leimen Gou yuanshuai 雷門苟元帥
Bi yuanshuai 畢元帥⁴⁰

left to right (upper row): Yufu Liu tianjun 玉府劉天君
Ning yuanshuai 甯元帥

Leaf 19

left to right (lower row): Zhu tianjun 朱天君⁴²
(fig. 2.50) Feijie Zhang tianjun 飛捷張天君
Panfu Xin tianjun 判府天君⁴³
Zhulei Deng tianjun 主雷鄧天君

left to right (upper row): □ shen Pang yuanshuai 神龐元帥⁴⁴
Lu yuanshuai 呂元帥⁴⁵

By comparing the arrangement, members, and iconography of the figures in the Junkunc-Cleveland album with those of the 1333 illustrated *Yushu jing*, we uncover trends and

³⁸ Here yao 陶 means legendary ancient person.

³⁹ Both of these figures look more like attendants than marshals. Each wears a cap and robe tied at the waist. Tian yuanshuai 田元帥 holds a *ruyi* scepter and Hehe taibao 和合太保 holds a round, flat object.

⁴⁰ Only three characters are written, not the full title Leimen Bi yuanshuai 雷門畢元帥.

⁴¹ These characters are written very casually and larger than all of the others in the album. No attempt has been made to match the original size and style of these characters to those of the other inscribed names. The first two characters Diqi 地祇 are missing.

⁴² This is short for Yuebei zhu tianjun 月孛朱天君.

⁴³ Panfu xin tianjun is pictured in *Yushu jing* but the characters are ruined.

⁴⁴ The first character is cut off and there is some damage to those remaining.

⁴⁵ Characters have been cut off.

variations in the depiction of Zhenwu and the Daoist Thunder Department. The number of figures in the album does not correspond to the number in the *Yushu jing*. And the album incorporates ten figures that do not appear in the *Yushu jing*.⁴⁶ These additional figures are concentrated in four leaves of the album (leaf 11, 13, 15, 16).⁴⁷ The ordering of the thirty-nine members of the Thunder Department represented in the album also does not correspond to the ordering of the figures in the *Yushu jing*. Instead of being lined up in a single horizontal procession moving in one direction (to the right) as in the *Yushu jing*, the figures in the album appear in clusters of six, with one group of five. One reason for these variations is the different artistic conventions for the respective formats. As an accordion-folded printed book, the individual “pages” of the scripture are smaller than those of the album. Artists had plenty of vertical space but not enough horizontal space to depict more than one or two figures. On the other hand, album leaves allow plenty of horizontal space to depict multiple figures. The procession of figures in the scripture was designed to remain in order and be viewed sequentially. The selection and order of the figures was intended to be physically associated with this scripture. Some leaves of the album may have been intended to form larger groups, but each leaf was essentially a separate composition. Because of the directional orientation of the figures in the leaves, it is possible that the thunder deities were divided into three or more

⁴⁶ These are: Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖寶德真君 (leaf 11), Tianyou fu yuanshuai 天猷副元帥 (leaf 11), Tianpeng da yuanshuai 天蓬大元帥 (leaf 11), Zhaobao pan yuanshuai 招寶潘元帥 (leaf 13), Zhangxian sheng yuanshuai 張賢聖元帥 (leaf 15), Yao yuanshuai 陶元帥 (leaf 15), Peng yuanshuai 彭元帥 (leaf 15), Tian yuanshuai 田元帥 (leaf 15), Renda yuanshuai 任大元帥 (leaf 16), Ning yuanshuai 甯元帥 (leaf 16). Two other figures have slightly different titles: X shen pang yuanshuai 神龐元帥 (leaf 19 in Junkunc-Cleveland) differs from Hunyuan pang yuanshuai 混元龐元帥 in *Yushu jing*, Huolun xie tianjun 火輪謝天君 (leaf 15 in Junkunc-Cleveland) differs from Huode xie tianjun 火德謝天君 in *Yushu jing*.

⁴⁷ Several of the “additional” celestial marshals are labeled with a three-character name rather than a more formal title composed of five characters.

larger groups. For example, the figures in leaves 11, 12, and 13 move from left to right while the figures in leaves 14, 15, and 16 move from right to left. The figures in leaf 19 change direction again, moving from left to right. The changes in the direction of the deities' procession suggest that some of these leaves may have been intended to serve as models for pairs of processions that would be executed on opposite walls of a temple hall.

Most of the groups represented on a single leaf of the Junkunc-Cleveland album do not correspond to any established subgroups within the Thunder Department. However, several leaves portray a cluster of four deities who are scripturally associated with one another and tend to appear together. For example, leaf 12 features celestial marshals Zhao, Ma, Zhang, and Guan; leaf 19 has celestial lords Zhu, Zhang, Xin, and Deng; and leaf 11 presents Tianpeng, Tianyou, Yisheng, and Zhenwu.⁴⁸ The groups in leaf 12 and 19 represent affiliated members of the Thunder Department. Four of the figures in leaf 11 (fig. 2.44) make up a cadre known as the Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖). These combinations suggest that the images in the album may have served as reference models for artists commissioned to depict one or more of these thunder subgroups in other contexts such as scroll paintings or murals. In addition, the non-standard groupings of figures on single leaves suggest that artists also could have used the album as a kind of pictorial dictionary to provide models for images of individual thunder deities, fashioning images to incorporate in a variety of projects.

Although the *Yushu jing* and the Junkunc-Cleveland album both depict thunder gods, the iconography of individual figures in the two works do not match and the styles of the figures

⁴⁸ Several problematic elements of leaf 11 will be discussed below. For more on marshal groupings, consult chapter four's discussion of images of Zhenwu in painting and sculpture that feature him with various groups of attendant marshals.

are different. The Junkunc-Cleveland figures tend to appear more attenuated overall and they have longer calves and ankles than their counterparts in the *Yushu jing*. The bodies of the Junkunc-Cleveland figures also less robust bodies and accompanying drapery. While the stylistic differences between the scripture and album could be partially explained by the conventions for the different formats, the iconographic differences suggest that two parallel artistic traditions for representing Zhenwu and the Thunder Department.

The Four Saints

Within the Daoist hierarchy, Ziwei Beiji Dadi 紫微大帝 [Purple Tenuity Great Emperor of the Northern Pole Star] commands the Four Saints: Zhenwu, Tianpeng, Tianyou, and Yisheng. Although the individual histories of the members extend back into earlier times, recognition and worship of the Four Saints as a group began in the Northern Song period.⁴⁹ An extensive scriptural corpus details the methods of worship, roles, and iconography of Zhenwu and Tianpeng.⁵⁰ Both martial deities possess exorcistic powers that they use to vanquish a variety of demons that attempt to cause harm to the land and people. Incantations to Tianpeng exhorting him to exorcize malevolent forces and stories about the miraculous

⁴⁹ Chapter one addresses Zhenwu's pre-Northern Song history. Tianpeng's history can be traced back to at least the Southern and Northern Dynasties 南北朝 period (420-589). Shangqing scriptures from that period contain incantations to Tianpeng. For a translation of a Tianpeng incantation from a Daoist anthology compiled by Tao Hongjing in 499 called the *Zhen'gao* 真誥 (DZ 1016). Michel Strickmann, "History, Anthropology, and Chinese Religion," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40, no. 1 (June 1980): 228-29.

⁵⁰ *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* 太上助國救民總真祕要 DZ 1227, by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 (preface 1116) lists Tianpeng as head of a group of 36 generals in the Department of Exorcism. For a synopsis of this text, see Poul Anderson's entry in Schipper, et. al., *The Taoist Canon*, volume 2, p. 1057-60. For more textual references to and background on Tianpeng and the other Saints, see Judith Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*: 32, 265 note 62 (Tianpeng), 83-86 (Yisheng); Anning Jing, *Yuandai bihua: Shenxian fuhui tu* [The Yuan Mural: Assembly of the Immortals] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2002), p. 91-116; and Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*: 74-79.

healing powers of Tianpeng's seal appear frequently in Daoist texts.⁵¹ Scriptures describe two primary sets of iconographic features for the multi-headed, multi-armed, fierce martial deity equipped with a variety of weapons and implements. In one version, Tianpeng has three faces and six arms. He wears armor and a crown while he holds an axe, rope, bow, arrow, sword, and a halberd.⁵² The other version of Tianpeng has four heads and eight arms. He has bronze teeth and iron claws. In his eight arms, he holds a golden ruler, axe, bow, arrow, sword, halberd, bell, and seal. This version of Tianpeng purportedly holds a thunderbolt and a cauldron.⁵³ In addition to his exorcistic powers, Zhenwu's role as a protector and defender of the state is highlighted in multiple texts. Zhenwu continued to be described as a martial figure with long, loose hair and bare feet. He wears golden armor under a black robe while carrying a sword. Sometimes an entwined tortoise and snake still appear with him.

The roles and iconography of Tianyou and Yisheng derive directly from Tianpeng and Zhenwu. Tianyou appears rarely in scriptures, and never as a main focus. His primary role is Vice Marshal to Tianpeng. Although rarely described in detail, Tianyou's iconography resembles that of Tianpeng. He is a multi-headed, multi-armed, fierce-looking celestial marshal. According to one text, Tianyou has three heads and four arms. He wears golden armor and holds a spear.⁵⁴ Prior to the Northern Song, Yisheng was known as Heisha 黑殺

⁵¹ For some examples, see the Daoist collection, *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 [Record of Daoist Miracles] (DZ 590), composed by Du Guangting (850-933) in the early tenth century and *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels] (DZ 1032), compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房 (fl. 1008-1025), juan 119-120.

⁵² *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 [Primal Collection of Daoist Ritual] (DZ 1220), juan 156, 3b.

⁵³ *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元, juan 159, 5-6.

⁵⁴ The fourteenth century text, *Taishang jiutian yanxiang di'e sisheng miaojing* 太上九天延祥滌厄四聖妙經 [Most High Miraculous Scripture of the Four Saints in the Nine Heavens Who Grant Good Fortune and Dispel Distress] (DZ 26), p. 6-7 describes Tianyou with these features.

[Black Killer].⁵⁵ He was worshipped as Heisha in the first half of the tenth century. However, a series of politically expedient revelations between 960 and 994 raised his status and prompted the change to his name. One germane revelation announced that the mandate to rule would be passed on to the younger brother (Song Taizong 宋太宗, r. 976-997) of the first Song emperor, Taizu 太祖 (r. 960-976). Once Taizong took the throne, Heisha received the title Yisheng jiangjun 翊聖將軍⁵⁶ and was promoted as a divine protector of the dynasty—a role also assigned to Zhenwu.. Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (r. 997-1022) bestowed the god with the title Yisheng baode 翊聖保德 in 1041.⁵⁷ According to *Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳 [Biography of (the True Lord) Assisting the Sage and Protecting Virtue] (DZ 1285), the deity appeared with loose hair and he held a sword. Yisheng rode on a dragon vehicle and a star appeared in front of him.⁵⁸

The iconographic features of the Saints, particularly Tianpeng and Tianyou, are similar to features of esoteric Buddhist deities. The powerful imagery of multi-armed, multi-headed, heavily armed gods was not limited to Buddhist deities or Buddhist contexts. By the Southern Song and Yuan periods, the expanding Daoist pantheon included images of fierce deities that

⁵⁵ For more on Heisha, see Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*: 67-86.

⁵⁶ He received this title in 981.

⁵⁷ The Northern Song revelations regarding Yisheng were recorded by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (960-994) in *Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳 [Biography of (the True Lord) Assisting the Sage and Protecting Virtue] (DZ 1285), especially, xia juan (下卷), 9-10, 13-14. Studies of this text include: Poul Anderson's synopsis in Schipper, Verellen, et. al., *The Taoist Canon*, volume 2, 880-81; Yang Huarong 羊華榮 "Yisheng baode zhuan jieshao" 《翊聖保德傳》介紹 *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 3 (1986), p. 96-101; and Michel Soymié, "Etude de *Yisheng baode zhuan*." *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, IVe section, 1974-75 (1975): 961-965.

⁵⁸ *Yisheng baode zhuan* 翊聖保德傳 [Biography of (the True Lord) Assisting the Sage and Protecting Virtue] (DZ 1285). Although the dragon vehicle and star are distinctive compared with the iconography of Zhenwu, I do not know of any surviving images that include these distinguishing features of Yisheng.

paralleled esoteric Buddhist gods. While the incorporation of fierce Daoist deities probably began as a response to Buddhist imagery, visual traditions for representing these fierce deities merged so thoroughly that images of such gods ceased to be distinguishable as Buddhist or Daoist unless they were viewed in a specific context. While the combination of implements, number of heads and hands, and companions help us specifically identify these fierce gods, their appearance in multiple contexts provides yet another example of the intermingled visual traditions of Buddhism and Daoism.

Identifying the Saints can be challenging not only because of their similarities with esoteric Buddhist deities but also because of the iconographic similarities between the two pairs: Zhenwu and Yisheng and Tianpeng and Tianyou. Although scriptural descriptions provide some distinctive features for each, these distinguishing features do not often show up in surviving images of the Four Saints. Some images even incorporate unusual features that provide more evidence of incorporation of iconographic features of Buddhist martial deities into images of the Saints. For example, the Four Saints appear in cave 10 at Shimenshan 石門山 [Stone Gate Mountain] in Dazu 大足 (Sichuan province).⁵⁹ These Southern Song statues include Zhenwu appearing barefoot and armored standing atop a tortoise and snake while wielding a sword. Two aspects of the image are unusual: he wears crown-like headgear attached with a chinstrap and his bulging eyes and angry expression resemble those of a Buddhist *mingwang* 明王 [bright king]. Tianpeng appears at the opposite end of the same wall in the cave. He has six arms that hold a square seal, bell, halberd, bow, and arrow. One

⁵⁹ Hu Wenhe 胡文和, *Sichuan dao jiao fo jiao shiku yishu* 四川道教佛教石窟藝術 [Art of Buddhist and Daoist Caves in Sichuan] (Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe, 1994), 20, plate 51.

hand rests on the head of an animal that resembles a *qilin*. A four-armed Tianyou appears along the opposite wall holding a lance and with another hand resting on the head of a dragon at his feet. Yisheng appears across the wall from Zhenwu.⁶⁰ The Saints positioning at the edges of the cave and their protective functions mirror those of the four Buddhist *tianwang* 天王 [heavenly kings]. However, the Four Saints directional association with the north, rather than the four cardinal directions, and the more esoteric iconography of Tianpeng and Tianyou are just two of their characteristics that clearly distinguish them from the Buddhist martial quartet.⁶¹ The more consistent iconographic features of Zhenwu and Tianpeng make it easier to reliably identify them. Because Tianyou and Yisheng share so many basic features with their cohorts and the quartet are often depicted together, some scholarly disagreement exists regarding the correct identification of the figures in several key images of the Four Saints.

Several elements of leaf 11 raise questions about the dating, identification, iconography and inscriptions in the leaf. Not only is the inclusion of a small four-eyed figure wearing a scholar's robe and cap unusual, but this figure is also mislabeled as Cang Jie.⁶² A

⁶⁰ Images of Tianpeng and Tianyou also survive in the Ziwei dadi cave at Shucheng cliff 舒成巖 near Dazu. Hu Wenhe, *Sichuan daojiào fojiào shiku yishu*, 25, plate 63. Here the two marshals flank Ziwei dadi [Purple Tenuity Emperor].

⁶¹ The Buddhist *tianwang* usually appear with a single head and set of limbs and are often depicted trampling on small figures. Their armor usually covers their chests as opposed to more esoteric deities or even *lishi* [strongmen] who have partially or completely exposed chests and torsos.

⁶² Jing has pointed out that this small four-eyed figure is probably not Cang Jie but Simu Laoweng 四目老翁 [the Four-eyed Ancient]. Cang Jie was legendary official to the Yellow Emperor who supposedly invented Chinese characters (depicted in some Han art as a four-eyed figure). Simu Laoweng is mentioned in Tao Hongjing's *Zhen gao* as "the principal marshal of the three worlds" under Tianpeng (also see *Daofa huiyuan* 162:35b-36a; *Zhonghua daoang*, volume 37, 462.). This figure does not appear in the ROM murals but does appear near Tianpeng in Yongle gong Sanqing Hall. See *Yongle gong bihua quanji*, p. 22, figure 21 for an illustration that includes a four-eyed figure who stands next to Yisheng and wears a white scholar's robe and black hat. I am unsure of any standard for Simu Laoweng's iconography, but in both the Cleveland-Junkunc leaf and at Yongle gong, he is depicted as a scholar rather than a military figure. For Jing's comments, see *Yongle Palace: The*

four-eyed figure named Simu Laoweng 四目老翁 [4-eyed Ancient] is sometimes associated with Tianpeng. But I know of no other instances where he is pictured with the group of Four Saints. The iconography of the figure labeled Tianpeng in the album leaf holds three atypical accoutrements. He holds an orb in each of his upper hands—one contains a hare pounding the elixir of immortality and the other encloses a three-legged bird.⁶³ In addition, Tianpeng holds a round disk rather than his characteristic square seal.⁶⁴ The image of Yin yuanshuai [Celestial Marshal Yin] in the *Yushu jing* (fig. 2.35) bears striking similarity to the portrayal of Tianpeng in leaf 11. Yin holds two orbs representing the sun and moon, a bell, and a halberd. But Yin yuanshuai in the *Yushu jing* has only one head and four arms. The two orbs do not appear in any other extant images of Tianpeng and are not listed as part of his iconography in texts. Perhaps the painter of the album leaf mistakenly copied an image of Marshal Yin as Tianpeng since the figures share many iconographic features.⁶⁵ In addition, the character *bao*

Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty.” 273, note 51. At Yongle gong Simu Laoweng is one member of a large assembly.

⁶³ These symbolize the moon and sun respectively.

⁶⁴ Although there are several standard variations in Tianpeng’s iconography, this combination is not one of them. Additional variations in the iconography of Tianpeng will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁶⁵ Yin yuanshuai’s most common attributes are a bell and a halberd. Yin yuanshuai often appears barefoot with a child-like hairdo made up of a single or multiple round buns tied with cloth. Four arms and the two orbs are unusual attributes for Yin yuanshuai. Some later images of Yin yuanshuai pair him with Wang Yuanshuai. For images of Yin yuanshuai, see *Daojiao wenwu* [Cultural Artifacts of Daoism] (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1999) 91-92; *Daojiao shen xian hua ji* 道教神仙畫集 [Album for Taoist Deities and Divine Immortals] (Beijing: Daoist Association of China, 1994) 79, #5 (Yin is at the top of this painting of 9 generals of the Thunder Department). Daoist scriptures describe Yin yuanshuai as child-like in appearance, with a blue face, red hair and, forked horns. His body is fat, short, and blue. He wears a robe of black, green, and red. He wears a red skirt tied at his waist. At the back of his neck, he wears twelve skulls. In his left hand, Yin holds a golden bell and a yellow axe in his right hand. He stands amidst black clouds and appears with a yellow flag flying on a long pole. See juan 44 of *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 [Pearls Retrieved from the Sea of Rites] (DZ 1166), *Zhonghua daoang*, vol. 41: 626-36. Despite his title in the *Yushu jing*, the Yin yuanshuai of the Daoist Thunder Department is not the same as the popular religious deity known as Taisui, Yin Jiao 殷郊, or Marshal Yin. These latter three names refer to deity affiliated with the Ministry of Time who is described in the late Ming popular novels, *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 [Investiture of the Gods] and *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 [Journey to the West]. In Keith Stevens’ study of temple

in Yisheng's title is mistakenly written as *bao* 寶 [precious] instead of *bao* 保 [defend]. Finally, the labels for Zhenwu and Yisheng have been reversed, effectively misidentifying the depiction of Zhenwu as Yisheng.

Zhenwu and Yisheng share some basic iconographic features, their positioning, details of their dress and posture, and irregularities in their inscribed labels all suggest these two figures in leaf 11 have been incorrectly identified. Both figures have long, loose hair and bare feet. Each haloed figure wears armor and wields a sword. Both figures appear calm and composed. However, the second figure from the left, labeled Yisheng, faces the viewer and is positioned on a higher ground plane. He rests his left hand on his right wrist while he grasps his sword in his right hand. The figure on the far left, labeled Yousheng zhenjun, stands on a lower ground plane than the other three Saints and appears in three-quarter view. He holds his open left hand in front of his chest. In addition, this figure wears a cape covering his upper arms and part of his chest. All of these details suggest that the figure labeled Yisheng is the more important figure of the two. Nonetheless, this figure looks very similar to other extant images reliably identified as Zhenwu by cartouches and from additional iconographic markers such as the entwined tortoise and snake.⁶⁶

How can we account for the reversed inscriptions in leaf 11? Customarily, inscriptions are added after the painting has been completed, often by artists who did not participate in painting the images. In this case of this album, the quality of the calligraphy does not measure

images of Taisui from Southern China, he notes that some images have eight arms and a third eye. Keith Stevens and Jennifer Welch, "The Celestial Ministry of Time," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 40 (2000): 113-54.

⁶⁶ For more on these images consult the discussion of Zhenwu in the murals at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) and at Pilu si in chapter three. These are late Yuan or early Ming images that provide more support for re-dating the Junkunc-Cleveland leaf.

up to that of the *baimiao* paintings. The artist(s) who painted the Four Saints outfitted them with detailed armor and convincingly-rendered multiple layers of capes, belts and scarves that elegantly wrap and flow around their bodies. In addition to creating a distinctive face for each figure, the artist(s) demonstrated a high level of competency in drawing the hands, fingers, and feet. The level of detail and elegance of these images of the Four Saints strongly support dating them to the Southern Song. However, inconsistency in the sizing and spacing between characters and the forms of characters themselves suggest that the labels for the figures were not written by a calligrapher of equal caliber to the painter(s). Moreover, more than one writer probably filled in the titles for Yisheng and Zhenwu since the characteristics of the calligraphy do not match. The six characters in Yisheng's title are crowded together and the characters become smaller as they come dangerously close to colliding with the halo. Yousheng zhenjun is written in smaller, irregularly-spaced characters. The element that casts the most doubt on the accuracy of the two inscriptions is the use of a four-character title for the figure on the far left and the conspicuously blank ground that surrounds the inscription. The other three titles for the Saints in the leaf are all five or six characters long. If Zhenwu's title was inscribed at the same time, then his title should be six characters: Yousheng *Zhenwu zhenjun* 佑聖真武真君. The omission of these two important characters demonstrates inconsistency on the part of the inscriber. Because the inscriber used the epithet *yousheng zhenjun*, the painting and inscription can be dated to the Southern Song or later. *Zhenwu lingying zhenjun zengshang yousheng zunhao cewen* 真武靈應真君增上佑聖尊號冊文 [Imperial Order Upgrading the (Canonical) Title of Zhenwu Lingying Zhenjun with (the epithet) Yousheng] (DZ 776) indicates

that Song Huizong (r. 1100-1125) added *yousheng* to Zhenwu's title in 1108.⁶⁷ Records verify the use of the name *yousheng zhenjun* in combination with other elements to refer to Zhenwu. However, most of the texts that refer to Zhenwu with the title *yousheng zhenjun* are works that date to the much later Ming period.⁶⁸ It seems unlikely that a Southern Song inscriber would have used such an informal version of a recently-granted imperial title. The proper identification and titles for these figures was a source of confusion. In this case, the later inscriber mistakenly reversed the identities of Zhenwu and Yisheng.

⁶⁷ Consult chapter one for a discussion of Zhenwu's titles in the Northern and Southern Song.

⁶⁸ One example is the vernacularly-flavored Ming text, *Beiji Zhenwu yousheng zhenjun liwen* 北極真武佑聖真君禮文 [Rite of Homage to the True Warrior of the North Pole, True Lord of Sainly Succor] (DZ 816). The final chapter of the Ming compendium of thunder rites called *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 [Pearls Retrieved from the Sea of Rites] (DZ 1166) includes incantations to each of the Four Saints. The one for Zhenwu is called *yousheng zhou*. *Fahai yizhu* in *Zhonghua daoang*, vol. 41, 652. On this issue, I disagree with Jing who claimed that *yousheng zhenjun* was a valid title for Zhenwu in the Southern Song—short for his full title given by Song Zhenzong: *Yousheng zhenwu lingying zhenjun* (Jing, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty:" 263). Chao states that "*yousheng* would become the most frequently used honorary address for Zhenwu until the 13th century when the Mongols elevated his rank." However, she provides no supporting evidence for her statement and does not clarify whether *yousheng* was merely incorporated in a longer title for Zhenwu's or used on its own. (Chao, "Zhenwu: The Cult of a Chinese Warrior Deity from the Song to the Ming Dynasties [960-1644]:" 62).

However, some compendia from as early as the Yuan use the name *Yousheng zhenjun* to refer to a deity that is clearly *not* Zhenwu. For example, the Yuan book, *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 [Newly Compiled Combined Record of the Search for the Supernatural] includes an entry for *Xuantian shangdi* (Zhenwu) and a different one for *Yousheng zhenjun*. This version of the compendium does not have a picture with its entry for *Yousheng zhenjun*, but the description emphasizes the deity's influence over issues such as longevity. For a reprint of *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji*, see *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs] (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 2. Versions of the compendia from the mid and late Ming also have distinct entries on both *Xuantian shangdi* and *Yousheng zhenjun*. The figure in the pictures that accompany the entries for *Yousheng zhenjun* in these two Ming versions features a robed figure levitating a book or a robed figure accompanied by a woman, crane, and a deer—clearly not Zhenwu. *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 三教源流聖帝佛祖大全 [Compendia of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist Patriarchs of the Three Religions]; reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs] (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 3: 46-7 and *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural] (dated 1593) reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs] (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 4: 122-23. Thus it seems likely that the inscriptions on Leaf 11 of the Junkunc-Cleveland album were added at some point before the mid-Ming. For further discussion of these woodblock-printed collections, consult chapter five.

The presence of one of these unusual elements in leaf 11 could be deemed inconsequential, but the combined evidence suggests that this leaf was inscribed some years after its figures were painted.⁶⁹ Because of the nature of the album leaf format, it is likely that additional leaves in the current set were inscribed somewhat later. Analysis of the content of the entire album reveals that several leaves from the original have been lost.⁷⁰ A few leaves are probably later replacements entirely. Caroline Gyss-Vermande has argued that this whole album should be dated to the early Ming. However, she points to a detail in a single leaf as sufficient evidence for assigning an early fifteenth-century date to the whole album.⁷¹ Given the proliferation of Daoist thunder deities in the album, the album should not be dated earlier than the Southern Song. The absence of images of the Four Saints in the *Soushan tu* leaves also supports a Southern Song or later date for the album. According to *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 [Catalogue of Paintings from the Xuanhe Era], a Northern Song painting by Fan Kuan (990-1030) had the title *Sisheng soushan tu*. Since the Four Saints do not appear in the Junkunc-Cleveland *Soushan tu* leaves, a pre-Southern Song date for the album seems

⁶⁹ Yisheng was a prominent during the Northern Song period because of his promotion by one of Song Zhenzong's ministers, Wang Qinruo (962-1025). However, his renown was fleeting and did not eclipse that of Zhenwu. It is highly unlikely that a Southern Song calligrapher made a conscious choice to label the more authoritative figure as Yisheng. Thus the inscriptions on leaf 11 should be dated after the Southern Song period (the earliest possible date for the Junkunc-Cleveland paintings).

⁷⁰ For example, only two of the Three Pure Ones and one (perhaps two) of the three Sanguan are illustrated in the album.

⁷¹ Gyss-Vermande claims that the features of the vase in the upper left hand corner of leaf 35 (an image of one of the Ten Kings of Hell) signal a date not earlier than the fifteenth century. Gyss-Vermande asserts that the long neck and design often seen on blue and white porcelains would not have appeared in an earlier composition. Caroline Gyss-Vermande, "Les messenger divins et leur iconographie [Divine Messengers and their Iconography]" *Arts Asiatiques* 46 (1991): 101.

unlikely.⁷² Despite the differences in style and iconography between the figures in the early Yuan *Yushu jing* and those in the Junkunc-Cleveland album, the percentage of deities that they share suggests the two works may be close in date. Comparing the Junkunc-Cleveland paintings with two *baimiao* paintings from the early Ming and early Yuan along with the Southern Song court paintings of the Sanguan 三官 [Three Officials] helps us to triangulate a date for the album. The figures in the Ming painter Wu Wei's 吳偉 (1459-1508) *Xibing tu* 洗兵圖 [*Soldiers Washing Away (Demons)*] are clad in heavier layers of armor and their garments feature a polka-dotted pattern not seen in the album.⁷³ The level of detail and overall proportions of the martial and fierce figures in Zhu Yu's 朱玉 (1293-1365) *Jiebo tu* 揭鉢圖 [Lifting the Alms Bowl] are similar to those in the album but Zhu's figures feature more mannered drapery, less detailed armor, and more elaborate headgear than those in the album.⁷⁴ Although the album's figures do not share the black-trimmed robes and distinctive chest armor of the martial figures in the trio of Southern Song paintings of the Sanguan, many of the faces of the album's figures resemble the gentle, elegant faces of the martial cadre in the paintings.⁷⁵ Accordingly, most of the *baimiao* paintings depicting members of the Thunder Department in the Junkunc-Cleveland album probably date to the Southern Song or early Yuan

⁷² *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 [Catalogue of Paintings from the Xuanhe Era] (preface dated 1120), (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), 185, juan 11 for Fan Kuan entry (first painting under his name).

⁷³ *Xibing tu* is dated 1496 and is in the collection of the Guangdong Provincial Museum: *Zhongguo huihua quanji* 中國繪畫全集, vol. 12 (Ming): fig. 34-9.

⁷⁴ *Jiebo tu* is in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum: *Zhongguo huihua quanji* 中國繪畫全集, vol. 8 (Yuan): fig. 29-33.

⁷⁵ These Sanguan paintings are in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and have been dated to the Southern Song. Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1997): 63-5. Shih-shan Susan Huang discussed these works extensively in her dissertation.

period.⁷⁶ Although some of the leaves may be later replacements, the elegance of the faces, bodily proportions, and detailed armor of the Four Saints make those paintings some of the highest quality in the album.

Conclusion

Zhenwu's association with the Daoist Thunder Department illustrated in the works discussed in this chapter reflects the prevalence of thunder rites during the Southern Song and early Yuan periods. Many of the Zhenwu images presented in this chapter are part of a visual tradition that was not derived from texts. Even though Zhenwu and other members of Thunder Department depicted at beginning of *Yushu jing* are not mentioned in the text, their images circulated and became associated with the scripture. Eventually, this association led to confusion between images of Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun [Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation] who is the chief protagonist of the *Yushu jing*.⁷⁷ In the works examined here, Zhenwu is shown as leader of a procession of deities and as a member of the Four Saints. The appearance, iconography, and proximity of Zhenwu and deities in the *Yushu jing* and Junkunc-Cleveland album demonstrate the increasingly interconnected visuality of Daoism and Buddhism. Not limited to a single context associated with a single normative religious tradition, images of these gods reflect not only the competition between Buddhist and Daoist institutions for believers and supporters but also the increasingly integrated visual traditions for religious

⁷⁶ Among the leaves depicting the members of the Thunder Department, leaf 15 is the only one that appears to be a later replacement. Compared with the paintings of deities in the other leaves, the faces of the figures are crudely rendered and there is far less detail on the armor. Several of the figures appear stiff and the scarves and drapery flow in a mannered fashion.

⁷⁷ A discussion of the confusion between images of Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun appears in chapter four.

imagery in China. Although Zhenwu continues to be the object of an independent cult, artists' depictions of the god in larger assemblies of Daoist and Buddhist deities that we explore in our next chapter further demonstrate the linked contexts and visual traditions for religious images in China during the Yuan and Ming periods.

Chapter Three

Line Up and Gather Around: Zhenwu's Role in Daoist and Buddhist Assemblies

While continuing to be tied to the Daoist Thunder Department, Zhenwu also appeared as a member of other assemblies of deities. Composed of figures belonging to additional wings of the Daoist celestial bureaucracy, these groups materialized in non-thunder Daoist contexts. Zhenwu also played a role in assemblages that incorporated deities from both the Daoist and Buddhist pantheons linked with ritual practices such as the *huanglu dazhai* 黃籙大齋 [(Daoist) Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] and *shuilu fahui* 水陸法會 [(Buddhist) Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land]. This chapter explores Zhenwu's role in temple murals of Daoist and Buddhist assemblies and examines images of the god created for use in rituals. Zhenwu's presence and prominence within such a range of pantheons demonstrates his continued penetration into the religious landscape of late imperial China.

The Royal Ontario Museum Assembly

Zhenwu's appearance in one of a pair of murals now in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) shows that he played a key role in visual representations of other divisions of the Daoist celestial bureaucracy. The two ROM murals were most likely installed opposite one another on the east and west walls of a temple in Pinyang prefecture in southern Shanxi province. Each mural depicts a procession of Daoist deities and attendants often

referred to as *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial].¹ These murals do not all duplicate the combination of deities and attendants in other surviving images of *Chaoyuan tu*. The best-known works classified as *Chaoyuan tu* exhibit several common visual features. A large group of deities assembles and moves in procession; three major deities, identifiable by their larger size, appear in each procession with a variety of interspersed celestial officials and attendants. In front of and behind the larger deities, martial deities are positioned at the beginning and/or end of the procession. These images represent the Daoist celestial realm called Shangqing 上清 [Highest Purity].

Northern Song artist Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (act. early eleventh century) painted one of the earliest extant and best-known *Chaoyuan tu* (fig. 3.1). Titles for many of the deities in Wu's composition are written above them. The three main figures are: Fusang dadi 扶桑大帝 [Great Emperor of Fusang], Nanji tian dijun 南極天帝君 [Celestial Emperor of the Southern Pole (Star)], and Donghua tian dadi 東華天大帝 [Eastern Floriate Celestial Emperor]. The deities form a procession crossing a bridge partially enveloped by clouds and lotuses. Emperors and attendants stand upright with their robes and scarves gently blowing to indicate forward motion, thereby demonstrating that *Chaoyuan tu* is not a static vision of a celestial court but a procession in progress. Martial figures both lead the parade and also

¹ ROM's current title for the murals is *Homage to the First Principle*—an alternative translation for the term *chaoyuan*. Anning Jing refers to the ROM murals as *Shenxian fuhui tu* 神仙赴會圖. As with many paintings of this subject, no characters indicating a title appear on either of the ROM murals. Stephen Little mentions that epigrapher Luo Zhenyu [1866-1940] gave the Wu Zongyuan piece its name. See *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 240. For more detailed studies of the *Chaoyuan tu* theme, see Hsieh Shih-wei 謝世維, "Daojiao *Chaoyuan tu* zhi tuxiang ji zongjiao yihan" 道教朝元圖之圖像及宗教意涵 [The Iconography and Religious Significance of Daoist Illustrations (Portraying) the Audience with the Primordials] (M.A. Thesis, Chinese Culture University, Taiwan, 1994).

protect its flank: two armed, robed, and armored figures lead the group accompanied by two attendants bearing additional weaponry. Three similarly clad figures bring up the rear; remnants of a head at the edge of the scroll suggest that this group once had four members. Although we cannot identify any of the figures in Wu's composition as Zhenwu, the positioning of martial figures at the most strategic points in the procession foreshadows Zhenwu's appearance at the head of the ROM mural assembly.

The ROM murals do not have an inscribed date and deities appearing in the composition are not labeled.² Thus before we can proceed to examine the significance of Zhenwu's appearance in one of the ROM murals, we must first consider the identities of some of the other individual figures in the composition. At present, there are two main scholarly positions regarding the identities of the figures. Many scholars have agreed with the opinions of William White while Anning Jing proposed a different scheme. The pantheon that appears in the ROM murals, like Wu Zongyuan's *Chaoyuan tu*, has not been linked to a particular scriptural standard. In the absence of sufficient iconographic evidence or cartouches, we can only conjecture about the originally intended identities of the main deities in the ROM murals. Despite their considerable disagreements about the content of the murals, both White and Jing date the murals to the thirteenth century based on their subject matter, composition, and style. White places the murals around the middle of the thirteenth century while Jing dates them later in the century.

In his 1940 book *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, White identified the three main deities of the murals from the east wall (fig. 3.2) as Houtu 后土 [Empress of the Earth], Huangdi 黄帝

² A date of 1065 appears as a date for the repair of the murals. Scholars agree that this date is spurious.

[Yellow Emperor], and Tianhuang 天皇 [Celestial Emperor], moving from right to left in front of the viewer.³ White went on to identify the three main deities from the west wall (fig. 3.3) as Tianhou 天后 [Empress of Heaven], Yuhuang 玉皇 [Jade Emperor], and Laozi 老子, moving from left to right in front of the viewer.⁴ White's identification of the main east wall figures as Tianhuang, Huangdi, and Houtu is based on visual evidence: a similar-looking trio of figures whose titles are provided in an accompanying cartouche appear in a scroll painting.⁵ A majority of scholars who have written about the ROM murals follow White's scheme regarding the subject matter and identities of the majority of the figures in the murals.⁶ In his 1994 dissertation, Anning Jing challenged the long-accepted identification of main figures in the murals by proposing that the figures were members of an entirely different pantheon associated with the Quanzhen Daoist school of the early Yuan period.⁷ In Jing's scheme, White's only correct identifications are the large female figure on the east wall as Houtu and

³ See William Charles White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes: A Study of Three Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century*: 162: fig. 46 for his diagram and identifications of figures on the east wall.

⁴ See White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes: A Study of Three Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century*, 200: fig. 62 for his diagram and identifications of figures on the west wall.

⁵ White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes: A Study of Three Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century*, 77, fig 17. This painting originally appeared in Otsuka Kogeisha, *Pageant of Chinese Painting* (Tokyo, 1936) where it was dated to the Song period.

⁶ Nancy Steinhardt, "Zhu Haogu Reconsidered: A New Date for the ROM (Royal Ontario Museum) Painting and the Southern Shanxi Buddhist-Taoist Style" *Artibus Asiae* 48, nos. 1/2 (1987): 11-16; Ka Bo Tsang, "Further Observations on the Yuan Wall Painter Zhu Haogu and the Relationship of the Chunyang Hall Wall Paintings to 'The Maitreya Paradise' at the ROM" *Artibus Asiae* 52, nos. 1/2 (1992): 94-118; Michelle Baldwin, "Monumental Wall Paintings of the Assembly of the Buddha from Shanxi Province: Historiography, Iconography, Three Styles, and a New Chronology" *Artibus Asiae* 54, nos. 3/4 (1994): 241-67; and Zeng Jiabao 曾嘉寶 "Piaoyang guohai bie shenzhou: ji sanfu Yuandai Shanxi bihua de jiequ, fuyuan he xiuhu" 漂洋過海別神州：記三幅元代山西壁畫的接取，復原，和修護 *Zhongguo wenwu shijie* 52: no. 12 (December 1989): 109-21.

⁷ Jing, Anning, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty:" 250-85. Some of these same arguments appear in Jing's later book, *Yuandai bihua—shenxian fu huitu* 元代壁畫—神仙赴會圖 [The Yuan Mural: Assembly of the Immortals] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2002).

the large capped figure on the west wall as Laozi.⁸ Jing claimed that the large male and female figures accompanying Laozi on the west wall represented the Song Holy Ancestor and the Song Holy Ancestress. Jing also asserted that the two large figures with Houtu on the east wall depict Beiji Dadi and Yuhuang. Visual evidence does not seem to support Jing's re-identification of the major figures in the ROM murals. Much of his argument stems from his re-identification of the main female figure on the west wall murals as the Song Holy Ancestress. The presence of a small image of a child on the figure's left breast represents Jing's sole pictorial evidence for his re-identification of this figure as the Song Ancestress. While this detail is unusual, it cannot be solely associated with the women of the Song imperial family. Numerous female Daoist deities appeared with children such as Bixia Yuanjun 碧霞元君 [Primordial Goddess of the Clouds of Dawn]. Thus Jing provides no visual support for why the other male figure should be re-identified as the Song Royal Ancestor. He merely states that he must represent the counterpart of the Song Ancestress.⁹

One point of agreement between White and Jing is their identification of the large figure wearing a jeweled cap on the west wall as Laozi. But this figure possesses none of the iconographic features commonly associated with Laozi: he does not appear as an old man seated within a group of the Three Pure Ones nor does he sit holding a fan while resting his

⁸ Jing does not take issue with White's identification of the remaining celestial officials in the ROM murals. Thus the other subordinates in the east wall procession are seven figures representing the Seven Stars of the Dipper (at the front, behind Zhenwu). Ten figures that represent the ten celestial stems (five planetary deities and the other five their counterparts in the system of five elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, water) bring up the rear of the east wall group (behind the major figures). On the west wall, the Presidents of the Nine Daoist heavens follow two warrior figures at the head of the procession. Twelve figures in civil official garb (representing the twelve animals associated with the 12 earthly branches) trail at the end of the procession behind the main figures.

⁹ Jing's re-identification of Beiji dadi as one of the emperors on the east wall has some merit since Beiji dadi does control the five planets that appear as subordinates on the east wall. Yet there are not any identifying features for Beiji dadi and no surviving compositions reproduce the combination of three figures that Jing suggests.

arms on a three-legged curved armrest (*yi*).¹⁰ The ROM “Laozi” figure’s face is young and his attire and accoutrements are those of a Daoist priest. The figure wears a robe patterned with clouds, holds a *hu*, and wears a jeweled crown, one type of priestly headgear. There is no cartouche labeling this figure as Laozi and visual evidence does not support the identification of this figure as Laozi. It seems likely that this figure is a *zhenjun*, a type of figure often depicted with a similar robe, cap, and *hu*.¹¹ White’s identification of the figure as Laozi may reflect his idea that surely Laozi or, more precisely Laojun the deified Laozi, must be present somewhere in these Daoist assemblies. But he gives no specific iconographical or visual evidence to support his claim.¹² Jing identification of the figure as Laozi is part of his argument that Buddhist adherents originally commissioned the ROM murals as a way of deliberately denigrating the Daoist pantheon.

Jing’s assertion that the deities in the ROM murals were purposefully humiliated, by being forced to stand rather than sit upon thrones, contradicts existing visual evidence. For instance, the main deities in Wu Zongyuan’s *Chaoyuan tu* composition are depicted standing. Much of Wu’s career coincided with the reign of Song Huizong (r. 1101-26) who was renown for his support of Daoists and patronage of Daoist art. Given the privileged position of Daoist pantheons around the time of Huizong, it seems doubtful that the standing posture of the deities in Wu’s composition diminished their status or power in any way. In fact, the image of the procession probably impressed viewers with its grandeur and elegance. It seems unlikely

¹⁰ The deified Laozi appears as Daode tianzun [Celestial Worthy of the Way and its Virtue] in the group of Three Pure Ones. The other two members of the group are Lingbao tianzun [Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure] and Yuanshi tianzun [Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning].

¹¹ For an image of a *zhenjun*, see *Yushu jing*, Hunyuan jiaozhu ge zhenjun, the left figure of the pair.

¹² White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*: 211-14.

that viewers would have wondered why deities were not seated upon thrones within the parade. The more expected standard for pictorial representations of *Chaoyuan tu* called for deities to all process and suggest movement. Placing Daoist deities on thrones in such a procession would simply have been inappropriate. Jing also posits that the ROM murals were installed in a Buddhist temple and that the Daoist processions moved toward a sculpture of the Buddha Sakyamuni positioned on the back wall as the main icon of the temple. He does not provide any proof to support such a claim. It is equally possible that statues of the Three Pure Ones may have been installed in a similar position in the hall.

It is difficult to determine the original setting for the murals because there are not any records describing the setup in the temple where the murals supposedly came from, nor does a temple that fits the description still exist. Whatever the religious affiliation of the original temple (Buddhist or Daoist) when the murals were created and regardless of whether the processions moved toward statues of the Daoist Three Pure Ones or the Buddha Sakyamuni positioned along the back wall of the temple; the murals do depict processions of Daoist deities. Temples were periodically converted from Daoist to Buddhist or Buddhist to Daoist and back again as a result of prevailing imperial and regional support or persecutions. The same building identified as a Buddhist temple may have been a Daoist temple in earlier times or vice versa. The Buddhist victory in the debates sponsored by the Yuan court in 1258 and 1281 and the resulting anti-Daoist edicts issued in 1281 may have prompted such temple affiliation switches potentially affecting the original home of the ROM murals.¹³ By the Song and

¹³ For more on the Buddho-Daoist debates in Chinese history, see Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

certainly by the Yuan periods, there was more and more overlap between Buddhist and Daoist pantheons and people's beliefs in their members.¹⁴ Therefore, changes in temple affiliation would not have prompted the wholesale repainting of murals.

Zhenwu in the ROM Murals

Regardless of the specific identities of the other figures in the ROM murals, there is no doubt that Zhenwu appears at the head of the procession from the east wall. He has a commanding presence in the composition. He faces the viewer directly and confidently brandishes his sword (fig. 3.2). The ROM Zhenwu has several identifying iconographic features: an entwined tortoise and snake appear to the right of his feet, he has long hair, and he wears armor under his black robe. Stylistically, the god's feet and head are proportionately small and there is little indication of a neck.¹⁵ His moustache and beard are minimally rendered and several wisps of hair twirl across his forehead. His long, loose hair drapes down his back below his waist and flows out to his left, ending at a point parallel to the point of his sword. This not only lets the viewer see his long hair but also provides balance and elegance to this depiction of Zhenwu. Although he is haloed as in the illustrated *Yushu jing*, Zhenwu's appearance in the ROM mural differs significantly from his image in the thunder scripture.¹⁶ His more active stance in the mural emphasizes his martial prowess and signals a different

¹⁴ For example, Marilyn Gridley and others have pointed out the dual citizenship of planetary in their studies of the Tejabrabha mural at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. See Marilyn Gridley, "Images from Shanxi of Tejabrabha's Paradise" *Archives of Asian Art* 51 (1998-99): 30-55.

¹⁵ These features are similar the Zhenwu at Pilusi (see later section in this chapter). His feet in the ROM murals are even smaller than in the *Yushu jing* and his head is smaller.

¹⁶ Zhenwu's appearance in the *Yushu jing* is discussed in chapter two of this dissertation.

role. More of the deity's armor is exposed beneath his robe and wind seems to blow from his right. Although his robe blows in the wind, Zhenwu stands firmly, grasping part of his robe with his left hand. Clouds billow under his feet serving primarily as a ground plane, rather than as a force keeping him aloft. With a watchful facial expression and with his sword drawn and at the ready, his appearance highlights his role as an effective deterrent against those who might threaten the procession. The god serves as a protector and defender of the larger group of deities.

The Four Saints in the ROM Murals

In addition to Zhenwu, three other martial figures appear within the pair of murals. These four figures represent the Four Saints. A figure appears slightly to Zhenwu's right, at the head of the east wall procession (fig. 3.4). Although this figure is larger in size and more ferocious in appearance than Zhenwu, his position partially behind Zhenwu in the composition confirms his secondary role. This three-headed, six-armed figure with flaming hair probably represents a form of Tianpeng.¹⁷ He holds a flaming wheel (upper right), sword (middle right), double halberd with an attached streamer (lower right), carpenter's square (upper left), coil of rope (middle left), and a rectangular seal (lower left). This particular combination of attributes is unusual for Tianpeng and does not precisely correspond to other extant images of the deity.

¹⁷ White merely calls this figure a "tantric attendant" and speculates that it could be a tantric form of Vaisravana, guardian of the north. A line drawing with this label is in White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes: A Study of Three Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century*: 162.

His most unusual attribute here is a carpenter's square.¹⁸ Some type of lance and a rectangular seal are the most common attributes among extant images of Tianpeng.

Zhenwu's counterpart in the west wall procession lacks individually distinctive iconographic features. But based on his overall appearance and position, this figure is probably Yisheng (fig. 3.3).¹⁹ As the other member of the Four Saints who wears a robe over his armor, and has long hair, bare feet, and a sword, Yisheng resembles Zhenwu. However, his pose, facial expression, and robe are markedly different (fig. 3.5). Yisheng wears a green robe trimmed in black. He stands in three-quarter view with his head turned to his left. Yisheng does not face the viewer directly as Zhenwu does. There is no sense that Yisheng is watchful or ready for action. He merely gazes to his left in a similar manner as other deities in the procession. Although he has the same basic stance as Zhenwu, Yisheng does not have a commanding presence in the composition. While Zhenwu stands his ground against a stiff wind, Yisheng does not seem to be holding his own against any force. Only part of his right sleeve appears to blow in a light breeze. As a result, Yisheng's robe does not have much buoyancy and he seems stiff and immobile. Yisheng grasps the hilt of his sword with his right hand but his grip is awkward. His grasp does not seem firm as his forearm bends upward causing him to grip his sword with his wrist bent downward. The fingers of his left hand rest on the edge of, or quite close to, the blade. His grip and precarious hand position combined with the downward angle of his sword make the god appear ill-prepared to quickly act to defend the

¹⁸ Neither the 3-headed, 6-armed form of Tianpeng (*Daofa huiyuan*: 156:3b) or the 4-headed, 8-armed form (*Daofa huiyuan* 159:5b-6a) has a carpenter's square (unless "golden ruler" is somehow equivalent).

¹⁹ Jing says this figure is Yisheng Heisha, White says it is the Lord of the Southern Dipper.

procession. He gives the impression of waiting in line within the procession rather than guarding it.

A large ferocious figure stands behind and to the left of Yisheng. This figure is Tianyou, the Vice Marshal (Tianyou fu yuanshuai 天猷副元帥) to Grand Marshal Tianpeng (Tianpeng da yuanshuai 天蓬大元帥). Like Tianpeng, Tianyou is clad in armor and has flaming hair. Tianyou's iconography closely corresponds to his appearance in the Junkunc-Cleveland album. He has two heads and four arms: his upper hands raise two swords that cross above his head while his lower hands hold a bow and arrow.²⁰

In each of the ROM murals, a pair of marshals leads a procession of Daoist deities. Zhenwu and the other three marshals serve as an honor guard: a deterrent to those who might disrupt or attack the processions and a potential force to defend the group. Although their general role is similar to the martial figures depicted in Wu Zongyuan's *Chaoyuan tu*, each of the marshals in the murals, with the exception of Yisheng, possesses distinctive iconography that identifies him as a specific deity rather than merely as a generic martial figure.²¹ The distinct identities and the positioning of the martial figures *only* at the head of the procession represent alterations from Wu's composition. Jing points to the absence of martial figures in the rear of each of the processions as support for his argument that the murals were commissioned by Buddhists intent on degrading Daoist deities. Although he acknowledges the

²⁰ In Junkunc, one of the upper hands holds a flaming wheel not a sword but the flames and the sword are held aloft and seem to cross as the swords do in the depiction of Tianyou in the ROM mural. I agree with Jing on the identification of this figure as Tianyou (see Jing diss., 268).

²¹ See Xu Bangda, *Gu shuhua wei e kao pian* 古書畫偽訛考辨 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe: Jiangsu sheng xinhua shudian faxing, 1984). Here he publishes a later copy of Wu Zongyuan's procession. Here, the four marshal figures at the front and rear of the procession are labeled shenwang 神王 [spirit kings]. However, in Wu's original composition, these figures are not identified.

martial powers of Zhenwu and the other three marshals, Jing claims that their appearance in the murals represents the Buddhist commissioners' attempt to capture the "dangerous" forces of Daoism and convert them to favorable (i.e., Buddhist) use. According to Jing, Zhenwu and the other three martial figures in the murals were not intended to defend the procession. He also asserts that because no marshals appear at the rear of each of the processions, the Daoist deities were vulnerable to attack.²² However, Jing's argument is not wholly convincing for two main reasons. First, he fails to consider that the two surviving ROM murals may not represent the entire pictorial program of the original temple hall from which these murals were removed. Perhaps martial guardians were painted to the sides of the entrance doorway inside of the hall. Figures occupying this space would serve dually as effective defenders of the flank of the procession and as guards to the hall's entrance. Second, Jing relies too heavily on Wu Zongyuan's *Chaoyuan tu* scroll as the compositional model for the murals. Although scholars have suggested that Wu's scroll may have been a sketch for a temple mural, it is not possible to determine what physical space the painted version of Wu's composition would have occupied within a particular temple hall, or if such a composition ever came to fruition as a mural. Jing assumes that Wu's composition was executed on a single wall with martial figures at the front and rear. It seems equally likely that Wu's composition would have been divided up—eliminating the presence of marshals at both ends on a single wall. As we have already seen in our examination of the murals above, the artistic traditions and conventions for creating images of Daoist and Buddhist assemblies and processions played a key role in determining the content and style of the paintings. These conventions also dictated the compositional

²² Jing, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty:" 277.

placement of types of figures. For example, martial deities usually appeared in two main positions in both Buddhist and Daoist mural assemblies. As a single pair or two pairs, martial figures show up in the lower center at the head of processions that approach main deities in the upper center.²³ Groups of two or more martial divinities are also routinely positioned at the end of an assembly near the entryway.²⁴

Commissioners and viewers of the ROM murals may have perceived deities such as Zhenwu and the other members of the Four Saints as more powerful than the more generic marshals in Wu's composition. Thus Zhenwu and his martial cohort were sufficiently powerful and effective defenders of the procession from a frontal or flanking attack. Zhenwu's depiction at the head of the Daoist procession in the east wall mural demonstrates his growing prominence as a distinctive and powerful martial deity within more widely encompassing Daoist assemblies. An examination of Zhenwu's appearance, position, and role in another set of murals from the Shanxi area from the Sanqing dian 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones] on the grounds of the Quanzhen Daoist temple Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy] will further illustrate his recurring role as a member of the Four Saints within assemblies of the Daoist pantheon.

²³ Two pairs of deva kings appear in the Ming Buddhist murals on the east wall of Great Buddha Hall at Gongzhu si 公主寺 [Princess Temple]: Chai Zejun 柴澤俊, *Shanxi siguan bihua* 山西寺觀壁畫 [Temple Murals from Shanxi] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997): 247, figure 252 and 255.

²⁴ A group of martial divinities appear in the Ming Buddhist murals on the east wall of West End Hall at Upper Guangsheng si 廣勝上寺: *Shanxi siguan bihua*: 255, figure 280.

Murals in the Sanqing Hall at Yongle gong [Palace of Eternal Joy]

Several factors make the murals in the Sanqing Hall at Yongle gong particularly valuable for our study of Zhenwu's presence within visual assemblies of the Daoist pantheon.²⁵ Because the murals in the Sanqing Hall are still *in situ* we can examine Zhenwu's appearance and position within the entire original visual program of the hall. The plethora of textual information about the temple complex, including records about the commissioning and painting of the murals, inform us that Daoist clerical and lay practitioners conceived the murals in the fourteenth century and that they functioned in a Daoist context. Therefore we can attempt to contextualize Zhenwu's role within this particular Daoist pantheon at a specific moment in time

²⁵ Yongle gong [Palace of Eternal Joy], is a the temple complex located at Ruicheng in southern Shanxi province, one of the richest sites for the study of Daoist art. After its rediscovery by a team of Chinese scholars in 1953, the Chinese government designated the complex a historical site. Its buildings and murals were meticulously relocated in the late 1950s and early 1960s before a dam construction project submerged the original site. Because its original buildings and murals date to the fourteenth century and much of the site and related textual material are largely intact, a lot of scholarly attention has been focused on Yongle gong. The extensive documentation provided by stele texts, architecture, and historical records of the complex have fueled studies of the Quanzhen 全真 [Perfect Realization] school of Daoism and the related hagiography and cult of Lu Dongbin 呂洞賓.

For more on Quanzhen Daoism, see Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* and Vincent Goossaert, "La création du taoïsme moderne: L'ordre Quanzhen" [The Creation of Modern Daoism: The Quanzhen Order] Ph.D. dissertation (École Pratique des Hautes Études-Paris, 1997). The 2001 issue of the *Journal of Chinese Religion* (JCR 29) includes a bibliography of studies and articles on Quanzhen Daoism by Stephen Eskildsen, Vincent Goossaert, Pierre Marsone, and Paul Katz. For color images of details of the Yongle gong murals, see Jin Weinuo 金維諾, *Yongle gong bihua quanji* 永樂宮壁畫全集 [Complete Collection of Wall Paintings from the Palace of Eternal Joy] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997).

Diagrams of the building layouts, high-quality photographs of the murals in the two main halls of the complex, and the relative accessibility of the site have provided ample fodder for studies of the murals. These dated murals serve as a valuable iconographic and stylistic benchmark for the study of Daoist painting in China. Major studies of the murals include Wang Xun 王遜, "Yongle gong Sanqing dian bihua tici shitan" 永樂宮三清殿壁畫題材試探 [Preliminary Explanations on the Style of the Murals in the Hall of Three Pure Ones at the Palace of Eternal Joy] *Wenwu* 8 (1963): 19-37; Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); and Jing Anning, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Taoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)". Wang was the first to map out the deities painted in the murals and attempt to identify them. Jing argued for new identifications of some of the figures as members of the Quanzhen pantheon. Although Katz's study focuses more on the role of Yongle gong in the cult of Lü Dongbin, he makes important connections between the deities in the murals and Daoist ritual texts.

and use it as a benchmark for comparisons with other images. Lastly, research highlighting the correspondences between the members and organization of the Daoist pantheon represented in the murals and groupings of deities listed in Daoist ritual texts provides a window into the potential ritual and performative meanings of Zhenwu's presence in this Daoist assembly. Thus, unlike with the ROM murals whose date, provenance, and patronage are in question, the Yongle gong murals provide an image of Zhenwu that can be considered representative of his role in a fourteenth-century Daoist pantheon.

The Sanqing Hall at Yongle gong contains over 403 square meters of murals featuring eight principal deities from the Daoist pantheon along with a wide range of lesser deities, assistants, and attendants.²⁶ The murals stretch the length of the east and west walls and along portions of the north and south walls inside the entrance to the hall. The artisan painter Ma Junxiang, his eldest son, three additional Ma family sons, two supervisors, and several apprentices signed the murals in the Sanqing Hall.²⁷ This workshop finished the project in 1325.²⁸

The original layout of the hall featured statues of the building's namesakes, the highest-ranking deities in the Daoist pantheon, the Three Pure Ones, in an altar (*daochang* 道

²⁶ The murals measure 4.26 m high x 94.68 m long.

²⁷ For more on professional workshop practices in Shanxi during the Yuan at Yongle gong, see Shih-shan Susan Huang 黃士珊, *Cong Yongle gong bihua tan Yuandai jinnan zhiye huafang de bihua zhizuo* 從永樂宮壁畫談元代晉南職業畫坊的壁畫製作 [Professional Workshop Practices in Southern Shanxi during the Yuan Dynasty as Seen Through the Palace of Eternal Joy] (M.A. thesis. National Taiwan University, 1995) and Guo Rongsheng 郭榮生, "Lidai shanxi shuhua jia" 曆代山西書畫家 [Painters and Calligraphers in Shanxi's History], parts 1-2, *Shanxi wenxian* 38 (1991): 61-90 and *Shanxi wenxian* 39 (1992): 38-65.

²⁸ A different workshop of artisans was responsible for the murals in the Chunyang Hall at Yonglegong. Inscriptions in the hall indicate that seven students of Zhu Haogu from two separate groups—but both from the Shanxi workshop founded by Zhu—completed the murals in 1358.

場) area along the north wall.²⁹ A group of deities and attendants gather along either side on the exterior east and west walls of the altar.³⁰ All of the figures in these groups stand as if in line to approach the original position of the Three Pure Ones. Perhaps they stand because of their proximity to the Three Pure Ones rather than because they rank lower in the pantheon than the major deities who sit upon thrones along the north, east and west walls.³¹ The figures appear to be in attendance at a celestial court rather than in an active procession similar to those seen in *Chaoyuan tu* and the ROM murals. Most of the figures are facing toward the north of the hall, toward the Three Pure Ones. However there is not any evidence that the hefty thrones upon which the six major deities sit were intended to be carried or moved. The members of the assembly are positioned on multiple levels as if on cloud-borne risers. The group is interspersed with thrones, tables with offerings, and a few animals.³²

²⁹ Only a painted fragment of one of the statues survives at the temple.

³⁰ The Major deities in these groups are Dongji Qinghua Taiyi 東極青華太乙 [Great One of Blue-Green Essence of the Eastern Pole] on the exterior west wall and Nanji Changsheng Dadi 南極長生大帝 [Great Emperor of Long Life of the Southern Pole] on the exterior east wall.

³¹ These are the two groups that Jing has “reidentified” as members of the Quanzhen pantheon. Jing claims that the leader of one is Lü Dongbin (with the censer) and the other leader is Zhongli quan. However, I agree with Katz that there isn’t enough support for this and use the traditional identifications for these figures: Dongji Qinghua Taiyi and Nanji Changsheng Dadi.

³² The major deities along the north wall are generally agreed to be Ziwei Beiji Dadi 紫微北極大帝 [Purple Tenuity North Pole Emperor] on the east side and Tianhuang Dadi 天皇大帝 [Great Heavenly Emperor] on the west side. Taishang Haotian Yuhuang Shangdi 太上昊天玉皇上帝 [Jade Emperor] and Houtu Huangdi 后土皇帝 [Empress of the Earth] dominate the east wall of the hall. Donghua Shangxiang Mugong Qingtong Daojun 東華上相木公青童道君 [Eastern Floriate Lord of the Way] and Baiyu Guitai Jiuling Taizhen Jinmu Yuanjun 白玉龜臺九靈太真金母元君 (an elaborate name for Xiwang Mu 西王母 [Queen Mother of the West]) are the largest figures along the west wall.

Anning Jing has disputed this identification of the main deities on the east and west walls. He claims that the major female figure on the east wall is Xiwang Mu and that the major male figure is Donghua Mugong Qingtong Daojun. Jing also posits that the main figures along the west wall are Houtu and Yuhuang. He is reversing the traditional identifications. He seems to be using selective iconography and then assuming pairings based on this. He claims that the coronet is the “indisputable identifying character” for Houtu and so the other figure must be her partner Yuhuang. Similarly, he asserts that the presence of a phoenix on the ground near the figure and some

Zhenwu in Murals of the Sanqing Hall

Among the 286 deities depicted in the murals of the Sanqing Hall, Zhenwu appears at the northern end of the west wall (fig. 3.7 and 3.8). Although there are no cartouches identifying the other figures by name, Zhenwu is clearly recognizable from his distinctive iconographic features. Zhenwu wears a black robe trimmed in white. The robe drapes over his shoulders revealing golden armor across his chest. The armor features blue bands across his upper chest and slightly above his waist. Zhenwu's long, unbound hair lies close to the top and sides of his head above his ears and then drapes over and across his shoulders. A few wisps of hair curl onto his forehead and down the sides of his face as flowing sideburns. Zhenwu has a thin moustache and a few short hairs on his chin. He grasps the hilt of his sword in his right hand. The clouds at the bottom of the composition obscure Zhenwu's feet but we can make out the bare ankle, heel, and part of the top of his right foot as well as the bare ankle and heel of his left foot. So even without the presence of the tortoise and snake, we can confirm Zhenwu's identity.

Although Zhenwu's overall appearance has some elements in common with his depiction in the ROM murals, his orientation to the viewer, facial expression, facial features, and bodily proportions are not the same. The god stands with his bare feet spread apart: his right foot points forward and his left foot turns sideways pointing to his proper left. With his torso slightly angled, his proper right shoulder is closer to the viewer. His bodily proportions are substantial and powerful: his hands, feet, and head are not too diminutive for his body. A

peach designs on the throne (that are not clearly visible in published photos) wrap up the case that the East wall figure is Xiwang mu and therefore her companion is Dongwang gong.

transparent halo encircles the deity's head and shoulders. His head is turned to the right as he looks intently toward a large imperial figure seated on a throne with an offering table set up before him. Although the fullness of his jowls gives the face a fleshy quality, his face is not completely round and two lines delineate a short but visible neck. His mouth is small with full lips, while his eyes and their sockets are rendered so that the upper lid and the eye itself protrude from his face giving his face a three-dimensional quality. There is some damage to the middle of Zhenwu's forehead but he does not appear to have a third eye. We see his fleshy nose in three-quarter view and his lower earlobe is rounded in a style typical of many figures painted in Shanxi temples.³³ All in all, the more proportionate depiction of his body, head and appendages; his angled stance; and his convincingly rendered facial features make this Zhenwu a more palpable figure than he is in the ROM murals.

The details of Zhenwu's sword and the manner in which he wields it also differ from those of the ROM murals. At the end of the hilt of his sword there is a silver *vajra* [diamond or thunderbolt]. A short black piece of rope is attached just below the base of the *vajra* and it coils around his wrist. Although we cannot see much of the sword beyond its hilt, the blade angles diagonally downward to his left. At first glance, the god appears to wield his sword at an awkward angle: he bends his right arm upward at the elbow and his fingers curl around the hilt of the sword.³⁴ His grip on the sword seems awkwardly high, not an optimum angle for use.

³³ The figures in the Yuan period murals in the side hall of the Qinglong si 青龍寺 are a typical example. See Chai Zejun 柴澤俊, *Shanxi siguan bihua* 山西寺觀壁畫 [Temple Murals from Shanxi] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997): 214-23.

³⁴ Zhenwu's hand grasping his sword and the hands of most of the figures that appear in the murals of the Sanqing Hall are quite awkwardly painted. The rendering of thumbs is very inelegant: thumbs appear too short when bent and sometimes bend at unnatural angles. In many cases, the artists were able to camouflage their lack of talent for fashioning finger tips and thumbs by presenting the majority of figures with their fingers and thumbs wrapped around the back of a *hu* or *gui*—out of sight.

However, if we focus on his grip and the *vajra* on the end of the hilt, the angle of his weapon appears more appropriate: he appears poised to stab. Because of its contrast against the black background of Zhenwu's robe, the inclusion of the *vajra* serves to draw attention to Zhenwu, making him appear ready to take action even though the remainder of the composition obscures the blade of his sword. While the *vajra* is a common spiritual implement in the Buddhist tradition, it is unusual in depictions of Zhenwu's sword.³⁵ Its incorporation into the hilt of the god's weapon provides another example of the cross-pollenization of features between Daoist and Buddhist deities during the Yuan and the rest of late imperial China.

The Four Saints in the Sanqing Hall

Divided into pairs, the Four Saints are positioned at the north ends of the east and west walls of the hall. At the north end of the west wall, Tianyou accompanies Zhenwu to his left. Tianpeng escorts Yisheng to his left at the north end of the east wall (fig. 3.6 and 3.9). An examination of the appearance of the Four Saints in these murals helps us to verify the identities of the deities and trace the iconographic conformities and divergences in the depiction of this group.

Both Tianyou and Tianpeng are rendered as fierce marshals. Each figure appears massive and imposing, standing frontally with hair flying wildly, nostrils flaring, mouths open and fanged, and eyes bulging. The martial figures are lavishly outfitted with ornamented armor, bejeweled boots, gold bangles, green anklets, and multiple weapons and implements. Tianpeng and Tianyou look even larger because of the voluminous red and green scarves that

³⁵ The hilt of Yisheng's sword in the ROM murals is also a *vajra*.

swirl around them. Tianyou has three faces and six arms. His fangs and hair are shorter than those of Tianpeng on the opposite wall. His chest is somewhat less beefy than Tianpeng's. Tianyou wears a v-shaped chain mail skirt. He dons a diadem with two green disks atop his head. Each of his two upper arms holds a blunt-edged sword and these are raised and crossed over each other above his head. The marshal's middle right arm wields a lance with a spear on the lower end and a halberd with a gilt center on the other. He grasps a golden bell in his left middle hand. The hands of Tianyou's lower pair of arms are turned with the back of his palms facing the viewer. He balances a handled weapon with a long blade horizontally on his thumbs. The center of the weapon is wrapped in red cloth. Tianpeng has two heads and four arms. His second head emerges from the top of his primary head: it is smaller and has a closed mouth. His hair and tusk-like fangs are more substantial than those of Tianyou. He is green-skinned with longer hair flying into the air like flames. Tianpeng's hulking chest is clad in golden armor featuring prominent breast plates embellished with blue and green jewels arranged in rings. Composed of v-shaped sections, his chain mail skirt is short and reveals an ornamented plate of armor with hairy fringe that covers his thighs. Strands of jewels drape down from his belt and swirl all the way down to his feet. Tianpeng's upper right hand grasps a golden bell while he balances a flaming wheel atop the pointer finger of his upper left hand. Resting in the hand of his lower right arm there is a lance known as a twin halberd (*shuangji* 雙戟) with a squared trident on its upper end. Tianpeng holds a square seal rimmed in green in his lower left hand.

Yisheng appears to Tianpeng's left on the east wall. Like Zhenwu, Yisheng wears a black robe with armor underneath. But his robe is trimmed in red and we can barely see a

band of armor across his upper chest. Yisheng has a full face with plump jowls, a wispy moustache, and a few short hairs at his chin. His hair is slicked back which may indicate long, loose hair similar to Zhenwu's but we cannot visually verify this. Yisheng wears a band of white fabric tied around his head at his forehead with a golden jewel in the center. Mostly obscured by Tianpeng's voluminous flowing scarves and the coiling dragon near his feet, we cannot see if he holds weapons or other accoutrements. We cannot tell if he is barefoot or shod. Overall, Yisheng appears the least distinctive among the images of the Four Saints in the hall.

The pairing of Zhenwu with Tianyou contrasts with the ROM mural that pairs Zhenwu with Tianpeng. The alternate pairing in the Sanqing Hall suggests that within the Four Saints group, Tianpeng and Tianyou were relatively interchangeable during this time as long as one of these multiple-armed fierce figures accompanied Zhenwu. Although Northern Song emperors promoted Yisheng as a protector of the state, his status declined in subsequent years. Yisheng's position in the hall and ROM murals indicates his role as Zhenwu's counterpart among the Four Saints, but Yisheng tended to be presented as a far less distinctive and impressive figure. Yisheng's long hair and bare feet fail to differentiate him from Zhenwu and other deities whose share these basic iconographic traits. *Yisheng baode zhuan* describes Yisheng's dragon vehicle and star. A dragon appearing near Yisheng's feet may represent his vehicle and help to confirm his identity. The representations of Yisheng in the ROM mural and at Yongle gong suggest that he was presented primarily as a counterpoint to Zhenwu. He completed the group of Four Saints and provided symmetrical balance. By the Yuan period, Zhenwu and Tianpeng had become the key members of the Four Saints group

while Tianyou served as a subordinate marshal to Tianpeng and Yisheng served to round out the group.

The location of the Four Saints within the visual program of the hall reveals their key role within this assembly. If we see the east and west walls as distinct groupings within the larger assembly, then each pair from the Four Saints guard the front ends. They provide protection from the north and serve as an honor guard on the approach to the Three Pure Ones. So far, the placement of the Four Saints in pairs at the front of an assembly mirrors their positioning in the ROM murals. However, in the Sanqing Hall each pair is positioned close to one of the high-ranking large seated deities, as if to serve both as an honor guard and as protectors of these major figures. The Four Saints do not merely serve as martial divinities leading a Daoist procession as they did in the ROM murals, in these murals they also appear to be assigned to protect imperial deities and the offerings presented to them.³⁶ Zhenwu stands to the left of Donghua Mugong Qingtong Daojun seated on his throne on the west wall. Records do not indicate a particular relationship between Zhenwu or the Four Saints and Donghua Mugong Qingtong Daojun. Thus the presence and placement of Zhenwu and the Four Saints corresponds to the physical space of the temple and their functional role as protectors rather than as attendants to particular gods in the Daoist pantheon.³⁷ The Saints

³⁶ YLG murals on east west and north walls of the temple but east and west wall murals each have 2 of the 4 saints at the head and no marshal guard in the rear.

³⁷ The only major figure within the Sanqing Hall that was specifically linked to the Four Saints is Ziwei Beiji Dadi who is on the east side of the north wall. Jing's dismisses the relevance of the position of the Four Saints in the Sanqing Hall murals saying that "subordinate deities do not always appear beside their masters due to the restriction of space or composition. For example, the Four Saints are pointed on the east and west wall rather than on the north wall where their commander in chief, Beiji Dadi presides," (Jing Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty:" 290). While the issues of space and composition do play a role in the layout of pictorial images, this explanation for why the Four Saints appear at the north ends of the east and west walls overlooks their more dominant role as protectors rather than as attendants

appear at the north ends of the west and east walls closest to the altar and original location of statues of the Three Pure Ones. Of course, since this assembly occurs in a celestial court, it is unlikely that Zhenwu and the other Saints would need to actively defend their imperial charges. Whether actual or symbolic, Zhenwu and the other Saints' roles as protectors prevail in their depiction in these murals and their positioning corresponds to artistic conventions for depicting martial divinities in Daoist and Buddhist assemblies.

Ritual Significance of Zhenwu's Presence and Position within the Pantheon at Yongle gong

Daoist liturgical texts explain Zhenwu's presence and placement within the Sanqing Hall murals by documenting his inclusion in part of the cycle of a major Daoist ritual. Paul Katz has convincingly argued that the figures portrayed in the murals on the walls of the Sanqing Hall and the Gate of Limitless Ultimate correspond to lists of deities compiled in two Daoist liturgical texts: *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 [Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao Tradition] and *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Protocols of the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register].³⁸ The

to Beiji Dadi. It also seems likely that Four Saints were not split up onto the east and west walls because there was not enough room for them on the north wall but because their presence at the front of the assembly was a functional and compositional choice by artists and Daoist patrons at Yongle gong.

³⁸ According to Katz, there are 286 figures on the walls of the Sanqing Hall and 26 surviving figures painted within the Gate of Limitless Ultimate. Based on the remaining area of the gate, Katz believes that the gate originally featured 60-70 deities in total. Thus he concludes that the original number of figures represented in the Sanqing Hall and Gate of Limitless Ultimate was 360—a number that corresponds to the number mentioned in inscriptions and in Daoist liturgical texts. See Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy*: 148-49.

Shangqing lingbao dafa 上清靈寶大法 (44 juan) DZ 942-962 was compiled by Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224-1225); *Zhonghua Daozang*, vol. 34, 1-314. *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀

Yongle gong deities appear within the listing of 360 deities proscribed for worship during the offering rite (*xie zhen ling* 謝真靈) held on the final day of a multiple-day performance of a *Huanglu dazhai* 黃籙大齋 [Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register].³⁹ Like many Daoist rites, its procedures involved a Daoist priest enacting an audience with the gods. Through meditation and visualization, the priest summons supernatural forces from his own body and from the celestial realm. Literally and figuratively, he presents petitions and memorials to the gods inviting them to attend the ritual and entreating them to perform beneficial actions and/or grant benefits for the living and/or the dead. People from diverse socio-economic backgrounds ranging from the imperial court to ordinary people all observed the *Huanglu dazhai*. The overall objectives for the performance of the ritual were to “support the family and the nation, saving both the living and the dead, releasing the ancestors of seven generations for salvation, and rescuing souls from hell.”⁴⁰ Liturgical texts that outline the procedures for the performance of the *Huanglu dazhai* stipulate nine days for the entire rite: four days of preliminary rituals,

[Protocols of the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] (DZ 508) in *Zhonghua Daozang*, vol. 43, 326-666.

³⁹ Some translate *Huanglu zhai* as [Daoist] Retreat of the Yellow Register. See Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, appendix: 227-41. When used on its own, the term *zhai* 齋 is also translated as “fast” by modern scholars seeking to distinguish it from *jiao* rituals that tend to focus on benefits for the living while *zhai* rites supposedly focus more on benefits for the dead. Thus the term *jiao* is often translated as “offering.” However, some scholars have pointed out that—in pre-modern times (and even in modern practice)—the purviews of rites known as *zhai* and *jiao* were not so segregated. See Robert Hymes, “A *Jiao* Is a *Jiao* Is a? Thoughts on the Meaning of a Ritual” in Theodore Huters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu, eds. *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques* (Stanford University Press, 1997): 129-60.

⁴⁰ Phrase from *Daomen dingzhi* 道門定制 [English translation] (preface dated 1188), *Zhengtong Daozang*, vol. 31, 713, (1988 edition); also cited in Shi-shan Susan Huang, “The Triptych of Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth, and Water and the Making of Visual Culture in the Southern Song: 185.

three days for *Huanglu dazhai* itself, one day for concluding rites, and a final day for the offering ritual.⁴¹

The first text, *Shangqing lingbao dafa* [Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao Tradition] is a forty-four chapter compilation of rites performed in North China during the Song and Yuan periods.⁴² Chapter thirty-nine stipulates that 360 deities should be worshipped during the *Huanglu dazhai* and lists each by name. A list enumerating deity groups follows the detailed list of names. This second list begins by individually enumerating the major deities by rank. The names of the Three Pure Ones are followed by the each of the eight major deities addressed in the ritual: Taishang Haotian Yuhuang Shangdi, Ziwei Beiji Dadi, Tianhuang Dadi, Houtu Huangdi, Nanji Changsheng Dadi, Dongji Qinghua Taiyi, Donghua Shangxiang Mugong Qingtong Daojun, and Baiyu Guitai Jiuling Taizhen Jinmu Yuanjun. These eight deities are the same figures whose hierarchical scale and position within the murals clearly identify them as highest ranking figures within the assembly. The remainder of the list reflects the overarching hierarchy of the assembly with deities listed by group. These groups encompass deities of the same taxonomic type such as thirty-two celestial emperors (*tiandi* 天帝) or nine celestial sage supreme emperors (*tiansheng shen shangdi* 天聖神上帝) and groups of deities such as the

⁴¹ This scheme comes from Jiang Shuyu (1162-1223), *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Protocols of the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] (DZ 508), juan 13:2b-3b. Other Southern Song texts that detail the procedures of *huanglu zhai* are: *Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法 (DZ 219); *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Lingbao Tradition] (DZ 466) and *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 [Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao Tradition] (DZ 942-962). See discussion of *Shangqing lingbao dafa* later in this chapter. For more on the history of liturgical texts for the *huanglu zhai*, see Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, appendix: 227-41. For a concise summary of the procedures used in Song period *huanglu zhai* performances, see Huang “The Triptych of Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water and the Making of a Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279):” 190-97.

⁴² 360 deities (三百六十位) in *Shangqing lingbao dafa: Zhonghua Daozang*, vol. 34, 270). Zhenwu and Four Saints are listed on p. 272.

Three Officials or the Four Saints. Deities not part of taxonomic or discrete groups such as city gods are registered individually near the end of the list.

In *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, Zhenwu and the other members of the Four Saints group are identified as: Tianpeng da yuanshuai zhenjun 天蓬大元帥真君, Tianyou fu yuanshuai zhenjun 天猷副元帥真君, Yisheng baode chuqing zhenjun 翊聖保德儲慶真君, and Zhenwu lingying yousheng zhenjun 真武靈應佑聖真君. Zhenwu is listed 157th out of 360 deities. He appears last of the Four Saints who appear immediately after the Sanguan, an important group of Daoist deities in their own right by the Song period.⁴³ Their rank within the entire assembly, as well as their identification as a distinct group, demonstrates that the Four Saints were firmly established not only as a recognized group but also as individual deities. Here Zhenwu and the Saints rank higher than deities from the ministries of thunder and exorcism.⁴⁴ This suggests a rise in status for both Zhenwu and the Saints from their role as mere members of the Thunder Department in the Southern Song Junkunc-Cleveland album to protectors of the pantheon at Yongle gong.

The second text, *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* [Protocols of the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register], is a contemporaneous Daoist liturgical text that outlines the procedures for the *Huanglu dazhai* and the subsequent offering ritual.⁴⁵ Chapter thirty-eight lists the 360 deities to be worshiped, in what order, and where

⁴³ For more on the role of the Sanguan in the Song period, see Shih-shan Susan Huang's diss.

⁴⁴ These texts reflect traditions from North China that are not specifically focused on thunder rites. Therefore, the pantheon of the thunder department is more generalized than in Southern Song thunder ritual texts.

⁴⁵ In the 1598 edition of *Zhengtong Daozang* now in Bibliothèque Nationale (France Chinois 9546/504), there are illustrations from *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*. See Kristopher Schipper, Franciscus Verellen, et. al, *The Taoist Canon*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), vol. 2 : 1016.

they should be positioned in relation to the altar. All of the Four Saints are addressed during offerings to the first row on the left of the altar (左列第一班醮位). The Saints are listed as: Tianpeng da yuanshuai zhenjun 天蓬大元帥真君, Tianyou fu yuanshuai zhenjun, Yisheng yinggan chuqing baode zhenjun 翊聖應感儲慶保德真君, and Yousheng zhentian zhenwu lingying zhenjun 佑聖鎮真武靈應真君.⁴⁶ Katz points out that the positions of several deities in the murals correspond to the instructions in this ritual text.⁴⁷ *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Lingbao Tradition] contains a diagram that maps the position of paintings within the ritual space. The Saints are indicated as a group on the south end of the west side of the ritual space (fig. 3.10).⁴⁸ This positioning echoes their placement in other Daoist ritual spaces.⁴⁹ The instructions and diagrams in these Daoist liturgical texts were intended as guides for ritual performance, not as artistic instructions for composing and painting the murals.⁵⁰ The prescribed offerings and positions for the Saints in the ritual texts are not separated into pairs to reflect the actual position of each of the Saints on the east and west walls of the Sanqing Hall. Members of the Ma painting workshop completed murals for a

⁴⁶ A few incorrect characters appear amidst the titles of the Four Saints: 都 instead of 大 in Tianpeng's title and 翊 has a 言 on the left in Yisheng's title. See *Zhonghua daoze* 中華道藏 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), vol. 43: 545.

⁴⁷ For example, Ziwei Beiji dadi is listed on the east side of the altar and Gouchen Tianhuang dadi is listed on the west side. See *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Protocols of the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] (DZ 508) in *Zhonghua Daoze*, vol. 43: 543-44.

⁴⁸ *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Lingbao Tradition] (DZ 466). See *Zhonghua Daoze*, vol. 39: 25.

⁴⁹ John Lagerwey maps out a similar arrangement for Daoist altars in Southern Taiwan. See Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1987): 37.

⁵⁰ This parallels conventions in esoteric Buddhist texts.

variety of Buddhist and Daoist temples. Mural painting workshop traditions favored compositional symmetry and balance. While the painters probably received guidance from priests, who consulted these and other liturgical manuals, the actual composition of the murals also reflects common artistic traditions.

Compared with other deities and marshals, and even the other three Saints represented at Yongle gong and ROM, Zhenwu's distinctive iconography marked him as an important recognizable figure within large assemblies. Later in the Yuan period and into the early Ming, Zhenwu and the other three Saints also appear within large assemblies of deities painted for use in primarily Buddhist contexts. The inclusion of Zhenwu in the imagery associated with Buddhist rituals such as the large pantheons addressed in the *shuilu fahui* [(Buddhist) Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land],⁵¹ signaled the expanded recognition of Zhenwu's and other Daoist deities' importance beyond Daoist contexts.⁵²

⁵¹ This name of this ritual is also translated into English as Water-Land Assembly. Some scholars refer to this same ritual as *shuilu zhai* [Purgation Rite for Creatures of Water and Land]. See Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*. Gyss-Vermande also uses the term *shuilu zhai*—perhaps because of her belief that the ritual is intrinsically Daoist in character. Although Daoist deities and Daoist ritual elements are incorporated in *shuilu* rituals, the rite itself is essentially Buddhist: it is performed by Buddhist priests and follows a Buddhist liturgy. It seems unnecessarily confusing to call the *shuilu a zhai* [fast, purgation rite] since *zhai* is commonly used to refer to Daoist (not Buddhist) rituals.

⁵² As Marsha Weidner and Dan Stevenson have pointed out, the *shuilu fahui* was a rite that was part of Buddhist clerics' efforts to maintain Buddhism's influence and support amidst competition for adherents, patrons, and funds with Daoist, Confucian, and local/popular religious practices and institutions. Non-Buddhist figures from these competing traditions were incorporated into the *shuilu fahui* where they were "ritually and visually subordinated to the Buddhist pantheon" (See *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850* [Honolulu: Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas and University of Hawaii Press, 1994]: 283). Although Daoist deities (including Zhenwu) were not given equal status with Buddhist figures within the *shuilu fahui*, which Daoist figures were chosen for inclusion in the ritual and where their images were placed within the *shuilu fahui* ritual space reveal important trends in the development of images of Zhenwu and other Daoist figures.

***Shuilu fahui* [(Buddhist) Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land]**

The *shuilu fahui* is a major Buddhist mortuary rite performed to provide salvation for all the souls of the dead on land and sea. These rites were held beginning in the late ninth century and that the ritual was extremely popular during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods.⁵³ The ritual's procedures aim to pacify the spirits of the restless dead so that those souls are released from their liminal status and, in turn, the living are relieved of any afflictions or misfortunes caused by the troubled spirits. But as Dan Stevenson has pointed out, *shuilu fahui* was not exclusively a mortuary rite. It was also held on the occasion of local festivals, and its goals ranged from assurance of favorable weather to protection of the state.⁵⁴ Buddhist monks and their assistants conducted the rite on behalf of lay patrons who sponsored the ritual. Because the performance of *shuilu fahui* required extensive preparation of spaces and materials, as well as a large number of personnel, groups of families from a particular locality,

⁵³ Two early Song texts on painting mention the performance of *shuilu* rites and the production of pictorial images related to the rite as early as the late 9th century (Five Dynasties, early N. Song). *Yizhou minghua lu* [Record of Famous Painters from Sichuan] (c. 1006) and Guo Ruoxu's *Tuhua jianwen zhi* [Records of Experiences in Painting] (c. 1020-1075) recount that the Buddhist painter Zhang Nanben (act. Sichuan, latter half of 9th century) produced set of 120 scrolls for a *shuilu* altar at Baoli monastery in Chengdu. See *Latter Days of the Law*: 281-82 and Alexander Soper, *Kuo Jo-hsu's Experiences in Painting* (Washington: American Academy of Learned Societies, 1951): 25 and 135. Stevenson points out that this info is earlier (by 150 years) than any reliable mention of *shuilu* in textual manuals (see Dan Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 38). Cave 7 at Shizhuanshan (dated 1088) and cave 253 at Dazu beishan (dated 1001) each contain N. Song votive inscriptions that mention performances of the *shuilu* rite. These inscriptions do not assert that the images in these caves played a role in the ritual. See Dan Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:" 41, note 43 as well as Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins: Le Bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 487, note 19.

Performances of *shuilu fahui* continue in contemporary times. Portions of a *shuilu fahui* ritual held in Shanghai in 1988 were filmed and made into a video.

⁵⁴ For an analysis of *shuilu fahui* liturgies and a detailed explanation of procedures for the ritual, see Dan Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land."

elite families, and even the imperial court provided resources for the ritual to be conducted on their behalf.

The pantheon invoked during the *shuilu fahui* encompasses a wide variety of Buddhist deities and other enlightened beings as well as a plethora of unenlightened figures. The latter group comprises Daoist deities, including Zhenwu, various immortals, members of the celestial and terrestrial bureaucracy, Confucian paragons of filial piety, local gods and goddesses, and the restless dead. The convocation of a *shuilu fahui* necessitated the production and display of pictorial representations of members of this inclusive pantheon. Artists created sets of painted hanging scrolls and temple murals that were hung or resided permanently on the walls of the hall in which the *shuilu fahui* was held. Considerable attention and expense was devoted to the paintings—making them integral to the *shuilu fahui*.⁵⁵

Baoning si and Pilu si: Images of Zhenwu and the Saints in Buddhist Contexts

Two main types of paintings survive and provide key information about the *shuilu fahui* and its imagery: murals in temple halls where the rite took place and paintings that were originally part of sets of hanging scrolls hung during the ritual. These works serve as important visual records that we can use to reconstruct parts of the original context for the *shuilu fahui*. The paintings are also valuable art historical benchmarks for studying the patronage of religious art in China, Buddhist and Daoist iconography, technical and compositional features of Chinese religious painting, and stylistic characteristics of particular workshops and time

⁵⁵ However, as Stevenson has pointed out, the majority of *shuilu fahui* ritual paraphernalia was ephemeral: it was created, then eaten, burned, or otherwise consumed during the ritual. See Dan Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:" 41.

periods. Paintings once part of larger sets used during ritual performances have been dispersed into various museum collections over the years. Among the surviving paintings associated with the ritual, two of the most extensive are the set of scrolls from the Baoning si 寶寧寺 [Precious Peace Monastery] and the murals *in situ* at Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Zhenwu appears in both of these sets of paintings. Regrettably, he does not appear in any of the surviving paintings from the partial sets chiefly in the collection of the Musee Guimet.⁵⁶ An examination of Zhenwu's positioning and appearance within these two examples will illustrate how Zhenwu was integrated into the inclusive pantheon of *shuilu fahui* during the early Ming period.

The paintings from Baoning si provide an excellent starting point for our discussion because they are imperially commissioned, securely dated, and constitute a nearly complete set that features an image of Zhenwu. 139 scrolls survive from a set of paintings that were produced for use in a *shuilu fahui* rite at Baoning si, located 75 miles west of Datong in Shanxi province. Of the many paintings that have been classified as *shuilu fahui*, the Baoning si works are the only ones that specifically identify themselves as created for use in the ritual. A 1474 stele engraving reports that the temple was initially built in 1460. Qing period inscriptions from

⁵⁶ The highest quality examples of surviving *shuilu fahui* paintings come from a set produced by Ming imperial court painters in 1454. There are thirty-nine paintings known to have survived from this set (often referred to as "Guimet series A"). 35 paintings are held in the Musee Guimet, two in the Cleveland Museum of Art, one in the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas and one now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. However, there are no depictions of Zhenwu among the surviving paintings from the 1454 set. For illustrations of some of these paintings, see Marsha Weidner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850*: 283-287 and plates 13-17; and Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, eds., *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 29, 242-45, 248-51, 258-63, 270-71, 298-99. Given the gaps in this set, it seems likely that one of the missing scrolls depicted the Four Saints.

1705 and 1815 attest that the paintings were imperially commissioned around the same time.⁵⁷

Most of the paintings incorporate cartouches that give the names of some of the figures in the picture as well as instructions regarding placement of the scrolls within the ritual space.⁵⁸

Zhenwu and the Saints Scroll from Baoning si

One of the scrolls in the Baoning si set features Zhenwu as a member of the group of Four Saints. The composition renders all Four Saints on a single scroll (fig. 3.11). This marks a shift from earlier depictions of the Four Saints in pairs on opposite walls in the Daoist murals from ROM or at Yongle gong. This change probably reflects the differing compositional restraints of the hanging scroll format and the tendency to group figures into combinations of three or more in *shuilu fahui* paintings.⁵⁹ In the Baoning si composition, Tianpeng and Tianyou stand behind Zhenwu and Yisheng. The two fierce celestial marshals are also situated on a

⁵⁷ Inscriptions by Qing figures Zheng Zuqiao (1705) and Tang Kai (1815) state that the paintings were bestowed by the imperial court and intended for use in *shuilu fahui* rites. See *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua* 寶寧寺明代水陸畫 [Ming Dynasty Water and Land Paintings from Baoning Temple] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988): 7, 217.

⁵⁸ Qing inscriptions state that the scrolls were presented by the imperial court to “guard the frontier and bring good fortune to the people” (see *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*: 217). Perhaps because Baoning si was a “new” temple on the northern frontier, commissioners decided to integrate information on where to position the scrolls within cartouches on the paintings to ensure their proper usage once they arrived at their destination. Such instructions were probably not deemed necessary for works such as the paintings from the 1454 Guimet series A since those high-quality works were probably used for *shuilu fahui* rites held in the capital under the supervision of high-ranking Buddhist priests. The “frontier” location of Baoning si might also explain why its set of paintings was so much larger but of a generally lower artistic quality than the 1454 set. Clearly, the same imperial court painters that produced the paintings in the 1454 set did not participate in the Baoning si commission. The compositions of the Baoning si paintings contain far fewer figures per painting and the figures are arranged in far less sophisticated manner than in the 1454 set.

⁵⁹ Paintings of enlightened Buddhist deities, mostly Buddhas and bodhisattvas, were depicted on their own in the composition. However luohans tended to be depicted in groups of four or five. Other figures from the Daoist, Confucian, popular, and terrestrial pantheon hardly ever appeared in a group less than three. The average number of figures in each *shuilu fahui* scroll varies significantly from one set to another and was a reflection of the different levels of patronage that directly affected the quality and quantity of materials and painterly talent available.

slightly higher ground plane that affords the viewer a mostly unobstructed view of these figures above their waists. Tianyou appears on the right with two hands grasping a square block. He wears blue and gold armor and a red cape with gold-patterned decoration. Tianyou is rendered with a single head and a single pair of arms in this scroll and his only implement is his seal. His mouth is closed and he stares off to his right. Although he has bulging eyes and flaming hair, Tianyou looks considerably less ferocious and esoteric than in the Daoist murals and album addressed earlier. Tianpeng also appears less menacing than he did in the Daoist murals—even though his four arms mark him as a more esoteric figure than Tianyou. Wearing a white robe trimmed in blue, Tianpeng holds a double-ended vajra in his lower right hand and a bell in his lower left hand. Tianpeng's other arms extend from behind his shoulders as he crosses a sword and a long-handled axe above his head. Tianpeng's red-handled axe is unnaturally undersized compared with its usual appearance: the lance is quite short and the axe head is very small. Perhaps the artist chose to make the staff portion of the weapon shorter to fit into the allotted space instead of attempting to render a longer lance that would have had to angle more sharply downward and behind Tianyou. Similar logic does not hold for the miniscule size of the axe—there is more than enough room in the composition to accommodate a larger axe. Tianpeng's shrunken weapon further weakens his visual ferocity as does his facial expression that seems to reflect annoyance rather than toughness.

Zhenwu stands in the lower left of the Baoning si scroll composition. He stands with his body directly facing the viewer while his head turns slightly to his left. Several elements of Zhenwu's iconography are present: he wears a black robe over military armor, his hair flows freely down his back, his feet are bare, and he wields a sword. However these very same

visual cues are echoed with mirror-like similarity in the figure standing across from Zhenwu in the composition. Zhenwu and his doppelganger have nearly identical facial features: almond-shaped, upward slanting eyes; thin eyebrows; a small moustache above a small pursed-lip mouth; and a tuft of hair at the chin. Both figures have long hair and bare feet, wear black robes, and wield swords. The figure on the right is Yisheng, the last of the Four Saints. His appearance is so similar to Zhenwu that he could be Zhenwu's younger brother. Yisheng's head appears longer and thinner than Zhenwu's while his torso looks less broad and powerful. These slight differences seem to result from Yisheng's positioning in the painting. He has his back to the viewer and turns his head so that his face is almost in profile. From this angle, his face looks a bit thinner than Zhenwu's and his torso appears more slender because we can see the back of his gold belt defining his waist. But Yisheng does not have any features that are distinctively his own here. He serves merely as a visual echo to Zhenwu that balances the composition.

Despite the iconographic similarities between Zhenwu and Yisheng, Zhenwu occupies a more prominent position in the composition and commands more attention. Because he faces the viewer with his sword raised, Zhenwu appears more powerful than his black-robed counterpart. Overall, the colorful textile details around his knees and calves along with the more elegantly rendered sleeves of Zhenwu draw the viewer's eye and suggest that the artist(s) paid more attention to the finer details of his appearance. Another reason for Zhenwu's more dignified demeanor results from how he holds his sword and positions his other hand. His right hand grasps his sword while his left hand rests on his right forearm; his grip and his arm conceal most of his fingers. The rendering of hands, particularly fingers and thumbs, stands

out as one of the most notable weaknesses in these paintings.⁶⁰ Yisheng's hands clearly illustrate this technical difficulty: his right hand grasps his sword in a very un-naturalistic manner and the fingers of his left hand are splayed out like mutilated wheel spokes. His fingers are strangely jointed and his thumb is too long for the rest of his hand. The rendering of Zhenwu's hands is far from elegant but the artist(s) did succeed in positioning his hands so that they could avoid depicting his fingers. We can see some of the fingernails of Zhenwu's left hand resting on his forearm but because the rest of his fingers are not visible, they do not appear misshapen.

The cartouche in the upper left corner of the Baoning si painting of the Four Saints confirms the identities of the figures and indicates where this scroll should be placed for the performance of the *shuilu fahui*.⁶¹ The cartouche on the scroll reads: 翊聖玄武真君 左第三十九天蓬天猷 *Yisheng Xuanwu zhenjun zuo di sanshijiu Tianpeng Tianyou*. The first line names Yisheng and Xuanwu (Zhenwu) as *zhenjun* [perfected lords]. The second line specifies that this scroll should be the thirty-ninth painting hung on the left (west) side of the hall. It also lists the names of the remaining Saints: Tianpeng and Tianyou. *Shuilu fahui* conventions

⁶⁰ In this regard, Baoning si is not unique. Misshapen, clumsily-rendered hands can be seen in many mural and scroll paintings as well as in woodblock printed book illustrations (like those discussed earlier in this chapter). It seems quite common for hands to be awkwardly rendered—so much so that elegantly rendered hands are often a tell-tale sign of a superior quality production. The *shuilu fahui* paintings from Guimet series A demonstrate this well.

⁶¹ Most of the scrolls from the Baoning si set contain two-line cartouches within the composition that follow this or a similar pattern (i.e. deities listed in first line, second line begins with placement instructions sometimes followed by additional deity names). *Shuilu fahui* scrolls with images of the highest ranking Buddhist deities (Buddhas, bodhisattvas) did not have inscriptions or placement instructions. See plates 1-19 in Baoning si set and Spencer Museum of Art's Vairocana painting that was originally part of the 1454 set known as Guimet Series A. A few paintings from other *shuilu fahui* sets incorporate some information about scroll placement. For example, some of the paintings from Guimet Series B (painted in the 19th century) have "labels" glued on the upper dowel of the mounting.

dictated that even numbered scrolls hung on the right (east) side of the hall and odd numbered scrolls hung on the left (west) side.⁶² Although quite a few Daoist deities appear in the paintings from the Baoning si set, the Four Saints are among a small group of Daoist deities selected for inclusion in this part of the hierarchy. Others are the Seven Stars of the Big Dipper and the Three Officials (sanguan 三官).⁶³

What was the significance of Zhenwu's inclusion in the pantheon illustrated in the scrolls for the *shuilu fahui* rite? Liturgical manuals do not instruct officiants to direct ritual procedures toward *any* of the paintings hung for the rite. And access to the inner altar area was restricted during the ritual performance. So what role did the scroll of Zhenwu and the Saints play in the rite and who interacted with them in their original context? If we look only in liturgical manuals, it would seem that the scrolls served merely as decoration or adornment for the walls of the inner altar. However, the actual ritual performance represents the culmination of an extended period of planning and preparation that involved the commissioning and production of scrolls. There were standards for which deities should be chosen and combined,

⁶² Dan Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:" 56. The positioning of a painting of the Four Saints on the west wall of Baoning si roughly corresponds to the placement of the Four Saints within Daoist ritual spaces.

⁶³ Stevenson claims that the Baoning si scrolls give prominence to Daoist deities (see Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:" 46-47). Daoist deities are also well represented in the remaining scrolls from the 1454 Guimet set. Gyss-Vermande claims that in later periods (late Ming and early Qing) high-ranking Daoist deities (such as the Three Pure Ones) were among the paintings hung on the north/back wall during the *shuilu fahui*. She points to the Guimet Series B scrolls (dated to the 19th century) as evidence for her assertions. See Caroline Gyss-Vermande, "Dmons et merveilles: Vision de la nature dans une peinture liturgique du XVe siecle" [Dmons and Marvels: Images of Nature in Liturgical Paintings of the 15th Century] *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988): 106-22. I cannot verify this since only a few of the works from Guimet Series B have been published.

what they should look like, and where the scrolls should be positioned in the hall.⁶⁴ The expense and gathering of materials, the commissioning of a painting workshop to complete the project, and the amount of time it took to produce a set of scrolls all point to significant investments of time and finances that sponsors would not have undertaken if the scrolls were not considered a necessary element of the rite. Once the scrolls were completed, they had a longer viewing “life” and a larger audience than the actual ritual procedures that ended within several days. There were several opportunities to view the scrolls outside the period of the performance of the rite. Liturgical manuals stipulate that the scrolls should be hung in the hall on the morning of the second day, but the inner altar was not consecrated until the morning of the third day. This would have allowed some viewers a twenty-four hour period during which they could view the paintings before access was restricted. The scrolls sometimes remained hanging in the hall for several days or weeks following the ritual, thus allowing even more viewers to see them. Perhaps even more importantly, after the scrolls were used in a particular ritual performance, they were sometimes retained for use in future *shuilu fahui* rites and other ritual programs.⁶⁵ Because scrolls such as those in the Baoning si set would be viewed by many eyes and used on more than one occasion, the impact of choices about which deities would be represented was large and lasting. So even though liturgical manuals for the

⁶⁴ Stevenson acknowledges the necessity of the scrolls even though they were not the object of direct ritual procedures. See Stevenson, “Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:” 59-60.

⁶⁵ Most of the material prepared for the ritual was burned, eaten, or otherwise consumed during the rite. However, the scrolls were retained. The pantheons invoked during several other Buddhist rites suggest that some *shuilu fahui* scrolls could have been used in other ritual performances such as *Liang huang chan* [Repentance of the Liang Emperor], *Cibei daochang chanfa* [Repentance of the Altar of Compassion], and *Jingguangming chanfa* [Golden Light of Repentance] or *Gongtian yi* [Offering to the Gods]. See Stevenson, “Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:” 40. In some cases, however, scrolls were created for a single ritual performance and then stored away.

rite did not specifically mention the Zhenwu or the Four Saints, sponsors of the ritual and the artists who crafted the Baoning si scrolls *chose* to include them. And this choice provides further evidence that Zhenwu's importance extended into Buddhist contexts.

Some monasteries designated particular halls within the complex as *shuilu fahui* halls.⁶⁶ With a dedicated hall, artists may have been commissioned to paint the *shuilu fahui* pantheon in the form of murals. One group of murals in a hall at Pilu si 毘盧寺 that probably represents the *shuilu fahui* pantheon features Zhenwu and the other three Saints. An examination of these paintings still *in situ* reveals important details about the appearance and iconography of Zhenwu and his cohorts and their status in the early-mid Ming period.

Zhenwu and the Saints in the Murals in Pilu Hall at Pilu si

A huge pantheon of over 500 figures is arrayed along the walls of Pilu Hall (Pilu dian 毘盧殿) at Pilu si located in Hebei province, northwest of Shijiazhuang city.⁶⁷ The murals in the hall are usually identified as *shuilu fahui* paintings because the pantheon bears a striking resemblance the Baoning si scrolls' pantheon and other sets of paintings classified as *shuilu fahui*.⁶⁸ The composition of the murals is less formal than the scrolls, reflecting more of the

⁶⁶ Dedicated, "permanent" *shuilu fahui* halls were established at large monasteries as early as the Southern Song period.

⁶⁷ Pilu dian was also called Rear Hall (Hou dian 後殿) or Hall of the 5 Flowers and 8 Horns [Wuhua ba dian 五花八角殿]. Some Chinese scholars also refer to this hall as a Vairocana Hall because of an inscription that says that there was once a central image of Vairocana in the hall. See Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed., *Pilu si bihua* 毘盧寺壁畫 [Wall Paintings of Pilu Monastery] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998): 12-13.

⁶⁸ Gyss-Vermande and Strickmann call the paintings in Pilu Hall *shuilu* based on their content. Chinese scholars have identified 122 "sets" of figures within the murals and claim that this number is within the 120-200 range for numbers of paintings used in *shuilu fahui* rites. Chinese scholars claim that a stele (dated to 1535) now located northwest of Pilusi says that Pilu Hall was built to be a *shuilu fahui* hall.

artistic conventions for temple murals than those of *shuilu fahui* scrolls.⁶⁹ The Pilu Hall murals share some similarities with the procession-like compositions of the ROM and Yongle gong Sanqing Hall murals, but the composition of the Pilu Hall paintings is far more fragmented. Clouds separate the different registers and clouds also encircle smaller groups of deities within each of the three registers.

In Pilu Hall, the Four Saints are rendered differently than in the Baoning si scrolls. Here the Saints are divided into two pairs. Within the three-register composition of the murals, the pairs of Saints are depicted in the lowest register directly across from one another on opposite walls (fig. 3.12 and 3.13). The figures in the lower register rank highest in the hierarchy of the pantheon. They are the largest figures along the east and west walls. Seen from head to toe, these figures are at eye level closest to the viewer.⁷⁰ The location of the Saints in the lower register, their large size, and their proximity to the north wall provide evidence of their relatively high rank among the deities along the east and west walls. Zhenwu appears on the north section of the east wall of Pilu Hall. Tianpeng accompanies him to his right (fig. 3.14). Yisheng and Tianyou appear together on the north section of the west wall (fig. 3.15). Zhenwu is identified by a cartouche to his left that reads *Xuantian shangdi* 玄天上帝 [Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven]. The cartouche to Tianpeng's right reads *Tianpeng da*

Several key aspects of the paintings at Pilu si exhibit significant variations from *shuilu fahui* scrolls. The physical arrangement of the figures, combinations of figures, content and choices regarding cartouches, and iconographic features of individual figures in the paintings at Pilu si are appreciably different.

⁶⁹ There is considerable variety in the positioning of figures. Some face frontally while others are shown in three-quarter view or in profile with their backs to the viewer. Many figures overlap one another. Some of the figures turn their heads and bodies toward one another and appear to be in the midst of conversation.

⁷⁰ The east wall murals are 2.8 meters high. Figures in the middle register are smaller and the lower portions of some of them are obscured by the larger figures in the register below them. The top register contains the smallest figures with many shown only from the torso up.

shuai shen zhong 天蓬大帥神眾 [Great Marshal Tianpeng and others/attendants]. The cartouche to the left of Tianyou mistakenly identifies him as Tianpeng, it reads: Tianpeng da shuai deng zhong 天蓬大帥等眾.⁷¹

As we have seen, the iconography for fierce marshals Tianpeng and Tianyou diverges from one work of art to another.⁷² Thus a quick survey of their iconography in these murals further demonstrates the variations. Regardless of differences in the number of heads, arms, and type of implements, one element of Tianpeng's iconography often distinguishes him from Tianyou: Tianpeng has a seal.⁷³ In Pilu Hall, Tianpeng has one head and four arms: his two upper hands hold a rope and a round disk while one of his lower hands holds a long staff halberd. Zhenwu obscures Tianpeng's lower left arm but we can see a rectangular shaped seal carved with a talisman at Tianpeng's left shoulder. If Tianpeng's hidden arm was intended to hold the seal, it would be very awkward given the position of the seal. Perhaps Tianpeng's seal was integrated "on him" as an important element of his iconography. Maybe the artist chose not to have him hold it, thereby avoiding having to depict his arm and hand. Tianpeng's title Grand Marshal (*da yuanshuai* 大元帥) classifies him as superior in rank to Tianyou who was a lower-ranking Vice Marshal (*fu yuanshuai* 副元帥).

⁷¹ Some groups of figures have a single cartouche that identifies the group, but not its individual members. Other figures have their own cartouche that lists their title and often ends with *zhong* 眾 or *deng zhong* 等眾 [and attendants].

⁷² Even the *Daofa huiyuan* acknowledges some iconographic alternatives. Consult chapter two on the Four Saints for specific textual variations in the iconography of the fierce marshals.

⁷³ In her review of the 1984 edition of *Pilu si bihua*, Gyss-Vermande asserts that Zhenwu is always accompanied by Tianyou and that the cartouche on the figure next to Zhenwu is the one that is incorrect. However, her argument does not sufficiently acknowledge iconography. One of Tianpeng's most distinctive features is his seal—and the figure next to Zhenwu in Pilu Hall is holding a seal. For Gyss-Vermande's review, see *Arts Asiatiques* 42 (1987): 123.

On the opposite wall, Tianyou has four arms and a single head. His two upper arms hold a rope and a flaming golden wheel while his two lower arms are folded in front of him with hands clasped together in front of his chest. Yisheng stands to Tianyou's left. He does not have an identifying cartouche. Yisheng has long hair and a third eye. He wears a black robe with armor underneath. A band of red fabric is tied around his forehead with a gold disc that rests above his third eye. Yisheng's two hands are knotted together awkwardly at the knuckles. He has a short sword with a cord attached to its hilt. The cord loops around his right wrist so that the sword dangles downward. The position of his hands and sword cause Yisheng appear docile, hardly ready for battle.

Zhenwu's physical size, individual cartouche, and halo mark him as the most important member of the group of Four Saints. His iconographic features and the *Xuantian shangdi* cartouche next to him both certify his identity. He appears with long loose hair, bare feet, lavish armor, and a sword. Unlike Yisheng on the opposite wall, Zhenwu grasps his sword in his hand. He is the only one of the Four Saints depicted with a halo. His physical size in the Pilu Hall murals is significantly larger in relation to the fierce marshals within the group. Here Zhenwu's height and girth are almost the same as his fierce cohort Tianpeng. The absence of Zhenwu's black robe further accentuates his size. Zhenwu's proportionately small head, hands and feet distinguish this image of him from other examples. The small head, feet, and hands of the foreground generals in a scroll in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts entitled *Generals Who Died for their Country and Officials of Former Times* (fig. 3.16), provide the

closest comparison to Zhenwu's appearance in the Pilu si murals.⁷⁴ Although the Minneapolis scroll is not inscribed with a date, it has been stylistically dated to around 1500. Information from extant steles dated 1499 and 1536 in the vicinity of Pilu si dates the rebuilding of Pilu Hall and the repainting of its murals to a period between 1517 and 1535.⁷⁵ Given the likelihood that the murals were completed toward end of this rebuilding period, the stylistic affinities between the Pilu Hall Zhenwu and the Minneapolis generals support the dating of these works to the early sixteenth century.⁷⁶

Several factors might account for the differences in the rendering of the group of Four Saints and Zhenwu in particular at Pilu Hall. The mural format lends itself to the splitting of groups of deities onto opposite walls. Therefore, the Four Saints appear as pairs in Pilu Hall rather than as a single group of four. Although these paintings are usually classified as *shuilu fahui* paintings, it is possible that the hall and its murals served as a setting for other rituals as well.⁷⁷ Records about the use of the hall do not clearly indicate that the hall was a dedicated *shuilu fahui* hall. The building's position along the central north-south axis of the temple

⁷⁴ For an illustration of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts' *Generals Who Died for their Country and Officials of Former Times* (99.116), see Marsha Weidner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850*: catalogue no. 31, plate 17.

⁷⁵ The 1499 stele states that in the 8th year, 5th month of the reign of Ming Hongzhi (1496), Pilu si underwent a major rebuilding (along with the repainting of murals). This project was supervised by the monk Daozhu 道住 over a 40 year period that ended in 1536. A 1535 stele written by the head of a small temple called Xiyun specifically mentions the repainting of Pilu Hall during the period of 1517-1535.

⁷⁶ Another possible support for dating the Pilu Hall murals to the early sixteenth century is the correspondence of that period with the rule of the Jiajing emperor of the Ming (r. 1521-1566). This emperor's Daoist leanings are well documented. Although there is no evidence of direct imperial patronage of Pilu si, the reigning emperor's keen interest in Daoist deities and practices might help to explain the prevalence of Daoist figures in Pilu Hall.

⁷⁷ See earlier note at end of Baoning si discussion regarding other Buddhist rituals that invoked a similar pantheon to *shuilu fahui*.

complex does not correspond to the locations of documented *shuilu fahui* halls.⁷⁸ Lastly, the fluctuations in the visual iconography of individual members of the Four Saints group are reflected in the images of these figures in Pilu Hall. These early Ming images that appear in a Buddhist context demonstrate the considerable confusion regarding the iconography of three of the Saints. Among the Four Saints at Pilu Hall, only Zhenwu possesses iconographic characteristics that are consistent with other visual and textual predecessors. The relative consistency of Zhenwu's appearance in comparison with the other Saints evinces his increasing popularity and status as an individual deity beyond his role as a member of the Four Saints.

Conclusion

The regular inclusion of Zhenwu in the large assemblies of deities in both Daoist and Buddhist contexts reflects his importance to a variety of constituencies. Zhenwu's position within the compositions and his appearance as a standing figure wielding a sword emphasize his role as a martial divinity. Among the Four Saints, his iconography and appearance was the most consistent and recognizable. Viewers perceived Zhenwu and the Saints as familiar and efficacious martial deities in whatever context they appeared. Unlike some Hindu and local deities, Zhenwu and the Saints were not converted into members of the Buddhist pantheon. Nor were they necessarily viewed as Daoist representatives encroaching on Buddhist territory. Instead, officiants and sponsors of rituals such as the Daoist *huanglu zhai* and the Buddhist *shuilu fahui* recognition of the efficacy of Zhenwu and the Saints prompted them to include

⁷⁸ See Stevenson, "Text, Image and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land:" 41, note 42.

them. Often commissioned to paint both Buddhist and Daoist assemblies, artistic workshops used similar compositional and stylistic formulae in both contexts. By the Yuan, Zhenwu's importance and effectiveness rose to level that was no longer tied to normative religious affiliations such as Daoist or Buddhist. The popularity of Zhenwu paralleled the popularity of other deities like Guanyin and Guandi in the Yuan and Ming. Each of these gods appeared in multiple contexts and they were increasingly understood primarily as powerful, effective deities rather than Buddhist or Daoist figures per se. In turn, their representation in a variety of contexts extended their appeal.

During the Ming period, images of Zhenwu as a member of the Four Saints coexisted with images where Zhenwu appeared as the main deity attended by other marshals and assistants. The god continued to appear in both Daoist and Buddhist contexts and increasingly played the role of a tutelary god for ordinary people. Our next chapter's examinations of surviving scroll paintings and records of temple donations by the Ming imperial court will shed further light on Zhenwu's rise in prominence among martial deities and his status as one of the most popular divinities in late imperial China.

Chapter Four

Seated and In Charge: Zhenwu as Emperor on High in Painting and Sculpture

In the Yuan period, Zhenwu not only continued to appear as part of large assemblies, he also emerged as an independent deity with his own retinue of assistant deities and attendants. Zhenwu's promotion to *shangdi* 上帝 [supreme emperor] in the early fourteenth century formally signaled his emergence from the group of Four Saints. At the same time, his cult became increasingly linked with Mt. Wudang in modern Hubei province (considered home to the deity).¹ Ming emperors were some of the most fervent and generous patrons of Zhenwu. Much of this patronage involved the commissioning of buildings, statues, and paintings in honor of the deity. Many of these images were designated for use in temples on Mt. Wudang. Using surviving images as well as records of imperial edicts and temple donations, this chapter begins by highlighting examples of imperial patronage of Zhenwu in the Yuan and Ming. Next, an analysis of Ming imperial donations to temples on Mt. Wudang reveals patterns in the composition of sets of statues including Zhenwu. A comparison of these donation records with two surviving Ming scroll paintings will demonstrate Zhenwu's continuing connection with deities from the Daoist Thunder Department. Assessments of the composition and style of paintings of the god alongside other dated Buddhist paintings highlight elements that help to confirm the Ming dates of the works. Other deities, notably Puhua tianzun, are sometimes confused with Zhenwu. By comparing the iconography and artistic traditions for representing Puhua tianzun and Zhenwu, we can clear up the confusion and distinguish the two figures.

¹ The earliest extant texts that claim a connection between Zhenwu and Mt. Wudang date to the Yuan. Records that assert pre-Yuan connections between the two are likely later inventions.

The final sections of the chapter offer an analysis of the major types of bronze, ceramic, stoneware, and porcelain statues of Zhenwu made in the Yuan and Ming periods.

Yuan Imperial Patronage and Zhenwu's Promotion to Emperor

Yuan emperors are well known for their predilection toward Tibetan Buddhism and patronage of Buddhist deities such as Mahakala.² Daoists did not enjoy the same level of power in the Yuan court as their Song predecessors had at the Song court. The defeat of the Daoists in debates at the Mongol court in 1258 and 1281 precipitated severe proscriptions on Daoist books and Daoist activities, resulting in the destruction of many books and images of Daoist deities.³ These proscriptions began to abate at the beginning of Yuan Chengzong's 成宗 reign (1294-1307), and imperial patronage of Daoist institutions and deities continued through the end of the Yuan.⁴ Because of Zhenwu's martial qualities and association with the North, several Mongol rulers sought the deity's protection and favor for the country by granting him titles, building temples, and promoting worship of him. Chengzong elevated Zhenwu to the rank of emperor by granting him the title Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi 玄天元聖仁威

² The Mongols are better known for their patronage of Mahakala, a protector deity also associated with the North. deBruyn discusses similarities between Mahakala and Zhenwu as well as parallels between the hagiographies of Zhenwu and the Tibetan god Gesar (de Bruyn, "Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs" [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]: 178-97). Despite the parallels that deBruyn highlights, images of the other two gods do not resemble Zhenwu.

³ The first set of thirteenth century debates involved mainly Quanzhen Daoists from northern China while some members of the Celestial Masters school in the South joined the Quanzhen priests in the second set of debates. For a summary of the details of these debates, see Anning Jing, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty:" 53-82.

⁴ Although Chengzong and Yuan emperors who followed had policies that evinced religious tolerance, records and surviving examples of Yuan imperial patronage of Buddhist institutions, deities, and the commissioning of images are much more numerous than those connected with Daoist temples and deities.

上帝 [Beneficent and Powerful Primordial Sage, Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven]⁵ in a

1304 edict that also asserted the link between the deity and Mt. Wudang:

Wudang shan is an auspicious place; its spirit corresponds to Xuantian. So it should be granted titles and some rituals should be performed [there]. Zhenwu protected the previous ruler [Kublai Khan, Yuan Shizu] [and] when the capital and the people were settled, the people once saw the auspicious appearance of a tortoise and a snake.⁶ The Zhaoying gong has already been built for offerings to this deity,⁷ but this immortal's origin was not represented in his title. Thus I commanded some people to praise this deity, following the regular order.

According to ritual, the origin was the place where goodness rose up, the sacred virtue combined together in the one. Yuansheng (sacred origin) was manifested to be the deity, the origin of [Zhenwu's] achievement (gong) is equal with the [other] Three Saints [combined], [he] saves people and [his] benevolence is in all of the universe. [He] can clarify the fate of the world and show his power . . . I want the imperial

⁵ Renzong was also one of the first to refer to Zhenwu as Xuandi 玄帝 [Dark Emperor] in 1314.

⁶ Upon the completion of the new capital at Dadu (Beijing) under Shizu 世祖 (also known as Kublai Khan, r. 1260-94), a snake and a tortoise appeared in a nearby river on consecutive days in 1270. These were interpreted as favorable signs from Zhenwu. *Yuan chuangjian Zhenwu miao lingyi ji* 元創建真武廟靈異記 [Record of Numinous Phenomena at the Time of the Construction of the Zhenwu Temple in the Yuan] by Xu Shilong 徐世隆 records those events as follows:

"The tenth year (1270) after having ascended to the throne, the emperor (Yuan Shizu) constructed a new city (Beijing) at Yan. Some days after the construction was completed, in winter on the *genyin* day of the twelfth month, a divine serpent appeared to the west of the city in the middle of the Gaoliang River. [The snake was] colored black, his head shone with metallic reflections. Those who saw it were seized with fear and [they] invited him to approach [by offering] a tray of incense. The snake writhed in the waves in the middle [of the river] for a moment, enjoying the [smell of the incense] before it disappeared. The next day on *ximao* day, a divine tortoise came up . . . Everyone believed [these appearances] were signs from the god Xuanwu." See *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu*: 1 (volume 19, p. 641 in 1988 edition of Zhengtong Daozang).

⁷ Shizu and his empress ordered the construction of the Zhaoying gong 照應宮 [Palace of Manifest Response] near the location where the tortoise and snake reportedly appeared in 1270. Three years later, records indicate that the empress personally attended a ceremony where a Zhenwu spirit tablet (*shenwei* 神位) was installed in the Zhaoying gong. See *Taiji wuzu yanhua zhengchang zhenren xing zhuang* 太一五祖演化貞常真人行狀 in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lue*: 849-50. Subsequent Yuan emperors also allocated funds to maintain this temple.

kingdom to have good fortune and the limitless country (wujiang) [to be] protected, so I specially grant the title, Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi, do this as I tell you.

--Written on a day of the third lunar month in the eighth year of Dade 大德 (1304)⁸

This edict demonstrates that Chengzong's religious sympathies were not exclusively Buddhist. In fact, other records indicate that the Celestial Master Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248-1322) had a close relationship with Chengzong, his mother, and his father.⁹ Zhang divided his time between the court, Mt. Longhu 龍虎山, and Mt. Wudang. Zhang Liusun was instrumental in promoting Mt. Wudang as a center of Daoist activity and he orchestrated Yuan imperial patronage of Zhenwu and temples dedicated to him on the mountain.¹⁰ On the occasion of the reconstruction of a temple on Mt. Longhu, Chengzong dispatched one of his eunuchs to

⁸ For this edict, see *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 [Chronicle of Supernatural Miracles and Numinous Revelations of the Emperor on High from the Dark Heaven] (DZ 961) in *Daozang* 道藏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 640-47. The edict is also collected in Ren Ziyuan, *Chijian dayue taihe shan zhi*, Yuan edicts section: juan 1.

⁹ Zhang Liusun is also known as head of a group of Daoists called Xuanjiao 玄教 [Dark Teaching]. This was not a new school of Daoism but referred to the group of Celestial Master Daoists who served in the Yuan court. Zhang and the other Xuanjiao Daoists remained part of the lineage of the Celestial Master School based on Mt. Longhu. Zhang served in the courts of Yuan emperors Chengzong, Wuzong, Renzong, and Yingzong. *Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi* 廬山太平興國宮採訪真君事實 [Veritable Facts Concerning the True Lord Investigator of the Taiping Xingguo Temple on Mount Lu] (DZ 1286) indicates that Zhang Liusun visited court as a special envoy of the empress and heir apparent (soon to be Chengzong) to present a *jiao* for the health of the emperor. This suggests that Chengzong's relationship with Zhang began at an early age. Yuan Bingling notes this passage in his summary of *Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi* (see Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*: 878). A stele text by Zhao Mengfu provides additional details about an incident where Chengzong's father, then Crown Prince Zhen Jin 真金 (1243-85), came to the Yuan Shizu's court to speak on behalf of Zhang Liusun and assert the importance of Daoist perspectives in governing the country. See Zhao Mengfu, *Shangqing zhenren Zhang Liusun bei* 上卿真人張留孫碑 [Stele (Concerning) High Minister (and) Perfected Being Zhang Liusun] reproduced in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lue*: 910-13.

¹⁰ Zhang Liusun commissioned Liu Daoming to produce the well-known Yuan gazetteer of Mt. Wudang, *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* [Record the Perfected Congregating in the Blessed Land of Wudang] as part of a campaign to promote Mt. Wudang (deBruyn: 125). Zhang visited the mountain in 1280 and his Xuanjiao successor, Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269-1346), also visited in 1304. See *Fengzhi jiang yuxiang yu jiangnan zhu mingshan* 奉旨降御香于江南諸名山 in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jinshi lue*: 963.

present Zhang with a rock crystal statue of Zhenwu (shuijing xuanwu xiang 水晶玄武像).¹¹

The personal gift of the Zhenwu statue acknowledges the deity's importance to the emperor and one of the most prominent Daoists in the country.

Yuan Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1311-1320) shared his birthday, the third day of the third lunar month, with Zhenwu. This spurred the emperor to instigate the annual performance of Golden Register Purgation Rites (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋) on Mt. Wudang on that day.¹² Precedents existed in the Song when emperors first commissioned Golden Register rites as a way to obtain blessings for the emperor and the imperial family.¹³ Beginning in the Song, Daoist priests

¹¹ Luo Jin 羅近 (act. Qianlong period), *Longhu shan zhi* 龍虎山志 [Gazetteer of Dragon Tiger Mountain]: juan 13: 23. Reprinted in Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥, ed., *Daojiao wenxian* 道教文獻 [Daoist Texts] (Taipei: Danqing tushu youxian gongsi, 1983), vol. 3: 636-7.

¹² *Jinlu zhai* is also translated as Golden Register Retreat. Several stele texts from temples on Mt. Wudang attest to the order to perform Golden Register Purgation Rites, see *Da wulong lingying wanshou gong ruiying bei* 大五龍宮靈應萬壽瑞應碑 [Stele (Commemorating the) Auspicious Responses at The Palace of the Five Dragons] by Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 [1274-1344] in *Dayue Taihe shan zhi*, juan 12, p. 478 (in modern reprint); Chen Yuan: 946-7 and *Dayue Taihe shan zhi*: 339 (in modern reprint).

¹³ Anning Jing recently asserted that the subject of the famous Liang Kai painting in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is actually a Song Golden Register rite. Jing, "Descent of the Holy Ancestor: A Re-reading of Illustration of the Classic of the Yellow Court" *Orientalism* 38 (March 2007): 69-72.

The Daoist canon contains three main groups of texts that lay out the procedures for *jinlu zhai* [Golden Register Purgation Rites]. The first set dates to the Northern Song period and includes: *Jinlu dazhai suqi yi* 金籙大齋宿啟儀 [Rite of Nocturnal Announcement of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 484), *Jinlu dazhai qimeng yi* 金籙大齋啟盟儀 [Rite of Address to the Sworn (Brothers and Sisters) of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 485), *Jinlu dazhai buzhi shuojie yi* 金籙大齋補職說戒儀 [Rite of Confirmation of Officiants and Promulgation of Rules of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ486), *Jinlu zao wu wanchao yi* 金籙早午晚朝儀 [Rite of the Morning, Midday, and Evening Audiences of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 487), *Jinlu zhai chanfang yi* 金籙齋懺方儀 [Rites of Penitence Confessed to the Directions of the Universe of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 488), *Jinlu jietan yi* 金籙解壇儀 [Rite of Clearing the Altar of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 489), *Jinlu shejiao yi* 金籙設醮儀 (DZ 490), and *Jinlu fangsheng yi* 金籙放生儀 (DZ 491). The second series of liturgical texts dates to the Ming period and includes: *Jinlu qishou zaowu wanchao yi* 金籙祈壽早午晚朝儀 [Rite of the Morning, Midday, and Evening Audiences for Emperor's Anniversary of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 492), *Jinlu shangshou sanxian yi* 金籙上壽三獻儀 (DZ 493), *Jinlu yanshou shejiao yi* 金籙延壽設醮儀 (DZ 494), *Jinlu xuanling zhuanjing zao wu wanchao yi* 金籙玄靈轉經早午晚朝儀 [Rite of the Morning, Midday, and Evening Audience with Scripture Recitation of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ

presided over the elaborate liturgy for Golden Register Purgation Rites that typically lasted seven days and seven nights. Rites were usually performed on the reigning emperor's birthday. Although the rites themselves were not specifically linked to Zhenwu, Yuan Renzong's order to hold Golden Register Purgation Rites at Mt. Wudang served to strengthen the link between the deity and the imperial court. Later Yuan and Ming emperors continued the practice of holding Golden Register rites on Mt. Wudang on their own birthdays.¹⁴

Ming Imperial Patronage of Zhenwu

The connection between Chinese emperors and Zhenwu became even stronger during the Ming period, when imperial patronage of the deity reached its zenith. The first emperor Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368-98) reportedly believed that the god aided him in various campaigns leading up to his takeover of the country and establishment of the Ming dynasty.¹⁵ Several subsequent Ming emperors credited Zhenwu with helping them to ascend the throne or believed that the deity's support was essential for the maintenance of their reigns. To show their gratitude for Zhenwu's support and to ensure his continuing favor, Ming emperors built

495), *Jinlu shihui duren zao wu wanchao kaishou yi* 金籙十迴度人早午晚朝開收儀 [Rite of the Morning, Midday, and Evening Audience with Tenfold Recitation of the (Scripture on the) Salvation of Humanity of the Great Purgation Rite of the Golden Register] (DZ 496), and *Jinlu shihui duren sanchao zhuanjing yi* 金籙十迴度人三朝轉經儀 (DZ 497). For an overview of these texts, see Schipper, Verellen, *Taoist Canon*: 995, 998-1000, and 1006-8.

¹⁴ In 1419 Yongle ordered the performance of a Golden Register rite at Hongen lingji gong 洪恩靈濟宮. This temple was constructed in honor of his mother. He ordered another Golden Register rite in 1424. Zhang Yuqing performed this one the day after Yongle's death. *Huang Ming enming shilu* 皇明恩命錄 [Veritable Record of the Benevolent Orders of the August Ming Dynasty] (DZ 1462): juan 4.

¹⁵ Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, *Ming Taizu yuzhi wenji* 明太祖御製文集 [Imperially Collected Writings of Ming Taizu] (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1965): juan 16: 461. Ming Taizu ordered the building of a Zhenwu temple in the capital Nanjing and Zhenwu was one of ten deities whose cults he officially sanctioned.

temples to him in Nanjing, Beijing, Mt. Qiyun, Mt. Wudang,¹⁶ and even within the Forbidden City itself.¹⁷ They commissioned the production of statues, paintings, and ritual paraphernalia; decreed the transportation and installation of Zhenwu images in temples throughout the realm; and sponsored the performance of Daoist rituals on numerous occasions.

Records reveal the personal involvement of several Ming emperors with Zhenwu. The Yongle emperor reputedly had visions of the god and claimed that the god was instrumental in helping him gain the throne in 1402.¹⁸ He ordered the building of numerous temples dedicated to the god, including the Zhenwu miao in Beijing in 1415 and a massive complex of temples on Mt. Wudang from 1412 to 1424.¹⁹ Yongle renamed the mountain Mt. Taihe 太华山 [Mountain of Supreme Harmony]. From the middle of the fifteenth century, emperors put eunuchs in charge of carrying out their orders regarding religious projects including specific patronage activities directed toward Zhenwu.²⁰ The Chenghua 成化 (r. 1464-87) and Hongzhi 弘治

¹⁶ For a more extensive survey of Ming imperial patronage of Mt. Wudang, see deBruyn, “Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs” [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts] and Yang Lizhi 楊立志, “Mingdi chongfeng zhenwu shen sidian kaoshu” 明帝崇奉真武神祀典考述 [Research on Ritual Codes for Ming Emperors’ Worship of the Deity Zhenwu] *Dao Yun*, vol. 4 (1988): 73-109.

¹⁷ In 1420 Yongle established a Zhenwu hall called Qin’an dian 欽安殿 [Hall of Imperial Peace] inside the imperial flower garden. Subsequent Ming emperors maintained this hall and its images. *Ming Shizong shilu* 明世宗實錄 [Veritable Records of Ming Shizong] juan 25: 11. Qin’an dian has survived and contains three Ming period statues of Zhenwu. Unfortunately, this hall is closed to the public and photographs of the statues have not been published.

¹⁸ The Yongle emperor did not consider himself a usurper. He and his advisors used the term *jingnan* 靖難 [clear away disorders/difficulties] when referring to his ascension to the throne. For more on Yongle, see Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Perpetual Happiness: the Ming Emperor Yongle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

¹⁹ The late Ming vernacular novel, *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North] includes a passage in its final chapter that claims Yongle went on a pilgrimage to Mt. Wudang and that he saw a statue of Zhenwu there that looked like him. This visit described in the novel almost two hundred years later is apocryphal. For more on *Beiyou ji*, see chapter five of this study.

²⁰ deBruyn includes a chart listing some of the eunuchs: “Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs” [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]: 537). Yang Lizhi points out that eunuchs sponsored the building of their own Zhenwu temples in Beijing and within their own departments in the Forbidden City to prevent floods and

(1487-1505) emperors both charged imperial eunuchs with managing elaborate arrangements for transporting materials destined for Zhenwu temples from the capital to Mt. Wudang.²¹ The Jiajing emperor is well known as a Daoist believer and patron. His belief in the god can be linked to his origins as a prince in Huguang 湖廣 where Mt. Wudang is located.²² In 1552, he commissioned the building of a huge *pailou* 牌樓 [memorial arch] at the foot of Mt. Wudang that remains there today.²³ The Zhishi xuanyue 治世玄嶽 [Dark Peak that Governs the World] arch signals the entrance to the mountain. He also decreed a series of renovation and refurbishment projects for the temples on Mt. Wudang, beginning in the second year of his reign and continuing for over thirty years. Jiajing also directed his efforts to express his dedication to Zhenwu by commissioning the building and restoration of temples and the performance of Daoist rites on Mt. Qiyun in Anhui province.²⁴

fire: Yang Lizhi. "Mingdi chongfeng zhenwu shen sidian kaoshu" 明帝崇奉真武神祀典考述 [Research on Ritual Codes for Ming Emperors' Worship of the Deity Zhenwu]: 85. For a study of Ming eunuchs, see Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Eunuchs of the Ming Dynasty* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

²¹ Several imperial edicts admonish eunuchs to be careful with the statues and offerings, use yellow boats and fast horses, and report back upon their return from Mt. Wudang.

²² Jiajing's father had been a believer in Zhenwu. For more on Jiajing's efforts to officially elevate his parents, see Carney T. Fisher, "The Great Ritual Controversy in Ming China," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977.

²³ The Jiajing emperor commissioned the building of a similar *pailou* for the Ming tombs in 1540. See Ann Paludan, *Chinese Sculpture* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2006): 449.

²⁴ In 1558, Jiajing wrote a stele text expressing his gratitude to Zhenwu for granting him a son in 1533 after the emperor sponsored Daoist rituals dedicated to Zhenwu at temples on Mt. Qiyun in 1532. *Qiyun shan zhi* 齊雲山志 [Gazetteer of Mt. Qiyun], 5 juan, compiled by Lu Dian 魯點 in 1599: juan 2. For a reprint, see *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊 [Collection of Gazetteers of Daoist Temples in China], (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000), vol. 10: 205-7.

Joseph McDermott briefly discusses local and imperial patronage Zhenwu at Mt. Qiyun in "Emperor, Elites, and Commoners: the Community Pact Ritual of the Late Ming," in *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 299-351.

Records of Ming Imperial Donations of Images and Objects to Temples on Mt. Wudang

The majority of the surviving records detailing Ming imperial patronage of Zhenwu concern Mt. Wudang. Several Ming gazetteers provide information about the many imperial edicts and donations of materials to temples on Mt. Wudang.²⁵ Two gazetteers called *Dayue taihe shan zhi* 大嶽太和山志 [Gazetteer of the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony] contain the most detailed information about the greatest number of imperial donations. Ren Ziyuan 任自垣 originally compiled the first text *Chijian dayue Taihe shan zhi* 敕建大嶽太和山志 [Imperially Commissioned Gazetteer of the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony] in 1431.²⁶ Ren's twelve-juan gazetteer was updated by others in 1491 and 1494 with information on imperial donations into the Hongzhi period (1487-1505).²⁷ Some scholars simply refer to this gazetteer as the work of Ren. However, since we use information from the later versions, we will call it the Hongzhi *Dayue Taihe shan zhi*. The other gazetteer that provides a plethora of details regarding imperial donations has the same title, *Dayue Taihe shan zhi*. The imperial

²⁵ For an overview of the many historical and modern gazetteers for Mt. Wudang, see deBruyn, Annexe A: 603-28 and Shi Hongyun 石洪運, "Wudang shan zhi kao" 武當山志考 in *Zhongguo Daojiao -- Wudang shan daojiao wenhua yantao huihua wen ji*, ed. by Zhongguo daojiao xiehui (Beijing: 1994): 224-32.

²⁶ Ren's last name is sometimes rendered as 仁. Ren also worked on the compilation of the Daoist canon at the behest of the Yongle emperor. For a more extensive biography of Ren, see deBruyn: 484-89.

²⁷ Several modern books have reprinted some combinations of material from Ren's original edition and the two later revisions without adequately explaining why a gazetteer supposedly completed in 1431 by Ren would contain entries as late as 1494. See *Mingdai Wudang shan zhi er zhong* 明代武當山志二種 [Two Ming Period Gazetteers of Mt. Wudang] (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1999) and *Daojiao wenxian* 道教文獻 [Daoist Documents], vol. 4-5 (Taipei: Danqing tushu you xian gongsi, 1983). While these reprints make the material from the gazetteers more accessible, they should be used in conjunction with the original texts available on microform. For original copies of the two later versions, see the following microform editions: the 1491 *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* is included in reel 406 from Beijing National Library Rare Books set and the 1494 *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* is included in reel 404 from the same set.

court eunuch Wang Zuo 王佐 initiated the compilation of this seventeen-juan work, which was completed in 1556.²⁸ We will refer to it as Wang Zuo's *Dayue Taihe shan zhi*.

Ren Ziyuan and Wang Zuo both had close relationships with Ming emperors and personal experience at Mt. Wudang. Ren participated in the imperially sponsored compilation of the Daoist canon (completed in 1420) and Yongle appointed him superintendent of Xuantian yuxu gong 玄天玉虛宮 [Palace of the Jade Void of the Dark Heaven] on Mt. Wudang in 1413. As Grand Eunuch of the Interior Court (neigong taijian 內宮太監), Wang Zuo served in the court of the Jiajing 嘉靖 emperor (r. 1521-66). Wang worked as supervisor of Mt. Wudang for eighteen years beginning in 1539. Because of his role as an imperial eunuch and his responsibilities on Mt. Wudang, he was personally involved in the receipt and distribution of imperial donations coming to the mountain. As a result, both Wang Zuo's *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* and the Hongzhi *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* serve as reliable sources for information about imperial donations to Mt. Wudang during the Ming.²⁹ These gazetteers, along with surviving Ming stele texts at Mt. Wudang, give us a detailed picture of imperial donations.

²⁸ Wang Zuo did not compile this gazetteer himself. The preface states that Jia Ruyu 賈如愚 (a literatus from Junzhou near Mt. Wudang) was the editor in charge of the project. Two other imperial eunuchs, Lu Xiang 呂祥 and Tian Yu 田玉 revised and expanded Wang Zuo's gazetteer in 1562 and 1583 respectively. Like Wang, these two eunuchs also had close ties to Mt. Wudang. All three men served as supervisors there.

²⁹ Two other gazetteers for Mt. Wudang were compiled in the Ming. Fang Sheng's 方升 five-juan *Dayue zhilue* 大嶽誌略 [Brief Record of the Great Peak] was completed in 1537 and Lu Chonghua's 盧重華 eight-juan *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* was completed in 1572. Lu Chonghua's work includes some listings of imperial donations but the information is extremely abbreviated. Some scholars have speculated that the abbreviated nature of this entire work reflects attempts by Confucian scholars such as Lu to attempt to assert their authority over the imperial eunuchs who had figured so prominently in imperial donations to Mt. Wudang (see deBruyn: Annexe A: 608-11). Fang Sheng's work reiterates much of what is contained in the Hongzhi *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* with one notable exception: juan three of *Dayue zhilue* includes thirty-seven pictures of temples on Mt. Wudang that are accompanied by short explanations.

No fewer than eight Ming emperors sent donations to Mt. Wudang on at least twenty-seven different occasions (Table 4.1).³⁰ Following the Yongle emperor's major construction projects and donations to the mountain, the Jingtai 景泰 (r. 1449-57), Zhengtong 正統 (r. 1435-49 and 1457-64), and Zhengde 正德 (r. 1505-21) emperors each sent donations. The Jiajing emperor sent donations on five occasions, and the Chenghua 成化 (r. 1464-87), Hongzhi 弘治 (r. 1487-1505), and Wanli 萬曆 (r. 1572-1620) emperors each sent donations on six occasions.³¹ The majority of large donations were received by the seven major temples on the mountain: Xuantian yuxu gong 玄天玉虛宮 [Palace of the Jade Void of the Dark Heaven], Jindian 金殿 [Golden Hall] at Taihe gong 太和宮 [Palace of Supreme Harmony], Wulong gong 五龍宮 [Palace of Five Dragons], Zixiao gong 紫霄宮 [Palace of the Purple Empyrean], Nanyan gong 南巖宮 [Palace of the Southern Precipice], Jingle gong 淨樂宮 [Palace of Tranquil Joy], and Yuzhen gong 遇真宮 [Palace of Meeting the Perfected]. Most donations included objects for use in the performance of Daoist rituals and the adornment of temple buildings such as pairs of banners (*chuang* 幢, *fan* 旛, and *san* 傘) and sets of *gongqi*

³⁰ This summary of imperial donations excludes Yongle's initial "investment" to build and refurbish temples on Mt. Wudang and imperial gifts sent regularly on "standard" dates such as Zhenwu's birthday (third day of third lunar month), the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, and the first and fifteenth days of the twelfth lunar month. See *Da Ming chijian gong guan shiji bei* 大明敕建宮觀事跡碑 [Stele About the Business of the Palaces and Observatories Built by Imperial Order in the Great Ming] dated 1419 preserved in juan thirteen of Ren Ziyuan, *Chijian dayue Taihe shan zhi* and Hongzhi *Dayue taihe shan zhi*. As deBruyn points out, prior to 1523, large quantities of incense, oil, and candles were paid for and sent to Mt. Wudang from the imperial court on a regular basis (every three or ten years) to provide for basic maintenance of the temples. After 1523, following a decree by the Jiajing emperor, pilgrims' payments of incense taxes were directed to finance these material basics along with other administrative and military costs for upkeep of the mountain and its temples. See deBruyn: 542-5. Emperors continued to include special dispensations of incense, candles, and oil in many of their subsequent donations to Mt. Wudang.

³¹ Ming emperors issued many edicts about Mt. Wudang. The number of imperial edicts issued by each emperor issued regarding Mt. Wudang roughly reflects their patterns of donation.

供器 [utensils]. A typical set of utensils included all the implements for the performance of basic Daoist rituals/services: an incense burner (*xianglu* 香爐), a pair of flower bottles (*mudan ping* 牡丹瓶), a pair of candle stands (*zhutai* 燭臺), a water lamp chalice (*shuideng zhan* 水燈盞), a silk cover for the lamp (*mahua si zhao* 麻花絲罩), scissors (*jian* 剪) to trim the wicks of candles and lamps, a jar to hold scissors (*jian zhu guan* 剪燭罐), a spoon (*chi* 匙), chopsticks (*zhu* 筴), a bottle to hold spoon and chopsticks (*chizhu ping* 匙筴瓶), an incense box (*xianghe* 香盒), incense replacement sticks (*xiangti* 香替), and a cup for drinking water (*juezhan* 爵盞). The court also sent multiple copies of Zhenwu scriptures, bells, stone chimes, dragon tablets (*longpai* 龍牌), and special dispensations of incense and candles for distribution to various temples.³² Sumptuous materials such as red lacquer, bronze, silver, and gold were used in making and decorating many of the items.

³² Such special dispensations probably coincided with the performance of special rites, such as Golden Register rites, at temples on Mt. Wudang.

Table 4.1

Ming Imperial Donations to Temples on Mt. Wudang				
Emperor	Donation Date	Temple	Images	Other Objects
Yongle 永樂	1416	Jindian at Taihe gong	√	-
Jingtai 景泰	1453	Yuxu gong	-	gongqi [utensils]
Zhengtong 正統	1458	Yuzhen gong	√	gongqi
Chenghua 成化	1473	Jindian at Taihe gong	√	gongqi
		Yuxu gong (main hall)	√	gongqi
		All halls	-	banners
	1476	Yuxu gong and seven others		juezhuan [bronze cups], copies of scriptures
		Yuxu gong	-	longpai [dragon tablets]
	1478	Zixiao gong	√	gongqi
	1483	Wulong gong	√	gongqi
	1486	Yuxu gong, eight others, and other miao	√	gongqi
Hongzhi 弘治	1494	Nanyang gong	√	gongqi
	1497	Yuxu gong and others	-	incense and candles
	1499	--	-	incense and candles
	1501	Jingle gong	√	gongqi, bell, banners,
		Taihe gong	√	gongqi
		Yuzhen gong	√	gongqi, bell, banners,
	1502	Jingle gong		incense and
1505	Jindian at Taihe gong	√	gongqi	
Zhengde 正德	1507	--	√	gongqi, incense, lamps
Jiajing 嘉靖	1526	Jingle gong	√	gongqi, bell, banners,
	1546	Xuandi altar 玄帝壇	-	gongqi
	1553	Taihe gong	√	
	1554	Yuxu gong, Jingle gong, and others	-	banners, longbao
		Yuxu gong, other gong, guan, ci, miao	-	banners
Wanli 萬曆	1575	--	√	-
	1580	Yuxu gong, Taihe gong, and eight other gong and two guan		incense and . . .
	1585	Yuxu gong, other gong and guan	√	banners
	1590	--	-	banners, incense, and . . .
	1594	--	-	banners and
	1602	--	√	gongqi

Of the eight Ming emperors who sent donations to Mt. Wudang, seven donated images; each donation of images included at least one statue of Zhenwu (Table 4.1). A variety

of images of attendant deities and assistants accompanied Zhenwu.³³ Although most of the images mentioned in these records have not survived,³⁴ the recorded compositions of these sets of statues reveal the makeup of the god's retinue in the Ming. Based on the details of eighteen donations, the most common configuration for his retinue combined the tortoise and snake with four attendants.³⁵ The phrase *shui huo yi zuo* 水火一座 refers to the tortoise and snake as a unit while connoting the two animals' (and Zhenwu's) connections with inner alchemy (*neidan* 内丹).³⁶ Zhenwu's four attendants were usually identified as *lingguan* 靈官 [numinous official], *yunu* 玉女 [jade maiden], *zhiqi* 執旗 [flag holder], and *pengjian* 捧劍 [sword holder]. Though *lingguan* and *yunu* are generic male and female attendants that often accompany Daoist deities, *zhiqi* and *pengjian* are specific to Zhenwu because they carry two of his iconographically characteristic attributes: the black flag and the sword.

³³ On three of the eighteen donation dates, only one Zhenwu image is listed without any indication that the image was accompanied by attendants or part of a set of images (see listings for 1486, 1501, and 1575 in Table 4.1.). On the other fifteen occasions, some combination of attendants accompanied Zhenwu.

³⁴ Several statues donated to the Jindian by the Yongle emperor in 1416 are still in the hall. These statues are discussed later in this chapter.

³⁵ Donation records detail this configuration on seven out of fifteen occasions where Zhenwu was accompanied by other images (see entries for 1416, 1473, 1478, 1501 [twice], 1507, and 1526 in Table 4.2).

³⁶ Neidan practitioners regarded the entwined tortoise and snake as representative of water and fire respectively. Thus Zhenwu's attendants represented the symbolic exchange of water and fire within the body of the practitioner.

The tortoise and snake are not listed separately from other attendants in records of donations after the Hongzhi period.

Table 4.2.

Ming Imperial Donations of Statues of Zhenwu and His Retinue						
Emperor	Date	Temple	Zhenwu	Tortoise and Snake	Attendants	Assistant Divinities
Yongle	1416	Taihe gong (Jindian)	1	--	4	--
Zhengtong	1458	Yuzhen gong	1	--	√	--
Chenghua	1473	Taihe gong (Jindian)	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	Deng tianjun 鄧天君 Xin tianjun 辛天君 Zhang tianjun 張天君 Tao tianjun 陶天君 Gou tianjun 苟天君 Bi tianjun 畢天君 Ma yuanshuai 馬元帥 Zhao yuanshuai 趙元帥 Wen yuanshuai 溫元帥 Guan yuanshuai 關元帥
	1473	Yuxu gong (main hall)	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
	1478	Zixiao gong	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
	1483	Wulong gong	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	Ma yuanshuai 馬元帥 Zhao yuanshuai 趙元帥 Wen yuanshuai 溫元帥 Guan yuanshuai 關元帥
	1486	Yuxu gong, eight others, and other miao	1	--	--	--
Hongzhi	1494	Nanyang gong	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	Deng tianjun 鄧天君 Xin tianjun 辛天君 Zhang tianjun 張天君 Tao tianjun 陶天君 Pang tianjun 龐天君 Liu tianjun 劉天君 Gou tianjun 苟天君 Bi tianjun 畢天君 Ma yuanshuai 馬元帥 Zhao yuanshuai 趙元帥 Wen yuanshuai 溫元帥 Guan yuanshuai 關元帥
	1501	Jingle gong	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
	1501	Taihe gong	1	--	--	--
	1501	Yuzhen gong	1	√	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
	1505	Taihe gong (Jindian)	1	√	--	--

Ming Imperial Donations of Statues of Zhenwu and His Retinue (continued)						
Emperor	Date	Temple	Zhenwu	Tortoise and Snake	Attendants	Assistant Divinities
Zhengde	1507	--	1	--	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
Jiajing	1526	Jingle gong	1	--	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
	1553	Taihe gong	3	--	lingguan yunu zhiqi pengjian	--
Wanli	1575	--	1	--	--	--
	1585	Yuxu gong, other gong and guan	1	玄帝金像一堂		
	1602	--	1	--	8 (not specified)	

In several donations, Zhenwu's entourage expanded to include a group of four, ten, or twelve *tianjun* [celestial lords] and *yuanshuai* [celestial marshals].³⁷ The presence of these martial deities as Zhenwu's assistants not only demonstrates the god's ascendance as a deity worthy of powerful sacred allies, but also reinforces his connection with the Daoist Thunder Department.³⁸ The specific combinations of divinities that accompany him echo standard groupings found in fifteenth-century Daoist liturgical texts with procedures for thunder rites.³⁹ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 [Golden Book of Perfect Salvation of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Purity] (ZWDS 698) is a compendium of rites compiled by a prominent Daoist priest at the courts of the early Ming, Zhou Side 周思得

³⁷ Donation records detail this configuration on four out of fifteen occasions where Zhenwu was accompanied by other images (see entries for 1473, 1483, 1494, and 1602 in Table 4.2).

³⁸ For more on Zhenwu and the Daoist Thunder Department, see chapter two.

³⁹ Another major compendium of Daoist thunder rites, *Daofa huiyuan* (DZ 1220), contains a few sections that can be dated to the early Ming period (around the time of Yongle). For more on *Daofa huiyuan*, see chapter two of this dissertation; Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature," 244-50; and Schipper and Yuan Bingling entry in *Taoist Canon*: vol. 2, p. 1105-1113.

(1359-1451).⁴⁰ Chapter thirty-five of Zhou's book lists several cadres of thunder deities within the instructions for a Zhenwu *jiao* [offering ritual]. The first group contains Deng 鄧, Xin 辛, Zhang 張, and Tao 陶 who are known as the Four Great Celestial Lords of the Thunderclap (*leitng si da tianjun* 雷霆四大天君).⁴¹ The members of the next group are the Four Great Celestial Lords of the Thunder Gate (*leimen si da tianjun* 雷門四大天君): Gou 苟, Bi 畢, Pang 龐, and Liu 劉.⁴² Another group of four marshals listed in the same chapter consists of the *yuanshuai* Ma 馬, Zhao 趙, Wen 溫, and Guan 關 known as the Four Great Celestial Marshals of Upper Purity (*shangqing si da yuanshuai* 上清四大元帥).⁴³ Among the Ming imperial donations of statues in Table 4.2, the largest cadre of martial divinities accompanying Zhenwu is composed of the same twelve figures as those in the three groups of four listed in *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*.⁴⁴ The combination of ten (1473) leaves out Pang and

⁴⁰ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* in *Zangwai Daoshu*, vols. 16-17. This book contains a preface by Celestial Master Zhang Maocheng 張懋丞 (1388-1445?) dated 1432. As Mark Meulenbeld and Poul Anderson have pointed out, Daoist thunder rituals and thunder deities permeated Ming Daoist ritual practice from ordinations to major rites like the *huanglu dazhai* [yellow register rite]. For more on *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* and Zhou Side, see Mark Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature" Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 2007): 219-24 and 228-35.

⁴¹ *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*, juan 35: 55a. Deng, Xin, and Zhang (as a triad) were also a common group of thunder deities in the Ming. However, since donations of statues for temples almost always include an even number of attendants to provide symmetry with the main image(s), records do not include donations of this triad as a group.

⁴² Another group known as the Four Heavenly Attendants (*si tiandng* 四天丁) is also mentioned later on in the instructions for the Zhenwu *jiao*. This group (Cui 崔, Lu 盧, Deng 鄧, and Dou 竇) is not included in any of the donation records.

⁴³ The Four Great Celestial Marshals of Upper Purity are listed among the deities to be invoked during a *jiao* devoted to Jiutian leizu 九天雷尊 [Thunder Worthy of the Nine Heavens]. See *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu*, juan 35: 54a. Puhua tianzun is discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁴ See the 1494 donation in Table 4.2.

Liu.⁴⁵ And the grouping of four martial divinities with Zhenwu (1483) corresponds to the last combination mentioned in the *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* liturgy.⁴⁶ Factors such as the size of the hall, the need for new or replacement statues, requests from eunuchs and Daoists administering the temples on Mt. Wudang, and the generosity of the court probably combined to determine which of the standard groups of attendants and marshals were sent on specific occasions.

Two Ming Paintings of Zhenwu and His Retinue

The correspondence between the groups of Zhenwu's attendants in imperial donations and liturgical texts discussed above help us to identify two surviving hanging scroll paintings as early Ming court images of the deity and his retinue.⁴⁷ One painting is now in the collection of the Herbert Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell University (fig. 4.1) and the other is held by the Japanese temple Reiunji 靈雲寺 [Numinous Clouds Temple] (fig. 4.2).⁴⁸ The basic

⁴⁵ Gou and Bi were well known as a pair of thunder deities. Pang and Liu were usually identified as part of the group of four with Gou and Bi or as part of a much larger cadre of thunder marshals.

⁴⁶ The 1602 donation lists eight attendants with Zhenwu. It seems likely that this group included Zhenwu's four standard attendants and the four *yuanshuai* (Ma, Zhao, Wen, and Guan). Other combinations of martial divinities associated with Zhenwu are listed in *Xuantian renwei shangdi baoen baochan* (ZWDS 942), *Zangwai Daoshu*, volume 30: 326-342. This text lists a group of six including Deng, Xin, Zhang, Tao, Gou, and Bi as well as a group of eight including Wang, Liu, Yin, Zhu, Ma, Zhao, Wen, and Yue. The lists appear in consecutive lines on p. 6 original pagination; p. 328 in volume 30 of *Zangwai Daoshu*. The former group of six includes figures from the group of ten listed in Ming imperial donations in Table 4.2. The latter group of eight includes three of the four customary *yuanshuai* but without the usual fourth member, Guandi. Wang 王, Yin 殷, Zhu 朱, and Yue 岳 in the group of eight are celestial lords from the Daoist Thunder Department and they do not appear in the records of donations of statues.

⁴⁷ Zhenwu was not the only deity who was accompanied by standard groups of thunder marshals. For example, Doumu [Dipper Mother] and Puhua tianzun [Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation] each appear with thunder marshals.

⁴⁸ The Johnson Museum bought their painting from London dealer Christopher Bruckner in 1999. According to an inscription on the box dated 1754, Reiunji's painting once belonged to the celebrated painter Kano Tan'yu (1602-1674). The temple dates their painting to the late Yuan period but its style suggests an early Ming date.

composition of each painting is similar. Zhenwu occupies the central position with an attendant positioned behind him to either side. Unlike in earlier murals and other paintings, he appears seated befitting his status as an emperor and the main deity in the composition. Eight additional figures are arrayed on each side, extending toward the foreground from the god's position.

Differences in Zhenwu's iconography, the members and arrangement of his entourage, and several stylistic details clearly distinguish the paintings from each other. In the Johnson Museum painting, he sits pendant legged on a flattened-top rock throne with an accompanying rocky footrest.⁴⁹ His appearance reflects his role as a martial deity. He wears a black robe over his jeweled armor with a white *doupeng* 斗篷 [cloak or cape] tied at his neck. His feet and head are bare with hair laying close to his head and flowing down his back. In the Reijunji painting, Zhenwu sits on an intricately carved and decorated throne draped with an orange textile on the back and a green textile on the seat. His appearance is an amalgam of elements from other regal Daoist deities and high-ranking generals.⁵⁰ He wears an elaborately jeweled *tong tian guan* 通天冠 [crown so tall that it reaches heaven] that ties under his chin. A rectangular pendant known as a *changming suo* 長命鎖 [long life lock] is suspended

⁴⁹ Although the rocky throne may indicate Zhenwu's presence on Mt. Wudang, it seems more likely that the setting is more generic. For example, a painting of the Messenger Guardian of the Fast in the collection of the Musée Guimet (EO 723) dated to the nineteenth century includes a similar setting as the Johnson painting of Zhenwu. A few other surviving images depict Zhenwu seated on a rocky throne. For example, a bronze image of Zhenwu in a rocky setting (probably dating to the Ming) was sold by Sotheby's New York on March 19, 1997 (sale 6963, lot 33).

⁵⁰ The famous portrait of the Yongle emperor features a similar throne with 6 dragon heads. A bronze Zhenwu statue offered by Roger Keverne sits on a throne with five dragon heads. For further discussion of the latter, see later section of this chapter.

from a band encircling his neck.⁵¹ His black robe is decorated with gold medallions and there is no indication of armor underneath. The Reijunji Zhenwu wears the fancy lacquered shoes of an emperor or deity and sits with his hands in front of his stomach hidden in his sleeves. On his own, Zhenwu's appearance is regal but not distinctive; without the additional details in the painting, he would not be identifiable.⁵²

In both paintings, a pair of attendants bears Zhenwu's sword and black flag. The sword-holding attendant has a lighter face than the flag-wielding figure. In the Johnson Museum painting, the flag features a white border and is positioned to the right flowing behind the god's halo, while in the Reijunji painting, the flag integrates the seven golden stars of the dipper and is placed on the left side of the composition. The Reijunji painting also features an entwined tortoise and snake just in front of the foot of the throne. These additional details are crucial to identifying the main figure in both paintings as Zhenwu.

Although undated and unsigned, compositional and stylistic details in the paintings suggest that they were created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—probably for the Ming imperial court. The seated, crowned, and shod Zhenwu in the Reijunji scroll resembles an image of the deity in the early Ming (1432) illustrated woodblock-printed collection of Zhenwu

⁵¹ Crowned standing figures, seated Daoist emperors, generals, and some civil officials often wear long life lock necklaces as a symbol and amulet of longevity. They seem to be most prevalent in images from the late Yuan and Ming periods. See Pilusi murals, Yongle gong Sanqing hall murals, ROM murals (all chapter 3).

⁵² Zhenwu sits atop a throne similar to those of senior deities in the Yongle gong Sanqing Hall murals but he does not wear the mortar board and pearl headgear as they do. The attendant deities in the ROM, Yongle gong, and Pilusi murals wear the same style crown as the Reijunji Zhenwu but they are subservient to the seated (and larger) deities. All of the deities in the comparative murals all hold hu/gui in deference to the Three Pure Ones while the Reijunji Zhenwu does not.

Unfortunately, the publication of the Reijunji painting in the *Taoism and the Arts of China* catalogue has led many auction houses to misidentify similarly-dressed images of officials and other deities as Zhenwu

stories, *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang].⁵³ The picture for *Xuandi shenghao* 玄帝聖號 [Xuandi's Sacred Title] (fig. 4.3) features the deity wearing a similar crown, clothing, and shoes. In the print, the god has only four attendants: the sword and flag attendants are on opposite sides compared with the Reijunji painting and the two attendants in front are both female. The tortoise and snake appear in front of Zhenwu in both the print and the Reijunji painting. But the deity sits in a more modest round-backed chair in the print as compared with the Reijunji screen-like throne seat. The Johnson Museum painting's composition resembles a different print from *Wudang jiaqing tu*. *Fuwei kangong* 復位坎宮 [Returning to His Throne at Kan Gong] (fig. 4.4) depicts a seated Zhenwu with loose hair, bare feet, dark robe, and armor. Sword and flag bearers attend him on either side. In the print, six martial divinities rather than four as in the Johnson painting, appear on each side of the god. The divinities in the print are clustered together rather than lined up vertically as in the painting. While the lack of detail on the martial divinities makes it difficult to identify the print's individual figures, it seems likely that the clustered arrangement better suited the more limited vertical space of the print.⁵⁴

Both the Johnson Museum and Reijunji paintings portray sets of attendants and martial divinities that do not precisely correspond to the donations of statues discussed above. The Johnson Museum painting has an extra male and female attendant thereby creating a pair of female and a pair of male attendants flanking Zhenwu. The extra figures hold *hu* and appear closest to the base of the throne. The addition of attendants serves to balance the two pairs of

⁵³ For an extensive analysis of *Wudang jiaqing tu*: see chapter five.

⁵⁴ Based on the donation data in Table 4.2, this group of twelve marshals with Zhenwu may correspond with the group from the donation in 1494.

assistant deities that appear in the foreground. Although this group of four marshals (Ma, Zhao, Wen, Guan) follows the standards in the donations, the poses of the figures suggest that the image of each marshal was modeled on an individual image rather than on a depiction of them as a group. For example, Guandi stands in three-quarter view in the lower left corner with his green robe tucked into the side of his belt causing it to drape over his knees. He grasps his distinctive halberd with the large blade extending far above his head. Guandi strokes one of his long sideburns with his left hand in a gesture that is common in paintings and sculptures of the deity on his own.⁵⁵ Next to Guandi, Marshal Zhao faces directly out of at the viewer wielding his distinctive notched sword in his right hand and grasping a chain to restrain his companion tiger in the other hand. The figures in the Guandi-Zhao pair and the other Wen-Ma pair barely overlap at all, giving each marshal an individualized presence.

The overall composition of the Johnson Museum painting is tighter and its martial divinities appear as a unified troupe lined up to attend Zhenwu. The same four figures appear in the foreground of the Reijunji painting and the Johnson scroll, but they are far less individualized than in the former. The basic iconographic features for each marshal are present.⁵⁶ Zhao, known as a protector of Mt. Longhu and associated with the North, has a dark face and skin and he wears a black cape over military armor. He holds a jointed iron whip

⁵⁵ Standing images of Guandi almost always include his halberd, but seated images of him have been confused with images of Zhenwu. Grasping the beard is one feature that particularly helps to distinguish seated images of Guandi from Zhenwu. Seated images of the two deities in bronze, ceramic, stoneware, or porcelain are often misidentified. Several additional features help us distinguish the two. Guandi's head is covered with a scarf or hat, his hands are positioned close to his hips, and he wears boots. Zhenwu places his hands on his thighs or knees, is barefoot, and a tortoise and snake often appear at his feet.

⁵⁶ There are numerous sources for the iconography of these martial divinities including Daoist scriptures dedicated to individual deities, ritual compendia such as the *Daofa huiyuan*, and Ming period editions of hagiographic collections known as *Soushen daquan* 搜神大全 [Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]. Passages from several of these sources are included in Appendix C. Illustrated editions of *Soushen daquan* are discussed in chapter five.

in his right hand and a chain in his left, and is accompanied by a black tiger.⁵⁷ Wen has a blue-green face and skin, wears a flower hairpin, a green robe, and a white cape over his armor, and holds a jade circlet (yuhuan 玉環) in his left hand and a sword in his right.⁵⁸

Canonical texts do not directly link Guandi and Wen with Zhenwu. By the late Ming, Guandi and Wen were mentioned among the many deities that Zhenwu converted in vernacular stories such as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North].⁵⁹ The poses, weapons, implements, and clothing of these four martial divinities are organized and rendered in a unified manner that takes the entire composition into account. The pairs are staggered but there is considerable overlap between the front marshals and their compatriots behind. Guandi stands in front of Ma so that we cannot see if he is holding a chain in his left hand. We can barely see his tiger poking his head out from behind Ma on the far left edge of the painting. He wears his characteristic blue headscarf and green robe but his robe leaves his lower legs exposed and it is partially covered by a cream-colored apron at his waist. Guandi's weapon appears quite small: the two ends of his halberd seem to have been shrunken down to fit into the more limited space allotted to each marshal in the Johnson Museum painting. Ma's and Zhao's weapons are similarly scaled down. Even though each deity's iconography's is distinctive, none stands out as an individual figure in the Johnson Museum painting.

The remaining four figures closest to Zhenwu in the Johnson Museum painting form an unusual combination of thunder lords. The triumvirate of Deng, Xin, and Zhang was quite

⁵⁷ For Zhao, see *Daofa huiyuan*: juan 232-40. Iconographic descriptions are in *Daofa huiyuan* 234: 1a, 235: 1a, and 238: 1a.

⁵⁸ For Wen, see *Daofa huiyuan*: 254: 2a and 255: 1a-b.

⁵⁹ For an extensive discussion an illustrated version of *Beiyou ji*, consult chapter five.

common in the Ming and each of these figures is fairly easy to identify.⁶⁰ Deng appears on the right with three eyes, a bird beak, wings, flaming red hair, and blue skin. He carries a mallet and spike. Zhang also has three eyes, a bird beak, and wings. He has dark skin with green hair and he carries a black flag and a rectangular plaque. Xin stands opposite Deng with blue skin and wearing an ox-eared cap over his flaming red hair. He holds a fire brush (*huobi* 火筆) in one hand and a scroll in other. As we saw in the Ming donation records and liturgical texts discussed above, the logical fourth member of this group of thunder lords should be Tao. But the figure closest to Zhenwu on the left is not Tao but Bi.⁶¹ In the Johnson painting, the following features help us to identify Bi: the sword in his right hand; the thin band encircling his head; scruffy sideburns, beard, and moustache; and the dark blue cape over his left shoulder. Other images of Bi tend to portray him wearing a dark cape that is much more prominent covering his shoulders and tying in front below his chest. In addition, Bi sometimes has bare feet and holds a chain in his left hand (see fig. 3.21).⁶² Xin hides Bi's feet and left hand in the Johnson painting, so we cannot confirm any more elements of his iconography. It is not only unusual to find Bi as a member of this group of four but also atypical to find him without Gou. Bi and Gou are part of the same group of Four Celestial Lords of the Thunder Gate and the

⁶⁰ A gilded altar screen in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco features Doumu surrounded by five thunder marshals. The three marshals in the foreground are Deng, Xin, and Zhang. Descriptions of these martial divinities are translated in Appendix C.

⁶¹ Daoist scriptures describe Tao as having black hair, brown skin, three eyes, a bird's beak and wings. Tao is reported to hold a double gourd in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. *Daofa huiyuan*: 94.7b-8a, 98.1a-b. Two surviving paintings featuring Puhua tianzun do include Tao. For a discussion of these, consult the section on Puhua tianzun later in this chapter.

⁶² For an image of Bi with these additional iconographic features, see figure 3.21. Bi also appears in the Copenhagen and Baiyun guan paintings of Puhua tianzun discussed below. Other Ming images of Bi depict him without many distinguishing features. For instance, in an edition of *Soushen daquan*, he has the scruffy facial hair and sword but he is wearing boots and a cap. Plus, he is not wearing a dark cape, just an odd set of epaulets trimmed in black and another piece around his waist with similar trim.

two deities are often listed sequentially in liturgical manuals and Daoist scriptures as well as in hagiographic collections.

Why is Bi, not Tao, part of Zhenwu's entourage in the Johnson Museum painting? According to Ming editions of the *soushen daquan* 搜神大全 [Compendia of the Search for the Supernatural], Bi was a thunder lord with a direct connection to Zhenwu.⁶³ The last lines of Bi's hagiographic entry in *soushen daquan*, Bi "helped Xuantian shangdi to kill ghosts of pestilence. In the upper (realm), he managed floods and droughts for heaven and earth. In the lower (realm), he investigated the traces/evidence of demons. In the middle (realm), he struck and destroyed people who are not humane and righteous."⁶⁴ Among the twenty-four *tianjun* and *yuanshuai* whose images and hagiographies appear in the Ming edition of the *soushen daquan*, Tao is notably absent. Although some imperial donations listed above incorporated a statue of Tao, he does not appear with Zhenwu in any surviving pictorial images.⁶⁵ This suggests that artists and patrons for the Johnson Museum painting—and perhaps many other Ming pictorial images—may have been unfamiliar with Tao and chose to depict better-known thunder lords and those with direct connections to Zhenwu.

The style of ornamentation on the bottom hems of Zhenwu's armor in the Johnson Museum painting and his skirt in the Reijunji painting compares well with examples from the depictions of other Buddhist and Daoist figures in other fifteenth and sixteenth century paintings and sculpture. For example, we can see three sections of ornamentation at the hem

⁶³ For more on Yuan and Ming editions of *soushen daquan*, see chapter five.

⁶⁴ *Zangwai Daoshu*, vol. 31: 786.

⁶⁵ Tao does appear in late Ming paintings of Puhua tianzun with members of the Daoist Thunder Department. These are discussed later in this chapter.

of Zhenwu's armor that is exposed at his right leg in the Johnson Museum painting (fig. 4.1). At the top is a green section with wave-like curves. A red band trimmed in gold on either horizontal edge is decorated with round green, blue, and red jewels.⁶⁶ Additional green and red jewels hang from the gold trim at the bottom of the red band. The section at the bottom is a blue flounce. Martial deities in the murals at Fahai si 法海寺 [Sea of the Law Monastery] in Beijing and Ji yi miao 稷益廟 [Temple of the Three Lords] in Shanxi province as well as those in Shang Xi's Guandi painting exhibit similarly combined sections of green, red, and blue at the hems of their armor (figs. 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7).⁶⁷ Statues of Zhenwu's sword and flag attendants from the 1416 Jindian donation also have this style of ornamentation on the hems of their armor (fig. 4.8). There is variety in the rendering of the lowest section: it takes the form of fringe or tassels in several of the images. The hems of all of the above-mentioned figures feature some sort of jeweled decoration. While earlier martial figures do sometimes have bands of ornamentation and fringe at the edges of their armor,⁶⁸ the particular combination of colors in the different sections and the inclusion of jewels seem to be characteristic of fifteenth and sixteenth century Ming images.

⁶⁶ Lin Shengzhi points out the prevalence of strings of pearls decorating warrior costumes in the Ming. He suggests that this type of ornamentation may have appealed to the taste of Ming eunuchs. See Lin: 156-7.

⁶⁷ Weituo in the Fahai si murals has similar treatment on hem of leg: fringe with triangular points, there is a red band above the fringe, color of fringe is brown, jewels are red with white. Guangmu tianwang (also at Fahai si) has a similar green band, then red (like Zhenwu) but with large jewels hanging in rows with tassels attached under every other jewel (see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian, siguan bihua*, vol. 13: figs. 130 and 134.). Another military figure has a similar green band followed by a section of red with fringe attached under jewels in small medallion shapes (*Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian, siguan bihua*, vol. 13: fig. 153). One of the most elaborate renderings of this type of ornamentation is on Guandi's armor in Shang Xi's painting. His hem has same green edging in the upper section followed by red band with jewels but his blue fringe tipped in green and gold with red jewels at the base and the ends. This Guandi even has an additional under-layer of shorter fringe with blue jewels at the base of each flap.

⁶⁸ Yongle gong and Qinglong si are two Yuan examples. For Qinglong si in Jishan county in Shanxi, *Shanxi siguan bihua*: 215. For Yongle gong, see chapter three.

The color palette, delicacy of line, and overall quality of the Reiunji and Johnson Museum paintings compares with the court-commissioned paintings by Shang Xi and the court eunuch-sponsored murals at Fahai si. These paintings combine green, blue, red, and some orange, while making extensive use of gold. The faces, robes, and textiles are elegantly rendered. These visual factors strongly suggest that fifteenth and sixteenth century Ming imperial courts commissioned the Johnson Museum and Reiunji paintings.

A comparison of the bodily proportions and details of the dress of the figures in the Reiunji and Johnson Museum paintings with other dated works and each other suggests more specific dates for these two Zhenwu paintings. The Reiunji painting probably dates to the early to middle fifteenth century while the Johnson Museum painting dates to the early sixteenth century. The Reiunji figures' short, thick necks with full jowls; small hands and feet; and ample bellies link them to similar figures in a painting by Shang Xi (active c. 1430-40) called *Guandi Captures an Enemy General* (fig. 4.5). The Johnson Museum figures are closer in proportion to figures in the early sixteenth century murals of the main hall of Jiyi miao (fig. 4.6).⁶⁹ Though the figures in the Johnson Museum and Reiunji paintings are somewhat stout, their heads are proportionate to their bodies and they appear very solid. These figures are not so closely akin to the extremely stout, large headed figures that have little indication of necks in many of the scrolls in the 1460 Baoning si *shuilu* set. The Reiunji figures are not as tall as many of the figures in the set of *shuilu* scrolls dating to 1454, most of which are in the Guimet. The rendering of the clouds in the Reiunji painting and several works from the 1454 Guimet set is

⁶⁹ According to inscriptions dated 1502 and 1507 in the hall at Jiyi miao, the murals date to the Hongzhi period (r. 1487-1505). A stele inscription at the site notes that repairs were made to the hall during the Jiajing period in 1523. *Shanxi siguan bihua*: 125. Ling-en Lu recent dissertation examines the Jiyi miao murals: "Sagas, Deities, and Hells: Ming Dynasty Wall Paintings at the Temple of the Three Lords" (University of Kansas, 2007).

similar enough to support a middle fifteenth century date the the Reiunji painting. For example, the *Goddess of Earth* scroll from the Guimet set (fig. 4.9) and the Reiunji painting (fig. 4.2) both include a mixture of thin wisps of cirrus clouds at the top of the picture and swirling clouds that frame the figures in the lower half. The ground under the feet of the figures is not swelling underneath. The more robust figures of the Johnson Museum painting and its billowy clouds do not compare well with works from the 1454 Guimet set. The Johnson Museum figures are closer in proportion to the more massive figures in the murals of Pilu si and Fahai si, dating to 1517-35 and 1439-43 respectively (figs. 3.16-19 for Pilusi, fig. 4.7 for Fahai si). The billowy clouds that cover more of the area under the feet of the figures in the Johnson Museum painting suggest that it was a compositional model for later works such as several from the much later nineteenth century Guimet set.⁷⁰

Imperial edicts concerning Zhenwu combined with our analysis of the style of the Reiunji painting leads us to date the work to the middle fifteenth century. Stylistically, the painting resembles works dated to the Zhengtong period, a time when there was minimal imperial patronage of Zhenwu. It is more likely that it was created in the Chenghua period during the next spike in imperial patronage of the god. It is conceivable that the Reiunji painting was created to hang in one of the Zhenwu temples in the Forbidden City during the Ming either on its own or part of a larger set. With its more explicit iconography, Zhenwu's large cadre of thunder deities, and its figural and cloud style, it seems likely that the Johnson Museum painting was employed during ritual performances in the capital during the early

⁷⁰ Nineteenth century Qing paintings such as *Messenger Guardian of the Fast* in the collection of the Musée Guimet (EO 723) employ similar compositions and cloud types as the Johnson Museum Zhenwu painting, but the overall quality is not as refined and the colors are harsher with the inclusion of aniline-like maroons and purples.

sixteenth century, perhaps as part of a set of scrolls for *huanglu zhai*, golden register rites, or other Buddhist or Daoist rites.

Mistaken Identity: Images of Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun

Iconographic similarities between Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun [Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation] have caused some confusion in the identification images of the two. Both deities have long loose dark hair, bare feet, and appear with a company of thunder divinities. An examination of Puhua tianzun's iconography detailed in Daoist texts compared with extant images in woodblock prints, paintings, and sculpture reveals several features that clearly distinguish him from Zhenwu. The Yuan period *Yushu jing* contains two passages that describe Puhua tianzun's appearance.⁷¹ According to the text, he has long reddish black hair that drapes down his back and rides a *qilin*.⁷² His feet are bare and he stands on a layer of ice. His hand grasps the *qi* of the nine heavens and he shouts at the wind and uses his iron whip to control thunderbolts.⁷³ An illustration in the Yuan *Yushu jing* depicts Puhua tianzun riding a *qilin* and wielding a notched iron staff known as a *bian* 鞭 [iron whip] in his right hand (fig. 4.10). His left hand emits rays of light and he has a third eye on his forehead. A cartouche next to this figure identifies him as Jiutian puhua jun 九天普化君 [Lord of Universal

⁷¹ An extensive discussion of the illustrated version of the *Yushu jing* is included in chapter two of this study.

⁷² Puhua tianzun is sometimes described as having purple hair—a feature that would potentially distinguish him from Zhenwu. However, original texts use the same words to describe both deities' hair, *ganfa* 紺髮. This term can also be translated as reddish-black hair. In extant images, *ganfa* ends up being depicted as dark (usually black) hair for both deities and does not help to differentiate them.

⁷³ *Yushu jing*, juan 2: 16a-17a.

Transformation of the Nine Heavens]. This combination of features is distinctive to him, clearly distinguishing him from Zhenwu.

Some mix-ups can occur when we try to identify a long-haired, barefoot figure amidst a group of thunder divinities. The Johnson painting of Zhenwu and his retinue could initially be mistaken as an image of Puhua tianzun who was also known as Leizu 雷祖 [Thunder Ancestor] beginning in the Ming.⁷⁴ Here Zhenwu has long hair and a third eye like Puhua tianzun, and members of the Daoist Thunder Department flank him (fig. 4.1). Without the presence of the tortoise and snake, we need to rely on Zhenwu's attendants bearing his sword and black flag to distinguish him from Puhua tianzun. Extant paintings and ceramic sculptures suggest that images of Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun coexisted throughout the Yuan and Ming. For instance, the illustrated *Yushu jing* features Zhenwu heading a series of gods depicted at the beginning of the scripture while Puhua tianzun appears amidst an assembly of deities later in the book (fig. 4.10). As we saw in chapter two, Zhenwu was visually associated with the *Yushu jing* despite the fact that he is not actually invoked in the scripture whose main protagonist is Puhua tianzun. A Ming Yongle period longquan celadon shrine in the collection of the British Museum has a statue of Puhua tianzun in its upper niche while Zhenwu appears in the lowest of three niches (fig. 4.11).⁷⁵ Some scholars previously identified both of these images as Zhenwu because of their long hair and bare feet. Although the upper niche figure is no longer holding an iron whip, he is clearly riding a *qilin*, cinching his identity as Puhua

⁷⁴ As Poul Anderson has pointed out, during earlier times, Leizu referred to a different deity among the group of Jiuchen 九宸 [Nine Monarchs] of which Puhua tianzun was also a member.

⁷⁵ This shrine (OA 1929.1-14.1) includes an inscription dating it to 1406. Additional *longquan* images of Zhenwu are discussed later in this chapter.

tianzun. The entwined tortoise and snake that appear at Zhenwu's feet in the lower niche confirm his identity. The inclusion of images of the Three Pure Ones in the middle niche, Puhua tianzun in the upper niche, and Zhenwu and the Jade Emperor in the lower niche reflects the popularity of all of these Daoist deities during the Ming.

Like Zhenwu, Puhua tianzun sometimes appears with a cohort of thunder assistants. In the *Yushu jing*, a cluster of eight thunder divinities wearing black caps and wielding a variety of weapons, appear to Puhua tianzun's right (fig. 4.10). Xin and Ma descend with the main deity and their bodies are almost as large as his.⁷⁶ A Ming group of thunder divinities that accompany Puhua tianzun corresponds to one of the combinations listed in imperial donations of Zhenwu and other statues. A silk hanging scroll in the National Museum in Copenhagen dated by inscription to 1596 (fig. 4.12) shows Puhua tianzun with a cadre of ten thunder assistants, suggesting that the retinue was standardized by the late Ming.⁷⁷ The same deities accompanied Zhenwu in the donation the Yongle emperor made to the Jindian on Mt. Wudang in 1416 (Table 4.2). A group of four in the foreground of the painting includes Zhang on the left, followed by Zhao, Gou, and Guan. Six more thunder deities are depicted in two clusters above Puhua tianzun to his left and right.⁷⁸ On the left are Xin, Deng, and Tao with Bi, Ma, and

⁷⁶ Xin wears his distinctive cap while carrying a register of good and bad deeds and his fire brush. Ma holds a plaque aloft in one hand and a lance in the other. The prominence of Ma and Xin in the *Yushu jing* illustration suggests that these two martial divinities were more prominent than the group of Deng, Xin and Zhang that are frequently combined during the Ming period. Although the figure with bird head, wings, spike in the upper middle of the composition shares features with Deng, he is simply labeled Duke of Thunder (fengbo).

⁷⁷ Mark Meulenbeld discussed this issue a conference presentation entitled "A Reading of Thunder Gods: Pantheons as Maps to Daoist History" at the Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2005.

⁷⁸ An earlier painting of Wang yuanshuai in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1989.155) also features two groups of three thunder deities that appear in the same positions as the ones in the Copenhagen Puhua tianzun scroll. However, the identities of the martial divinities are not the same. Although the Met painting is an imperially commissioned work from the Jiajing period (1542), the quality of the faces, bodies, and textiles do

Wen on the right. Leigong 雷公 [Duke of Thunder], Dianmu 電母 [Lightning Mother], Yushi 雨師 [Rain Master], and Fengbo 風伯 [Earl of Winds] appear at the top of the painting.⁷⁹

Because the main figure rides a *qilin*, raises his iron whip, and his finger emits rays of light, we know that he is Puhua tianzun and not Zhenwu.

It is plausible that a composition like that of the Copenhagen painting could have been used for images focused on Zhenwu. However, no surviving paintings feature Zhenwu in this composition. One reason for this may be the active pose of the central figure. A few Ming statues and stele rubbings show the god standing atop, or riding, the tortoise and snake while wielding his own sword (fig. 4.13),⁸⁰ but in the majority of Ming paintings and sculptures, Zhenwu is depicted seated (fig. 4.1 and 4.2).⁸¹ Even though Zhenwu was not invoked in the textual portion of the *Yushu jing*, he was visually linked to the scripture and associated with the cadre of thunder divinities and exorcistic powers, often even more prominently than Puhua tianzun.

not measure up to the Copenhagen painting. For a reproduction of the Met painting, see *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 266.

⁷⁹ A painting with virtually the same composition and arrangement of thunder divinities is in the collection of the Baiyun guan in Beijing. The Baiyun guan scroll is painted using a different color scheme: brown clouds form the background and the main colors for the figures are green, light orange, black, and yellow. The quality of the details of the faces, hands, and textiles is far superior in the Copenhagen painting. It seems likely that the Baiyun guan painting is a copy of the Wanli period scroll. For a reproduction of the Baiyun guan painting, see *Daojiao shenxian huaji* [Album for Daoist Deities and Divine Immortals]: 75.

⁸⁰ Another Zhenwu sculpture of this type in the collection of the British Museum will be discussed in chapter five.

⁸¹ The identification of statues of Zhenwu and Puhua tianzun are less frequently confused. When it comes to statues, Guandi and Zhenwu are much more frequently confused. However, in the Baiyun guan, there is a Wanli period seated statue labeled Puhua tianzun but looking very much like Zhenwu.

Ming Period Bronze Statues of Zhenwu

Compared with Chinese sculpture of earlier periods, Ming sculpture has been understudied.⁸² Because of the abundance of Ming statuary and the fact that most surviving works were not carved in stone, it is challenging both to identify period styles and also to determine what repairs may have been made to an original statue.⁸³ Significant numbers of bronze, glazed stoneware, and porcelain Zhenwu statues purport to be Ming period works. Because bronze objects were commissioned at considerable cost, they are more likely than less costly images to be inscribed and dated. By beginning our discussion with large, dated temple sculptures and smaller dated bronzes, we can construct a framework that will provide a foundation for our later discussions of small, undated porcelain and glazed stoneware pieces. These analyses of a selection of statues show trends in the fashioning of Zhenwu images and reveal stylistic features that advance our understanding of sculpture in the Ming.

One of the earliest and largest surviving Ming statues of Zhenwu was commissioned by the Yongle emperor for the Jindian at the Taihe gong [Palace of Supreme Harmony] on Mt. Wudang. As the main statue in the imperial donation from 1416, this large bronze exemplifies many iconographic and stylistic characteristics typical of Ming Zhenwu sculptures (fig. 4.14).

The Jindian statue is a well-proportioned figure that sits with legs pendant and bare feet set

⁸² One notable exception is Ann Paludan's inclusion of a chapter on Ming and Qing sculpture in her recent book, *Chinese Sculpture* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2006). Although the bulk of her examples are tomb sculptures, she also addresses Buddhist temple sculpture and small pieces. Li Song's chapter in a recent survey of Chinese sculpture also includes short mentions of sculpture from the Ming and Qing; see Angela Falco Howard, ed., *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 357-460. A Chinese and Japanese art collector also championed Ming bronzes in a short article: Elwyn M. Smolen, "Chinese Bronzes of the Ming Dynasty" *Arts of Asia* 10, no.1 (January-February 1980): 71-85. He includes a bronze image of Zhenwu on page 75, figure 6.

⁸³ Some Japanese archival photos have preserved a few stone statues of Zhenwu that no longer exist. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo chosaku 吉岡義豊著作集 [Collected Works of Yoshioka Yoshitoyo] (Tokyo: Gogatsu shobō, 1988): vol. 4.

fairly far apart from one another. He has broad shoulders and beefy arms with a slight belly. His head is slightly small in proportion to the rest of his body. Zhenwu's hands rest on the tops of his thighs. He has a long beard that extends straight down, coming to a point midway down his chest.⁸⁴ The armor under his robe is revealed on his chest below his neck. His robe is tied above his waist with a belt decorated with medallions. The robe drapes over his shoulders and its ample sleeves drape over his forearms and legs. His hair is long and loose, sitting close to his head and extending down his back. The entwined tortoise and snake appear at his feet.

The 1416 Jindian statue's bodily proportions, pendant-legged seated position, bare feet set wide apart, ample robe, rendering of long hair, and presence of the tortoise and snake are common to the majority of other Ming statues of Zhenwu. In addition, the rendering of the armor on the chests of the Jindian statue and two other statues that can be dated to the early Ming is remarkably similar. The armor is composed of a series of pointy triangular shapes that resemble mountains. Its inscription dates the gilt bronze image in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 4.15) to 1439 in the Zhengtong period while we can date a bronze statue from the British Museum (fig. 4.16) to the Xuande period (1425-35) because of the pinwheel style of the five claws of the dragon on the robe.⁸⁵ Both of these figures and two of the Jindian Zhenwu's attendants have this same style of armor (figs. 4.8). Another bronze

⁸⁴ This is similar to Yongle's beard in his well known painted portrait. Some legends claim that the Jindian statue of Zhenwu was modeled on Yongle himself. However, the earliest account of this legend comes from an early seventeenth century text that claims that the origin of the legend only dates back to the Jiajing period. Wang Qi 王圻, *Baishi huibian* 稗史彙編, juan 133: 3a-4a, reprint edition from 1610 original (Taibei: Xin yu shuju ying wanli sanshiba nian keben, 1971). Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖 discusses this issue in *Mingdai renwu yu zhuan shuo* 明代人物與傳說 [Legends and People of the Ming Dynasty] (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1997): 87-127. Song Xiaozong (r. 1162-89) also reputedly had an image of Zhenwu fashioned to look like him (see chapter one of this study).

⁸⁵ Stephen Little mentions that this work resembles the 1486 Zhenwu statue in the Yanqing guan in Kaifeng (295 Taoism and the Arts of China). I have not been able to see that statue.

figure from the collection of Wang Shixiang (fig. 4.17) features the same style of armor and bears a close resemblance to the British Museum statue. Although the body of the Wang Shixiang Zhenwu is somewhat beefier in the shoulders, arms, and chest, it seems likely that this statue also dates to the early Ming.⁸⁶

Two other early Ming statues exhibit minor differences in the rendering of facial details, drapery folds at his chest, and décor on his robe while still conforming to the basic iconographic and stylistic template of the Jindian statue. The armor and robe on a Zhenwu statue in the collection of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg are rendered differently from our earlier examples. The Hamburg Zhenwu exposes armor in an incised design that may have once been inlaid with gold (fig. 4.18). Unlike our other examples, this figure tucks his hands in his sleeves while the drapery folds of his robe give the statue a sense of motion despite being seated in a low round-backed chair.⁸⁷ An inscription on the back of the chair reveals that this statue was commissioned by a group of families in 1424 for placement in a temple hall (fig. 4.19).⁸⁸ A bronze Zhenwu exhibited by Roger Keverne contains an inscription dating it to 1544 in the Jiajing period, also indicating that it was destined for a temple hall.⁸⁹ The Keverne Zhenwu sits atop a throne adorned with five dragons and his robe

⁸⁶ The hand gestures of Zhenwu statues vary considerably. These gestures do not conform to established Buddhist mudras nor do they correspond to Daoist *shouyin* 手印 (hand seals). There is not a particular set of hand gestures associated with Zhenwu and they do not aid in distinguishing him from other deities. Canonical texts, liturgical manuals, and secondary studies of these materials emphasize the dynamics of Daoist *shouyin* as used by officiants during ritual performances as more important than a single gesture. Recent scholarship on Daoist *shouyin* includes Mitamura Keiko, "Daoist Hand Signs and Buddhist Mudras" in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, eds., *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002): 235-55.

⁸⁷ The style of chair is similar to the one in *Wudang jiaqing tu* entry 7 (Xuandi shenghao).

⁸⁸ For an English translation of this inscription, see Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 292.

⁸⁹ The inscription indicates the statue was one of seven in a set. It seems likely that this set included this Zhenwu statue, the tortoise and snake, and the four basic attendants (flag and sword holders, jade maiden, and numinous official).

is decorated with a dragon extending above his belt, but no armor is exposed (fig. 4.20).⁹⁰ The beard for this statue is now missing; it was probably attached below the chin and has broken off. It seems likely that these variations are the result of the differing practices of regional workshops.⁹¹

The large imperially commissioned bronze statue of Zhenwu at the Jindian on Mt. Wudang set the standard for bronze statues of the god in the Ming. Most smaller bronzes share its basic features. The inscriptions that remain on several statues point to elite and communal patronage of these Zhenwu bronzes. Many were donated to temples and became objects of communal worship. Small-scale statues in other media demonstrate Zhenwu's expanding appeal as a personal tutelary deity whose image appeared in more private settings.

Porcelain and Stoneware Zhenwu Statues

A large number of porcelain and glazed stoneware Zhenwu statues have survived in museum and private collections. The sheer number of these images grants them a place in the history of representing Zhenwu. These statues were not usually made for a specific patron, but made in multiples for the market. Porcelain and stoneware statues are rarely inscribed with dates or other information. Auction catalogues are full of such images whose provenance and date are difficult to determine. Continuing demand from modern collectors

⁹⁰ These dragon throne adornments also appear in the Reijunji painting and Yongle's imperial portrait.

⁹¹ Because so few surviving Zhenwu statues have inscriptions that indicate the region for the patrons, artist, or workshop, it is difficult to discuss this issue further here. The limited evidence we do have tells us that workshops in Beijing, Kaifeng, and Hangzhou produced Zhenwu statues during the Ming.

has compounded the problem by providing a market for forgeries.⁹² Compared with painting and sculpture in other materials, connoisseurship and scholarship on ceramics is more limited. It has focused on vessels rather than statues.⁹³ These factors have discouraged the serious study of glazed stoneware and porcelain statues.⁹⁴ Acknowledging the challenges presented by this material, the following discussion addresses a few representative pieces of the major types of Ming ceramic Zhenwu images.

Smaller in size and more affordable than bronze images, ceramic Zhenwu statues were probably placed in household shrines or presented to local temples for community use. Like the use of brightly colored glazed tiles in architecture, the production of large glazed ceramic temple statues, is distinctively Ming.⁹⁵ While some of these large statues were fashioned using a yellow and green or *sancai* palette, *fahua* 法花 [designs with boundaries] wares tend to be smaller in scale and employ a palette of glazed cobalt blue, turquoise, and purple. Most of these pieces were produced in Shanxi province but some kilns in the south also produced *fahua* wares.⁹⁶ The Asian Art Museum in San Francisco and the British Museum each have a *fahua* statue of Zhenwu seated within a double-roofed shrine (fig. 4.21

⁹² Collectors or those with close relationships to them have written many of the books published on ceramics. As a result, most of these books do not focus on the problem of forgeries.

⁹³ Most ceramic publications have focused on imperial wares.

⁹⁴ A few recent books include more extensive treatment of ceramic and porcelain statues. Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming ceramics in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 2001); Rose Kerr, John Ayers, and Chuimei Ho, *Blanc de Chine: Porcelain from Dehua* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002); and He Li, *Chinese Ceramics: A New Comprehensive Survey* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996).

⁹⁵ Based upon surviving statues, the production of large glazed ceramic temple statues did not continue much into the Qing.

⁹⁶ Scholars believe that *fahua* wares were produced at Jingdezhen. Northern *fahua* pieces are low-fired stoneware while the southern pieces are classified as high-fired porcelains (*Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming ceramics in the British Museum*: 406-9 on *fahua*).

and 4.22).⁹⁷ Enshrining Zhenwu shows reverence for the deity while also serving the practical purposes of protecting the statue and allowing for flexible placement of the image.⁹⁸ Like the Ming bronze statues, Zhenwu appears seated with bare feet, long hair, and an entwined tortoise and snake at his feet. Both statues have similar features that distinguish them from the bronzes: he has an elongated torso and shortened legs, he wears a belt high on his chest and a cobalt blue robe, and his moustache and beard meld together extending to his belt with a slight curl. Because of his proportions, the god's hands rest on his knees instead of his thighs. His robe covers most of his body and there is not any indication of armor underneath. Epaulets adorn his upper arms and shoulders. The thicker glazes and gilding on the Asian Art Museum piece make it a relatively high-end example of this type of Zhenwu image. The construction and details of the British Museum work are comparable, with the face, hands, and epaulets in reserve biscuit rather than gilded. It seems likely that many of these works were made with reserve biscuit and then gilded for more high-end buyers. The size of these *fahua* shrines along with the effect of the deity's proportions and appearance give these pieces an accessible quality while suggesting placement on a table or low altar within a home or temple.

By the Ming, porcelain was being used for statues. Blue-and-white porcelain statues of Zhenwu exhibit some of the widest variations in quality, and a significant proportion of them are likely forgeries.⁹⁹ Most of the authentic images probably date to the sixteenth and

⁹⁷ Asian Art Museum, San Francisco: B60 P518; British Museum: 2003.7-29.1. Both shrines have a small shrine above Zhenwu with a small haloed Buddha figure inside. In addition, a pair of coiling dragons is positioned on the front sides of the shrine flanking Zhenwu.

⁹⁸ Other *fahua* statues of Zhenwu feature him seated on a base in front of a tripartite screen. Christies South Kensington, sale COR-8505, September 16, 1999, lots 388 and 389.

⁹⁹ A blue and white statue in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (B81 P55) supposedly dates to the Zhengde period (1506-21) but it is a fairly rough piece.

seventeenth centuries when the Jingdezhen kilns were less regulated and more commercialized.¹⁰⁰ Blue-and-white porcelain Zhenwu statues often combine elements found in bronze images with others more typical of *fahua* works. For example, a statue sold by Christies has a dragon on its robe and painted armor at the upper chest like some of the bronzes. The elongated torso, shortened legs, and hands over knees resemble the traits of the *fahua* statues (fig. 4.23).¹⁰¹ This combination in the Christies piece and other blue and white Zhenwu images give these statues a regal quality while also preserving a sense of accessibility and potential efficacy. The large hands and elongated torso gives the statue larger than life proportions and help to visually imbue the image with an enhanced ability to fulfill the wishes of believers.

One of the finest quality surviving blue-and-white images of the god is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 4.24).¹⁰² The statue's proportions are less exaggerated than many extant statues of this type. Its appearance is refined and regal with several somewhat unusual details. A vertically coiling dragon appears on Zhenwu's robe extending its head onto his chest above his belt.¹⁰³ The rest of the robe is decorated with a leaf pattern while dragons and bats are painted on the back of the throne, with additional dragons on the base of the piece just below the Wanli reign mark. The god's combined

¹⁰⁰ Harrison-Hall, *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming ceramics in the British Museum*: 19-25. Porcelains were in high demand from the courts of the Jiajing and Longqing eras, less so in the late Ming.

¹⁰¹ This piece has a Wanli six-character reign mark and the quality overall suggests a late Ming date for the statue. However, the head and the designs on the base of the statue raise doubts about this statue which could make it an early Qing piece. See Christies South Kensington, sale COR-8215, November 26, 1998, lot 639.

¹⁰² Accession number: 1979.785. Reproduced in Wu Tung, *Earth Transformed: Chinese Ceramics in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2001): 131.

¹⁰³ Bonhams recently sold a *fahua* image of Zhenwu with a similar style of dragon on the robe as well as a third eye (Asian Decorative Arts, April 30, 2007, sale 14801, lot 3297). This piece bears a striking resemblance to the Boston blue and white statue.

moustache and beard is relatively short, thick, and straight. He has a third eye on his forehead. The elegance of the face, posture, hands and feet give this image of Zhenwu a gentle and approachable quality suitable for the personal devotions of its owners.

Two main types of Zhenwu images in *longquan* celadon have survived.¹⁰⁴ In one case, he appears as an attendant of the South Seas Guanyin.¹⁰⁵ An example is a *longquan* shrine in the collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum that features Guanyin seated in the upper niche and Zhenwu seated in the lower niche (fig 4.25).¹⁰⁶ Both figures were once gilded and each has a pair of attendants. While Zhenwu and Guanyin are about the same size, Guanyin is elevated on a pedestal. Guanyin also appears larger because of the diminutive attendants. Zhenwu's attendants are comparatively taller. He appears seated with his characteristic long hair and bare feet along with an entwined tortoise and snake at his feet. Most likely because thin appendages were impractical in these statues, *longquan* figures do not have beards. His robe splays open at his chest to expose armor and his pose seems more casual with one hand on the upper thigh and the other hand by his side. This shrine reflects the integration of deities and beliefs traditionally associated with Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism into Chinese

¹⁰⁴ Longquan refers to the area southwest of Zhejiang province where the majority of these wares were produced in the Yuan and Ming. Production declined in the middle and late Ming and scholars agree that works from the early Ming (roughly up to the mid fifteenth century) are much higher quality than those made later in the Ming (see Ming Ceramics: 460).

¹⁰⁵ On South Seas Guanyin, see Glen Dudbrige, *The Legend of Miaoshan, revised edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Yu Chun-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). Other deities do occasionally appear as the main deity. For an example of a shrine with a Daoist central figure, see Jessica Harrison-Hall, "Representational Longquan Wares: The Making and Function of Yuan and Ming Dynasty Ceramics" *Apollo* (1997): 35, figure 8.

¹⁰⁶ Only a few longquan objects are inscribed with dates. There are two shrines dated to the Yongle period in the collection of the British Museum. One includes an image of Zhenwu in one of the niches; this piece will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. The other is listed in the previous note.

popular religion.¹⁰⁷ These shrines and other small statues demonstrate Zhenwu's appeal as a personal tutelary deity.

Other *longquan* celadon statues feature Zhenwu as a single seated figure on a rounded base. These individual statues leave the god's hands, feet, head, face, and chest in unglazed biscuit with the tortoise and snake integrated into the base (fig. 4.26).¹⁰⁸ In many ways, these figures look like chubbier, less refined versions of bronze Zhenwu images. However, his head resembles a square with rounded edges and his long hair is rendered like a skull cap with a long back flap or as a loose cloth hood. His robe splays open to reveal armor patterned with stylized pointy mountains. The drapery over the arms and legs is fairly clingy and suggests particularly rotund legs. As in the statue of the god within the shrine, these figures are casually posed with one hand in the vicinity of the thigh and the other near the belt or by the side. The informality of these statues suggests that they were worshipped in private homes.

Like many Cizhou stoneware figures, Zhenwu statues in this type of ware appear somewhat coarse in style.¹⁰⁹ Most are just under foot high and depict Zhenwu seated on a low square platform (fig. 4.27).¹¹⁰ His robe is painted in dark brown (almost black) with accents of

¹⁰⁷ Zhenwu also appears with Guanyin in works in other materials such as a wooden sculpture in the collection of the Field Museum in Chicago.

¹⁰⁸ The Art Institute of Chicago also has a *longquan* Zhenwu statue (1924.417). This statue is unpublished and I have not seen it.

¹⁰⁹ The name *cizhou* comes from the main area of production in Hebei province but this term applies to many northern stoneware objects (see *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*: 431-43 for brief intro). Despite their often folkly appearance, *cizhou* wares were not solely for the low end of the market. As Harrison-Hall points out, these wares were ordered by the imperial court and used by elites.

¹¹⁰ Only a few *cizhou* wares are inscribed with dates and none of them are statues. Based on comparisons with other *cizhou* statues, these Zhenwu statues seem to be on the upper end of the scale as far as quality and size. Scholars have generally dated higher quality works to the late Yuan through the middle Ming.

an orangy-brown at the sleeve and robe hems as well as to indicate armor on his upper chest. Zhenwu's face, hands, and feet are left white. Although the quality of the painting is not particularly fine, elegantly curved eyebrows, upper lid lines and a moustache and beard delineate Zhenwu's face. Instead of the epaulets that go over the shoulders and down the sides of the upper arms that we saw in fahua and porcelain images, these cizhou figures all have painted swirl designs that cover Zhenwu's shoulders and tuck under his arms. The Northern Dipper constellation sometimes appears on the upper arms of his robe.¹¹¹ The bodily proportions of these statues are fairly naturalistic with slightly oversized heads and hands. The tortoise and snake that appear at Zhenwu's feet are quite large compared with other types of statues. Cizhou statues of Zhenwu evince his substantial popular appeal in the Ming.¹¹²

Artists' signatures or seals on some Dehua, also known as *blanc de Chine*, statues and objects recovered from shipwrecks and tomb excavations provide a corpus of material dateable to the Ming.¹¹³ However, the long-term popularity of these objects has spurred the production of many forgeries complete with spurious signatures difficult to differentiate from authentic pieces. Most of the surviving images deemed authentically Ming probably date to the

¹¹¹ A Cizhou Zhenwu statue in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Art also includes this feature.

¹¹² Other popular cizhou statue subjects include Guanyin, Shoulao, and Wenchang. I use the term "popular" here and elsewhere in this study to refer to Zhenwu's widespread appeal among people from a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds. Thus "popular" refers to the prevalence of Zhenwu images among metropolitan elites and common people in more remote locales.

¹¹³ Many collectors have published books on their collections of Dehua porcelains. Two of the most extensive are P. J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine: The Porcelain of Tehua in Fukien* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969) and Robert Blumenfeld, *Blanc de Chine: The Great Porcelain of Dehua*. Most of Donnelly's collection is now held in the British Museum. Rose Kerr and John Ayers recent book is one of the few to systematically deal with the issue of connoisseurship of Dehua objects and how to detect forgeries and fakes. Their book focuses on works from the Hickley collection recently donated to the Asian Civilizations Museum in Singapore. Kerr and Ayers, *Blanc de Chine: Porcelain from Dehua*.

late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, while many Dehua Zhenwu images survive, none has a reliable signature or inscription to date the work. Several have stiff, deeply carved drapery folds that suggest a date in the late Ming. These works portray him seated on a rocky base but instead of pendant legs, he lifts his right leg up and flexes his foot while the foot of his left is also flexed with only his heel touching the ground (fig. 4.28). This kicking-while-seated pose is fairly common among other Dehua figures including Guandi.¹¹⁵ This pose along with the flying sleeves and hems of the god's clothing gives these statues a lively sense of motion.¹¹⁶ Zhenwu's arms and hands are also more animated than in statues in other materials. His right hand rests on his right hip with his pointer finger extended and his other fingers making a fist. His left arm crosses his body and he extends his hand palm downward as if to calm or suppress some force. More of the god's armor is exposed in Dehua statues. Not only do we see armor at his chest but also as his shoulders and thighs. A large, ferocious head is attached with a belt at his stomach. His long face has holes where hair was inserted for his moustache and beard. Despite his warrior attire and active pose, the tortoise and snake playfully emerge from the rocks below him. Unlike some Dehua wares, Zhenwu statues were made for the domestic market rather than for export. Particularly popular as personal tutelary gods, Dehua and other stoneware and porcelain statues of Zhenwu, Guanyin,

¹¹⁴ See Rose Kerr's essay in Rose Kerr, John Ayers, and Chuimei Ho, *Blanc de Chine: Porcelain from Dehua*.

¹¹⁵ For a similarly-posed statue of Guandi (possibly Caishen) dated to 1610, see S. J. Vainker, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain: From Prehistory to Present* (London: British Museum Press, 1991): 172. A somewhat atypical Cizhou statue of Zhenwu in the collection of the British Museum has a similar pose as the Dehua figures (OA F.2441). See *Catalogue of Late Yuan and Ming Ceramics in the British Museum*: 442, fig. 14:15.

¹¹⁶ Many Dehua figures embody this sense of movement either in their poses, flowing drapery, or the roiling waves on their bases.

and Guandi were produced in large numbers in the Ming and into the Qing to satisfy buyers and believers in these prominent deities in the pantheon of Chinese popular religion.

Conclusion

Imperial patronage of Zhenwu peaked in the Ming with donations of images of the god and other materials destined for temples on Mt. Wudang and Beijing. The Yongle emperor credited Zhenwu with helping him attain the throne and instigated a series of major construction and furnishing projects dedicated to the god. Many other Ming rulers, including the Jiajing emperor, also commissioned Zhenwu images and the refurbishment of temples dedicated to him. Imperial donations often took the form of groups of sculptural images comprised of a Zhenwu statue, several attendants, and a cadre of marshals. Two scroll paintings reflect this trend and their compositional and stylistic elements date them to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, probably as part of sets of ritual paintings.

Many bronze statues of ZW were donated to temples and became objects of communal worship. Small-scale statues in other media demonstrate Zhenwu's expanding appeal as a personal tutelary deity whose image appeared in more private settings. Stoneware and porcelain statues evince Zhenwu's role as a tutelary god and demonstrate his increasing prominence within the pantheon of Chinese popular religion along with other deities like Guanyin. These works were more affordable and their appearance emphasized the god's accessibility. With Zhenwu's ascendance in the Ming, workshops produced images of the deity for imperial patrons and those of more modest means. The proliferation of Zhenwu images

was not confined to the statues and paintings we have explored here. Zhenwu also appeared in series of images in woodblock-printed books that we examine in our next chapter.

Chapter Five

Manifestations, Miracles, and Interventions: Constructing Visual Narratives for Zhenwu

Zhenwu's popularity and ubiquity reached their peak in the Ming. Many images of the god produced during this time illustrate stories from Zhenwu's hagiography. These visual narratives not only elaborated on Zhenwu's previously established hagiography but also added new episodes from bygone and contemporaneous times. This chapter examines narrative images of Zhenwu from early to late Ming, beginning with the Yongle [1402-24] and Xuande [1425-1435] reigns and ending with the Wanli period [1572-1620]. An early Ming woodblock-printed collection of illustrated Zhenwu stories called *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang] is considered first. *Wudang jiaqing tu* provides a baseline for delving into the patronage and audience of two related works, *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming], an illustrated scripture from the Daoist canon, and a set of paintings known as *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses]. Mid-Ming dates are proposed for a remarkable piece of narrative sculpture and an undated edition of *Soushen daquan* 搜神大全 [Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]. Finally, we examine a late Ming illustrated edition of the vernacular novel *Beiyou ji* 北游記 [Journey to the North] that demonstrates how visual narratives of Zhenwu were adapted to appeal to a more widespread popular audience.¹

¹ I use the term "popular" here to refer to Zhenwu's widespread appeal among people from a wide variety of socio-economic backgrounds. In general, "popular" works reflect the tastes of ordinary people rather than elites. For a

The variety of artistic formats, quality, and style of these works provide evidence of the permeation of visual narratives of Zhenwu into many levels of society from the imperial court to common people. The subjects and themes shared among these works demonstrate the creation and circulation of new visual images that emphasized particular events and powers associated with Zhenwu for diverse audiences.

Like other widely worshipped divinities in China, Zhenwu's appeal was tied to his efficacy. As one of the most common signs of a god's favor, theophanies played a key role in encouraging and maintaining belief in a deity's effectiveness. People believed that a god visibly manifesting him or herself to human beings demonstrated the deity's ability to intervene on their behalf. Considered a miracle all on its own, a god's mere manifestation imparted blessings to those who witnessed it. People interpreted many theophanies as auspicious responses and some appearances involved the performance of miracles. Sightings of omens indicating a god's favor or warning also certified divine powers. The circulation of stories and depictions of divine appearances and omens played a key role in the transmission and spread of belief in a particular deity.

Zhenwu appeared in different guises to different people who viewed and understood him according to their own beliefs and experiences. Stories and depictions of the god that document these theophanies and miracles provided evidence of his efficacy. While important for the transmission and spread of belief in the deity, these accounts became even more powerful when artists illustrated them.

brief general discussion of Chinese popular religion and Daoism's shifting relationship with it, consult the introduction to this dissertation.

***Wudang jiaqing tu* [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]**

One of the largest extant collections of illustrated Zhenwu stories is the woodblock-printed book, *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang].² This work and two other works discussed in this chapter belong to the “pictures of auspicious events” genre usually indicated by the inclusion of one of the following Chinese terms: *jiaqing tu* 嘉慶圖 [pictures of joyful celebrations], *ruiying tu* 瑞應圖 [pictures of auspicious responses], or *lingying tu* 靈應圖 [pictures of numinous responses].³ The preface by Zhao Bi 趙弼⁴ is dated 1432 (seventh year of Xuande 宣德). Zhao writes that the creator of *Wudang jiaqing tu*, Xu Yongdao 徐永道,⁵ based this book on an earlier collection called *Qisheng jiaqing ji* 啟聖嘉慶記 [Record of Sacred Revelations of Joyful Celebrations]⁶ composed by four perfected masters (*si zhen shi* 四真師) with the surnames Dong 董, Zhang 張, Tang 唐, and Liu 劉. Zhang refers to Zhang Shouqing 張守清 (1254-1336), who served as superintendent (*tidian* 提點) of Tianyi Zhenqing gong 天一真慶宮 [Palace of the Celestial

² *Wudang jiaqing tu* in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61. For an extensive discussion of Mt. Wudang and imperial patronage of Zhenwu at the site, consult chapter four.

³ Of the best-known examples of *ruiying tu* is Song Huizong's *Xuanhe ruilan ce* 宣和瑞覽冊 [Album of Auspicious (Images Seen Overhead) in the Xuanhe Reign]. See Peter Sturman, “Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong.”

⁴ Zhao identifies himself as a man from Nanping 南平 (modern Fujian province). He refers to himself by his hao, Xue Hang daoren 雪航道人 [The Flying Snow Daoist].

⁵ The author of the preface sometimes refers to Xu using his hao, Zhencheng daoren 真成道人. I cannot find any more biographical information on Xu. Lin Shengzhi assumes that since *Wudang jiaqing tu* was published in Fujian, both Xu and Zhao were associated with the Zhengyi school—but he does not provide sufficient proof for such an assumption. See Lin Shengzhi 林聖智, “Mingdai daojiao tuxiangxue yanjiu: yi ‘Xuantian ruiying tu’ weili,” 明代道教圖像學研究：以《玄帝瑞應圖》為例 [Research on Ming Daoist Images: Using ‘Pictures of the Dark Emperor’s Auspicious Responses’ as an Example]: 164.

⁶ *Wudang jiaqing tu* preface, *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon], volume 32: 1021.

Unity] on Mt. Wudang during the late Yuan period.⁷ Tang Zhongyi 唐中一 and Liu Zhonghe 劉中和 were Zhang's disciples.⁸ Other records not only confirm the existence of this earlier collection of Zhenwu stories but also provide evidence of another illustrated predecessor to *Wudang jiaqing tu* called *Qisheng jiaqing tu* 啟聖嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Sacred Revelations of Joyful Celebrations]. Neither *Qisheng jiaqing ji* nor *Qisheng jiaqing tu* remain today, but seven prefaces for the latter are preserved in the Yuan book *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 [Chronicle of Supernatural Miracles and Numinous Revelations of the Emperor on High from the Dark Heaven].⁹ High-ranking Daoist priests Zhang Yucai 張與材 (? - 1316) and Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269-1346) authored these prefaces.¹⁰ Eminent literati Zhang Zhongshou 張仲壽, Zhao Bian 趙火卞,¹¹ Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348), and Bao Siyi 鮑思義, and the celebrated scholar-official and artist Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 also composed

⁷ Zhang Shouqing was also known as Zhang Dongyuan 張洞淵. Zhang used his title Tixuan miaoying taihe zhenren 體玄妙應太和真人 [Perfected Being of (the Mountain of) Supreme Harmony Miraculous Appearance Superintendent] to refer to himself in the preface he wrote for another book from Daoist canon, see *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen jingzhu* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神經註 [Commentary on the Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens] (DZ 398). See Franciscus Verellen and Kristofer Schipper, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004): 726.

⁸ For more on Zhang Shouqing and his disciples, see deBruyn, “Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs” [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]: 207-219.

⁹ For *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 (DZ 961), see *Daozang* 道藏 [The Daoist Canon] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 640-47. For a summary of several sections of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu*, see Chuang Hung-I, “Yuandai daojiao xuantian shangdi xinyang yanjiu 元代道教玄天上帝信仰研究 [Study on the Daoist God Xuantian shangdi during the Yuan Period]”: 139-44.

¹⁰ Zhang Yucai was the 38th Heavenly Master of the Zhengyi school. Wu Quanjie was the patriarch of the Xuanjiao 玄教 [Mysterious Teaching] school. A well-known handscroll painting in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (46.252) features fourteen portraits of Wu Quanjie. For a reproduction, see Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 220-21.

¹¹ Bian is not available as a character in my software. It is a single character composed of these two characters.

prefaces.¹² The high status of both Zhang Shouqing and the preface authors testifies to the importance of *Qisheng jiaqing tu* during the Yuan. In their prefaces, both Zhao Mengfu and Yu Ji explicitly credit Zhang Shouqing with creating *Xuanwu jiaqing tu* 玄武嘉慶圖. Additional details from the prefaces tell us that Zhang used *Xuandi shilu* 玄帝實錄 and *Qisheng jiaqing ji* 啟聖嘉慶記 as starting points for his *Qisheng jiaqing tu*.¹³ Zhang Zhongshou's preface tells us that *Qisheng jiaqing ji* contained only ten pictures. Although Zhao Bi's preface to *Wudang jiaqing tu* only mentions *Qisheng jiaqing ji*, the Ming author of *Wudang jiaqing tu* may have had access to *Qisheng jiaqing tu* as well.

Linking *Wudang jiaqing tu* with *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*

An examination of the story titles and sequence of *Wudang jiaqing tu* reveals another source for its content: *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啟聖錄 [Chronicle of Sacred Revelations of the Emperor on High of the Dark Heaven] (DZ 958).¹⁴ This text itself claims Song period authorship and purportedly reports on events that took place in the Song and earlier times. Many modern scholars have also traditionally attributed this text to the Song

¹² This is the same Yu Ji (aka Yu Bosheng) also wrote *Zhenwu xiang zan* [Praise for the Portrait of Zhenwu] that described Zhao Mengfu's dream about Zhenwu and his subsequent painting. For more on Yu Ji, see Sun K'o-k'uan, "Yu Chi and Southern Taoism during the Yuan Period," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981): 212-53. Zhang Zhongshou also wrote a colophon for He Cheng's painting of one of the Daoist sangan (the Divinity of Water) now in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.

¹³ Bao Siyi's preface mentions *Xuandi shilu* and Yu Ji's preface mentions *Qisheng jiaqing ji*. Both of these are Yuan works. An additional preface by Zhao Mengfu from another lost Yuan text, *Qisheng shilu* 啟聖實錄 mentions a work by Zhang Shouqing called *Jiaqing tu*. Zhao's text is preserved in Ren Ziyuan 任自垣, *Chijian dayue Taihe shan zhi* [Imperial Commissioned Gazeteer of the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony], juan 15; reprinted in *Mingdai Wudang shan zhi er zhong* 明代武當山志二種 [Two Ming Period Gazettes of Mt. Wudang]: 223.

¹⁴ For *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啟聖錄 [Chronicle of Sacred Revelations of the Emperor on High of the Dark Heaven] (DZ 958), see *Daozang* 道藏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 570-631.

period.¹⁵ More recently, Chuang Hung-I and Yang Lizhi have declared the text a work of the Yuan period,¹⁶ while Pierre-Henry deBruyn asserts an early Ming date for it.¹⁷ deBruyn's convincing analysis of the text highlights the reference to Zhenwu as the eighty-second incarnation of Laojun [Lord Lao] on the very first page of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. No known texts from the Yuan or earlier refer to Zhenwu in this way. The earliest known reference to Zhenwu as the eighty-second transformation of Laojun appears in the text of a stele composed during the Yongle reign of the Ming period.¹⁸ Although the prefaces preserved in *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* confirm the existence of pre-Ming collections of Zhenwu

¹⁵ Xu Daoling and subsequent modern Chinese scholars have generally accepted *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* as a Song text. Even John Lagerwey did not question the dating of this text in his article on Mt. Wudang, see Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang shan."

¹⁶ Although Chuang Hung-I's dissertation pointed out historical inconsistencies in the stories in the *qisheng lu*, he still accepted the text as dating from the Song. However, in his later article on Zhenwu in the Yuan, Chuang argued for a Yuan date for the text. See Chuang, "Yuandai dao-jiao xuantian shangdi xinyang yanjiu" 元代道教玄天上帝信仰研究 [Research on Belief in the Daoist Deity Emperor on High of the Dark Heaven During the Yuan Period]. Schipper also dates *qisheng lu* to the Yuan (see Verellen and Schipper, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*: 1200).

¹⁷ See de Bruyn, "Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs" [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]: 337-369 for an extended discussion of this text. In the end, he claims that the text dates to the early Ming around the time the Yongle emperor (reign ends in 1424), of Ren Ziyuan (1431), or slightly later. This disputes the assertions of Chuang Hung-I's dissertation that points out historical errors in the work but still dates it to the Song. deBruyn also disagrees with Yang Lizhi's dating of the work to the Yuan.

¹⁸ Two of the major texts concerning Zhenwu that contain Yuan period material are Liu Daoming's monograph, *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji*, and a collection of stele texts, imperial edicts and prefaces called *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu*; neither contains a reference to Zhenwu as the eighty-second incarnation of Laojun. For details of his research on Yuan texts, see deBruyn, "Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs" [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]: 346. The earliest reference to Zhenwu as the eighty-second incarnation of Laojun appears in a Ming stele text from the Wulong gong 五龍宮 [Palace of Five Dragons] at Mt. Wudang, for a transcription, see Ren Ziyuan 任自垣, *Chijian dayue Taihe shan zhi* [Imperially Commissioned Gazetteer of the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony], juan 13; reprinted in *Mingdai Wudang shan zhi er zhong* 明代武當山志二種 [Two Ming Period Gazetteers of Mt. Wudang] (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1999): 190.

stories, the version of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* that we have today was created in the early Ming, probably around the time of the Yongle emperor.¹⁹

Although *Wudang jiaqing tu* does not exactly duplicate the number and sequence of the 128 stories, the majority of titles used for its stories and images directly corresponds to those in the Ming collection, *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*.²⁰ The stories about Zhenwu contained in *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* break down into four major sequential groups: 1) stories concerning the god's conception and birth; 2) stories about his departure from home and his period of cultivation; 3) stories of his ascendance as a deity and his receipt of sacred titles and responsibilities; and 4) stories about miracles that the god performed for the benefit of the terrestrial world.²¹ The number of tales contained in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* surpasses that of *Wudang jiaqing tu* and all of the other extant illustrated collections.²²

¹⁹ Judith Boltz has suggested that chapters two through eight of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* come from a Northern Song period compilation (now lost) of stories about Zhenwu. Although this is possible, Song sources do not confirm this and the main evidence for this assertion appears in texts that date to the Yuan period or later. Chapter two of *Qisheng lu* mentions that Song Renzong donated a set of 104 pictures to a refurbished Zhenwu temple in 1057 (juan 2: 4b-5b). A panegyric to Zhenwu that appears at the end of the last chapter of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* (juan 8: 24a) also shows up in a Yuan text (*Wudang fudi zongzhen ji*, xia juan [third part]: 14b) where it is credited to Renzong. If such a Song collection of texts and images of Zhenwu existed, it seems likely that one of the erudite preface writers for the Yuan *Qisheng jiaqing tu* would have referred to it—and they did not. Because of the early Ming elements in the first chapter of *qisheng lu*, it is conceivable that the content of the allegedly Song chapters represents early Ming interpretations or fabrications of events in the Song. See Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*: 86. For more on Northern Song patronage of Zhenwu, see chapter one of this study.

²⁰ The count of 128 stories reflects the inclusion of all of the titles of the stories contained in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*.

²¹ Wang Yucheng made similar divisions in the subject matter of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*, see Wang Yucheng 王育成, "Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tu ce," 明永樂彩繪《真武靈應圖冊》 [The Painted Album, Numinous Responses of Zhenwu during the Reign of the Ming (Emperor Yongle)] *Dao Yun*, vol. 4 (1999): 21-22.

²² Chapter two of the *Qisheng lu* itself refers to a collection of 104 stories (possibly accompanied by pictures) that were allegedly collected in the Northern Song. This group was divided into five categories with a particular number of stories associated with each: national security (31), military success (13), weather control (16), healing of the sick (27), and prevention of floods, fires, and epidemics (17). *Qisheng lu*, 2: 5a. We cannot verify the existence of such a collection in the Song.

Appendix A includes charts that compare the stories from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* with *Wudang jiaqing tu*.

Fifty-nine of the titles of the stories in *Wudang jiaqing tu* match a sequence of four-character titles from the beginning to near the end of chapter three of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. Therefore, seventy-five percent of the stories in *Wudang jiaqing tu* come from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*.²³ The text for the stories with corresponding titles is also virtually the same in *Wudang jiaqing tu* and *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. However, the author of *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s preface, Zhao Bi, added his own poetic *zan* 贊 [ecomia] at the end of thirteen of the stories.²⁴ The first twenty-seven of these fifty-nine entries in *Wudang jiaqing tu* present a series of events that begin with Zhenwu's miraculous conception and birth as a human being. Next, we observe his precocious childhood and follow his departure from his home and parents to his stage of cultivation on Mt. Wudang. The following entries trace the god's ascent to the celestial realm; his audiences with several Daoist deities; his initial intervention on behalf of all beings living and dead; his receipt of sacred titles, paraphernalia and duties; and his reunion with his human parents to celebrate his achievements. Among the last thirty-two entries, eleven entries relate details of miracles that the deity performed for the benefit of the terrestrial world. In the remaining twenty-one entries from this last group,

²³ The identical titles in *Wudang jiaqing tu* come from entries 20 through 78.

²⁴ All of the stories with added *zan* come from the first three groups of Zhenwu stories outlined above. Zhao's *zan* accompany stories 19, 23-27, 29-30, 32, 34-36, and 40 in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. In most cases, Zhao signed the poems at the end using some variation of the phrase: *Xue hang daoren Zhao Bi . . . shu* 雪航道人 . . . 書 [Written by Zhao Bi, the Flying Snow Daoist]. In a few cases, he listed this phrase on the line immediately preceding his poem.

Zhenwu is briefly mentioned in the text but does not figure as prominently in the story and he does not appear in the accompanying illustrations.²⁵

Two factors point to the likelihood that the surviving version of *Wudang jiaqing tu* is incomplete. *Wudang jiaqing tu* mimics the titles and sequence of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* but it does not contain all 128 stories. *Wudang jiaqing tu* cuts off near the end of chapter three of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. If Xu Yongdao had intended to present only a selection of the stories from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*, it seems likely that he would have chosen some stories from later chapters. In addition, *Wudang jiaqing tu* ends abruptly with two stories unrelated to Zhenwu. Even if it had been intended as an abbreviated collection, Xu would probably have provided a more appropriate ending. *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* ends with a single story about Zhenwu's achievements and his receipt of additional titles.²⁶ The current version of *Wudang jiaqing tu* does not present this story.

Most of the entries in *Wudang jiaqing tu* follow the same format: a woodblock printed picture appears first on the right side of the folio page, followed by the text of the story it illustrates occupying the left side of the page.²⁷ The text page is ruled for twenty columns of text. Even though the text of each story does not usually fill all the columns, each picture fills

²⁵ Many of the stories from the last group relate tales of miracles that purportedly occurred in the Song period. However, as deBruyn and Chuang Hung-I have shown, the details of these stories contain historical inaccuracies that prove that these stories did not originate (nor did they occur) during the Song period. deBruyn's recent unpublished conference paper, "How to Understand Some Ostensibly Incomprehensible Miracle Stories of Zhenwu" also dealt with this issue (Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, 2004). In twenty-one entries of this last group, Zhenwu seems to have been plugged in to an existing story. He tends to act as a persuasive advocate for a variety of human petitions before the celestial court.

²⁶ The final story in chapter eight of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* is *Xu gong ci xian* 叙功賜銜 [Representing Merit and Bestowing a Title].

²⁷ Page numbers appear in the same column as the title for the text of the story. They are indented about one-quarter up from the bottom of the column.

up a space equal to the entire twenty-column spread. The title for each picture appears in a rectangular box in the upper right hand corner of the picture. The book's designers began with a standard template for a book illustration: the size of the title box is the same from picture to picture and it is larger than necessary to accommodate each four-character title. In most cases, the story's title also appears by itself indented about one-quarter from the top of the first line of the text (fig. 5.1).²⁸

The illustrations of *Wudang jiaqing tu* exhibit several common stylistic characteristics. The artist completely fills the space in each composition. From the top of each picture to the bottom and on either side, there are no blank areas (fig. 5.2). The entire space is filled with figures, landscape elements, buildings and walls, rays of light, and clouds. The artist also uses clouds to serve several standard purposes. Besides serving as filler throughout the picture, clouds are visual devices that artists regularly used in images that depict events from the hagiographies of a variety of holy figures. They give the picture a dreamlike quality, giving the viewer the feeling that he is glimpsing a sacred event. Clouds indicate the divine status of figures that appear upon them. Clouds also direct the viewer's attention to particular sections of the picture where activity is taking place. In addition, artists use clouds to cover sections of the landscape and buildings so that they do not have to convincingly depict every detail or render consistent perspective. Detailed elements establish a setting for each picture. Whether depicting a terrestrial or celestial scene, the artist provides architectural details such as painted balustrades, patterned floors and textiles, steps onto platforms and into pavilions

²⁸ In entries 22 and 44, the title only appears on the picture and is not repeating with the text of the story. In entry 7, the full title appears on the picture while only one character is used in the title preceding the story text. Entries 8 through 18 follow slightly different conventions and will be discussed below.

and halls, roofs, and canopies. The landscapes combine patterned rocks, textured mountainsides, and different varieties of trees.

Because of the decline in book publishing in the early Ming, we do not have many surviving works to compare with *Wudang jiaqing tu*.²⁹ The carefully carved, luxurious, multi-layered robes of the figures and the other details mentioned above tell us that *Wudang jiaqing tu* was a relatively high-end production. In the Song, Yuan and late Ming, Fujian publishers had extensive distribution networks for their books. It is possible that *Wudang jiaqing tu* circulated via some of these distribution networks in their diminished form of the early Ming.

Zhenwu's Guises in *Wudang jiaqing tu*

Wudang jiaqing tu's illustrations depict Zhenwu in several visually distinct guises reflecting progress through the stages of his career. The pictures and their accompanying stories create a personal narrative for Zhenwu. The illustrations use an assortment of familiar visual cues to help viewers understand and relate to these events from his career. *Wudang jiaqing tu* represents the beginning of his "life" where he appears as a newborn baby (fig. 5.3).³⁰ Zhenwu is depicted as a young boy in the following entries. He sits at a desk studying

²⁹ Few early Ming imprints survive and, as a result, the period has not been well studied. Cynthia Brokaw sums up the reasons for the early Ming decline in publishing saying, "The real check to commercial publishing came in the early Ming. The social disorder attendant on the fall of the Yuan and the dislocations of population commanded by Ming Taizu (r. 1368-98) in his drive to consolidate power disrupted both book production and book markets. Jiangnan, probably the largest market for books at the time, was the region hit hardest by early Ming policies, and a decline in demand from Jiangnan, exacerbated by a severe paper shortage, depressed output in the once-booming publishing center of Jianyang." See Brokaw, "The History of the Book in China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*: 24.

³⁰ *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s presentation of Zhenwu's "history" begins with entry 19 that depicts the foreign land (Jingle kingdom) where his parents lived. Then entry 20 depicts Zhenwu's miraculous conception. Since neither of these images actually feature an anthropomorphic image of Zhenwu, I begin my discussion with this entry, number 21.

(fig. 5.4), takes leave of his parents to go and cultivate the *dao* on Mt. Wudang (fig. 5.5)³¹ and kneels before his Daoist teacher (fig. 5.6). The teacher that sits before Zhenwu appears as a male Daoist deity or priest. However, the text refers to this being as a *yuanjun* 元君—a term usually used for female Daoist deities such as *Bixia yuanjun* 碧霞元君 [Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn]. This *yuanjun* wears the small Daoist cap and long, wide-sleeved robe. However, the *yuanjun* in this entry sits with his legs folded while his shoes sit on a rock in front of him. The pose and the position of the shoes are standard elements depicted in many East Asian Buddhist monk portraits.³² The designer of this image in *Wudang jiaqing tu* adapted the Buddhist monk portrait to represent a Daoist deity: instead of placing the *yuanjun* in a chair, he used flat-topped rocks in an outdoor setting. When Tiandi [Jade Emperor] presents Zhenwu with a sword, Zhenwu looks like a young man (fig. 5.7). He is taller and wears a wide-sleeved robe and a small cap. In the succeeding entries, the god appears garbed as a Daoist immortal. He is barefoot and wears a belt and shawl that are both made of leaves.³³ In several of the images, he sits on a grassy mat within a grotto (figs. 5.8 and 5.9) or on in a mountain setting (fig. 5.10). The god is even more emphatically represented in another illustration in his guise as a Daoist immortal: he appears with the well-known group of Eight Daoist immortals (fig. 5.9). Yet these images of Zhenwu do not present him as an incarnation

³¹ The idea that Zhenwu was a prince from an overseas land called Jingle 淨樂 and that he left home to go and cultivate the Dao on Mt. Wudang has obvious parallels with the hagiography of Sakyamuni.

³² While most monk portraits depict the sitter in a chair, a few open-air images echo the depiction of the *yuanjun*. One example is the fourteenth century portrait of the Chan master Zhongfeng Mingben in meditation under a pine tree (see Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* [Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, Supplementum 40, 1996]: 252).

³³ Entries 27 through 31.

of a particular immortal.³⁴ The artist combined features associated with a variety of Daoist immortals to depict Zhenwu in this guise. In each of these Zhenwu-as-Daoist-immortal images, he retains the sword he received from Tiandi in an earlier episode. In several entries his appearance echoes the iconography of a specific Daoist immortal known as Lu Dongbin (figs. 5.11, 5.12, and 5.13). The long, white, wide-sleeved robe; scholar's hat; and sword carried on the back are all associated with Lu (fig. 5.14).³⁵ Even though Zhenwu closely resembles Lu in these scenes, these images are not meant to assert that the god is an incarnation of Lu. The artist for these pictures was probably familiar with images of Lu and chose to mimic Lu's features to render Zhenwu in these scenes. The rustic immortal garb of leaves was not appropriate for these images since Zhenwu was no longer engaged in cultivating the *dao*. The artist needed to show the god as a distinguished figure with a sword on his way to the heavens, so he appropriated the established image of Lu for these images of Zhenwu. Subsequent images of the deity depict him in two more guises. He appears as a Daoist priest wearing a cloud-decorated robe and priest's cap (figs. 5.15, 5.16, and 5.17) and as an emperor wearing traditional mortar board headgear with strings of dangling pearls (figs. 5.18 and 5.19). Pictures that portray him in each of these particular guises tend to be grouped together. Thus viewers can more easily follow the god's progression and the accompanying changes to his appearance. However, none of these images of Zhenwu are visually distinctive. If these pictures were not contained in this collection or if they were separated from their

³⁴ For example, Zhongli Quan sometimes appears with a belt of leaves. A painting by Ming Zhe school painter, Zhao Qi in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art features Zhongli Quan with a leafy belt. See *Taoism and the Arts of China*, cat. 119: 322. Additional features that would identify a figure as Zhongli Quan (such as his loose robe exposing his ample belly and his double gourd) are not present in these images of Zhenwu.

³⁵ The most well known images of Lu Dongbin are in the Chunyang 純陽 Hall at Yongle gong. For background on Lu, see Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lu Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy*.

accompanying story, Zhenwu could easily be mistaken for any number of Buddhist, Daoist, or popular figures.

Zhenwu is only unmistakably identifiable in pictures where he appears in his guise as a warrior deity. Twelve illustrations render him in this guise (figs. 5.20-5.31).³⁶ Several elements that we see in the first image in the sequence (fig. 5.20) form the basic iconographic template for all of the pictures where he appears as a warrior deity. Zhenwu is depicted as a figure with long, loose hair, bare feet, and a long dark robe. He is attended by several figures: one bears his black flag and another holds the sheath for his sword. In other images from this group, the attendant holds the god's sword itself. Although the entwined tortoise and snake do not appear in this picture, their presence in all but one of the illustrations from this group also makes them part of Zhenwu's basic iconography.³⁷ His pose varies in the pictures. He appears standing in half of these pictures while he is depicted seated in the other half.³⁸ The presence or absence of a halo for the god also varies within this set. The first five of the sequence depict him as a haloed figure while the final seven pictures in the sequence of pictures of him as a warrior deity show him without a halo.³⁹ Thus neither his pose nor the presence of a halo is a crucial element in the basic iconographic template for Zhenwu as a warrior deity.

³⁶ These correspond to entries 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 52, 55, 58, 62, 72, 73, and 76.

³⁷ The entwined tortoise and snake appear in the pictures for entries 40, 41, 42, 52, 55, 58, 62, 72, 73, 76. The only pictures from this group of Zhenwu in his warrior deity guise that do not incorporate the tortoise and snake accompany entries 39 and 47.

³⁸ Zhenwu stands in the pictures for entries 39, 40, 41, 52, 72, and 73. Zhenwu sits in the illustrations for entries 42, 47, 55, 58, 62, and 76.

³⁹ Zhenwu appears haloed in entries 39, 40, 41, 42, and 47. He has no halo in entries 52, 55, 58, 62, 72, 73, and 76.

The majority of the scenes depicting Zhenwu as a warrior deity use diagonal compositions to convey a sense of motion and action.⁴⁰ Seven pictures place him in the upper right or upper left corners of the composition. In many of these, the god descends upon clouds to intervene in terrestrial matters. The clouds and the diagonal composition not only establish him as a powerful deity but also energize the scenes to give them a feeling of urgency (figs. 5.20, 5.21, 5.25, 5.29, 5.31).⁴¹ These images capture Zhenwu in active descent, often engaged in thaumaturgy. Other diagonally composed pictures where he appears in one of the upper corners may not convey a sense of immediate intervention, but they do effectively communicate his descent.⁴² These diagonally composed pictures featuring the god in his warrior guise emphasize his ability to intervene for people's benefit. By relating and depicting Zhenwu's specific accomplishments rather than a more general sense of his power to protect or exorcize, these entries in *Wudang jiaqing tu* gave viewers proof of his prior deeds and encouraged them to believe he might arrive in their time of need.

Elements in the *Wudang jiaqing tu* illustrations suggest that the artist had pictorial models to work from and that Daoist practitioners may have been involved in the initial creation of the pictures. The artist did repeat a few basic motifs such as the view into a palace hall (figs. 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5), but the majority of pictures are not formulaic.⁴³ Each picture appears carefully planned. Clusters of figures are not crowded together and the diverse elements in

⁴⁰ The following pictures employ a diagonal composition: 39, 40, 41, 47, 52, 55, 62, 72, 73, and 76.

⁴¹ In 39, 40, 55, 76, Zhenwu appears in the upper right corner. In 47, 52, 72, Zhenwu appears in the upper left corner. In 62, Zhenwu appears in the center left. In 73, Zhenwu appears in the lower right corner. In 41, Zhenwu appears in the lower left corner. In these latter two pictures, it seems likely that Zhenwu appears in the lower corners because he is making a report. In 41, Zhenwu appears before a *tianzun* and in 73, Zhenwu reports to a Song emperor.

⁴² See the pictures for stories 47 and 62.

⁴³ Entries 20, 21, 22, 23, 50, 53, 54, 58, 67, and 71 include the palace hall view.

each scene are all discernible despite the busy quality of the compositions. These factors suggest that the illustrators were used to working with complex narrative subjects and perhaps even that the compositions and details of many of the elements in the *Wudang jiaqing tu* pictures had been worked out in earlier versions of the illustrations. The preface mentions that Xu Yongdao collected money to carve *Wudang jiaqing tu*, but it seems unlikely that he had the means to commission artists to create sixty-one new compositions for his book.⁴⁴ The bulk of the illustrations in *Wudang jiaqing tu* probably reflect the efforts of Zhang Shouqing on his *Qisheng jiaqing tu*.

The illustration for *Ganlin yingdao* 甘霖應禱 [Sweet Rain in Response to Prayers] (fig. 5.24) exhibits such details while also demonstrating the consulting role of Daoist practitioners in determining the content of the pictures. This scene depicts a Daoist *jiao* [offering ritual] purportedly conducted to beseech Zhenwu to end a drought and bring rain.⁴⁵ Six Daoist priests and two acolytes appear before an elaborately arrayed altar table of plaques, offerings, musical instruments, and ritual implements.⁴⁶ The details and arrangements for the

⁴⁴ *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s preface claims that Xu based his book on *Qisheng jiaqing ji*. But we know *Qisheng jiaqing ji* only contained ten pictures (see earlier section on the prefaces to *Qisheng jiaqing tu*). Perhaps the preface sought to add weight to *Wudang jiaqing tu* by citing the older *Qisheng jiaqing ji* as its source rather than the slightly later *Qisheng jiaqing tu*.

⁴⁵ The first line of the text for this story claims that this ritual took place on Mt. Wudang during the Tang period. However, as mentioned above, research by deBruyn and Chuang Hung-I has shown that these stories are Ming period creations. The Ming writers of these stories set these events in the distant past on Mt. Wudang to provide a fictitiously lengthy and impressive history for Zhenwu and Mt. Wudang. As deBruyn has pointed out, many of these stories can be read as commentary on events in the Ming. See deBruyn, "Le Wudang shan: Histoire de récits fondateurs" [Mt. Wudang: A History of the Founding Texts]: 342-43.

⁴⁶ All of the priests gather around the end of the table wearing cloud-decorated vestments and priest caps. Each priest holds a *hu*. The main priest kneels and bows in front of the near end of the draped altar table. An acolyte kneels behind him tending to his robe. He and another priest kneel atop rectangular carpets. The altar table is divided into four main sections. The first section at the near end of the table contains an open text on either end of the table, two small bowls, and a *ruyi* scepter.

ritual setting in this picture suggest that Daoist practitioners with basic knowledge of ritual procedures may have advised the artist about how to render this scene.⁴⁷

Illustrating Ming Events at Mt. Wudang

Seventeen of the eighteen entries that begin *Wudang jiaqing tu* concern events that allegedly occurred at or near Mt. Wudang in 1412 and 1413—during the 10th and 11th years of Yongle emperor's reign in the early Ming period.⁴⁸ Appendix B features a chart listing titles and dates for these entries. As we saw in chapter four, the Yongle emperor (r. 1402-1424) was one of the most active and generous imperial patrons of Mt. Wudang. Many of the numerous construction projects that he sponsored took place during a six-year period from 1412-18.

Unlike the entries discussed so far, none of these entries correspond to stories from *Xuantian*

The texts likely contained scriptures, talismans, and incantations to be recited by the two officiating priests during the ritual. The main priest used the *ruyi* scepter to direct the ritual. In Daoist contexts, the *ruyi* scepter is also an identifying attribute of one of the Three Pure Ones, Lingbao tianzun. The *ruyi* scepter has other uses in secular contexts. One of the most basic of these is as a tool used by laymen during conversation.

A three-legged incense burner appears in the center of the second section of the table. Candles atop stands flank the incense burner. The third section consists of three plates of food offerings. Each plate sits atop a short stand and the offerings on each plate are piled up to form a triangular shape. Two *hu* vases with flowers sit on sides of the fourth section of the altar table. Three plaques are positioned at the far end of the table. Each of the engraved plaques sits on a wooden stand. The name of a deity appears on each plaque: Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 [Jade Emperor] in the center, Shangqing shangdi 上清上帝 [Highest Purity Emperor] on the right, and Taiqing shangdi 太清上帝 [Supreme Purity Emperor] on the left. Two musical instruments round out the ritual paraphernalia in the picture. A stone chime hangs on a stand to the left of the third section of the table and a large bell is suspended from a floor stand to the right of the table.

⁴⁷ Although *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s preface calls Xu Yongdao a Daoist, this probably means that he was a believer or practitioner rather than a priest. Zhang Shouqing, his disciples, and his priestly descendants would have had intimate knowledge of Daoist ritual procedures and may have contributed to the original composition of this picture. For more on texts that describe Daoist ritual implements and procedures, see Florian Reiter, Livia Kohn and Charles Benn.

⁴⁸ The one entry among these eighteen that does not take place during the Ming is entry 7: *Xuandi shenghao* 玄帝聖號 [Xuandi's Sacred Title]). It appears between the two groups of Ming images discussed below. For a discussion of entry 7 and its picture, see chapter four of this study.

shangdi qisheng lu.⁴⁹ The first entry is called *huangbang ronghui* 黃榜榮輝 [Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor]. The illustration features a large pavilion where people have gathered to look at an imperial edict posted on the wall. Although much of the edict's text is illegible in the painting, we can make out the date at the end: Yongle tenth year (1412), seventh lunar month, eleventh day (永樂十年七月十一日). Several other works preserve the text of this edict.⁵⁰ The textual portion of each of the other entries also mentions a specific date from 1412 or 1413.

We can divide the following sixteen entries into two groups. The first group of five entries reports on visible auspicious responses that do not involve Zhenwu appearing in anthropomorphic form. Each entry in the first group tells a story that culminates with the appearance of an auspicious sign. Such signs involve the appearance of a swirling black cloud in the sky, sightings of *qianlin* 靄林 trees or betel nut plums 榔梅,⁵¹ and the discovery of a beam of wood or a metal bell floating in the water.⁵² Compared with the illustrations from the rest of *Wudang jiaqing tu*, these four pictures employ more distant perspectives.

⁴⁹ Even though we now consider *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* to be a text created in the early Ming period, it does not have any of these accounts.

⁵⁰ See Ren Ziyuan 任自垣, *Chijian dayue taihe shan zhi* 敕建大嶽太火山志 [Imperial Commissioned Gazetteer of the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony], juan 2 (in section on Ming imperial edicts); reprinted in *Mingdai Wudang shan zhi er zhong* 明代武當山志二種 [Two Ming Period Gazetteers of Mt. Wudang] (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1999): 20.

⁵¹ Entry 29 (*zhemei jilang* 折梅寄榔 [Breaking the Plum (Branch) and Putting it in a Betel-nut Tree]) of *Wudang jiaqing tu* describes and illustrates the occasion where Zhenwu first created these horticultural phenomena on the mountain. During Zhenwu's period of cultivation on Mt. Wudang, he broke off a branch from a plum tree and grafted it onto a betel-nut tree. This hybrid tree bloomed and produced fruit once he achieved the dao. Subsequent sightings of the blossoms and fruits of the tree were considered auspicious signs of Zhenwu. The text accompanying the picture for *zhemei jilang* notes that the blossoms and fruit appeared in abundance during the spring of 1413. People believed that the leaves of these *qianlin* 靄林 [soaring grove] trees could cure many illnesses.

⁵² The beam became the main roof beam (*da liang* 大樑) for the main hall of Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 [Palace of the Jade Void]. The bell was also used at Yuxu gong.

Landscapes dominate the compositions: the mountainous terrain swallows up most buildings and human figures are diminutive. In most cases, we see the sketchily drawn figures responding to the appearance of the auspicious sign. Some figures point in the direction of the phenomena while others bow.

Only one picture in this group (fig. 5.32) portrays its auspicious sign as a response to human activities conducted within the same composition. Daoist priests and some officials gather for the reading of an imperial proclamation honoring Zhenwu. A small table arrayed with offerings is positioned in front of a temple building. A black cloud appears in the upper right hand corner of the picture. Zhenwu's response, the black cloud, appears along with the human participants.⁵³ The setup for this occasion is modest compared to the more elaborate setup for the *jiao* depicted another illustration described above. An incense burner, two flower vases, and two candles sit atop a small table. Two pairs of Daoist priests wearing priestly vestments and caps are positioned on the outer edges of the group of figures. In the center, two of the three figures dressed in official robes and headgear appear to be the ones conducting the proceedings. According to the accompanying text, the two officials are the Marquis of Longping, Zhang Xin 隆平張信 and Commandant-escort, Mu Xin 駙馬都尉沐昕. Both men had strong connections to the Yongle emperor and traveled to Mt. Wudang to help manage construction projects at his request.⁵⁴ These events in front of the Yuxu gong

⁵³ The accompanying text for the picture for *heiyun ganying* indicates that people saw a flag and a black robe in the black cloud. However, these are not clearly discernible in the surviving edition of this print (there are some losses to the cloud in the upper right hand corner).

⁵⁴ Zhang Xin was the adopted son of Zhang Yu who was a famous general who died in the battle that allowed Yongle to usurp the throne. Mu Xin was the son of Mu Ying who was a prominent official during the (Ming) Hongwu reign. Mu Xin married Princess Chang Ning who was one of the Yongle emperor's daughters. Zhang Xin also appears in the illustrations for entries 3, 5, and 6.

occurred during the early stages of Yongle's construction projects on Mt. Wudang.⁵⁵ Like the other four entries in this group, the main goal of this entry is documentation—what happened, where and when did it happen, what did it look like, and who was there.

The second group of eleven entries at the beginning of *Wudang jiaqing tu* relates occasions when Zhenwu materialized anthropomorphically. The texts that accompany each of these entries are much more terse than those in the rest of the book—each merely designates a date and a brief physical description of the respective Zhenwu sighting. The entries proceed in chronological order. The earliest between both groups of entries is the twenty-fifth day of the fifth lunar month in the tenth year of Yongle (1412). The last entry occurs on the latest date: the nineteenth day of the eighth lunar month of the eleventh year of Yongle (1413).⁵⁶ When several sightings occurred in a single day, the order of the entries corresponds to the passage of time during that single day. The episodes in this group correspond to the start and completion of construction on the great roof (*da ding*) of the main hall of Yuxu gong [Palace of the Jade Void] on Mt. Wudang.⁵⁷

As in the first group of illustrations, the landscape of Mt. Wudang provides the setting for these pictures. But in the anthropomorphic group of entries, landscapes are confined to the lower half of each composition. In all but one picture in this group, Zhenwu appears suspended

⁵⁵ Text lists the date for the events as the 18th day of the 9th lunar month in the 10th year of Yongle (1412). The date for the edict depicted in the first illustration of *Wudang jiaqing tu* carries a date about two months earlier: 11th day of the 7th lunar month in the 10th year of Yongle.

⁵⁶ Although they contain dates within their texts, the entries in the first group (2-6) are not in chronological order.

⁵⁷ It is difficult to see evidence of tangible progress on the project in the pictures. However, the first three pictures (8, 9, 10) give us a view of several buildings in the temple complex while later pictures seem to depict a single building at the top of the mountain. The illustrations 9 and 10 show a winding path leading down from the peak. This probably represents the seventy-kilometer long spirit path (*shen dao* 神道) constructed around this time.

on clouds above a high peak flattened at the top.⁵⁸ At the top of the peak a temple complex surrounded by a balustrade represents Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 [Palace of the Jade Void] located on the highest peak of Mt. Wudang, Tianzhu 天柱峰. An image of the god surrounded by a double-ringed halo occupies the upper half of each picture and serves as the focus of the composition. His appearance dwarfs the landscape below. Whether he appears with white clouds or black clouds, viewers get a close-up view of the deity.⁵⁹ In these pictures, the god wears a black robe and has long, loosely flowing hair. The majority of images depict him standing in three-quarter view with the clouds covering his legs and feet (figs. 5.33-5.40).⁶⁰ He and a sundry combination of attendants hover above the peak.⁶¹ These pictures do not convey a sense of motion like the diagonally composed pictures from *Wudang jiaqing tu* that we discussed above. The deity does not wield his sword. His hands are tucked inside his sleeves in front of him. He is not depicted actively intervening in human affairs, he simply appears. As the titles of each of these illustrations suggest, the aim of these pictures is to document and

⁵⁸ The illustration for entry 11 shares the same basic composition as the other pictures in this group. But its setting features two temple buildings tucked into the rocks low in the foreground of the picture. The text for this entry says that, on this occasion, Zhenwu appeared near the site of construction for Zixiao gong [Palace of Purple Tenuity]. This actual location of this temple was further down the mountain than the complex for the Yuxu gong represented in the other pictures in this group.

⁵⁹ The god appears with white clouds in entries 8-11 and with black clouds in entries 12-18.

⁶⁰ Zhenwu appears this way in entries 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18. He is seated in the illustrations for entries 9, 11 and 16.

⁶¹ In the first (entry 8) Zhenwu appears by himself. Subsequent illustrations depict Zhenwu with a variety of combinations and configurations of attendants. The most common configuration features Zhenwu with two attendants but their attributes and positions vary. Sometimes two attendants flank Zhenwu. At times the pair is one sword-holding attendant and one flag-bearing attendant (entry 11 and 15). On other occasions, a pair of figures clad in long robes and crowns accompanies Zhenwu (entry 10, 12, 16). Entry 9 features four of the robed figures. Zhenwu appears with only one robed attendant in entry 18. Entry 14 portrays a male and female attendant for Zhenwu. In one case (entry 13), we find a pair composed of the sword-holding attendant and a robed figure. The tortoise and snake accompany Zhenwu in only one picture (entry 11).

transmit Zhenwu's appearances on a specific series of occasions.⁶² Like the illustrations for the first group of entries, the goal for this second group of pictures is documentation. But, in this case, the pictures emphasize the physical appearance of Zhenwu—what he actually looked like on the occasion. These pictures and textual descriptions communicate a clear and intimate image of the god to viewers.

Both groups of pictures from the beginning of *Wudang jiaqing tu* exhibit divergent compositional styles and content compared with the pictures in the remainder of *Wudang jiaqing tu*. Perhaps the narrative content warranted such differences. Or perhaps the beginning entries were conceived at a different time than the remaining entries. The first eighteen entries in *Wudang jiaqing tu* were probably added to update a set of entries from the now-lost Yuan collection, *Qisheng jiaqing tu*.

In placing the entries that relate Ming events at the beginning of the collection, Xu Yongdao sought to emphasize these events that occurred at Mt. Wudang for Ming audiences. He reinforced the legitimacy of the Ming dynasty by inserting the entries depicting auspicious signs that occurred during the imperially sponsored construction of temples on Mt. Wudang. In his preface for *Wudang jiaqing tu*, Zhao Bi writes that the overall purpose of the book is to give people the opportunity to know Zhenwu's miraculous manifestations and achievements from ancient times until today. Zhao states that for people who see the pictures in *Wudang jiaqing tu*, it will be like they are seeing the events in person. He goes on to ask, "if records and pictures cannot record them, how can people who live far from Wudang (shan) know

⁶² All but one of the illustrations' titles uses the phrase *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifest Response of the Heavenly Perfected]. Here Tianzhen refers to Zhenwu.

auspicious events like these?”⁶³ In addition to serving to encourage and strengthen others’ belief in Zhenwu and his powers, *Wudang jiaqing tu* also generated merit for its creator Xu Yongdao.⁶⁴

We have traced the content of *Wudang jiaqing tu* to a wide variety of sources including illustrated collections from the Yuan, Ming hagiographies with elements purporting to date back to the Song, and sightings during Ming imperial construction projects on Mt. Wudang. Hagiographic stories about Zhenwu and pictures illustrating those tales draw on familiar tropes and visuals from Daoist, Buddhist, and popular traditions and linked to authors and sponsors from clerical, lay, elite and popular backgrounds. The inclusion of the series of the god’s miraculous appearances at Mt. Wudang in the early fifteenth century and their placement at the beginning of the collection points to the increasing influence of official imperial sources on *Wudang jiaqing tu* and other collections from the Ming.

***Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming]**

Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] is an

⁶³ Zhao also explicitly mentions that the first of Xu Yongdao’s reasons for creating the collection was to demonstrate the virtue and merit of the Ming and to wish the country (and the dynasty) a life as long as Mt. Wudang. Preface for *Wudang jiaqing tu* by Zhao Bi, see *Zangwai Daoshu*, volume 32, p. 1021.

⁶⁴ The goals laid out for *Wudang jiaqing tu* in the preface are similar to those often stated for compilers and distributors of *baojuan* 寶卷 [precious volumes] and *shanshu* 善書 [morality books] concerning other deities. A later section in this chapter discusses *baojuan* concerning Zhenwu.

illustrated work preserved in the Daoist canon (DZ 959)⁶⁵ that presents the same series of Ming events contained in *Wudang jiaqing tu*.⁶⁶ Although the project to compile and publish a new edition of the Daoist canon was not completed until 1444, the Yongle emperor instigated the project in 1406. Led by Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364-1427), Zhengyi school priests probably created *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* between 1413 and 1418 at the request of the Yongle emperor.⁶⁷ The events in the pictures occurred in 1412-13 and Yongle's Mt. Wudang construction projects ended in 1418. The text of an imperial stele commemorating the conclusion of the Yongle-sponsored construction projects appears at the beginning of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.⁶⁸ Records mention that Yongle was presented with a work called *Taihe yuanguang tu* 太和圓光圖 [Pictures of Haloed (Appearances) on the Mountain of Supreme Harmony] in 1413.⁶⁹ Although *Taihe yuanguang tu* does not survive, its title and date of presentation suggest that it was one of the models for *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* in 1988 Daozang reprint, volume 19, p. 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang*, vol. 30, p. 706-14. For a basic overview of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*, see Wang Ka 王卡, "Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu muji ji" 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄目擊記 [Record of an Examination of the Illustrated Record of the Auspicious Events of Xuantian shangdi in the Great Ming] *Dao Yun*, vol. 4 (1998): 2-19. For a more detailed study, Lin Shengzhi 林聖智, "Mingdai daojiao tuxiangxue yanjiu: yi 'Xuantian ruiying tu' weil" 明代道教圖像學研究：以《玄帝瑞應圖》為例 [Research on Ming Daoist Images: Using 'Pictures of the Dark Emperor's Auspicious Responses' as an Example]: 131-94.

⁶⁶ *Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* contains seventeen pictures that each have an accompanying text. These correspond to the sequence of entries 1-6 and 8-18 in *Wudang jiaqing tu*.

⁶⁷ Zhang Yuchu was the first head of the Daoist canon compilation project in the Ming. After his death in 1410, his younger brother Zhang Yuqing was appointed to the same position and charged with the project. Zhang Yuqing's other duties may have involved appointing Daoist priests to temples throughout the realm.

⁶⁸ See *Yuzhi dayue taihe shan dao gong zhi bei* 御製大嶽太和山道宮之碑 [Imperial Stele for Daoist Palaces (on) the Great Mountain of Supreme Harmony] dated Yongle 16th year, 2nd lunar month, early on the 3rd day (1418) in *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*, 1-3 第 (1988 *Daozang*, vol. 19: 632; *Zhonghua Daozang*, vol. 30, p. 706.)

⁶⁹ *Ming Taizong shilu* [Veritable Records of Ming Taizong, aka Yongle].

⁷⁰ It seems likely that *Taihe yuanguang tu* contained eleven images of Zhenwu appearing above Mt. Wudang in a large halo—similar to those in *Wudang jiaqing tu* (8-18) and *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tu* (7-17).

While *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* shares its content with part of *Wudang jiaqing tu*, the circulation and audience for *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* was much more limited. The Yongle emperor probably commissioned *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*. He and the imperial court formed the original audience for the work. A series of imperial edicts, decrees and the commemorative stele text precede the sequence of pictures and texts. Thus the entire contents of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* concern activities and events that happened at Mt. Wudang during Yongle's reign.⁷¹ Some scholars have asserted that the book served as imperial propaganda.⁷² While accounts and depictions of the events presented in the imperial work did circulate throughout the realm, there is little evidence to suggest that *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* itself was reprinted and distributed beyond its inclusion in the Zhengtong Daoist canon. Circulation and access to the Daoist canon was limited to high-ranking Daoist priests, high officials, and some elite lay people. Lin Shengzhi suggests that Xu Yongdao may have had access to *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*, either through his connections with Zhengyi school priests working on the compilation of the Daoist canon and/or through Fujian print workshops who were commissioned to print the canon.⁷³ So although *Wudang jiaqing tu* circulated more widely, the ultimate source for its descriptions and pictures of Ming events may have been *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.

⁷¹ Although two of the edicts mention the Yuan superintendent of Mt. Wudang, Zhang Shouqing, the earliest edict dates to 1405.

⁷² See Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 305.

⁷³ Lin Shengzhi, 163.

The textual and pictorial content of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* and the Ming entries in *Wudang jiaqing tu* are the same.⁷⁴ But the differences in format, pictorial style, and calligraphy of the two works reflect different publication motives and intended audiences. *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*'s format follows a scriptural model. The text for a single episode often continues across multiple pages, breaking wherever space dictates. Although the corresponding picture appears at the beginning of each episode, it does not occupy a consistent position on the page.⁷⁵ The title for each picture is positioned next to its upper right corner (fig. 5.41).⁷⁶ As an imperially commissioned work intended to be preserved for posterity in the Daoist canon, the style of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*'s calligraphy and pictures is more refined and elegant than *Wudang jiaqing tu*. The characters in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* are rendered in standard script (*zhengkai* 正楷) style of calligraphy characterized by thickly-brushed, evenly balanced characters. The book's pictures feature finer linear details in water, rocks, buildings, and figures. The blacks in the pictures are strikingly dark, drawing special attention to Zhenwu's black robe, flag, and the black clouds that support him.

Although the pictorial compositions of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* and *Wudang jiaqing tu* are very similar, shifts in perspective and certain details of the pictures signal the different audiences for the two works. All of the illustrations in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*

⁷⁴ The sequence of entries 1-6 and 8-18 in *Wudang jiaqing tu* corresponds to the seventeen pictures with accompanying texts in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.

⁷⁵ Each picture appears to the right of the beginning of each textual passage. Sometimes the picture is on the right half of the page and sometimes on the left half.

⁷⁶ But because of page constraints, these titles do not always end up on the same page as the picture. For instance, the title for *hei yun gan ying* appears as the last line on the far left of one page while its accompanying picture appears on the following page.

employ a more distant perspective than their counterparts in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. In the first six non-anthropomorphic pictures of *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*, the relative size of the figures in relationship to the buildings and landscapes is the same as in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. But these illustrations in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* employ a deeper and more distant perspective. The buildings and mountains are further away from the foreground (figs. 5.42 and 5.43). Several key details in the illustrations for *huangbang ronghui* [Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor] and *heyun ganying* [Efficacious Response of a Black Cloud] in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* stand out as different from those in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. The wall of the imperial edict pavilion is blank in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*'s illustration (fig. 5.44). The text of the edict that was written on the pavilion wall in *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s picture does not appear anywhere in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.⁷⁷ The emperor, his court, high officials, and Daoist priests did not need to see the text of any edict in the picture. Such viewers were well aware of Yongle's sponsorship of projects on Mt. Wudang. Besides the edicts at the beginning of the imperial book, a plethora of edicts concerning Yongle's Mt. Wudang undertakings were available to these constituents. The illustration for *huangbang ronghui* in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* was not intended to convey meaning on its own, apart from its textual explanation or from the remaining series of episodes in the book. On the other hand, literate and illiterate viewers of the corresponding picture in *Wudang jiaqing tu* could understand the meaning conveyed in the image with or without its accompanying text or that of the other entries in the book. These viewers would probably not be familiar with the details of Yongle's construction

⁷⁷ The textual passage for *huangbang ronghui* in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* does not mention the date of the edict. It only mentions that an edict was posted on an auspicious gengzi day in the ninth lunar month of the tenth year of Yongle.

projects, edicts, and events at Mt. Wudang. Even if viewers of the *Wudang jiaqing tu* picture could not read the edict they would recognize the significance of the writing on the wall.

In *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*'s version of *heiyun gangying*, we can see the outline of a sword, a flag, and even the outline of a standing robed figure in the black cloud hovering over the temple (fig. 5.42). If those details are present in *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s picture, they are not discernible. The rich black of the cloud combined with the fine line drawing in the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* picture allows the artist to effectively convey these details. Viewers of the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* picture see the figures and offering table from further away. There are additional figures in the foreground of the picture and a robed figure wearing an official's hat stands in the center of the group.⁷⁸ In the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* version of this scene, the clothing and headgear of three figures in front of the table does not very clearly distinguish them from the Daoist priests in the scene. In addition, the priests do not wear their distinctive cloud-patterned robes as they do in the *Wudang jiaqing tu* picture. The more distant perspective and the formal positioning of the figures gives the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* picture a static quality. With just a few changes to the details and perspective, the same scene as illustrated in *Wudang jiaqing tu* seems more lively and gives the viewer the sense that the figures are engaged in activities that have prompted Zhenwu's black cloud to appear. Like *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s version of the *huangbang ronghui* picture, its version of *heiyun ganying* visually conveys the narrative of the episode for a wide range of viewers.

The impact of the shifts in perspective and details on viewers is even more pronounced in the pictures of Zhenwu's anthropomorphic appearances in *Xuantian shangdi*

⁷⁸ This figure appears in the lower left hand corner of the corresponding illustration in *Wudang jiaqing tu*.

ruiying tulu (figs. 5.45-5.55) and *Wudang jiaqing tu* (figs. 5.32-5.40). Depicted from a more distant and deep perspective, the triangular mountain peaks that appear amidst the clouds are spaced farther apart from one another in the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* pictures. The temple buildings sitting atop the central mountain are miniscule. In these *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* pictures, Zhenwu's deep black robe and hair make him stand out in the composition. The high contrast of the rich black cloud under Zhenwu in the last seven pictures has a similar effect. The viewer's eye is drawn to Zhenwu because of his position in the large halo in the center of the composition and the rich black details of his hair and robe. But in the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* pictures, Zhenwu seems dignified and distant. In both the *Wudang jiaqing tu* and *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* images of Zhenwu above Mt. Wudang, he is depicted with the high forehead and dark, upward-slanting eyebrows often associated with the physiognomy of a deity (or an emperor). Viewers get a much closer view of the god in the *Wudang jiaqing tu* pictures, he inspires awe in a way that feels much more immediate to viewers than in the corresponding pictures in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*. The rendering of Zhenwu's hair in the versions of these illustrations in the two collections is another detail that achieves different effects on viewers. In the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tu* pictures, the god's long hair is deep black and clings closely to his head and down his back. In most of the images, we see only a few wisps of his hair pulling away from his robe on his back (figs. 5.51 and 5.55). In *Wudang jiaqing tu*, the deity's long hair is exaggerated in all of the images of him. His hair flares out from the back of his neck all along the back of his robe (figs. 5.33 and 5.35).⁷⁹ This rendering of his hair draws viewer's attention to it and adds a sense of movement

⁷⁹ Even in seated images of Zhenwu in *Wudang jiaqing tu*, we see his hair flaring out from behind Zhenwu to his

to these images. The use of these different conventions for depicting the gods hair in the *Wudang jiaqing tu* pictures provides added immediacy to these images. In the *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* pictures, Zhenwu and his attendants are carefully contained within double-ringed or single-ringed halos.⁸⁰ The consistent use of double-ringed halos for all the anthropomorphic images of the god in this section of *Wudang jiaqing tu* and the overlap of the figures with sections of the halos also give these pictures added impact.

Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu and *Wudang jiaqing tu* both relate episodes when auspicious responses from Zhenwu were reported at Mt. Wudang in 1412-13 during a key phase of the Yongle-sponsored construction projects. While both collections served to document these events, the different styles and levels of distribution of *Wudang jiaqing tu* and *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* demonstrate the divergent aims of their creators. *Wudang jiaqing tu*'s distribution and appeal to a variety of audiences helped it to achieve its primary proselytizing aim: to help spread belief in Zhenwu by showing people events from his hagiography and images of his auspicious responses and appearances on Mt. Wudang during the Ming. Designed primarily to document and preserve Zhenwu's responses to Yongle's construction efforts, *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* appealed to the taste of imperial viewers and the emperor himself.

sides (see entry 16 of *Wudang jiaqing tu*). The rendering of Zhenwu's hair in the last two images of him in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* is similar to that of *Wudang jiaqing tu*.

⁸⁰ The first four anthropomorphic images of Zhenwu in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* have double halos. The remaining seven images feature Zhenwu in a single halo (and on black clouds).

***Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses]**

Remnants from an album of paintings known as *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses] overlap in content with *Wudang jiaqing tu* and *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*.⁸¹ Eighty-two paintings and eighty-three textual passages survive—each occupying their own leaf.⁸² Because the titles for the pictures and texts match the titles that appear in *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*, *Wudang jiaqing tu*, and *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu*; we can determine a likely order for the leaves.⁸³ Seventy-eight titles from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* directly correspond to the sequence of stories in *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. Unlike *Wudang jiaqing tu* that mirrored the content of only *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*'s first three chapters, *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* incorporates titles from all eight chapters. Fifty-one stories from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* are not represented in the album. These “missing” stories come from each of the chapters.⁸⁴ So we can surmise that *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* once consisted of paintings and texts for all 128 stories in *Xuantian shangdi*

⁸¹ The modern Chinese scholar Xu Bangda 徐邦達 assigned this title to the album on the occasion of its auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998. An unknown private collector purchased the album.

Before the album passed into private hands, Wang Yucheng 王育成 had the opportunity to examine the leaves and published an article transcribing several of the textual passages and describing some of the paintings. My analysis relies on his report and eighteen black-and-white reproductions of paintings from the album. See Wang Yucheng, “Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tu ce” 明永樂彩繪《真武靈應圖冊》 [The Painted Album, *Numinous Responses of Zhenwu during the Reign of the Ming (emperor) Yongle*].

⁸² Each leaf of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* measures about 28 x 28 cm (11 x 11”). The leaves with the textual descriptions are slightly larger than those with the paintings.

⁸³ Even though the album is not bound and the pages do not have any markings to indicate the order of the leaves.

⁸⁴ The breakdown of stories from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* that are missing from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* is: ten from chapter one, eight from chapter two, six from chapter three, eight from chapter four, five from chapter five, seven from chapter six, six from chapter seven, and two from chapter eight. The missing titles do not suggest a conscious choice by an artist or patron to exclude particular episodes.

qisheng lu. The remaining four paintings and five texts from the album correspond to the Ming events addressed in *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* and *Wudang jiaqing tu*. Because selections from the album integrate titles from the Ming non-anthropomorphic and anthropomorphic auspicious responses of Zhenwu at Mt. Wudang, it also seems likely that *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* once featured all eleven pictures and texts from this group. Appendix C includes charts that compare the entries from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* with those of the other two collections.

The textual, compositional, and pictorial variations in *Zhenwu lingying tu ce*'s pages suggest that it represents a slightly earlier, parallel tradition to the woodblock-printed collections and the Zhengtong Daozang version of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*. Although the titles for the texts of the album match those of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*, the textual passages are not in complete agreement. Many of the textual variations are simply alternate characters with similar meanings. But a good number of the disparities suggest that differing characters in *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* represent corrections to the texts of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce*.⁸⁵ So *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* may have been created before the final version of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* was added to the Zhengtong Daoist canon. The texts from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* may represent draft versions of the stories that were not as thoroughly checked as those subject to the editorial scrutiny of works contained in the canon.

Despite the commonality of titles between *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* and *Wudang jiaqing tu*, many of the compositions and pictorial details in the album are strikingly different than those of the woodblock prints in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. The paintings of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* feature

⁸⁵ Much of Wang Yucheng's article concentrates on these textual discrepancies. He provides a line-by-line list of the differences between several of the entries in *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* and *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* from the Zhengtong Daoist canon, so I will not go into further detail here. See Wang Yucheng, "Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tu ce."

more specific, literal depictions of the narrative and visual details described in the texts of the stories.⁸⁶ A comparison of three paintings from the album with the texts of the stories they represent and with the corresponding pictures from *Wudang jiaqing tu* evinces these prominent differences. The *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* painting of the episode *ershi huaguang* [Two Men Transform into Light] (fig. 5.56) much more accurately depicts the narrative details of the story than the equivalent illustration in *Wudang jiaqing tu* (fig. 5.28). According to the text, an official named Zhang Cao 張操 instigated a campaign to build two halls dedicated to Zhenwu in Qingzhou 青州 (modern Shandong province). Since there were not any local artists who could craft images for the halls, Zhang prayed for help. In response to his prayers, two craftsmen arrived and completed the work in about a month. At the eye opening ceremony, each of the two craftsmen used a brush to dot the two pupils of the eyes of the Zhenwu image. The deity's eyes emitted golden light and the two craftsmen disappeared. In the *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* painting, servants bearing offerings of food, wine and silk stand on either side of steps leading into a lavishly decorated hall. A black-robed figure (the Zhenwu statue) sits along the back wall. Two figures stand in front of the statue and each holds a brush near Zhenwu's face; the brush on the right appears to touch Zhenwu's eye. The album's picture of these events shows crucial visual details such as the hall setting and the two artists with brushes dotting the eyes of the Zhenwu statue. *Wudang jiaqing tu's* picture for this same episode does

⁸⁶ Among the paintings from the album that correspond to Zhenwu's anthropomorphic appearances at Mt. Wudang during the Ming, Wang Yucheng only reproduces one picture—it corresponds to entry 10 in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. Its composition is similar in terms of visual elements but the temple building atop the mountain is larger and quite tall. The figures are arrayed in a triangular pattern that positions them moving up one side and down the other to allow for the temple. Zhenwu and his two attendants are more rotund with very heavy robes weighing them down as they try to hold their hands up in sleeves. The figures have rounded shoulders and hunched backs.

not render any of these key details. The god appears seated and supported by clouds near the center of the picture accompanied by two attendants. One of the attendants holds his sword. A modestly outfitted altar table is set up in front of him. Two figures dressed as scholars stand to the right of the table. The two figures turn their heads toward one another as if in conversation. Zhenwu is present but there is no indication that the image in the picture is a statue or in a hall. Two figures appear but no visual signs indicate that they are artists and they do not interact with him in the composition. The *Wudang jiaqing tu* illustration does not convey the details of the event. It is likely that the designer of the *Wudang jiaqing tu* illustration did not know the details of the event and did not have access to the text, either because he could not read it or it was not available. So this illustration cobbles together some visual elements used in other pictures to come up with this composition.

Zhenwu lingying tu ce's painting for *Wudang fayuan* [Making a Wish at (Mt.) Wudang] (fig. 5.57) also involves more narrative elements from the episode than the corresponding illustration in *Wudang jiaqing tu* (fig. 5.13). The text for *Wudang fayuan* begins with a recounting of how Zhenwu got his sword along with details about its name, size, and weight. The text goes on to describe the deity's capturing of some evil demons and his consultation with Lord Lao during his period of cultivation on Mt. Wudang. The end of the passage relates that after twelve years of cultivation, Zhenwu received a golden talisman and was charged with a variety of duties. The painting from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* presents two scenes, each featuring a pair of figures. The composition is divided diagonally in half. In the lower right corner, a figure dressed as an emperor presents a sword to a black-robed adult figure that kneels barefoot before him. In the upper right corner, a haloed figure with long eyebrows sits

on a rock near the top of some stairs. A black-robed figure kneels in front of him. The similar-looking black-robed figures in both sections of the composition represent Zhenwu. In the lower right, the god is receiving his sword from Tiandi 天帝 [Jade Emperor]. In the upper left, Zhenwu is asking for advice from Taishang Laojun 太上老君 [Lord Lao]. In both vignettes, the pair of figures appears to interact closely with each other. In each pair, the figures are physically close to one another and they make eye contact with one another. The corresponding *Wudang jiaqing tu* picture illustrates just one scene. The god appears as a young man amidst a mountain setting. He wears a white robe and a sword on his back (ala Lu Dongbin). Zhenwu stands to the right of a robed figure with a beard and a prominent forehead. This figure raises one arm and points to the sky; his other finger points to the ground. Zhenwu and Lord Lao do not seem to interact in the picture. The text for this episode describes an extended conversation between the god and Lord Lao. At one point in the conversation, Lord Lao reportedly pointed to heaven with one hand and pointed to earth with the other hand. The *Wudang jiaqing tu* picture illustrates this single moment of the episode. The illustration for *Tiandi cijian* (fig. 5.7) shows Zhenwu receiving his sword. Even though the text for *Wudang fayuan* mentions the sword, perhaps the artist or commissioner of *Wudang jiaqing tu* chose not to illustrate that same scene again in the picture for *Wudang fayuan*. On the other hand, the *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* painting depicts two scenes from the episode and, in doing so, more closely follows the text and emphasizes the interaction between the god and his celestial superiors.

Zhenwu lingying tu ce and *Wudang jiaqing tu* both depict the same point in the *xiangmo dongyin* [Vanquishing Demons at Dong Yin] episode. Zhenwu and a sundry troupe

under his command are in the process of attacking a demon (or demons). He stands in the upper right corner of the *Wudang jiaqing tu* illustration for *xiangmo dongyin* (fig. 5.20). An attendant to his left bears his flag and one of the two attendants to his right holds the sheath for his sword. We can make out parts of four figures brandishing weapons in the lower right of the composition. Four smaller figures run away from their armed pursuers—two have already fallen. Two additional figures wearing pointed hats appear in the center left of the picture. Their mouths emit linear rays upward toward the deity's feet. Many elements of the picture are partially shrouded in clouds that obscure the action creating confusion rather than clarity in the narrative. Zhenwu looks imposing in the upper right corner. But he holds his sword pointing downward giving the viewer the impression that he is observing the action rather than directing it. The painting from the album not only incorporates many more specific details from the text of the story but it also succeeds in presenting a much more readable scene (fig. 5.58). A black cloud replete with deities and animals occupies the top half of the *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* version of *xiangmo dongyin*. The god appears haloed on the far right: he wears a black robe and wields his sword with his blade at the ready. On his right, we see Dian mu 電母 [Lightning Mother] and two other thunder deities. The bird-mouthed deity waving an ax and hammer represents Lei gong 雷公 [Duke of Thunder]. Two dragons roil and gnash their teeth in the left section of the black cloud. In the lower half of the composition, the armored *liu ding* 六丁 [six ding] raise their swords and lead the *liu jia* 六甲 [six jia] against a single demon. The demon has dark hair and a curly beard. He brandishes a *pudao* 撲刀 [assault saber] and is depicted in midstride running away from the pursuing *liu jia* and *liu ding*. A plume of smoke

travels from the top of the demon's head diagonally upward toward the god. Within the plume, we can see *kan* 坎 and *li* 離 trigrams and the entwined tortoise and snake. According to the text, six celestial demon kings (*tian mowang* 天魔王) transformed the tortoise and snake using the vapors (*qi* 氣) of *kan* and *li*. But then Zhenwu captured the tortoise and snake under his feet and they later became part of his cadre of assistants. The text lists five thunder deities (*leishen bing* 雷神兵), two dragons, a lion, and the *liu jia* and *liu ding* as members of the god's troupe. The *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* picture pares the six demon kings down to one and embellishes the thunder deities by depicting specific figures like Dian mu and Lei gong. These visual adjustments to the episode make Zhenwu's forces seem like an overwhelming force against the lone demon king.

The paintings of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* not only tend to exhibit more specific visual details but those details are also more lavish than those of *Wudang jiaqing tu*. Each of the paintings uses rich pigments and gold. The setting for *yu bi chao can* [Paying Respects at Court on the Jade Platform] is a richly decorated palace hall (fig. 5.59). A painted and lacquered balustrade surrounds the hall and extends onto the platform. The center of the jade platform features elaborately carved dragons. All of the figures, particularly the Jade Emperor on his throne, are sumptuously attired. In the album's version of *Bairi shangsheng* [The White Sun Rises], Zhenwu is richly outfitted as an emperor (fig. 5.60). A flying dragon conveys his green chariot through the clouds. Attendants hold large, squared pheasant tail fans above the canopy of the carriage. Additional martial attendants round out Zhenwu's retinue. A large perforated garden rock appears in *Zhenwu lingying tu ce*'s picture for *ershi huaguang* [Two Men Transform into Light] (fig. 5.56). These grand palace halls, sumptuous garments,

elaborate retinues and luxurious material details not only reflect the celestial settings for these episodes but also seem geared to appeal to imperial taste, particularly that of an emperor.

Artists created the paintings in *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* specifically to illustrate these episodes concerning Zhenwu. The strong connection between the visual details and the textual content of the stories suggests that the artists were able to read the stories themselves or that they were provided with extensive detailed consultation regarding the episodes. On the other hand, many of the illustrations for *Wudang jiaqing tu* suggest that artists and patrons were not as concerned with specific details of the story. The pictures evoke some element of the stories for an audience from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. The *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* paintings were designed for a different and specific audience: the Yongle emperor and his imperial court. One particular textual detail strengthens the case for imperial patronage of the album. The date and text of the imperial edict that accompanies *Zhenwu lingying tu ce*'s picture for *huangbang ronghui* do not correspond to any other recorded edicts. *Wudang jiaqing tu* and later local gazetteers cite Yongle's edict dated to the eleventh day of the seventh lunar month in the tenth year of Yongle (1412) as the edict that marked the beginning of major construction on Mt. Wudang. However, the edict recorded in the album is dated ten days later (twenty-first day of the seventh lunar month) than the "standard" edict. One scholar has pointed out that the language of the *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* edict is more vernacular than imperial edicts of the time. Within the edict, the emperor refers to himself using the more informal *wo* 我 [I] rather than *zhen* 朕 [I, the sovereign]—perhaps to demonstrate his personal reverence to Zhenwu.⁸⁷ It is conceivable that the edict recorded in

⁸⁷ See Wang Yucheng, "Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tu ce": 18-20.

Zhenwu lingying tu ce represents a more private declaration by the Yongle emperor intended only for intimate consumption within the imperial court. Although no preface or other record of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* has survived, it seems likely that the album was made between 1413 and 1418 for the emperor's personal collection and enjoyment. The album visually asserted Yongle's close relationship with Zhenwu and served as a commemorative of that relationship and the emperor's massive construction projects on Mt. Wudang.⁸⁸

Zhenwu's Ascension, a Narrative in Bronze

The majority of images that represent episodes from Zhenwu's hagiography take the form of paintings and prints like those discussed above. Yet the survival of a bronze sculpture in the collection of the British Museum demonstrates that artists also crafted three-dimensional images representing visual narratives of Zhenwu. The following examination will describe and explore the unusual combination of elements in the sculpture and demonstrate its links with other images of the god.

⁸⁸ A large painted handscroll known as *Wuliang fushou tu* 無量福壽圖 [Painting of Limitless Good Fortune and Longevity] was reputedly donated to the Baiyun guan in Beijing by the Yongle emperor. The work is comprised of fifteen scenes with inscriptions that describe a series of Zhenwu's auspicious responses on Mt. Wudang. None of the inscriptions provide the year of the events they describe and several of the dates (month/day) do not correspond to Yongle period dates when auspicious responses were reported. The images feature a birds-eye view of temple complexes on Mt. Wudang and the surrounding mountains are all rendered in blue and green. The composition of one of the images depicting the Yuxu gong resembles an illustration in the 1537 gazetteer by Fang Sheng, *Dayue zhilue* 大嶽志略. For more on this gazetteer, see deBruyn, Annex A: 603-6. I have only seen two scenes from this enigmatic scroll so I will not discuss it further here. For a brief discussion of this handscroll and reproductions of two scenes, see Little and Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 304-305. Yongle's propensity for commissioning scrolls that recorded auspicious responses also extended into the Buddhist realm. For example, the Tsurphu scroll depicts auspicious clouds and signs that appeared at Linggu si 靈谷寺 [Numinous Valley Monastery] in Nanjing and on Wutai shan 五台山. For Hugh Richardson's pictures of the Tsurphu scroll, see <http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/thumbnails.php?collection=Hugh+Richardson&o=750&r=30>.

This sculpture is somewhat difficult to read (fig. 5.61). Zhenwu is near the top, sitting astride a tortoise and snake and facing the viewer; there is a small temple positioned above his head. Below are numerous human and animal figures. Five robed and capped figures appear in the lower section of the piece. Sections along the side near the top and middle of the piece have broken off.

Several visual aspects point to a Ming date for the piece: Zhenwu's bodily proportions, the rendering of drapery, and a small coin-shaped mark. Although his belly is rounded, it does not protrude excessively and his torso is not exaggeratedly arched like many late Ming and early Qing figures. The rendering of his robe over his armor is more natural than some late Ming and early Qing examples where his robe is rather artificially splayed open to reveal his armor. The treatment here is thus more naturalistic and congruent with early and mid-Ming examples in painting and sculpture. Overall, the rendering of the god's flowing sleeves and the flowing robes of the other figures are more naturalistic and are not as mannered as in late Ming and early Qing Dehua and bronze examples. These characteristics point to a fifteenth or early sixteenth century date. Thus, the sculpture was probably made during the Yongle (1403-24), Chenghua (1465-87), or Jiajing (1522-66) reigns of the Ming during high points in imperial patronage of Zhenwu.

The coin-shaped mark on the left side of the sculpture suggests an even more specific time period for the sculpture. The Chinese coin shape frames four characters below one of the five attendant figures (fig. 5.62). The characters occupy the positions of the cardinal directions. This element closely corresponds to commendation marks found on porcelains from the Jiajing period. As is well known, the Jiajing emperor was devoted to Daoism. The court

commissioned and installed numerous images, offerings and ritual paraphernalia in temples dedicated to Zhenwu on Mt. Wudang and elsewhere in the realm. Stelea texts attest to the emperor's belief that he had a personal connection to Zhenwu and Mt. Wudang: his biological father was from the area near the mountain and had been devotee of Zhenwu. Beyond the style of this mark, if we read the first two characters as *chong ning* 崇寧, the reign period to which it corresponds is 1102-06 under the Song emperor Huizong (the others are *bao* 寶 [the ruined character could be *zhong* 重 or *tong* 通]). Far from suggesting that this piece is a fake, I believe that the inclusion of a Northern Song reign mark on this Ming piece may actually support a mid-Ming date for the object. The act of branding this piece as Northern Song parallels similar text-oriented activities related to Zhenwu that occurred in the mid-Ming. As we saw in the discussion of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* earlier in this chapter, several hagiographies of Zhenwu in the Zhengtong Daoist canon claim that they, and Zhenwu's connection with Mt. Wudang, originated in the Song—when several details clearly demonstrate that these works date to the Ming. In the same way, the commissioners and creators of the British Museum sculpture may have fashioned a Song pedigree for their Zhenwu by incorporating the coin mark with a Northern Song reign title.⁸⁹ In both cases, in texts and sculpture, the creators sought to give Zhenwu and his cult added legitimacy by extending many of its elements back to the Song.

Initially, the setting for the sculpture may appear to be a generic mountain landscape.

However, elements of the sculpture identify it as Mt. Wudang. This is clearly a sacred

⁸⁹ Marsha Haufler and Amy McNair pointed out that the use of the coin mark is unusual on a bronze object. So it is also possible that the original work upon which the British Museum piece was modeled may have been created in another medium such as jade or wood where the inclusion of a coin mark was more standard.

mountain teeming with cavorting animals and several human figures meditating, playing the *qin* 琴 [Chinese zither], making offerings, and dancing. The temple with a tiled roof behind and slightly above Zhenwu's head probably represents the imperially sponsored Jindian 金殿 [Golden Hall], a hall made entirely of bronze, that was located at the top of the highest peak of Mt. Wudang (Tianzhu). Established by the Yongle emperor, this hall contains a large seated image of Zhenwu.⁹⁰ Finally, the five robed figures wear Daoist caps that have dragon faces and whiskers. Supported by individual clouds, each figure gazes reverently up at the god while holding up *hu* (banana-shaped objects held by subservient officials before the emperor). The five dragon lords in the British Museum sculpture can be connected to an episode from Ming period hagiographies of Zhenwu.⁹¹ According to *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* [Chronicle of Supernatural Miracles and Holy Revelations of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven], five dragon lords escorted Zhenwu when he ascended to the court of the Jade Emperor and received his investiture.

A similar depiction of the deity's ascension in *Wudang jiaqing tu* confirms the importance of this particular visual narrative of Zhenwu and shows how different renderings of the scene conveyed different meanings. Entry thirty-two of *Wudang jiaqing tu* (fig. 5.11) features the *Wuqi longjun* 五氣龍君 [Dragon Lords of the Five Vapors]. In both they are

⁹⁰ This Jindian image was discussed in the previous chapter (four). Other extant images of Zhenwu may also refer to the Jindian on Mt. Wudang, such as a fahua ceramic and gilt image of Zhenwu in a shrine from the collection of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.

⁹¹ These figures also refer to a major temple on Mt. Wudang, the Wulong gong [Five Dragons Palace]. In typical fashion, stelae records created a "history" for the Wudang Wulong gong stretching back to the Tang. However, major construction and renovation of the Wulong gong in the late Yuan and early Ming made this temple complex one of the major sites on Mt. Wudang that would have been known by pilgrims and other visitors at the time. The five dragon lords also appear in the upper right corner of the illustration for entry forty-seven of *Wudang jiaqing tu* where they are dressed like scholars.

dressed in small caps and long robes. In the *Wudang jiaqing tu* picture, the dragon lords' faces appear human. They directly encircle Zhenwu, appearing in close proximity to him with their heads lined up with his waist and shoulders. In the sculpture, the dragon lords are positioned at the foot of the piece, significantly below Zhenwu. The *hu* that they hold and their upward gazes toward the deity reinforce their subservience. The *Wudang jiaqing tu* illustration depicts Zhenwu as a Lu Dongbin-like figure in its ascension scene. Zhenwu wears a white robe and carries his sword on his back. He holds his hands in his sleeves in front of his chest. By contrast, he appears as an active warrior deity with many of his recognizable iconographic characteristics in the sculpture. He has long hair, bare feet, and armor under his robe. Although only the hilt of his sword remains in his grasp, his position indicates that he once thrust the sword above his head. The *Wudang jiaqing tu* picture does not include the entwined tortoise and snake that serve as the god's vehicle in the sculpture. While there are numerous examples of the tortoise and snake positioned at his feet and even a few images where he is standing upright on top of his vehicle, the British Museum sculpture is the only surviving example I know that features the god riding astride the entwined tortoise and snake. By riding his vehicle, Zhenwu appears active and powerful.

Wudang jiaqing tu and the British Museum sculpture both depict Zhenwu's ascension from Mt. Wudang to the court of the Jade Emperor. Entry thirty-two of *Wudang jiaqing tu* is a more generic image designed to be accompanied by a title and descriptive text that would tell the audience what was going on. Moreover, it is part of a larger collection of images showing the god in a variety of guises. Without the benefit of text, title or other images, the British Museum sculpture adopts a dramatic composition and a more assertive and iconographically

distinctive depiction of Zhenwu. It portrays him as an active martial deity ascending through, and on, the clouds from his sacred mountain. The sculpture depicts the god's ascension while concurrently emphasizing his power as a forceful warrior deity. The frontal orientation of this sculpture not only directly engages the viewer and emphasizes the deity's power, it also suggests the original physical context for the work—an altar or platform against a wall. Encapsulating many of Zhenwu's key iconographic features, the sculpture may have been intended to stand on its own. However, it is also possible that it was part of a tradition of large-scale bronze sculptures of scenes from Mt. Wudang.⁹² The piece may have been part of a set of sculptures depicting key moments in the deity's hagiography, and the other pieces have been lost. The sculpture's visual depiction of Mt. Wudang reinforces Zhenwu's authority and powers by invoking his terrestrial mountain base. The size and expense of the sculpture suggest that it was an imperial commission. It may have originally been housed in a location where members of the imperial court could view it rather than at Mt. Wudang itself.

***Soushen daquan* 搜神大全 [Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]**

In contrast to the multi-scene narratives, some illustrated texts from the Ming use a single scene featuring Zhenwu to accompany a revised version of his hagiography. This is the case with several editions an illustrated compendium known as *soushen daquan* 搜神大全

⁹² The small museum at the foot of Mt. Wudang has a bronze sculpture of comparable size (131 cm high) dated to 1616. The lower two-thirds of the piece is cylindrical and has seventy-two triangles representing the peaks of Mt. Wudang. The upper third has a temple building. It is possible to make out several figures amidst the mountain triangles in the lower section and what appears to be a representation of the long stairway that was built on the mountain to provide access to the temple. The style of this bronze is far less refined than the British Museum work and thus does not suggest dating both works to the late Ming. However, the similarities in overall size and the temple building that tops both works suggest that there was a tradition for making large-scale bronzes representing Mt. Wudang. deBruyn also mentions this 1616 bronze work in Annex E of his dissertation.

[Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural] that reveal a reshaping of Zhenwu's hagiography and image by the late Ming.⁹³ Each edition featured the same format: a title, textual passage, and a single picture for each entry. The versions present a single image of the god and two attendants. Regrettably, the many episodes in the god's hagiography and rich visual details of his appearance and accoutrements described in the text of the compendia are not reflected in the pictures.⁹⁴ Several of the pictures exhibit the details of Zhenwu's appearance as it is described in one passage of the text (fig. 5.63).

"In the morning on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in the fifty-seventh year of *ziyun* of the Yellow Emperor, auspicious clouds and heavenly flowers descended from heaven and filled the mountain and valley. They encircled the mountain for three hundred miles to the four directions.

The forest and mountains were shaking and produced a great sound. They ultimately emanated the immortal music of pacing the void. At that time, Xuandi was nine *chi* high (about 3 meters). His face looked like a full moon. He had dragon eyeballs and phoenix eyes and black hair mixed with a bit of red and beautiful sideburns . . . His feet were bare and he grasped his hands in front of his chest and stood on Zixiao [Purple Tenuity] peak."⁹⁵

⁹³ While the titles of these texts suggest a link to the text attributed to Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 317-322) known as *Soushen ji* 搜神記 [Record of the Search for the Supernatural], the content of these late imperial works does not resemble the fourth century text.

⁹⁴ A particularly rich passage describes Zhenwu's appearance, his attendants, and the accoutrements he received upon his acceptance of his role as a deity (following his successful period of cultivation and subsequent ascension).

⁹⁵ This passage comes from the text of the Zhenwu entry in the Yuan compendium *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* and the Ming compendium, *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*. Zixiao peak is located on Mt. Wudang.

This passage appears just before the description of his ascension and the concurrent appearance of five beings.⁹⁶ Thus the compendia images and the British Museum sculpture discussed earlier both depict moments surrounding the god's ascension.

This series of Ming versions of the compendia can be traced back to a two-part Yuan edition, *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 [Newly Compiled Combined Record of the Search for the Supernatural].⁹⁷ Among the collection's fifty-eight entries, most concern individual Daoist, Buddhist, Confucian, and popular deities but a few address groups of figures. The entries usually feature a picture followed by a textual passage.⁹⁸ The long entry for Zhenwu occupies a relatively prominent position in this compendium: he appears eleventh in the first part (*qianji* 前集) under his title, Xuantian shangdi.

The text of the entry for Xuantian shangdi in a seven-juan Ming version of the compendium, *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 三教源流聖帝佛祖大全 [Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist

⁹⁶ These correspond to the five dragon lords that appear in illustrations and sculpture discussed above.

⁹⁷ The Yuan edition was compiled by Qin Zijin 秦子晉 about whom we have no additional information. The first preface for a reprint of one of the Ming editions, *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全, mentions a two-part text from the Song or Yuan period called *Huaxiang soushen guangji* 畫像搜神廣記. It seems likely that that work and the one that survives today are the same work or cognates. For this preface, see Ye Dehui's 1909 reprint of *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* in *Zangwai Daoshu* (958) volume 31: 737. *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* was part of the library of the bibliophile Mao Jin 茅晉 (1599-1659). Mao ran one of the most prolific private publishing operations in the late Ming called the Jigu ge 及古閣 [Comparable with the Ancients Pavilion]. For more on Mao Jin's publishing activities, see K. T. Wu, "Ming Printing and Printers," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7, no. 3 (February 1943): 244-46 and Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2002): 187-88. For a reprint of *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji*, see *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs] (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 2.

⁹⁸ Although the entries for several *shengmu* 聖母 [sacred mothers] and *Xiwang mu* 西王母 [Queen Mother of the West] appear near the beginning of the collection, curiously there is no accompanying picture for these female deities.

Patriarchs of the Three Religions] is almost identical to the text in the Yuan *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji*.⁹⁹ These accounts condense elements of Zhenwu's earlier hagiography while emphasizing details of his ancient past and physical appearance. This hagiography of Zhenwu begins by listing the god's prior descents as Taishi zhenren 太始真人 [Perfect Being of Supreme Beginning], Taiyuan zhenren 太元真人 [Perfect Being of Supreme Origin], and Taiyi zhenren 太乙真人 [Perfect Being of Supreme Unity] during the legendary period of the *sanhuang* 三皇 [Three August Ones] before he descended as Xuantian shangdi in the time of the Yellow Emperor (huangdi 黃帝). His birthday is given as the third day of the third lunar month in the first year of *ziyun* 紫雲 [purple clouds] during the first aeon of *kaihuang* 開皇. Tracing the history of deities to a legendary *kaihuang* period was a common Daoist practice: birth at this time designated the figure as a deity or immortal. The reference to a *ziyun* year (purportedly occurring during the time of the Yellow Emperor) was a similar Daoist fiction. These particular fictional elements do not appear in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* and the other Ming works discussed above. *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* puts the god's birth in the first year of a fictional reign period (*guangde*) in the Sui period (581-618). The compendia present a more timeless back-story for Zhenwu without mention of any of the miracles or auspicious responses from historical periods. Instead they emphasize Mt. Wudang by outlining its history, referring to it by its Ming-granted name Taihe shan 太白山 [Mountain

⁹⁹ Each picture occupies three-quarters of a page. The accompanying texts vary from a few lines of text to several pages. Line breaks in the Ming compendia are different than in the Yuan compendia. And the Ming *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 三教源流聖帝佛祖大全 adds two couplets at the end of the entry. As Glen Dudbridge has observed, *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* reproduces fifty-five entries in the same order and with substantially the same text as in the Yuan compendium. See Glen Dudbridge, *The Legend of Miaoshan* (revised edition): 68.

of Supreme Harmony], and recounting the deity's period of cultivation there. In addition, Zhenwu is called the eighty-second transformation of Taishang Laojun—an identity he acquired in the Ming period.

The differences in the composition, style, and details of the image of Zhenwu in each version of the compendium reveal a shift in his appearance from an elegant distant Daoist deity in the Yuan to an approachable member of the expanding pantheon of Chinese popular religion in the late Ming. The Yuan compendium features a refined image of the god accompanied by two attendants and the entwined tortoise and snake (fig. 5.64). The details of his face and hair as well as the position of his hands suggest that this image may have been intended to depict him just before his ascension. The god stands in three-quarter view turned to the right. His bare feet are exposed and he grasps his hands together just below his waist. He is haloed and a scarf twirls behind his left shoulder. The artist lavished considerable detail on his face, hair and clothing. His eyebrows angle steeply upward with an elegant curve at the end. His dark eyes and intense expression convey a detached dignity. A few strokes delineate the ducts of his eyes. His beard is short and pointed and does not cover the details of the portion of his armor visible below his neck. The god's black hair which lies flat on top of his head and falls down his back and over both shoulders, drapes in three sections: two across his shoulders and one down the side of his neck and down his chest. We can also see his dark sideburns. The undulating folds of the deity's black robe have been rendered in detail. His wide sleeves, open at the ends are gently lifted up and blown to the right, soft folds of cloth wrap around his right leg. The garments of his two attendants are also depicted in a sophisticated manner, though not in as much detail. One capped attendant, facing the viewer

to the proper right of Zhenwu, holds the god's sheathed sword in both hands. The other attendant, who wears taller headgear, stands with his back to the viewer in front of the sword-holding attendant and facing toward the deity. The spatial arrangement and pictorial balance demonstrate considerable sophistication, as do the framing and the use of empty space. The top of the sword hilt in the top left and the curve of the snake in the lower right define the outer edges of the picture's focus. The sword hilt does not extend above the upper edge of Zhenwu's halo and the attendant closest to us stands on an invisible plane slightly below parallel to Zhenwu's feet. Outlines of billowy clouds appear in the top third of the picture and at the feet of the figures, leaving lots of white space in the picture. These visual techniques combined with the delicacy and elegance of the figures point to an elite audience prepared to appreciate such subtleties.

The image of Zhenwu in the seven-juan Ming edition seems to echo the same textual description of Zhenwu, but is strikingly different than the one in the Yuan compendium.¹⁰⁰ In the Ming picture (fig. 5.65), the god is in three-quarter-view facing left, the opposite direction from the Yuan image. Compared to the Yuan figure, the drapery folds of his black robe are more simply and stiffly rendered; his robe features a horizontal band of décor across his lower thighs. He stands on stylized mountains that may represent Zixiao peak on Mt. Wudang,¹⁰¹ and holds his hands in his sleeves in front of his chest. His face and hair are much more simply rendered than in the Yuan picture. The god's moustache and beard are longer, and his

¹⁰⁰ As in the Yuan compendium, Zhenwu occupies a prominent position in the sequence of deities in the Ming edition of *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*. Zhenwu appears in the first chapter as the tenth deity.

¹⁰¹ Although the text of the compendia do not emphasize Zhenwu's auspicious responses in the Ming, the images used to represent Zhenwu in the compendia do connect him to Mt. Wudang (which gained major importance in the late Yuan and Ming) and belie the strength of this connection in the Ming period.

long hair juts out to the sides from behind his back forming two points of a triangle. The depiction of Zhenwu's long hair, his position standing atop a mountain, and the positioning of his hands within his sleeves in front of his chest are all features that recall depictions of Zhenwu in *Wudang jiaqing tu* as he appeared on Mt. Wudang during the Ming (figs. 5.33-5.40). However, in the compendium picture we can see the deity's whole body—even his tiny feet peeking out from beneath his robe. The attendants accompanying him in the Ming compendium image are also different than those with him in *Wudang jiaqing tu* and in the Yuan compendium. They are perched in a swirling cloud that appears to cut them off at the knees. The attendant in the upper left smiles as he holds a bundle wrapped in fabric. A box containing the deity's seal is probably contained in the bundle.¹⁰² Overall, the image of Zhenwu in this Ming compendium appears friendly and less distant than its counterpart in the Yuan compendium. His eyebrows are gently rounded and his eyes are indicated with single lines. He even appears to be slightly smiling in the Ming picture. The composition, style, and details of the god and his attendants in the Ming compendium all contribute to the sense that this Zhenwu is closer and more accessible than his Yuan counterpart. However, the language of the text, the amount of white space in the picture, and the quality of the details also mark this Ming version of the compendium as a production designed for a discerning elite audience.

¹⁰² Several other images of Zhenwu depict an attendant holding a similar bundle. For example, see the bundle-holding figure to Zhenwu's left in the picture for entry 35 in *Wudang jiaqing tu*. *Yubi chaogong* 玉陛朝參 [Paying Respects at Court on the Jade Platform]. The presence of an attendant holding a bundle or box for Zhenwu's seal was not confined to pictorial images. For instance, a Qing period statue of Zhenwu at the Jindian in Kunming is accompanied by a figure who holds a seal box.

The *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* is undated, but appears to be earlier than the late Ming¹⁰³ *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural], dated 1593.¹⁰⁴ Change in the size of the pantheon is one possible indication of relative date. *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* encompasses 132 deities, more than double the number covered in the Yuan compendium. The 1593 *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* presents 161. Although it demonstrates the continued expansion of the pantheon in the late Ming, many of its entries, including the one for Zhenwu, are simply abridged versions of those in Yuan and earlier Ming compendia.¹⁰⁵ They match

¹⁰³ A line of text on the last page of the Ming edition of *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* indicates that the book was part of the collection of someone named, Xi Tianzhu 西天竹. I could not find any information on this person that would help in dating the edition.

¹⁰⁴ Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 wrote the preface for *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* that can be dated to 1593. Luo is known as the author of the novel, *Sanbao taijian xiyangji tongsu yanyi* 三寶太監西洋記通俗演義 [The Three-Jeweled Eunuch's Expedition to the Western Ocean]. That novel can be dated to 1597—close to the 1593 date of *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan*. For a reprint of *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural], see *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs] (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 4.

¹⁰⁵ Two passages that appeared in both the Yuan *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* and the Ming edition of *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* were edited out of the text recounting Zhenwu's hagiography in the 1593 compendium, *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan*. Both deleted sections came from the second half of the earlier text. The first summarizes the content of *Yuandong yuli ji* 元洞玉曆記 [Primordial Cave Jade Calendar Record]. That record recounts the ancient history of bad behavior on the part of kings and common people and the resulting devastating attacks by evil forces causing great harm. These events provide background on why Zhenwu was called upon by Yuanshi tianzun and the Jade Emperor to intervene on earth. The second deleted passage describes Zhenwu's visit to the celestial court after he had successfully vanquished malevolent forces on earth and restored order. The late Ming compendium mentions the *Yuandong yuli ji* but not its content. *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* states that Zhenwu returned to the pure capital after his successful terrestrial intervention but then it continues directly into the closing section where Zhenwu receives honorific titles.

those of the 1573 text-only version of the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 [English translation] preserved in the *Xu Daozang* 續道藏 [Supplement to the Daoist Canon].¹⁰⁶

In addition to adding to and rearranging and the sequence of deities, *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* incorporates a different style of printed text and other new features. The relative quality of the illustrations and the text suggest that *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* was intended to appeal to a fairly upper-end audience in terms of education.¹⁰⁷ The printed text imitates brushed characters with the ends of final strokes of characters featuring thick feet and a generous amount of space is left between the characters (fig. 5.66). Also different is the emphasis on divine birthdays. Many entries, including the one for Zhenwu, list the birth month and day for the deity on the first line of the text passage.¹⁰⁸

The 1593 compendium placed Zhenwu in a relatively prominent position within a large group of deities drawn from Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, and local traditions, all of who are depicted as benign and approachable figures. Each is identified by a title cartouche in the upper right corner (fig. 5.67). A few elements of the Zhenwu picture suggest that the artists knew the picture of the god and his attendants from *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen*

¹⁰⁶ The *Xu Daozang* edition of *Soushen ji* contains a note dated 1607 by the fiftieth Celestial Master Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (d. 1611). He stated that this version of the text had been edited.

¹⁰⁷ The title page of *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* indicates that the prolific Nanjing publisher Fuchun tang 富春堂 published the edition. Lucille Chia has identified sixty editions with a similar credit line (Jinling Tang shi Fuchun tang 金陵 唐氏富春堂), making Fuchun tang responsible for the largest number of editions among late Ming Nanjing publishers. Surviving editions from Fuchun tang and other Nanjing publishers suggest that Nanjing imprints tended to appeal to high-end readers. For more on late Ming Nanjing publishers and their imprints, see Lucille Chia, "Of Three Mountains Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing" in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*: 107-51.

¹⁰⁸ Dudbridge refers to all *soushen daquan* as "illustrated calendars of China's gods and saints." However, only the 1593 compendium—with its prominent listing of deity birthdays—seems shifted to such a purpose. See Dudbridge, *Legend of Miaoshan* (revised edition): 67.

daquan (fig. 5.65) or one like it.¹⁰⁹ Zhenwu appears with two attendants and a tortoise and snake. The god's flag-bearer's hairy face and position on a cloud are two features that he shares with his counterpart from the earlier Ming compendium, except the rendering of the flag and the manner in which he holds it are quite different. The band of décor below the chest of Zhenwu's other attendant resembles the one we saw on the lower half of Zhenwu's robe in the earlier Ming edition, but this attendant does not hold a wrapped bundle.

For the most part, the composition, style and details do not closely resemble those of the earlier compendia. Instead of occupying the center of the composition, Zhenwu appears in the lower right of the picture. He is seated in a generic landscape that is not mountainous. In his black robe and with bare feet, Zhenwu grasps the belt across his chest with his right hand and rests his left hand at his side. His two attendants and the tortoise and snake are comparatively large: the standing attendant looks as tall, if not taller than, the deity. In accordance with the figural style of the late Ming, all of the figures have large heads and relatively stout bodies. Zhenwu's long hair appears fuller at the back of his neck and it curves out in a more rounded manner than in the *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*. Again, an artist has taken care to render Zhenwu's long sideburns, moustache and beard, but this image of Zhenwu has uncharacteristically bushy eyebrows. The drapery folds of Zhenwu's robe are schematically rendered with most of the folds appearing in his lap and near his right

¹⁰⁹ A compendium within a late Qing (1819) embroidery manual (*xiuxiang daquan* 繡像大全) called *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi foshuai soushen ji* 三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神記 [Compendia of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist Patriarchs of the Three Religions] contains an image of Zhenwu and two attendants that resembles the one in the Ming compendium, *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan*. The relationship of the figures is the same. However, Zhenwu is wearing a white robe trimmed in black and he seems to be standing on rolling waves rather than a stylized mountain. This Qing image suggests that the Ming edition of *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi foshuai soushen ji* was still extant and serving as a pictorial reference in the early nineteenth century.

wrist. The contours of Zhenwu's left sleeve are not clearly delineated. As a result, his left hand seems to be surrounded by a nebulous black mass. The figures all turn their gaze downward and to the left, toward the beginning of the text entry on the left side of the page. Zhenwu appears to be watching the tortoise and snake in the lower left corner. His relaxed seated pose and gentle downward gaze make him the most friendly and accessible of the Zhenwu images in the compendia.

Despite the fairly high-level of education required to read the accompanying text, the developmental trajectory of the compendia illustrations discussed above shows the shift in Zhenwu's hagiography and image from an elegant, distant god toward one that is more approachable and appealing to ordinary people. This shift signals the further expansion of the audience for images of Zhenwu while also reflecting the trend toward producing popular editions during the publishing boom that reached its peak in the late Ming.

***Beiyou ji* [Journey to the North]**

Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan was produced in the midst of the publishing boom of the late Ming.¹¹⁰ While many surviving imprints from the Nanjing and Suzhou areas, like the last 1593 compendium, were aimed at the upper end of the book market, imprints produced in Jianyang 建陽 (northern Fujian province) tended to appeal to a more

¹¹⁰ For more details on the late Ming publishing boom and several case studies, see Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds. *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*.

heterogeneous audience.¹¹¹ The prolific Jianyang publisher, Yu Xiangdou 余象斗 (c. 1560 – after 1637) edited an illustrated novel called *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North],¹¹² commonly known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North].¹¹³ Zhenwu is the protagonist. A 1602 edition in the British Museum is comprised of twenty-four continuous sections with 241

¹¹¹ As Lucille Chia points out, this type of generalization regarding Nanjing versus Jianyang publishing in the Ming may not be so black and white. See Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*: 141. However, the two ZW examples addressed in this chapter do demonstrate the different ends of the book market. Most art historians have understandably concentrated on higher end late Ming imprints produced in Suzhou and Nanjing. Even Robert Hegel tends to concentrate on upper end productions: Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

¹¹² This work is known by additional titles including, *Zhenwu zhi zhuan*, *Zhenwu zhuan*, *Beifang zhenwu zhuan*, and *Beifang zhenwu zushi zhi zhuan*. The book originated as Yu's version and was later incorporated into the *Siyou ji* 四遊記 [Record of the Four Journeys] where it became *Beiyou ji*.

Scholars acknowledge that Yu probably compiled *Beiyou ji* from a variety of sources. Chao suggests that *soushen daquan* served as one source for *Beiyou ji*. Seaman asserts two related theories concerning the origin of the novel. First, Seaman believes that the novel may have resulted from a spirit writing session in the court of the Jiajing emperor (r. 1521-67). See Seaman, *Journey to the North: An Ethnohistorical Analysis and Annotated Translation of the Chinese Folk Novel Pei-yu Chi*: 39. The novel is written from the point of view of the protagonist so it could be a record of Zhenwu's revelations to a spirit medium. Section twenty-four of the novel describes a pilgrimage by the Yongle emperor to Mt. Wudang. Although that trip never occurred, Seaman points to the praise of Yongle's construction projects in this section as part of an effort to influence public opinion and pressure the Jiajing emperor to continue imperial support of temples on Mt. Wudang. Second, Seaman argues that *Beiyou ji* comes from a no-longer-extant book called *Taihe zhuan* 太和傳 [Chronicle of (the Mountain) of Supreme Harmony]. The author of *Taihe zhuan*, Guo Xun 郭勛, was an intimate member of Jiajing's court. Because Yu Xiangdou published a version of another edition credited to Guo Xun (his edition of *Shuihu zhuan* [Chronicle of the Water Margin]), Seaman believes that Yu had access to his other works such as *Taihe zhuan*. Thus Yu may have based his *Beiyou ji* on Guo's earlier work. Some episodes of *Beiyou ji* do share similarities with stories from a variety of texts from the Daoist canon and editions of *soushen daquan*. However, these similarities are not strong enough to suggest that Yu had access to (or drew from) these multiple sources. Since we have such limited information about Guo's *Taihe zhuan* and equally little information about Yu's process for compiling *Beiyou ji*, Seaman's theories about the origins of the *Beiyou ji* remain bold and interesting but not fully convincing.

¹¹³ Yu's *ming* and sobriquet are listed on the first page: Santai shanren Yangzhi Yu Xiangdou bian 三台山人印止余象斗編. This edition is a reprinting of Yu's work by fellow Jianyang publisher, Xiong Yangtai 熊仰台. Although we do not have any information about this specific figure, Xiong family publishers ranked third in productivity among Jianyang printers in the late Ming (behind Yu and Liu families). For more on Xiong family publishing, see Chia, *Printing for Profit*: 167-69, 94-95, 294-96.

illustrations; and embellishes considerably on the hagiography of Zhenwu presented in earlier texts. Its episodes do not proceed in precise chronological order nor do they necessarily relate to one another.¹¹⁴ Designed to be appreciated individually, the episodes and pictures do not necessarily work as a single cohesive story.¹¹⁵ The novel features lots of action intended to entertain readers while demonstrating Zhenwu's dominance as a deity. It contains its share of stories of Zhenwu's birth, childhood, period of cultivation and apotheosis. The majority of its episodes relate how Zhenwu subdued a variety of generals, animals, and demons, eventually persuading many of them to serve as his assistants.¹¹⁶

A segment of *Zushi shou de leidian shen* 祖師收得雷電神 [Venerable Teacher Subdues the Gods of Thunder and Lightning] (figs. 5.68-5.71) can be linked to the Yuan illustrated scripture *Yushu jing* [Jade Pivot Scripture].¹¹⁷ A list of deity titles comes at the end

¹¹⁴ Later versions of *Beiyou ji* were divided into twenty-four formal chapters or *hui* 回.

¹¹⁵ A single sheet print titled *Jian Wudang dayue taihe shan Xuandi xiuzhen quantu xing* 建武當大嶽太和山玄帝修真全圖行 [Pictorial Map of the Spiritual Itinerary of the Dark Emperor, Founder of the Great Peak of the Mountain of Supreme Harmony of Wudang] includes a date of 1616. The print was reputedly made in Beijing and measures 71 cm high and 45.5 cm wide. Thirty-five cartouches and accompanying vignettes relate elements of Zhenwu's hagiography, beginning with the god's miraculous birth. The style of the print's figures is somewhat more refined and detailed than those of the *Beiyou ji* but many of its figures conceal their hands in their sleeves in the same manner as in the illustrated novel. The size, style, and detail of the print suggests that it may have been made for a temple whose clerics may have used the print to educate practitioners and potential believers about Zhenwu's hagiography. deBruyn reproduces this print and transcribes its cartouches in Annex E of his dissertation.

¹¹⁶ The titles for nine out of twenty-four sections of *Beiyou ji* use the word *shou* 收 [to subdue]. A synopsis and analysis of the text of *Beiyou ji* is beyond the scope of this study. For an English translation of the *Beiyou ji*, see Gary Seaman, *Journey to the North: An Ethnohistorical Analysis and Annotated Translation of the Chinese Folk Novel Pei-yu Chi*. In one of the earliest studies of *Beiyou ji*, Willem Grootaers provides brief descriptions of 142 of the illustrated episodes. See "The Hagiography of the Chinese God Chen-wu." In her dissertation, Chao Shin-yi provides a synopsis of many of the novel's episodes where Zhenwu subdues other deities (particular those related to thunder and plagues) and turns them into his assistants. See Chao: 151-79.

¹¹⁷ Chapter three of this study discusses *Yushu jing* in detail. The early Ming collection, *Wudang jiaqing tu* (discussed earlier in this chapter) has an entry titled, *Xuandi sheng hao* 玄帝聖號 [The Sacred Title of the Dark Emperor]. The text of the entry matches the text of the last segment of the final section of Yu's *Beiyou ji* called *Xuandi shenghao quanwen* 玄帝聖號全文. The similarity between the two texts suggests a possible link between the two works. However, the illustrations for these sections in the two texts are not similar.

of the section.¹¹⁸ Most of the names correspond to the deities that Zhenwu subdued and subsequently employed as his assistants in the previous sections of the novel. However, as Seaman has pointed out, the first six entries do not correspond to deities mentioned in the novel.¹¹⁹ Three entries, Haiqiong bai zhenren 海瓊白真人, Qingwei jiaozhu wei yuanjun 清微教主魏天君, and Hunyuan jiaozhu Lu zhenjun 混元教主盧真君 precisely correspond to deity titles from the *Yushu jing*. Comparison of entries from the *Beiyou ji* list with the titles on the pictures of the deities at the beginning of the *Yushu jing* indicates that the *Beiyou ji* list probably represents a confused transmission of many of the gods from the earlier thunder scripture.¹²⁰ We cannot determine if Yu had access to a version of the *Yushu jing* or another text with the correct deity titles. Perhaps the confusions within the *Beiyou ji* list were partially the result of Yu's editing methods and the unintentional transmission of mistakes in other texts derived from *Yushu jing* or other Daoist scriptures. *Beiyou ji* drew upon Zhenwu's links with the Daoist Thunder Department and created a series of episodes based on the master-assistant dynamic.

¹¹⁸ This is section 23 of the *Beiyou ji*.

¹¹⁹ Seaman believes that the six names are titles of gods who sponsored the writing of the novel, patron deities of cults who published the text, or deities who possessed the mediums who delivered the text (Seaman, *Journey to the North*: 21). However, he fails to mention that the combinations of characters to create several of the names of these deities are clearly confusions or mistakes.

¹²⁰ For example, the first entry from the *Beiyou ji*, Wanfa jiaozhu Shengong miaoji Xu zhenjun 萬法教主神功妙濟許真君, actually refers to two separate deities. Wanfa jiaozhu is the title for Zhenwu in the *Yushu jing* illustration and Shengong miaoji Xu zhenjun is the title for the deity who appears fourth in the *Yushu jing*. *Beiyou ji*'s third entry, Donghua jiaozhu jiwei chuanjiao Zu yuanjun 東華教主濟微傳教祖元君, is a combination of Donghua jiaozhu (the second deity in *Yushu jing*) and a confused mixture of terms from the *Yushu jing* that refer to Lu Dongbin and Zhongli Quan (seventeenth and eighteenth in *Yushu jing*), two Qingwei deities (twelfth and thirteenth in *Yushu jing*) and Zu yuanjun (twelfth in *Yushu jing*).

The stories and illustrations of Yu's *Beiyou ji* were designed to appeal to the lower echelons of society.¹²¹ The text is written in vernacular language that people with little education could understand, and the inclusion of copious illustrations allowed illiterate audiences to enjoy the book, even if they could not follow the narrative.¹²² In fact, the appeal of these editions stemmed largely from their illustrations. The sheer number of these editions demonstrates the broad appeal of these editions in the late Ming.

The illustrated *Beiyou ji* shares several key visual features with many other late Ming Jianyang imprints.¹²³ *Beiyou ji* employs the *shangtu xiawen* 上圖下文 [pictures on top, text on the bottom] format (fig. 5.72). Pictures occupy the upper third of each page and vertical lines of text appear in the lower third. Each page features ten columns of text and seventeen characters per column. The text is carved in *jiangti zi* 匠體字 [craftsman's style script] that is characterized by simple, sharp-edged strokes.¹²⁴ This style was easier to carve than more calligraphic styles. Carvers did not need to be highly skilled and characters could be carved

¹²¹ Ming imprints referred to these types of readers or audiences as *yufu yufu* 愚夫愚婦 [ignorant (i.e., uneducated) men and women] or *suren* 俗人 [common people].

¹²² As we will discuss below, illiterate audiences could probably not follow the story on their own from the running illustrations alone.

¹²³ Yu Xiangdou's 1595 illustrated edition of *Shuihu zhuan* is remarkably similar in format, pictorial elements, and style to Yu's edition of the *Beiyou ji* discussed here. For more on Yu's 1595 edition of the *Shuihu zhuan*, see Farrer, "The *Shui-hu Chuan*: A Study in the Development of Late Ming Woodblock Illustration," 99-121.

As Joseph McDermott has pointed out, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the book markets of Fujian and Nanjing were fairly integrated. Commercial printers from both areas employed some of the same printers and carvers—they even printed editions from the same blocks. Therefore, we cannot say that a particular style of picture was confined to a single region. See McDermott, "The Ascendance of the Imprint in China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*: 75.

¹²⁴ This style of script was also known by the somewhat confusing term, Song style script [*Songti* 宋體字], because some Ming people claimed it imitated Song style.

quickly, resulting in reduced costs and increased productivity for publishers.¹²⁵ Because the use of *jiangti zi* was standard for many late Ming Jianyang imprints, it was familiar and legible to readers of the time, even though the characters seem quite crowded to modern readers. The illustrations are rendered in a rudimentary fashion and many pictorial elements were reused from edition to edition. Settings are minimal and simply drawn figures dominate the compositions. Faces lack distinctive features, and most figures wear the same style long white robe trimmed in black at the wrists and neck. The majority of figures hide their hands in their sleeves. Many of the compositions consist of a single pair of figures or a pair of tables with black tops wrapped in cloth. Even the linear pattern of the folds of cloth along the front of the tables recurs in multiple editions (figs. 5.72 and 5.73).¹²⁶

Because the text and pictures in Yu's *Beiyou ji* are continuous, the text and related picture do not always appear on the same page. Late Ming Jianyang imprints, like the *Beiyou ji*, commonly frame each illustration with a title split along the two sides of the picture. A dark black box with two short horizontal lines appears in each of the four corners of the picture serving to enclose the title (fig. 5.74). The titles range from six to eight characters and they served three important functions. They clued readers into who is in the picture and what is going on. Since the pictures are schematic, the figures are relatively non-descript, and the episode text does not reliably appear below the picture: readers needed titles to understand

¹²⁵ *Jiangti zi* also allowed a maximum number of characters to be carved in a limited amount of space. This meant that publishers could fit more onto fewer pages (another way to reduce costs). Late Ming Jianyang imprints also tended to be printed on inexpensive bamboo paper.

¹²⁶ These same visual details appear in other Jianyang imprints of the time. For tables with similar drapery folds, see Chia, *Printing for Profit*: 214, fig. 43c. For an imprint with the same corner borders, see Chia, *Printing for Profit*: 212, fig. 41; Hegel, "Niche Marketing" in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*: 244, fig. 17; Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*: 187-88, figs. 4.15 and 4.16.

the illustrations. Titles also allowed the pictures to stand on their own not only without the running text in the lower portion of the page but also as single independent images apart from the rest of the book. Readers could appreciate the illustrations out of order. While illiterate readers did not read the titles, other readers may have read them aloud to those who could not.¹²⁷

Many of the figures in the *Beiyou ji* illustrations are not readily distinguishable as Zhenwu. In the first ninety-six pictures, Zhenwu is depicted as a generic white-robed figure with a scholar's cap or with a double bob hairdo. In the later pictures, he is more visually distinctive: he has long, loose hair, and often wields a sword. The visual shift toward a more iconographically recognizable Zhenwu corresponds with a change in the term used to refer to the god in the illustration titles. In the earlier illustrations, Zhenwu is referred to variously as *taizi* 太子 [crown prince], *changsheng* 長生 [long life], and *zushi* 祖師 [venerable teacher]. In the later illustrations, which correspond to the time following the completion of his period of cultivation on Mt. Wudang, Zhenwu is usually called *zushi* or *shangdi* 上帝 [supreme emperor]. The most distinctive images of Zhenwu are those that refer to Zhenwu as Xuantian shangdi. In three illustrations (figs. 5.75, 5.76, and 5.77), he appears as a standing figure with long hair and a sword. In two others Zhenwu sits on a rock throne (figs. 5.78 and 5.69). These more distinctive images were probably adapted from earlier models while the more generic pictures were probably based upon stock images also used in other illustrated books in the late Ming.

¹²⁷ As Anne McLaren has pointed out, reading to oneself or an audience was a traditional reading practice in China. This type of vocalization was called *songdu* 誦讀, *dusong* 讀誦, *jiangdu* 講讀 and *fengsong* 諷誦. See McLaren, "Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*: 167. Another type of popular religious text, *baojuan* 寶卷 [precious scrolls], was also intended to be read aloud to an audience.

In publishing the illustrated *Beiyou ji*, Yu capitalized on a knowing audience already familiar with Zhenwu's image and stories about him. By the late Ming, Zhenwu's cult had spread throughout the country, and there was a strong demand for an inexpensive illustrated book of his exploits.¹²⁸ But Yu's illustrated *Beiyou ji* does not just relate entertaining stories about Zhenwu, it also offers a "ritual appendix" with instructions on how to conduct rituals dedicated to the deity. The first three pages of this appendix provide information and instructions under six headings: *she gong* 設供 [arrangement of offerings], *jisi* 忌食 [taboos on food offerings], *sheng yang zhi yao* 聖養之要 [rules for self preservation], *yu hui* 御諱 [rules for name taboos], *sheng jiang zhi chen* 聖降之辰 [times when the deity descends to earth], and *sheng* 聖 *san yue chu san ri* 三月初三日 [deity's birthday]. The first illustration (fig. 5.79) shows a figure standing before a table arrayed with offerings. The illustration on the following page (fig. 5.80) presents a standing figure glancing at a tortoise and snake on the edge of a table.¹²⁹ The last picture (fig. 5.81) depicts Zhenwu in active descent: he wields his sword in one hand and raises the other while a cloud surrounds him and the tortoise and snake below him.¹³⁰ The last two pictures in the ritual appendix feature a pair and a trio of devotees kneeling in obeisance, presumably in reverence to Zhenwu. These final images reinforce the idea that this section of the *Beiyou ji*, and perhaps the entire publication, was aimed at Zhenwu devotees. Yu no doubt knew his market and recognized that a novel

¹²⁸ For example, a passage near the end of the *Beiyou ji* associates Zhenwu with saving travelers, merchants, and officials from the perils they encountered while crossing the Yangzi River. The novel relates that some of these people built a temple hall at Mt. Wudang dedicated to Zhenwu along with a statue of the deity to reside there. For an English translation of this passage, see Seaman: 203-4.

¹²⁹ This could be a reference to the taboo on eating animals that are related to the tortoise and snake.

¹³⁰ This image depicts Zhenwu during one of his many scheduled descents listed in the text below.

about Zhenwu with a ritual appendix would be attractive to potential buyers. It is also possible that Yu and Xiong may have had dual motivations for publishing the illustrated *Beiyou ji*, to gain commercial profit and to generate religious merit, which were not mutually exclusive aims.¹³¹

Conclusion

Whether accompanied by the text of the story or not, depictions of Zhenwu's theophanies and omens provided a tangible record of his power. For viewers of these images, seeing was believing. The circulation of these images proved instrumental in the spread of the Zhenwu cult. Images of the god reflect his many roles including protector of the nation and individuals, grantor of legitimacy to rulers, assurer of victory on the battlefield, exorcist, vanquisher of demons and converter of malevolent forces, preventer of droughts and flooding, and grantor of other worldly benefits such as the birth of sons or a good harvest.

Whereas depictions of the god's theophanies provided proof of Zhenwu's effectiveness, illustrations of hagiographic stories served a didactic function for believers and potential adherents. The deity appeared in images as a precocious child, a filial son, willing student, effective practitioner, loyal and reverent member of the Daoist celestial court, and powerful deity willing and able to intervene on behalf of ordinary people. Each of these images afforded viewers the opportunity to relate to and admire the god's progress and accomplishments throughout his "life." Hardly unique to Zhenwu, many of these hagiographic

¹³¹ Later (post Ming) editions of the *Beiyou ji* do not have the ritual appendix, indicating that the novel about Zhenwu became more about entertainment than religious belief.

scenes also conformed to established literary and artistic traditions for the composition and representation of the hagiography of a god.

By the end of the Ming period, visual narratives of Zhenwu permeated all levels of society. These images amplified and transmitted belief in Zhenwu to emperors, the imperial court, elites and common people. Depictions of Zhenwu's auspicious responses, beneficial interventions in human affairs, and his ability to subdue other powerful deities and turn them into his assistants each appealed to a variety of audiences. In the early Ming, the Yongle emperor's extensive patronage of Zhenwu stimulated the production and circulation of Zhenwu images. By the late Ming, images of Zhenwu in woodblock-printed books reflect the god's popularity among all echelons of society. The stories and images in the vernacular novel *Beiyou ji* demonstrate Zhenwu's integration into the pantheon of Chinese popular religion of the late Ming. Belief in Zhenwu and production of images of the deity continued into the Qing, but his distinctive visual iconography and appeal became diluted within the huge pantheon of deities in Chinese popular religion and the increasing focus on Tibetan Buddhist deities. Zhenwu would continue to be a well-known figure in Chinese popular religion and an important deity within Daoist ritual settings into the modern period. But Zhenwu's popularity and ubiquity during the Ming period as a powerful warrior deity with an extensive hagiography and corpus of images would never be eclipsed.

Conclusion

Multiple Roles, Multiple Contexts

This study's interdisciplinary analysis of the literary, historical, social, and religious contexts of key Zhenwu images has shown that throughout the god's history, he served in multiple roles in multiple contexts. Representations of the deity reflect this variety and demonstrate the importance of images in the transmission of beliefs about Zhenwu and his powers. Some of the earliest remaining images of Zhenwu that date to the end of the Southern Song and early Yuan emphasize his affiliation with the Daoist Thunder Department and his membership in the martial quartet known as the *sisheng* [Four Saints]. The god's placement at the head of the procession in the *Yushu jing* [Jade Pivot Scripture] signals his importance among Daoist thunder deities of the time. Zhenwu's appearance with the Saints in the Junkunc-Cleveland album highlights his role as a member of the protective and exorcistic quartet. Even at this early stage, we also found paintings of Zhenwu within caches of images of Buddhist deities discovered among the material remains of the Tangut Xia, suggesting that Zhenwu images served concurrently in Buddhist and Daoist contexts. Zhenwu's association with the Saints and his presence in multiple contexts carries into murals and court paintings of sacred assemblies such as those in the Royal Ontario Museum, Sanqing Hall at Yongle gong [Palace of Eternal Joy], Pilu si [Pilu Monastery], and from Baoning si [Precious Peace Monastery]. The incorporation of the god into these visual assemblies associated with ritual performances of the Daoist *huanglu zhai* [Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register] and the

Buddhist *shuilu fahui* [Rite of Deliverance of Creatures from Water and Land] shows his prominence within the increasingly overlapping religious imagery of the Yuan and Ming.

A shift toward depicting Zhenwu as a supreme god seated upon a throne with a retinue of his own parallels a period of enthusiastic imperial patronage of the god and temples on Mt. Wudang during the late Yuan and Ming. These painted and sculptural groupings feature Zhenwu with a set of attendants and a different cadre of martial divinities such as the four *yuanshuai* and/or additional *tianjun* from the Thunder Department. Less active than the god's representations with the Saints, these depictions accentuate Zhenwu's regality and his command over other martial divinities while asserting his role as protector of the imperial throne. Our analysis of several dated Ming bronze statues of Zhenwu from the Jindian on Mt. Wudang, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, and the Roger Keverne Gallery in London served as the basis for our presentation of the major types of smaller undated porcelain and stoneware images of the god. The sheer number of these smaller images and their devotional use in household shrines or community temples reflects the widespread appeal of the god during the Ming. These small-scale affordable images emphasized the god's accessibility and his powers as a personal tutelary god. Zhenwu's incorporation into *longquan* celadon stoneware shrines featuring Puhua tianzun in one case and Guanyin in another demonstrates Zhenwu's continued association with both Daoist and Buddhist gods and his incorporation as a major deity within Chinese popular religion.

Visual Narratives for Diverse Audiences

This study's exploration of the rich visual and literary traditions for presenting the hagiography of Zhenwu revealed the god's appeal to socially diverse audiences, particularly during the Ming. The woodblock-printed illustrated hagiography *Wudang jiaqing tu* [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang] and the imperially commissioned *Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] both relate episodes when auspicious responses from Zhenwu were reported at Mt. Wudang during a key phase of imperially sponsored construction projects in 1412-13. While both collections served to document these events, their different styles and levels of distribution reflect the divergent aims of their creators. *Wudang jiaqing tu's* primary goal was proselytization to a variety of literate viewers while *Xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* chiefly served to document and preserve Zhenwu's responses to the Yongle emperor's building projects in a format and style designed to appeal to the taste of a more limited audience including the emperor himself. Designers of multiple Ming versions of *Soushen daquan* 搜神大全 [Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural] used linguistic and stylistic conventions to appeal to a relatively elite audience. Even so, our analysis of differences in the composition, style, and details of images of the god in Yuan and Ming editions showed a shift in Zhenwu's appearance from an elegant, distant deity to an approachable god within the expanding pantheon of Chinese popular religion by the time of the 1593 publication of the last edition of the compendia that we considered.

By the late Ming, Zhenwu's cult had spread throughout the country, and there was strong demand for an inexpensive illustrated book of his exploits. The prolific and astute

Jiayang publisher, Yu Xiangdou responded by publishing an illustrated version of *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Written in vernacular language that people with little education could understand, copious illustrations allowed illiterate audiences to enjoy the book, even if they could not follow the narrative. *Beiyou ji* not only relates entertaining stories about the god and his ability to vanquish and convert demonic forces, but it also includes a “ritual appendix” with instructions on how to conduct rituals dedicated to the deity, suggesting that Zhenwu devotees made up part of the audience for the work.

Images and Transmission

The trajectory of images of Zhenwu presented in this study, as a martial deity affiliated with the Daoist Thunder Department and member of the Four Saints to an independent god with his own retinue and extensive hagiography appealing to elites and ordinary people alike, underscores the broadening of the god’s appeal that reached its zenith during the Ming. Though Zhenwu enjoyed imperial and elite patronage, visual and literary evidence do not suggest that the transmission of Zhenwu images and beliefs about the god were the result of state-sponsored efforts at coercive standardization. Unlike some other widely popular deities in late imperial China, Zhenwu was not viewed as a heterodox local deity that needed to be co-opted or converted.¹

¹ The state made numerous attempts to standardize and co-opt local deities. James Watson’s study of Tianhou examines one example: James Watson, “Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T’ien-hou (‘Empress of Heaven’) along the South China Coast, 960-1960” in David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds. *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985): 292-324.

Buddhist and Daoist religious specialists also strove to eradicate or convert deities they viewed as heterodox. Paul Katz has studied this phenomenon in the cult of Marshal Wen: *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) and “Orthopraxy

The spread of Zhenwu's cult and the transmission of images of the deity involved multiple processes and took place on multiple levels. As the focus of imperial edicts and state patronage of temples dedicated to him, Zhenwu was represented in bronze statues and imperial court paintings. Compiled by Daoist religious specialists, imperially commissioned scriptures and court-sponsored gazetteers of Mt. Wudang fashioned Zhenwu's hagiography and documented the god's miraculous appearances as signs of his favor and protection of the state. Daoist priests played a major role in administering the many Zhenwu temples throughout the realm. They oversaw the construction and refurbishment of temples as well as the installation and maintenance of images. These Daoists also composed and performed liturgies and communal rites invoking Zhenwu. Elites and ordinary people encountered images of Zhenwu in temple murals and viewed statues of the god in local temples and on pilgrimages to the god's mountain home. At the same time, images of the god appeared in Buddhist and popular contexts. The circulation of illustrated popular novels featuring Zhenwu and the availability of small, affordable images of the god expanded Zhenwu's appeal beyond members of the imperial court, elites, and religious specialists to ordinary people. These images and accounts stressed Zhenwu's role as a powerful exorcistic god and a personal tutelary deity as he was incorporated as a major god in the pantheon of Chinese popular religion alongside deities like Guanyin.

and Heteropraxy Beyond the State: Standardizing Ritual in Chinese Society" in *Modern China* 33, no. 1 (January 2007): 72-90.

Zhenwu's Place in the Visual Culture of Late Imperial China

This study of Zhenwu reinforces the reality that religious practice and visual art of late imperial China did not always acknowledge normative or doctrinal boundaries between Daoism, Buddhism, and popular religion. Artists, patrons, and viewers did not necessarily perceive deities and practices as elements of so-called Buddhist, Daoist, and popular religious traditions but as part of a more holistically Chinese world of the supernatural. The visual culture of the time incorporated imagery and deities from multiple religious traditions into a shifting mix that addressed people's needs for intangible next-world benefits such as salvation and redemption but also for this-world benefits such as the birth of a son or a good harvest.

This project's exploration of Zhenwu images has demonstrated the god's importance for a wide swath of Chinese society from the imperial court to ordinary people. The variety and number of images testifies to the god's popularity and ubiquity in late imperial China. Even in the face of the widespread popularity of Zhenwu and the diversity of images representing him, the god retained his visual and functional identity as a Daoist deity. Zhenwu did not need to be converted in order to appear in Buddhist contexts and, even as ordinary people adopted the god as a personal protector, Daoist priests continued to invoke him in ritual performances. Zhenwu's ability to rise above boundaries is reflected in representations of the god in multiple contexts, and his ability to appeal to viewers from a range of social backgrounds and locales. The proliferation of Zhenwu images helped to make him one of the most popular deities in late imperial China and grants him a prominent place within the visual culture of the time.

Appendix A

Comparison of Stories from *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* and *Wudang jiaqing tu*

Charts below compare the 128 stories and their titles from the full sequence of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* with the 78 entries in *Wudang jiaqing tu*.¹

Table 5.1a

Stories Concerning Zhenwu's Conception and Birth			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu</i> juan	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
1. Jinque huashen 金闕化身	Transforming the Body at the Golden Gate	1	20
2. Wanggong dansheng 王宮誕聖	Birth of the Sacred Being at the Imperial Palace	1	21

Table 5.1b

Stories About Zhenwu's departure from Home and His Period of Cultivation			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu</i> juan	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
3. Jingshu mohui 經書默會	Quiet Realization of the Scriptures	1	22
4. Ciqin mudao 辭親慕道	Saying Goodbye to Parents and Seeking the Dao	1	23
5. Yuanjun shoudao 元君授道	Yuanjun Gives (Zhenwu) the Dao	1	24
6. Tiandi cijian 天帝賜劍	Jade Emperor Bestows a Sword	1	25
7. Jianzu qunchen 澗阻群臣	A Stream Stops the Officials	1	26
8. Tongzhen neilian 童真內鍊	Virgin Boy Cultivates His Inner Self	1	27
9. Wuchu chengzhen 悟杵成針	Pounding a Pestle to Become a Needle	1	28
10. Zhemei jilang 折梅寄榔	Breaking the Plum (Branch) and Putting it in a Betel Nut Tree	1	29
11. Penglai xianlu 蓬萊仙侶	Immortals from Penglai Accompany (Zhenwu)	1	30
12. Zixiao yuandao 紫霄圓道	Getting the Dao at Purple Tenuity (Mountain)	1	31
13. Wulong pengsheng 五龍捧聖	Five Dragons Hold the Sacred Being (Zhenwu)	1	32
14. Santian zhaoming 三天詔命	Three Heavens Create an Edict and Commandment	1	33
15. Bairi shangsheng 白日上昇	The White Sun Rises	1	34

¹ The original text of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* does not number the stories. I provide these numbers for convenient reference to particular stories throughout my discussions.

Table 5.1c

Stories of Zhenwu's Ascendance as a Deity and His Receipt of Sacred Titles and Responsibilities			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu juan</i>	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
16. Yubi chaocan 玉陛朝參	Paying Respects at Court on the Jade Platform	1	35
17. Zhenqing xiandu 真慶仙都	Clear Perfection (Palace) in the Immortals Capital	1	36
18. Yuqing yanfa 玉清演法	Practicing Methods in the Jade Purity (Palace)	1	37
19. Chaojin tianyan 朝觀天顏	Going to the Palace to see the Heavenly Face (of Yuanshi tianzun)	1	38
20. Xiangmo dongyin 降魔洞陰	Subduing Demons at Dong Yin	1	39
21. Fenpan rengui 分判人鬼	Dividing and Judging Humans and Ghosts	1	40
22. Kaixuan qingdu 凱還清都	Returning Victorious to the Pure Capital	1	41
23. Fuwei kangong 復位坎宮	Returning to His Throne at Kan Gong	1	42
24. Yujing jiaogong 玉京較功	Comparing Virtue at the Jade Capital	1	43
25. Qiongtai shouce 瓊臺受冊	Receiving the Tally at the Jade Platform	1	44
26. Tiangong jiaqing 天宮家慶	Family Celebration at the Heavenly Palace	1	45
27. Zixiao yuji 紫霄禹跡	Traces of Yu at Purple Tenuity (Mountain)	1	46

Table 5.1d

Stories About Miracles that Zhenwu Performed for the Benefit of the Terrestrial World			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu</i> juan	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
28. Ganlin yingdao 甘霖應禱	Sweet Rain in Response to Prayers	1	47
29. Wulong xintang 五龍唐興	Rise of Five Dragons in the Tang	1	48
30. Wudang fayuan 武當發願	Making a Wish at (Mount) Wudang	1	49
31. Guyan xiuguo 谷岳修果	Cultivating Fruit in Cliffs and Valleys	1	50
32. Guitian xiangri 歸天降日	Capturing the Sun and Returning to Heaven	2	51
33. Gongsheng chongshi 供聖重時	Making Offerings to the Sacred (Being) at Chong Time	2	52
34. Canding biji 參定避忌	Bow Down and Avoid Taboos	2	53
35. Jindao yishi 進到儀式	Ceremonial Rite of Entry	2	54
36. Dongtian yungai 洞天雲蓋	Clouds Cover the Grotto Heaven	2	55
37. Gongdian jinqun 宮殿金裙	Golden Skirt in the Palace Hall	2	56
38. Maqian xiyue 馬前戲躍	Playing and Jumping Before a Horse	2	57
39. Dimian yingpan 地面迎蟠	Entwined (Tortoise and Snake) Face the Earth	2	58
40. Shengxiang xianfeng 聖像先鋒	Vanguard of the Sacred Image	2	59
41. Lingge zhenrui 靈閣真瑞	True and Auspicious (Event in the) Numinous Chamber	2	60
42. Wuren xianxiang 五人現相	Miraculous Appearance of Five People	2	61
43. Ershi huaguang 二士化光	Two Men Transform into Light	2	62
44. Tangxian baoxiang 唐憲寶像	Tang Xian's Precious Image	2	63
45. Zhushi jinzhuan 朱氏金磚	Zhu's Golden Brick	2	64
46. Zaobei xiansheng 阜背顯聖	The Saint Manifests (His) Black Back	3	65
47. Jingjin jieyuan 淨巾結緣	Pure Cloth Bears the Reason	3	66
48. Songchao yitong 宋朝一統	Song Dynasty Unifies (the Country)	3	67
49. Baoyun chongxin 寶運重新	Precious Fortune Renewed Again	3	68
50. Tiangang daijian 天罡帶箭	Holding the Arrow of the Northern Dipper Star	3	69
51. Hekui qingqiao 河魁擎鞘	Holding Up the Scabbard of the River Chief	3	70
52. Shuwang guishun 蜀王歸順	Conversion of the King of Shu	3	71
53. Fanzhen tonghe 藩鎮通和	Harmonious Conquest of the Warlords	3	72
54. Piaoqing sanwan 瓢傾三萬	The Dipper Empties 30,000 (Times)	3	73
55. Hubiao yijing 壺俵一京	Equally Distribute (Medicine) in the Capital	3	74
56. Xueqing jilu 雪晴濟路	Helping the Road by Clearing Snow	3	75
57. Fenglang jiuyan 風浪救岳	Saving the Cliff from Wind and Waves	3	76
58. Shengjian chufen 聖箭垂粉	Bequeathing the Powder of the Sacred Arrow	3	77
59. Shenqiang zhuren 神搶竹刃	Deity Snatches the Bamboo Sword	3	78
60. Shenshou qudian 神獸驅電	Lightning Drives Away the Sacred Beast	3	--
61. Dufeng aiyun 毒蜂靄雲	Misty Clouds (Vanquish) Poison Bees	3	--
62. Shenjiang jiaofa 神將教法	Holy General Teaches the Method	4	--
63. Fuli jiebing 符吏借兵	Soldiers Borrow the Official Tally	4	--
64. Shuxian weijia 書顯魏家	Manifestation of the Wei Family Book	4	--
65. Jiaoluo wangzhai 狡落王宅	Using a Divination Tool in the King's Chamber	4	--
66. Kecheng shijian 柯誠識奸	Ke Cheng Recognizes Evil	4	--
67. Dongzhen renyan 洞真認厭	Recognizing Disillusion in the Perfected Cave	4	--
68. Shengzheng huafu 聖幀化婦	Sacred Hanging Scroll Transforms a Woman	4	--
69. Shenling fenxing 神靈分形	Numinous Deity Divides (His) Appearance	4	--

Stories About Miracles that Zhenwu Performed for the Benefit of the Terrestrial World (continued)			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu juan</i>	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
70. Kouchuan tuisan 寇船退散	Retreat and Scattering of the Robber's Boat	4	--
71. Jieyuan jiuqin 劫院就擒	Capturing the Courtyard Robber	4	--
72. Sheshen qiuyu 捨身求雨	Seeking Rain By Abandoning the Body	4	--
73. Fuyu qiqing 附語祈晴	Adding Words and Worshipping Clarity	4	--
74. Sunyin qianhuang 孫隱遣蝗	Sun Yin Dispatches (Sends Away) the Locusts	4	--
75. Shouqing rangchong 守卿禳蟲	Defending Minister Averts an Insect (Plague)	4	--
76. Xiaorang huode 消禳火德	Praying to God to Dispel the Old Dynasty	5	--
77. Zheying jidu 折應計都	The Jidu (Star) Porends Disaster	5	--
80. Zhengjian miegui 鄭箭滅龜	Zheng's Arrow Destroys the Tortoise	5	--
81. Peijian quhu 裴劍驅虎	Pei's Sword Drives Out the Tiger	5	--
82. Dangdian shifa 當殿試法	Testing the Law (at Wu) Dang Hall	5	--
83. Juting jinyao 聚廳禁妖	Assembling in the Hall to Banish Demons	5	--
84. Yaohuo chaimiao 妖惑柴邈	Demons Delude Chai Miao	5	--
85. Meichan anren 魅纏安仁	An Evil Spirit Ties Up An Ren	5	--
86. Luchuan zhaowu 陸傳招誣	Lu Chuan Beckons Accuse Falsely	5	--
87. Wanghu zhongji 王虎中計	Wang Hu is Victimized	5	--
88. Chenqi fuhun 陳妻附魂	Son of Chen's Wife Inhabits (Someone's Body)	5	--
89. Wangshi huaigui 王氏懷鬼	A Ghost Impregnates Lady Wang	5	--
90. Fenglu yanshou 奉錄延壽	Receiving a Record to Extend Life	5	--
91. Shijing jizai 施經救災	Donating Sutras to Prevent Disasters	6	--
92. Linggong zhoushui 靈功咒水	Water Incantation for Numinous Merit	6	--
93. Zhenfa jinyue 真法浸鉞	True Method Submerged Battle Axe	6	--
94. Zhenhe xingfu 鎮河興福	Flourishing Fortune Calms the River	6	--
95. Xianhai jiuwei 現海救危	Manifesting (in the Sea to) Prevent Danger	6	--
96. Hequan yuhui 何詮遇會	He Quan Encounters a Gathering	6	--
97. Wushi yuanhe 吳氏緣合	Lady Wu's Fated Contract	6	--
98. Jinming xiansheng 進明顯聖	Holy Saint Advances the Ming	6	--
99. Zousu qiling 鄒宿契靈	Zou Su Numinous Engraved Characters	6	--
100. Tianci qingzao 天賜青棗	Heaven Bestows a Blue-Green Betel Nut	6	--
101. Shenhua hongying 神化紅纓	Deity Transforms into a Red Tassel	6	--
102. Jingwang shuangmei 荆王雙美	Two Beauties of King Jin	6	--
103. Jiaoshi yisi 焦氏一嗣	The Single Descendent of Lady Jiao	6	--
104. Xiaotong yingmeng 小童應夢	Little Boy Appears in a Dream	7	--
105. Gaosheng jiangfan 高聖降凡	Great Saint Descends to the World	7	--
106. Qicong jieming 七從借名	Seven Attendants Borrow Names	7	--
107. Erzhen xianhua 二真顯化	Two Perfected Transform and Appear	7	--
108. Suoqian erwan 索錢二萬	Asking For 20,000 in Cash	7	--
109. Fanchao siqian 翻鈔四千	Turning Over 4,000 in Cash	7	--
110. Shuiyun huji 水雲護笈	Water and Clouds Shield the Bookcase	7	--
111. Fengwu xiehan 風霧卸函	Wind and Mist Unload the Bookcase	7	--
112. Qianci yingyan 籤詞應驗	Divination Strip Manifests a Response	7	--
113. Xiangshu zhimi 相術指迷	Physiognomy (Solves the) Puzzle	7	--
114. Huqing qiye 胡清棄業	Hu Qing Quits (His) Job	7	--

Stories About Miracles that Zhenwu Performed for the Benefit of the Terrestrial World (continued)			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu</i> juan	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
115. Zhonghe cili 仲和辭吏	Zhong He Resigns (His) Office	7	--
116. Liangsi ganxiang 良嗣感祥	Auspicious Response for a Good Heir	7	--
117. Yuanyan wuhua 元晏悟化	Yuan Yan Understands and Converts	7	--
118. Wangun laobie 王袞烙龜	Wang Gun Brands the Tortoise	8	--
119. Huashi xiayu 華氏殺魚	Lady Hua Kills the Fish	8	--
120. Zhushi sheli 朱氏舍利	Lady Zhu's Relics	8	--
121. Lianggong guanfan 梁公冠簪	Duke Liang's Hat and Hairpin	8	--
122. Tiandi chuijian 天地垂鑒	Heaven and Earth Bequeath a Mirror	8	--
123. Shenling zouju 神靈奏舉	Making a Memorial to the Numinous Spirit	8	--
124. Shengjing bianyi 聖井辨異	Recognizing the Unusual Sacred Well	8	--
125. Jiaohu baoe 焦湖報惡	Responding to Evil at Lake Jiao	8	--
126. Xucai huaili 虛財化礫	False Money Transforms a Whetstone	8	--
127. Jiazhu shaochen 假燭燒塵	False Candle Burns the Human World	8	--
128. Xugong cixian 敘功賜銜	Representing Merit and Bestowing a Title	8	--

Appendix B

Table 5.2

Entries from <i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i> Concerning Ming Events at Mt. Wudang			
Chinese Title	Translated Title	Date*	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
Huangbang ronghui 黃榜榮輝	Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor	Yongle 10 th year, 7 th month, 11 th day (1412)	1
Heiyun ganying 黑雲感應	Efficacious Response of a Black Cloud	Yongle 10 th year, 7 th month, 18 th day (1412)	2
Qianlin yingxiang 羣林應祥	Auspicious Appearance of Qianlin (Trees)	Yongle 10 th year (1412)	3
Langmei chengrui 榔梅呈瑞	Auspicious Appearance of Betel-nut Plums	Yongle 10 th year (1412)	4
Shenliu jumu 神留巨木	Deity Leaves a Huge (Piece) of Wood	Yongle 10 th year, 11 th month, 10 th day (1412)	5
Shuiyong hongzhong 水湧洪鍾	A Great Bell Floats in the Water	Yongle 11 th year, 5 th month, 16 th day (1413)	6
Xuandi shenghao 玄帝聖號	Xuandi's Sacred Title	--	7
Tianzhen xianxian 天真顯現	Manifestation of the Heavenly Perfected	Yongle 10 th year, 5 th month, 25 th day (1412)	8
Tianzhen xianying 天真顯應	Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected	Yongle 10 th year, 5 th month, 25 th day (1412)	9
Yuanguang xianying 圓光顯應	Manifested Response in a Round Halo	Yongle 10 th year, 5 th month, 26 th day (1412)	10

* Where a month is listed in the date, that month corresponds to the lunar month.

Table 5.3

Entries from <i>Zhenwu lingying tu ce</i> Compared with <i>Qisheng lu</i> and <i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>			
Chinese Title*	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu</i> juan	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
1. Jingle xianguo / Jinque huashen 淨樂仙國金闕化身**	Immortal Country of Jingle Transforming the Body at the Golden Gate	-- 1	19 20
2. Wanggong dansheng 王宮誕聖	Birth of the Sacred Being at the Imperial Palace	1	21
3. Jingshu mohui 經書默會	Quiet Realization of the Sutra	1	22
4. Yuanjun shoudao 元君授道	Yuanjun Gives (Zhenwu) the Dao	1	24
5. Tiandi cijian 天帝賜劍	Heavenly Emperor Bestows a Sword	1	25
6. Jianzu qunchen 澗阻群臣	A Stream Stops the Officials	1	26
7. Wuchu chengzhen 杵成針	Pounding a Pestle to Become a Needle	1	28
8. Zheimei jilang 折梅寄榔	Breaking the Plum (Branch) and Putting it in a Betel Nut Tree	1	29
9. Zixiao yuandao 紫霄圓道	Getting the Dao at Purple Tenuity (Mountain)	1	31
10. Santian zhaoming 三天詔命	Three Heavens Create an Edict and Commandment	1	33
11. Bairi shangsheng 白日上昇	The White Sun Rises	1	34
12. Yubi chaocan 玉陛朝參	Paying Respects at Court on the Jade Platform	1	35
13. Zhenqing xiandu 真慶仙都	Clear Perfection (Palace) in the Immortals Capital	1	36
14. Yuqing yanfa 玉清演法	Practicing Methods in the Jade Purity (Palace)	1	37
15. Xiangmo dongyin 降魔洞陰	Subduing Demons at Dong Yin	1	39
16. Fuwei kangong 復位坎宮	Returning to his Throne at Kan Gong	1	42
17. Qiongtai shouce 瓊臺受冊	Receiving the Tally at the Jade Platform	1	44
18. Zixiao yuji 紫霄禹跡	Traces of Yu at Purple Tenuity (Mountain)	1	46
19. Wulong xintang 五龍唐興	Rise of Five Dragons in the Tang	1	48
20. Wudang fayuan 武當發願	Making a Wish at Wudang (Mountain)	1	49
21. Guyan xiuguo 谷岳修果	Cultivating Fruit in Cliffs and Valleys	1	50
22. Guitian xiangri 歸天降日	Capturing the Sun and Returning to Heaven	2	51
23. Gongsheng chongshi 供聖重時	Making Offerings to the Sacred (Being) at Chong Time	2	52
24. Jindao yishi 進到儀式	Ceremonial Rite of Entry	2	54
25. Dongtian yungai 洞天雲蓋	Clouds Cover the Grotto Heaven	2	55
26. Gongdian jinqun 宮殿金裙	Golden Skirt in the Palace Hall	2	56
27. Shengxiang xianfeng 聖像先鋒	Vanguard of the Sacred Image	2	59
28. Ershi huaguang 二士化光	Two Men Transform into Light	2	62
29. Tangxian baoxiang 唐憲寶像	Tang Xian's Precious Image	2	63
30. Zhushi jinzhuan 朱氏金磚	Zhu's Golden Brick	2	64
31. Baoyun chongxin 寶運重新	Precious Fortune Renewed Again	3	68
32. Tiangang daijian 天罡帶箭	Holding the Arrow of the Northern Dipper Star	3	69
33. Shuwang guishun 蜀王歸順	Conversion of the King of Shu	3	71
34. Piaoqing sanwan 瓢傾三萬	The Dipper Empties 30,000 (Times)	3	73
35. Xueqing jilu 雪晴濟路	Helping the Road by Clearing Snow	3	75
36. Shenshou qudian 神獸驅電	Lightning Drives Away the Sacred Beast	3	--
37. Dufeng aiyun 毒蜂靄雲	Misty Clouds (Vanquish) Poison Bees	3	--
38. Shenjiang jiaofa 神將教法	Holy General Teaches the Method	4	--
39. Kecheng shijian 柯誠識奸	Ke Cheng Recognizes Evil	4	--
40. Jieyuan jiuqin 劫院就擒	Capturing the Courtyard Robber	4	--
41. Fuyu qiqing 附語祈晴	Adding Words and Worshipping Clarity	4	--

Entries from <i>Zhenwu lingying tu ce</i> Compared with <i>Qisheng lu</i> and <i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i> (continued)			
Chinese Title*	Translated Title	<i>Qisheng lu</i> juan	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
42. Xiaorang huode 消禳火德	Praying to God to Dispel the Old Dynasty	5	--
43. Zheyang jidu 折應計都	The Jidu (Star) Porends Disaster	5	--
44. Zhengjian miegui 鄭箭滅龜	Zheng's Arrow Destroys the Tortoise	5	--
45. Juting jinyao 聚廳禁妖	Assembling in the Hall to Banish Demons	5	--
46. Yaohuo chaimiao 妖惑柴邈	Demons Delude Chai Miao	5	--
47. Meichan anren 魅纏安仁	An Evil Spirit Ties Up An Ren	5	--
48. Luchuan zhaowu 陸傳招誣	Lu Chuan Beckons Accuse Falsely	5	--
49. Chenqi fuhun 陳妻附魂	Son of Chen's Wife Inhabits (Someone's Body)	5	--
50. Wangshi huaigui 王氏懷鬼	A Ghost Impregnates Lady Wang	5	--
51. Shijing jiuzai 施經救災	Donating Sutras to Prevent Disasters	6	--
52. Linggong zhoushui 靈功咒水	Water Incantation for Numinous Merit	6	--
53. Zhenhe xingfu 鎮河興福	Flourishing Fortune Calms the River	6	--
54. Xianhai jiuwei 現海救危	Manifesting (in the Sea to) Prevent Danger	6	--
55. Wushi yuanhe 吳氏緣合	Lady Wu's Fated Contract	6	--
56. Jinming xiansheng 進明顯聖	Holy Saint Advances the Ming	6	--
57. Zousu qiling 鄒宿契靈	Zou Su Numinous Engraved Characters	6	--
58. Tianci qingzao 天賜青棗	Heaven Bestows a Blue-Green Jujube	6	--
59. Shenhua hongying 神化紅纓	Deity Transforms into a Red Tassel	6	--
60. Jiaoshi yisi 焦氏一嗣	The Single Descendent of Lady Jiao	6	--
61. Xiaotong yingmeng 小童應夢	Little Boy Appears in a Dream	7	--
62. Suoqian erwan 索錢二萬	Asking For/Looking for 20,000 in Cash	7	--
63. Fanchao siqian 翻鈔四千	Turning Over 4,000 in Cash	7	--
64. Qianci yingyan 籤詞應驗	Divination Strip Manifest Response	7	--
65. Xiangshu zhimi 相術指迷	Physiognomy (Solves the) Puzzle	7	--
66. Huqing qiye 胡清棄業	Hu Qing Quits (His) Job	7	--
67. Zhonghe cili 仲和辭吏	Zhong He Resigns (His) Office	7	--
68. Liangsi ganxiang 良嗣感祥	Auspicious Response for a Good Heir	7	--
69. Wanggun laobie 王袞烙龜	Wang Gun Brands the Tortoise	8	--
70. Huashi xiayu 華氏殺魚	Lady Hua Kills the Fish	8	--
71. Zhushi sheli 朱氏舍利	Lady Zhu's Relics	8	--
72. Lianggong guanzan 梁公冠簪	Duke Liang's Hat and Hairpin	8	--
73. Shengjing bianyi 聖井辨異	Recognizing the Unusual Sacred Well	8	--
74. Jiaohu baoe 焦湖報惡	Responding to Evil at Lake Jiao	8	--
75. Xucai huali 虛財化礫	False Money Transforms a Whetstone	8	--
76. Jiazhu shaochen 假燭燒塵	False Candle Burns the Human World	8	--
77. Xugong cixian 敘功賜銜	Represent Merit and Bestowing a Title	8	--
78. Fengyu zhizan 奉御制讚	Encomia Based on an Imperial Edict***	8	--

* The leaves of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* are no longer bound as an album and the individual pictures and texts are not numbered. The numbers in this chart are provided for the sake of comparison with other works and to provide easy reference to individual pictures.

** *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* entry includes *Jingle xianguo* while *qisheng lu* entry is just *jinque huashen* (for same episode). *Wudang jiaqing tu* has a separate picture and textual entry for *jingle xianguo* and *jinque huashen*.

*** This last title does not correspond to any events but it does appear at the end of *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu*.

Table 5.4

Entries in <i>Zhenwu lingying tu ce</i> Compared with <i>Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu</i> and <i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>			
Chinese Title*	Translated Title	<i>Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu</i>	<i>Wudang jiaqing tu</i>
79. Huangbang ronghui 黃榜榮輝	Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor	√	1
80. Langmei chengrui 榔梅呈瑞	Auspicious Appearance of Betel-nut Plums	√	4
81. Shenliu jumu 神留巨木	Deity Leaves a Huge (Piece) of Wood	√	5
82. Yongle shiyi nian wu yue ershiliu ri dading tianzhu feng yuanguang xiansheng 永樂十一年五月二十六日大頂天柱峰圓光顯聖	Round Halo Image Over the Large Roof on Tianzhu Peak (Appears) on the 26 th day of the 5 th lunar month in the 11 th year of Yongle 11 th year (1413)	√	10
83. Yongle shiyi nian ba yue shiqi ri guang zhongwu xiansheng xiang** 永樂十一年八月十七日光中五現聖像	Five Celestial Beings (Appear) in the Middle of a Halo on the 17 th day of the 8 th lunar month in the 11 th year of Yongle (1413)	√	12-16

* The leaves of *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* are no longer bound as an album and the individual pictures and texts are not numbered. The numbers in this chart are provided for the sake of comparison with other works and to provide easy reference to individual pictures.

** The accompanying painting for this title does not survive with *Zhenwu lingying tu ce*

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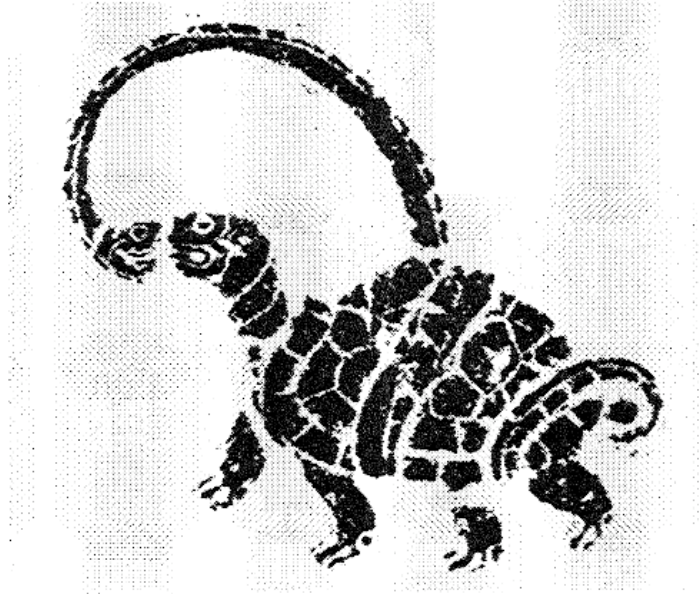
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1.1 Gilt bronze mirror with TLV patterns. Western Han period (206 BCE-8 CE). 21.5 cm. Tenri Sankokan Museum, Nara. From *Sekai bijutsu daizenshu* 世界美術大全集 [New History of World Art], vol. 2. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997-2001: 185 (figure 125).



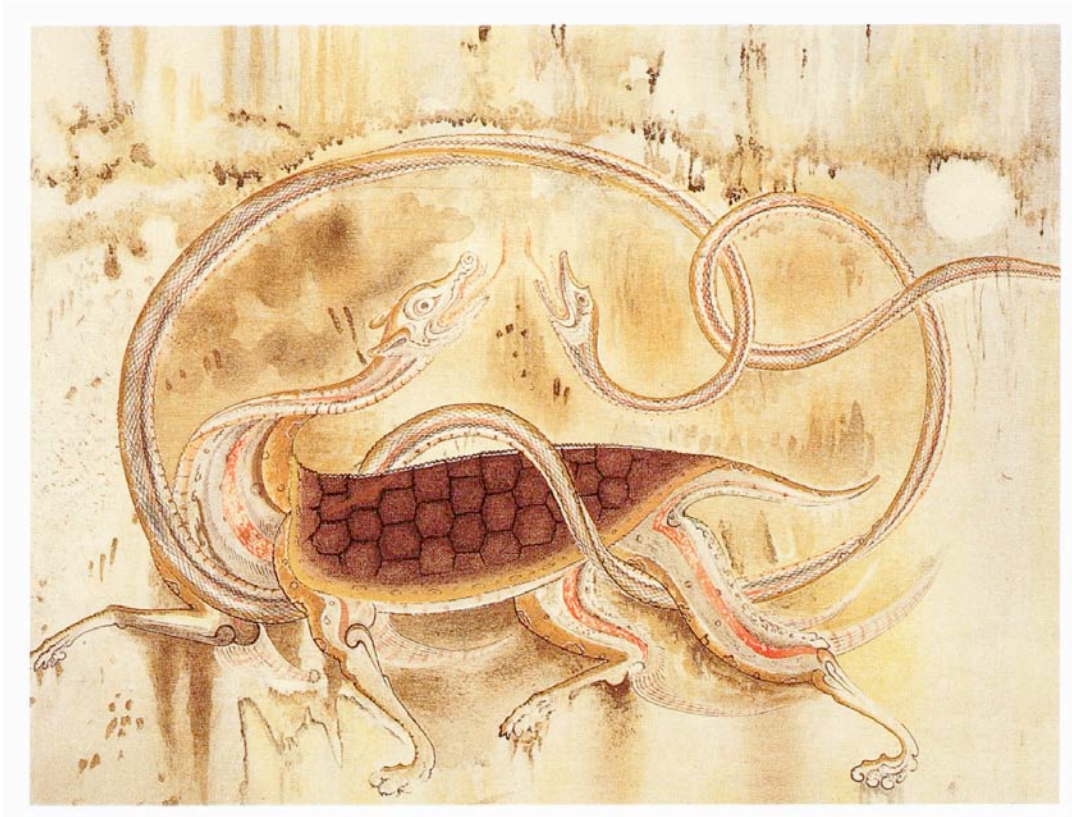
1.2 Bronze mirror. Western Han period. 25.4 cm. Administrative Committee for Cultural Relics of Xi'an, Shaanxi. From *Sekai bijutsu daizenshu* 世界美術大全集 [New History of World Art], vol. 2. Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1997-2001: 184 (figure 124).



- 1.3 Rubbing of Xuanwu from stone sarcophagus of Wang Hui. Han period, 221 CE. From Cheng Te-k'un. "Yin-Yang and Wu-Hsing and Han Art" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20, no. 1/2 (June 1957): plate VII, figure 20.



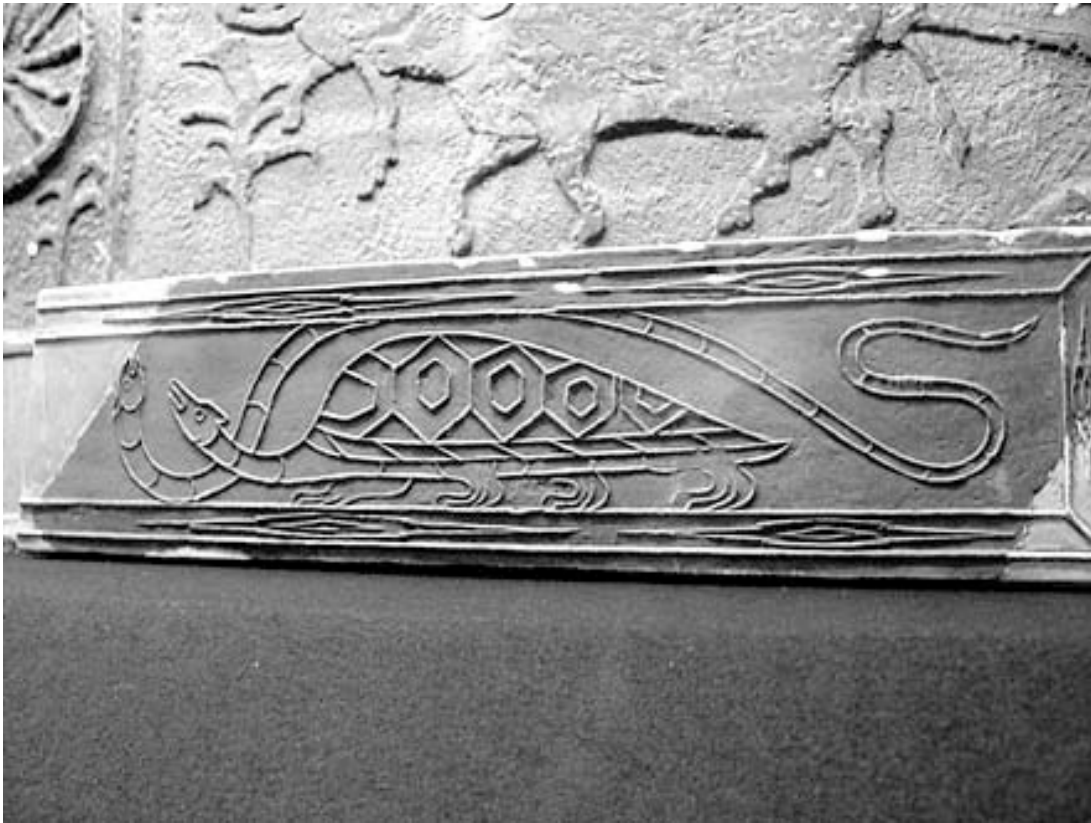
1.4 Xuanwu. Tomb mural. North wall of Takamatsu tomb. Late 7th, early 8th century. Nara, Japan. From Penelope Mason. *History of Japanese Art*. New York: Abrams, 1993: colorplate 3.



1.5 Xuanwu. Tomb mural. Great Tomb at Kangso. Goguryeo period, early 7th century. Near Pyongyang. From Jane Portal. *Korea: Art and Archaeology*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000: 48 (figure 25).



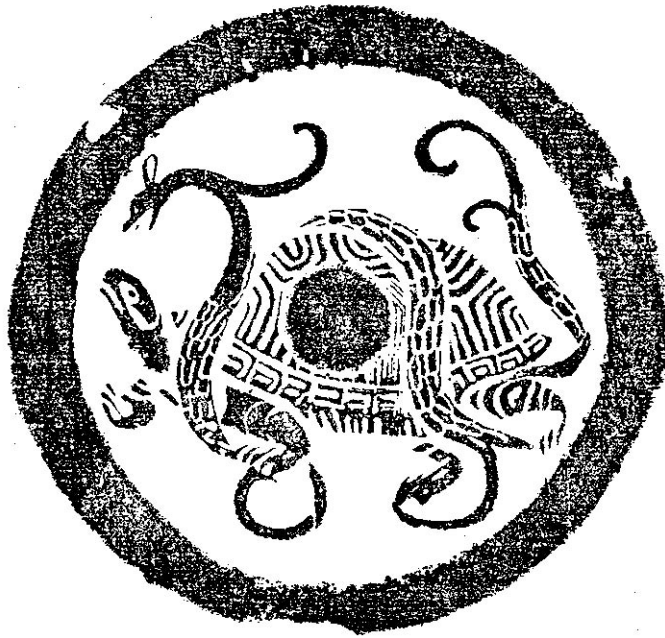
- 1.6 Xuanwu on clay tomb brick. Eastern Han period. Excavated in 1988, Jinqueshan, Linyi Municipality, Shandong. Collection of Linyi Municipal Museum. From Susan L. Beningson and Cary Y. Liu. *Providing for the Afterlife: 'Brilliant Artifacts' from Shandong*. New York : China Institute Gallery, 2005: catalogue number 49.



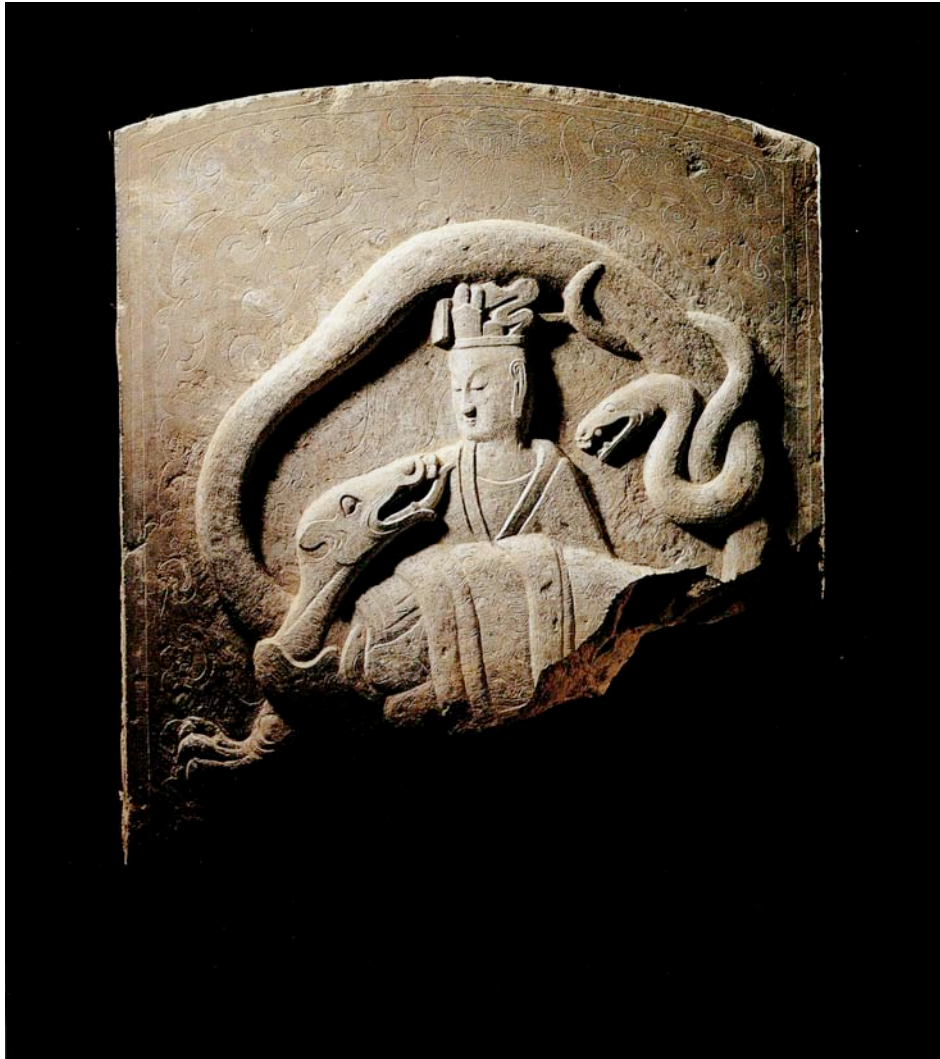
1.7 Xuanwu on clay tomb brick. Han period. Yangling Museum, Xi'an.
From <http://art-and-archaeology.com/china/xian/ym01.html>.



1.8 Xuanwu on clay tomb brick. Eastern Jin period, dated 398. 18 x 31.5 cm. Nanjing Museum. From *Sekai bijutsu daizenshu* 世界美術大全集 [New History of World Art], vol. 4. Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1997-2001: 107 (figure 41).



1.9 Xuanwu on roof tile. Han period. From Cheng Te-k'un. "Yin-Yang and Wu-Hsing and Han Art" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20, no. 1/2 (June 1957): plate VI, figure 16.



1.10 Xuanwu on foot slab of sarcophagus. Northern Wei period, early 6th century. 52 x 52 cm. Private collection. From Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman. *Taoism and the Arts of China*: 293.



194. 青銅
河南省
Bronze
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1.11 Bronze mirror. Tang period, dated 650. Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Cultures, Nishinomiya, Hyogo. From *Sekai bijutsu daizenshu* 世界美術大全集 [New History of World Art], vol. 4. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997-2001: 238 (figure 194).



1.12 Xuanwu on painted coffin panel. Tang period. Excavated in 2002 at Guolimu near Delingha City, Qinghai province. From *China Heritage Newsletter*, no. 1 (March 2005), Australian National University China Heritage Project.



1.13 Zhenwu. Tangut Xia period (1038-1227). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 71 x 47 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. From Mikhail Piotrovsky, ed. *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist art from Khara Khoto*. Milan: Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, 1993: 244 (catalogue number 64).



1.14 Zhenwu. Tangut Xia period (1038-1227). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 78 x 57 cm. From Lei Runze 雷潤澤, Yu Cunhai 于存海, and He Jiying 何繼英. *Xixia fota* 西夏佛塔 [Buddhist Pagodas of the Western Xia]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995: 191 (figure 44).



2.1 Frontispiece from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.2 Wanfa jiaozhu 萬法教主 (Zhenwu) from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.3 Donghua jiaozhu 東華教主 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.4 Dafa tianshi 大法天師 (Zhang Daoling) from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



- 2.5 Shengong miaoji xu zhenjun 神功妙濟許真君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.6 Haiqiong bai zhenren 海瓊白真人 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.7 Luoyang Sa zhenren 洛陽薩真人 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.8 Zhulei Deng tianjun 主雷鄧天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.9 Xin Tianjun 辛天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.10 Feijie Zhang tianjun 飛捷張天君 *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.11 Yuebei Zhu tianjun 月孛朱天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.12 Dongxuan jiaozhu Xin zushi 洞玄教主辛祖師 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.13 Qingwei jiaozhu Zu yuanjun 清微教主祖元君 and Qingwei jiaozhu Wei tianjun 清微教主魏天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library



2.14 Dongxuan jiaozhu Ma yuanjun 洞玄教主馬元君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.15 Hunyuan jiaozhu Lu zhenjun 混元教主lu 真君 and Hunyuan jiaozhu Ge zhenjun 混元教主葛真君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



- 2.16 Shenxiao chuanjiao Zhonglu zhen xian 神霄傳教鐘呂真仙 (Zhongli Quan and Lu Dongbin) from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.17 Huode Xie tianjun 火德謝天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.18 Yufu Liu tianjun 玉府劉天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.19 Ning ren er da tianjun 甯任二大天君 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.20 Leimen Gou yuanshuai 雷門苟元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.21 Leimen Bi yuanshuai 雷門畢元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.22 Linguan Ma yuanshuai 靈官馬元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.23 Dudu Zhao yuanshuai 都督趙元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.24 Huqiu Wang Gao er yuanshuai 虎丘王高二元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.25 Hunyuan Pang yuanshuai 混元龐元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.26 Dongshen Liu yuanshuai 洞神劉元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.27 Huoluo Wang yuanshuai 豁落王元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.28 Shenlei Shi yuanshuai 神雷石元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.29 Jiansheng Gao yuanshuai 監生高元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.30 Fenglun Zhou yuanshuai 風輪周元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.31 Diqi Yang yuanshuai 地祇楊元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.32 Langling Guan yuanshuai 朗靈關元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.33 Zhongjing Zhang yuanshuai 忠靖張元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.34 Rensheng Kang yuanshuai 仁聖康元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.35 Taisui Yin yuanshuai 太歲殷元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.36 Kaojiao Dang yuanshuai 考校党元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.37 Meng yuanshuai 孟元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.38 Yiling Wen yuanshuai 翊靈溫元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.39 Wang fushi 王副師 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.40 Xianfeng Li yuanshuai 先鋒李元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.41 Menglie Tieshuai 猛烈鐵元帥 from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



2.42 Zhenwu with Attendants. Stele. Dated 1099. Northern Song period. 93 x 48 cm. From *Beijing tushuguan zang hua xiang ta ben hui bian* 北京圖書館藏畫像拓本匯編. *Beijing tushuguan shan ben bujin shi zubian* 北京圖書館善本部金石組編. Volume 7. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993, 1 (書60).



2.43 Zhenwu. Stele. Dated 1170. Southern Song period. 194 x 109 cm. From *Beijing tushuguan zang hua xiang ta ben hui bian* 北京圖書館藏畫像拓本匯編. *Beijing tushuguan shan ben bujin shi zubian* 北京圖書館本部金石組編. Volume 7. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1993, 4 (書472).



2.44 Leaf 11. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities*. Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.11)



2.45 Leaf 12. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities*. Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.12)



2.46 Leaf 13. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities.* Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.13)



2.47 Leaf 14. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities.* Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.14)



2.48 Leaf 15. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities.* Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.15)



2.49 Leaf 16. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities.* Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.16)



2.50 Leaf 19. *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes: Procession of Daoist Deities.* Southern Song period. 34.18 x 38.3 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art (2004.1.19)



(detail)



3.1 Wu Zongyuan 武宗元, *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. Northern Song period. Handscroll, ink on silk. 58 x 777.5 cm. Private Collection.



3.2 *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. East Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural. 1042 x 306.5 cm. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).



3.3 *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. West Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural. 1042 x 306.5 cm. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).



3.4 Zhenwu and Tianpeng. *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. East Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural detail. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).



3.5 Yisheng and Tianyou. *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Homage to the Primordial]. East Wall. Yuan period, late 13th-early 14th century. Mural detail. Royal Ontario Museum (933.6.2).



3.6 East Wall. Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.



3.7 West Wall. Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.



3.8 Zhenwu and Tianyou. West Wall (north end). Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.



3.9 Yisheng and Tianpeng. East Wall (north end). Sanqing Hall 三清殿 [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. Yongle gong 永樂宮 [Palace of Eternal Joy]. Mural. Yuan period, dated 1325. Ruicheng, Shanxi province.

壇外北壁及左右壁陳設圖



古者齋壇兩層，法天像地，露天築成，三界衆真，會于一壇之上。後世方就屋下爲之，故北左右三壁，不可不鋪設者也。玉帝爲萬天至尊，主宰三界，豈宜懸象祠祝，列居三清之下。故北壁只懸三清、北極、天皇、東極、南極七象，左壁只懸九天、六曜、北斗、三省、三官、五嶽，右壁只懸五老、五星、南斗、天曹、四聖、二府。各以香花燈燭，供養如法。

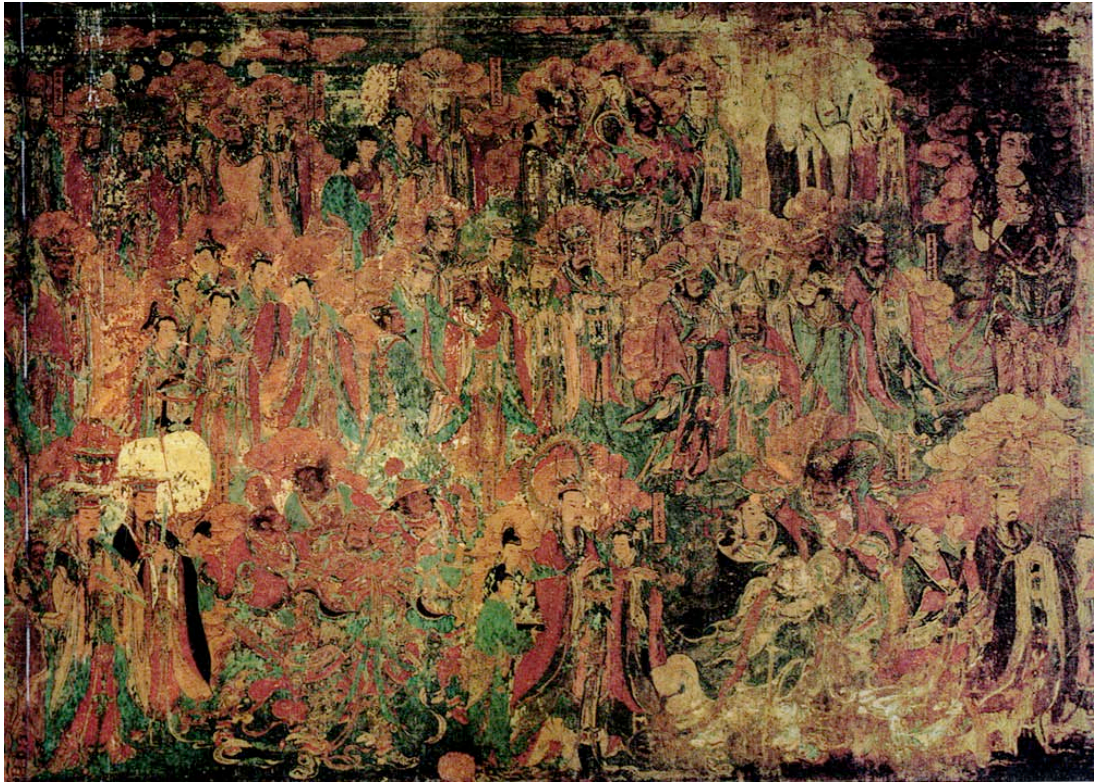
- 3.10 *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Lingbao Tradition] (DZ 466). From *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004, vol. 39, 25.



3.11 The Four Saints. Baoning si 寶寧寺 [Precious Peace Monastery]. Ming period, c. 1460. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. 119.2 x 62 cm. Shanxi Provincial Museum.



3.12 East Wall. Pilu Hall. Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei. After Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed., *Pilu si bihua* 毘盧寺壁畫 [Wall Paintings of Pilu Monastery] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998): figure 1.



3.13 West Wall. Pilu Hall. Pilu si 毘盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei. After Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed., *Pilu si bihua* 毘盧寺壁畫 [Wall Paintings of Pilu Monastery] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998): figure 4.



3.14 Zhenwu and Tianpeng. West Wall (north section). Pilu Hall. Pilu si 崑廬寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei. After Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed., *Pilu si bihua 崑廬寺壁畫 [Wall Paintings of Pilu Monastery]* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998): figure 38.



3.15 Yisheng and Tianyou. East Wall (north section). Pulu Hall. Pulu si 崑盧寺 [Pilu Monastery]. Mural. Ming period, 1517-1535. Near Shijiazhuang, Hebei. After Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed., *Pilu si bishua* 崑盧寺壁畫 [Wall Paintings of Pilu Monastery] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998): figure 87.



3.16 *Generals Who Died for their Country and Officials of Former Times*. Ming period. Hanging scroll; ink, colors and gold on silk. 135 x 75 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts (99.116).



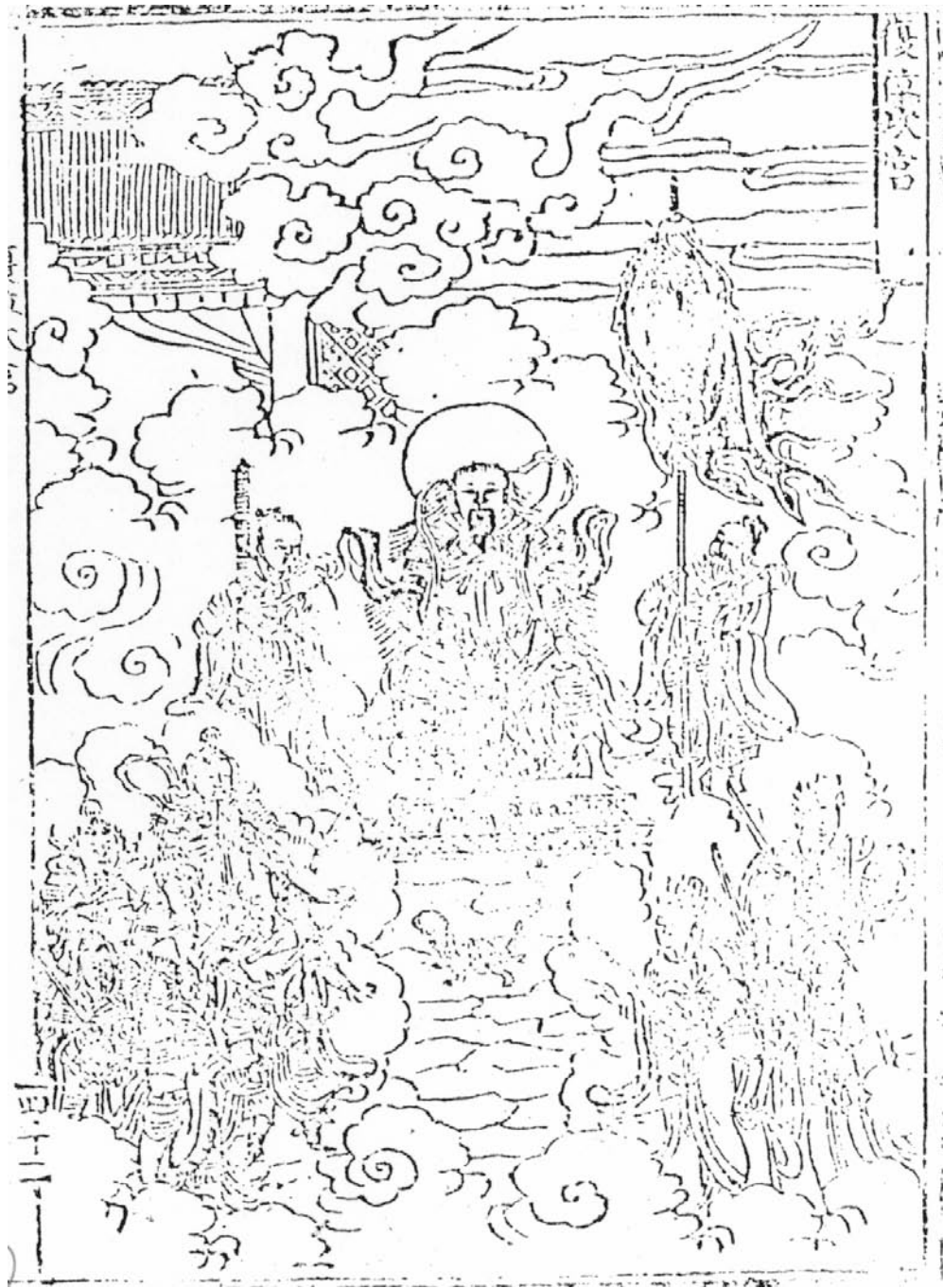
4.1 *Zhenwu and His Entourage*. Early Ming period, 15th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. 132 x 98 cm. Herbert Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.



4.2 Zhenwu and His Entourage. Early Ming period, 15th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk. 122.7 x 63.3 cm. Reiunji, Tokyo.



- 4.3 Xuandi shenghao 玄帝聖號 [Dark Emperor's Saintly Title] (entry 7) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當 嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995, volume 32: 1022-61.



- 4.4 *Fuwei kangong* [Returning to the Throne at Kan Gong] (entry 42) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995, volume 32: 1022-61.



4.5 Shang Xi (active early 15th century), *Guandi Capturing an Enemy General*. Ming period. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 200 x 237 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



4.6 Martial Figure from Jiyi miao [Temple of the Three Lords]. Mural. Ming period, early sixteenth century. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji, siguan bihua*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe. volume 13.



4.7 Skanda. Fahai si. Mural. Ming period, 1439-43. From *Zhongguo meishu quanji, siguan bihua*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, volume 13: figure 120.



4.8 Zhenwu's Sword and Flag Attendants. Ming period, 1416. Gilt bronze. Jindian 金殿 [Golden Hall] at Taihe gong 太和宮 [Palace of Supreme Harmony] on Mt. Wudang. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館 [Hubei Provincial Museum, Wudang shan 武當山. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991: no. 135.



4.9 *Goddess of Earth*. Ming period, dated 1454. Guimet Series A. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. Musee Guimet (EO688).



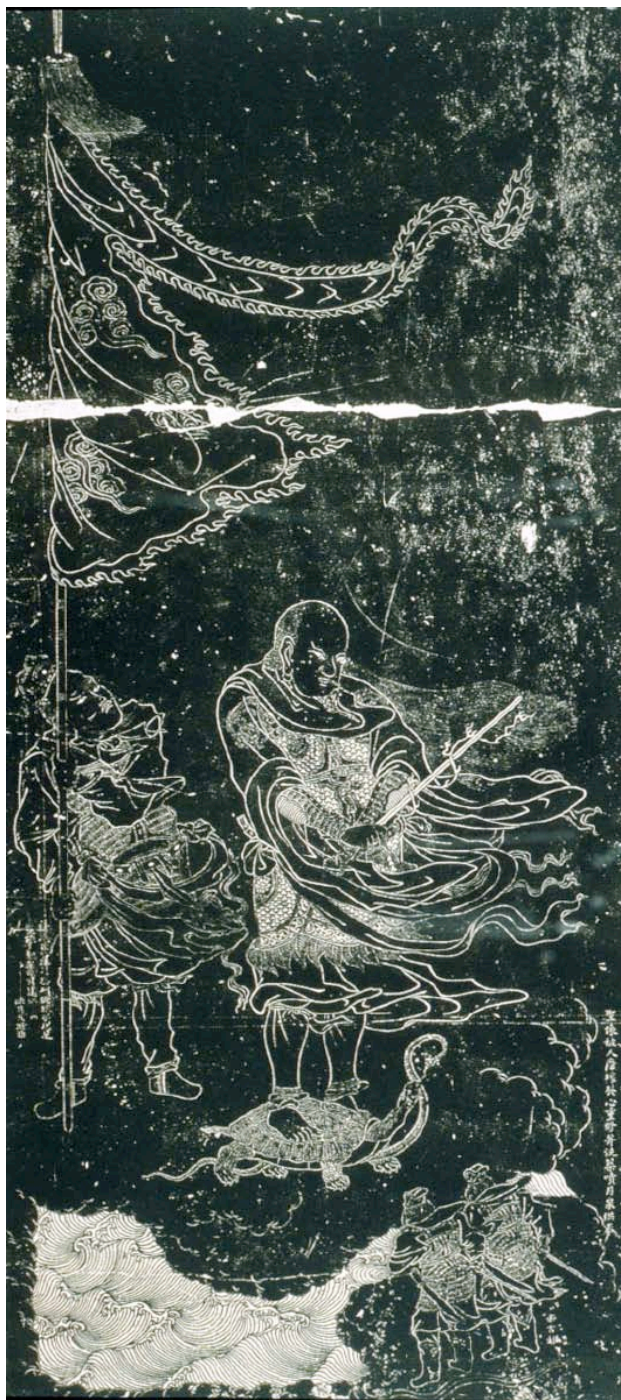
4.10 Puhua tianzun 普化天尊 [Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation] from *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 [Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot]. Yuan period, dated 1333. Accordion-folded, woodblock-printed book. 33.2 x 12.5 cm (each page). British Library.



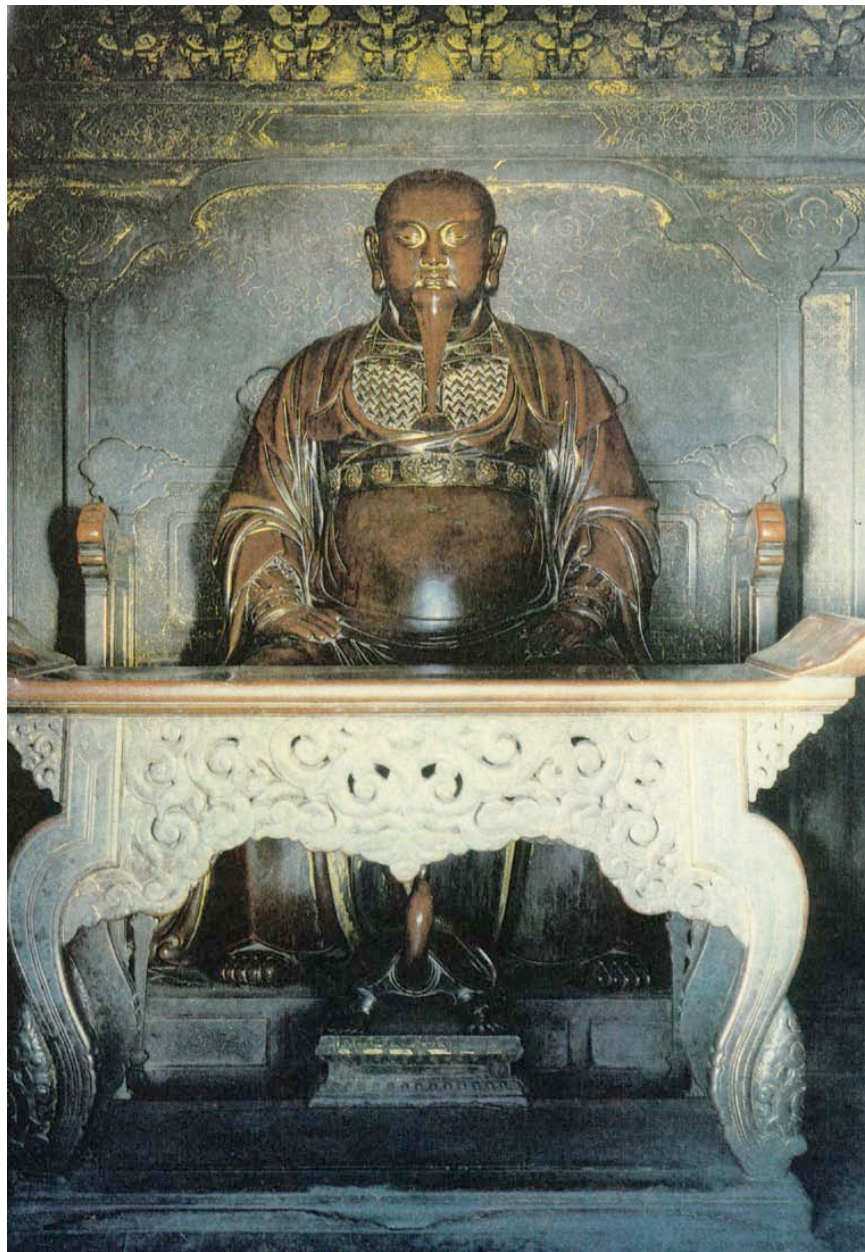
4.11 Shrine with Daoist Deities including Puhua tianzun and Zhenwu. Longquan celadon. Ming period, dated 1406. 49.5 cm high. British Museum (OA 1929.1-14.1).



4.12 *Puhua tianzun and His Entourage*. Ming period, dated 1596. Hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk. 266 x 100 cm. Ethnographic Collection, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (B.4358).



4.13 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1586. Ink rubbing of a stele from Liuhe ta 六和塔 [Six Harmonies Pagoda]. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. (F88-45/345).



4.14 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1416. Gilt bronze. 1.8 m high. Jindian 金殿 [Golden Hall] at Taihe gong 太和宮 [Palace of Supreme Harmony] on Mt. Wudang. . From Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館 [Hubei Provincial Museum, Wudang shan 武當山. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991: no. 134.



4.15 Chen Yanqing 陳彥清 (act. early 15th century). Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1439. Gilt bronze. 36.4 cm high. Art Institute of Chicago (1950.1054).



4.16 Zhenwu. Ming period, 15th-16th century. Bronze. 133 cm high. British Museum 1908.7-25.2).



4.17 Zhenwu. Ming period. Gilt bronze. Wang Shixiang Collection. From Wang Shixiang. *Zi hen ji: Lisong juchang wuzhi* 自珍集：徧松居長物志 [Self-Cherished Treasures of Twin-Pine Studio: A Listing of Items]. Beijing: Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2003: 55.



4.18 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1424. Bronze. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.



4.19 Inscription from back of Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1424. Bronze. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.



4.20 Zhenwu. Ming period, dated 1544. Bronze. 47.5 cm high. From *Fine and Rare Chinese Works of Art and Ceramics: Summer Exhibition*. London: Roger Keverne Gallery, 2004: 14-5.



4.21 Zhenwu Shrine. Ming period. Fahua ware. 28.3 cm high. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (B60 P518).



4.22 Zhenwu Shrine. Ming period. Fahua ware. British Museum (2003.7-29.1).



4.23 Zhenwu. Ming period? Blue-and-white porcelain. 35.5 cm high. Christie's South Kensington. Sale COR-8215. November 26, 1998. Lot 639.



4.24 Zhenwu. Ming period, Wanli (1573-1620). Blue-and-white porcelain. 46 x 20 x 15 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1979.785).



4.25 Zhenwu and Guanyin Shrine. Ming period. Longquan celadon. Cincinnati Art Museum (1991.163).



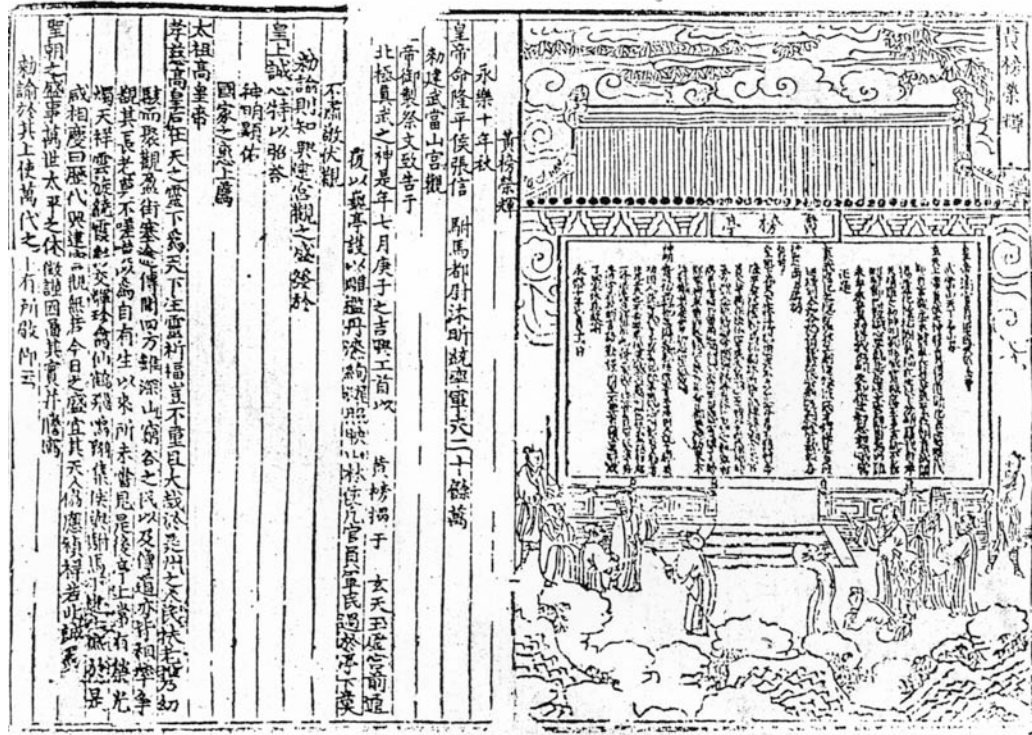
4.26 Zhenwu. Ming period. Longquan celadon. Sotheby's Amsterdam. Sale AM0860. December 4, 2002. Lot 175.



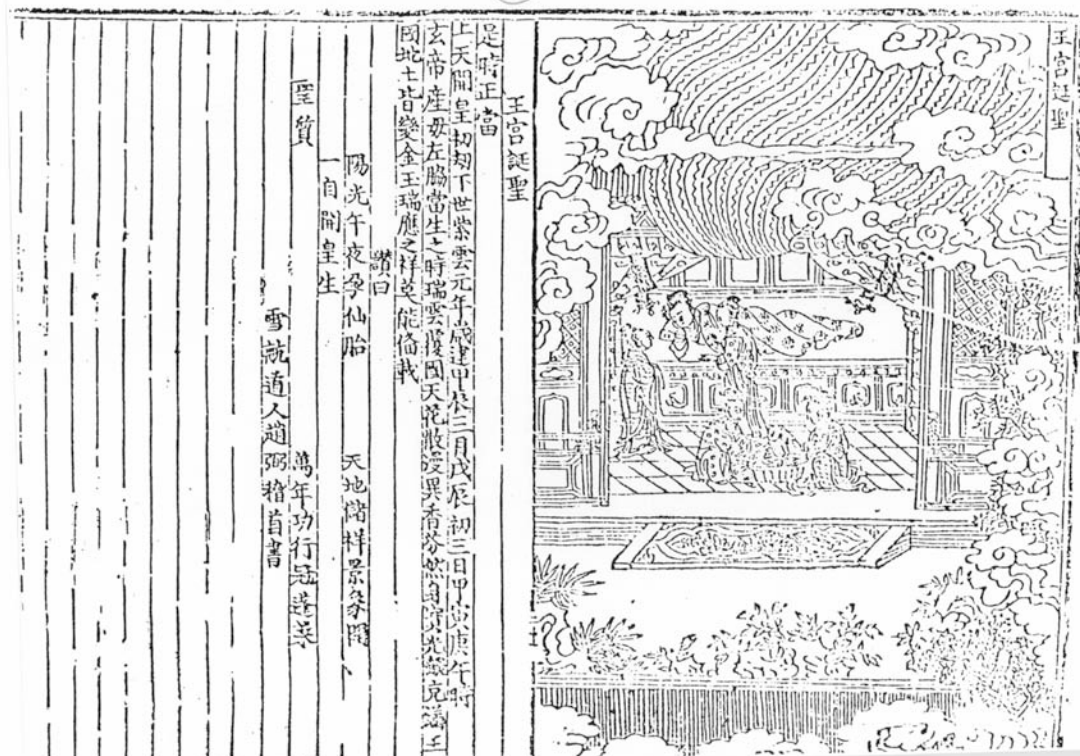
4.27 Zhenwu. Ming period. Cizhou stoneware. 28.8 cm high. Beijing Cultural Relics Research Institute. From Grace Wong, *Urban Life in the Song, Yuan, and Ming*. Singapore: Empress Palace Museum, 1994: 70-71.



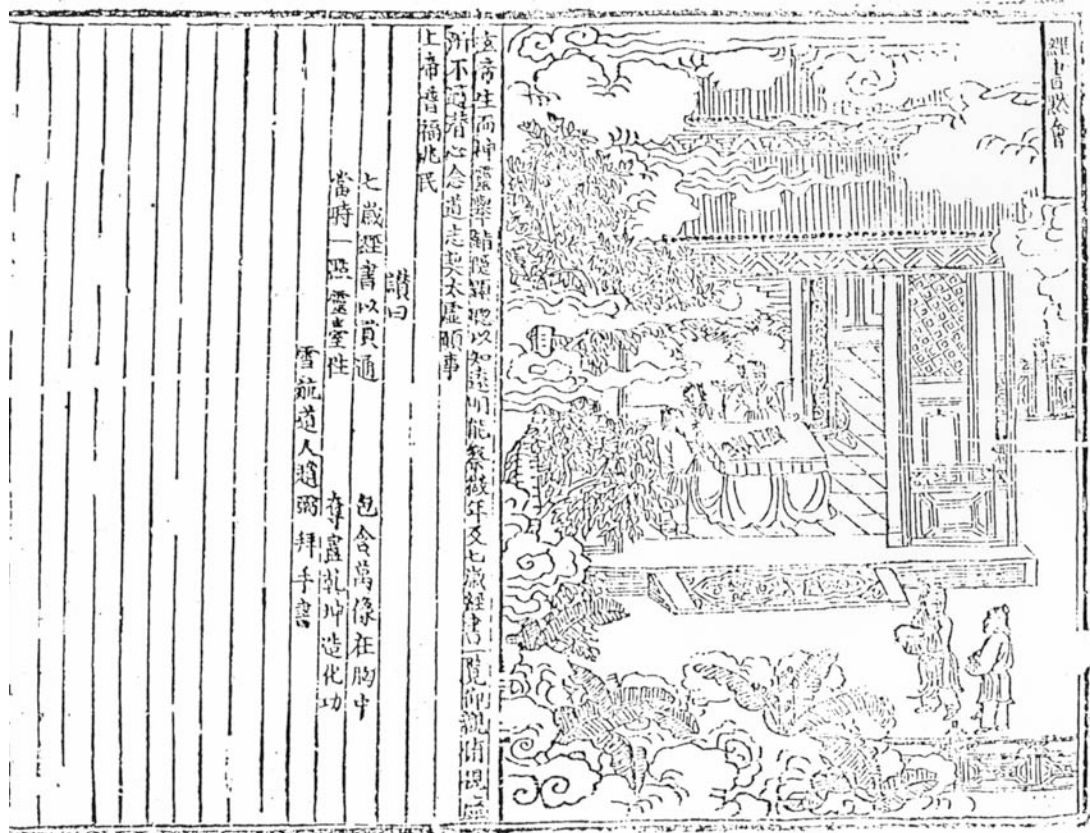
4.28 Zhenwu. Late Ming period. Dehua porcelain (blanc de Chine). 24.7 cm high. Donnelly Collection. From P. J. Donnelly. *Blanc de Chine: The Porcelain of Tehua in Fukien*. London: Faber and Faber, 1969: no. 248.



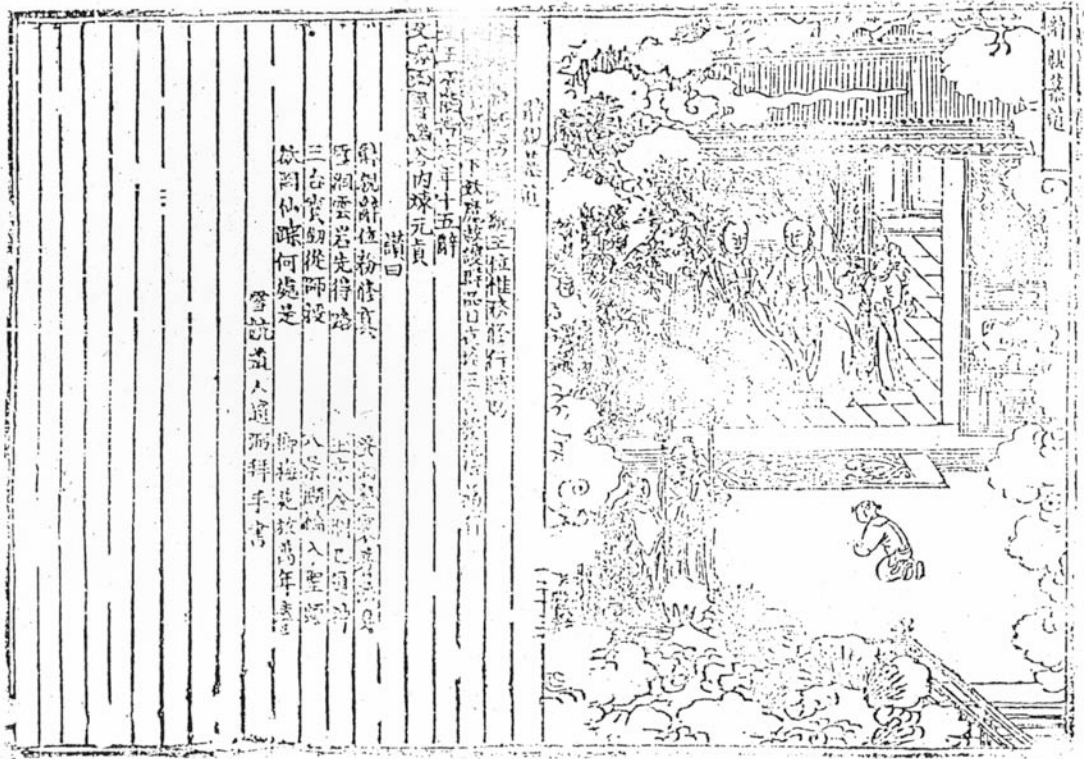
5.1 *Huangbang ronghui* 黃榜榮輝 [Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor] (entry 1) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.3 *Wangong dansheng* 王宮誕聖 [Birth of the Sacred Being (Zhenwu) at the Imperial Palace] (entry 21) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.4 *Jingshu mohui* 經書默會 [Quiet Realization of the Scriptures] (entry 22) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.5 *Ciqin mudao* 辭親慕道 [(Zhenwu) Saying Goodbye to Parents and (Going to) Seeking the Dao] (entry 23) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



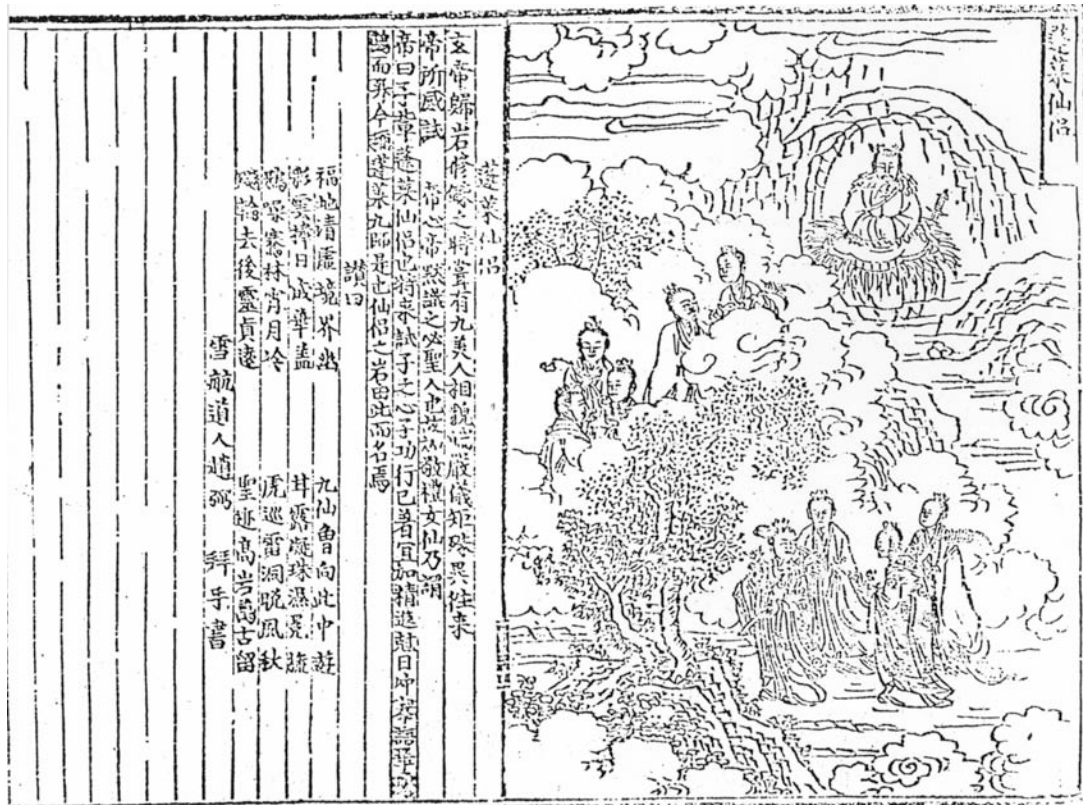
5.6 *Yuanjun shoudao* 元君授道 [Yuanjun Gives (Zhenwu) the Dao] (entry 24) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



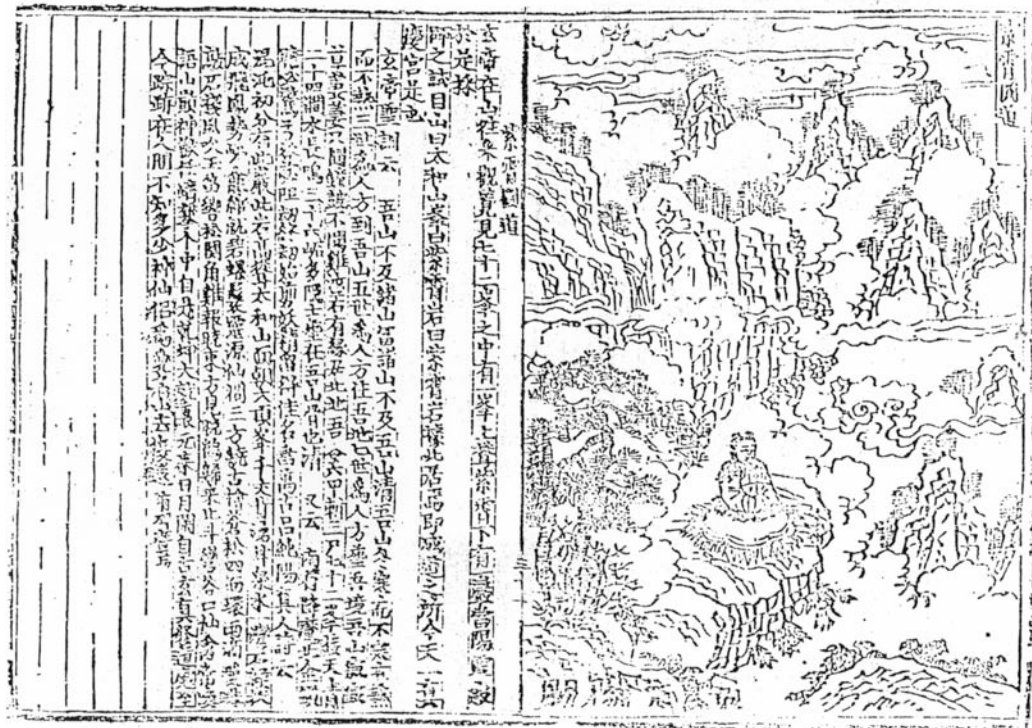
5.7 *Tiandi cijian* 天帝賜劍 [Jade Emperor Bestows a Sword] (entry 25) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.8 *Wuchu chengzhen* 悟杵成針 [Pounding a Pestle to Become a Needle] (entry 28) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.9 Penglai xianlu 蓬萊仙侶 [Immortals from Penglai Accompany (Zhenwu)] (entry 30) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.10 *Zixiao yuandao* 紫霄圓道 [Getting the Dao at Purple Tenuity (Mountain)] (entry 31) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.11 *Wulong pengsheng* 五龍捧聖 [Five Dragons Hold the Sacred Being (Zhenwu)] (entry 32) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.12 *Santian zhaoming* 三天詔命 [Three Heavens Create an Edict and Commandment] (entry 33) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.13 *Wudang fayuan* 武當發願 [Making a Wish at (Mount) Wudang] (entry 49) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.14 Lu Dongbin. Yuan period, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. 110.5 x 44.4 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (62-25).



5.15 *Yuqing yanfa* 玉清演法 [Practicing Methods in the Jade Purity (Palace)] entry 37) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



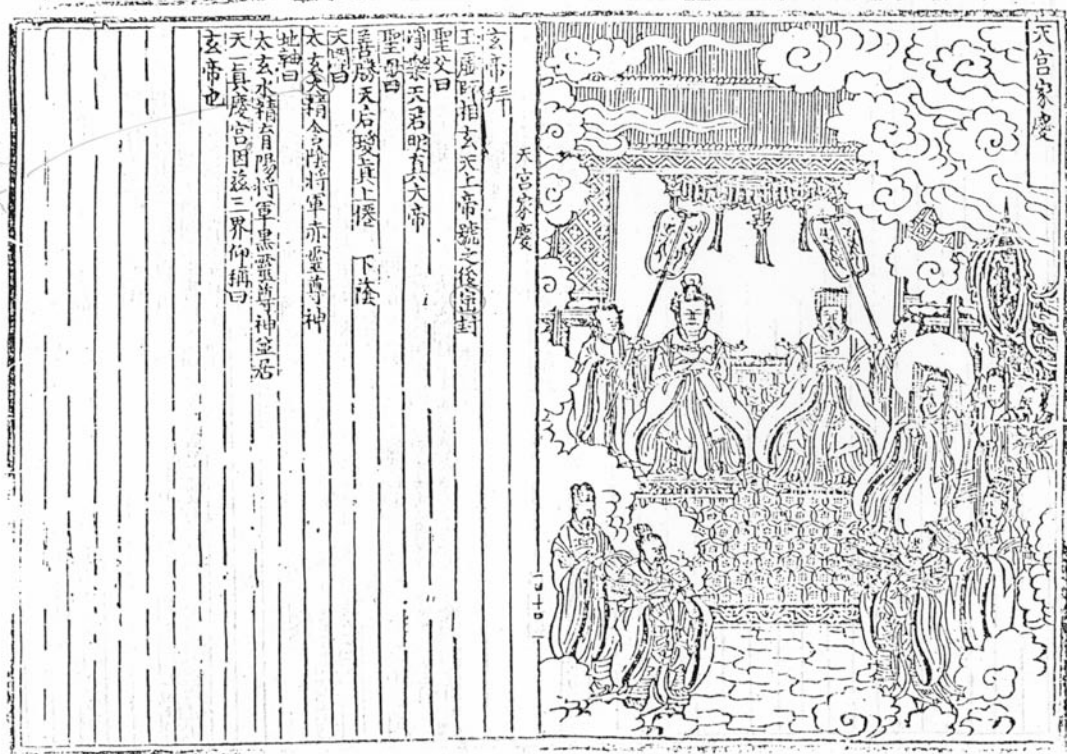
5.16 *Chaojin tianyan* 朝觀天顏 [Going to the Palace to see the Heavenly Face (of Yuanshi tianzun)] (entry 38) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



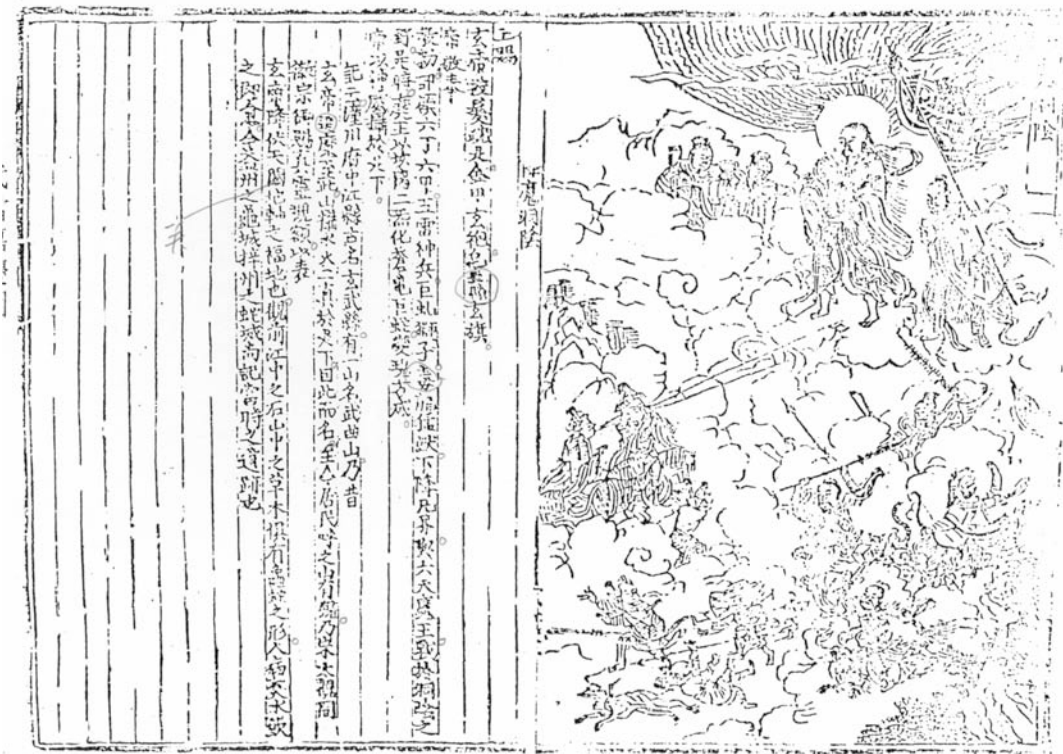
5.17 *Yujing jiaogong* 玉京較功 [Comparing Virtue at the Jade Capital] (entry 43) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



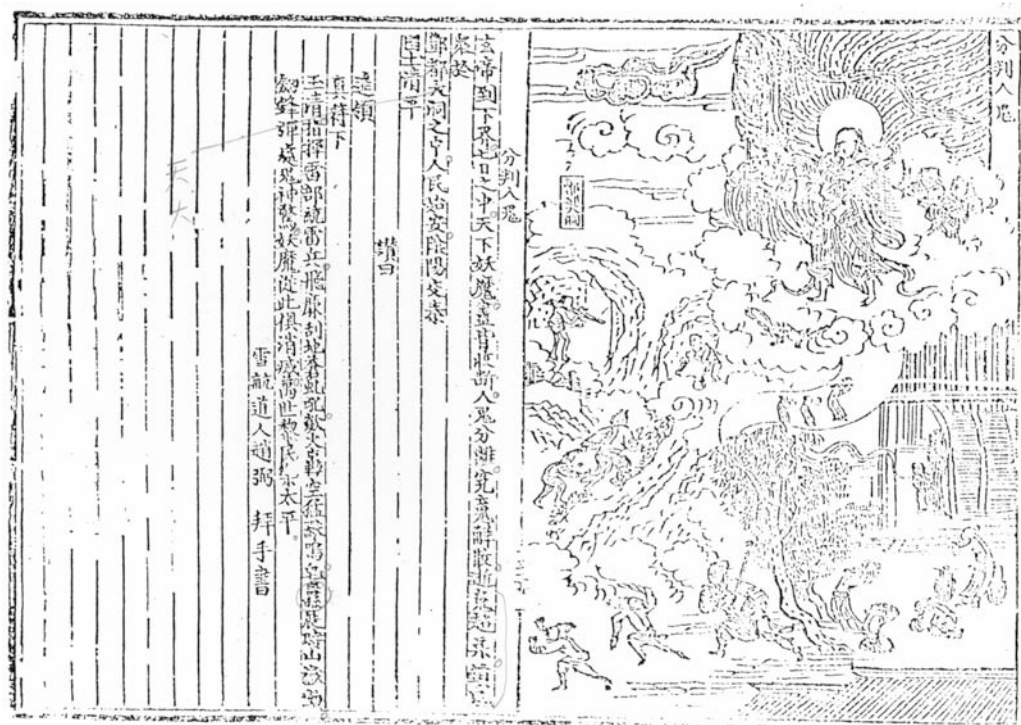
5.18 *Qiongtai shouce* 瓊臺受冊 [Receiving the Tally at the Jade Platform] (entry 44) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.19 *Tiangong jiaqing* 天宮家慶 [Family Celebration at the Heavenly Palace] (entry 45) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



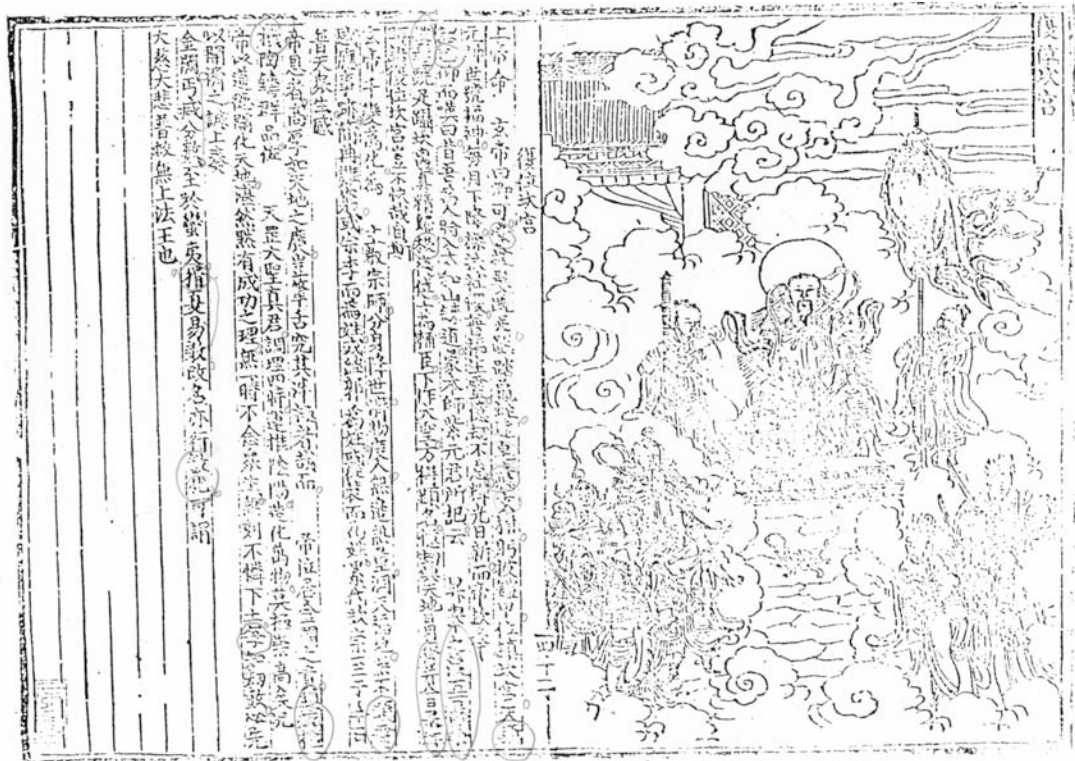
5.20 *Xiangmu dongyin* 降魔洞陰 [Subduing Demons at Dong Yin] (entry 39) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



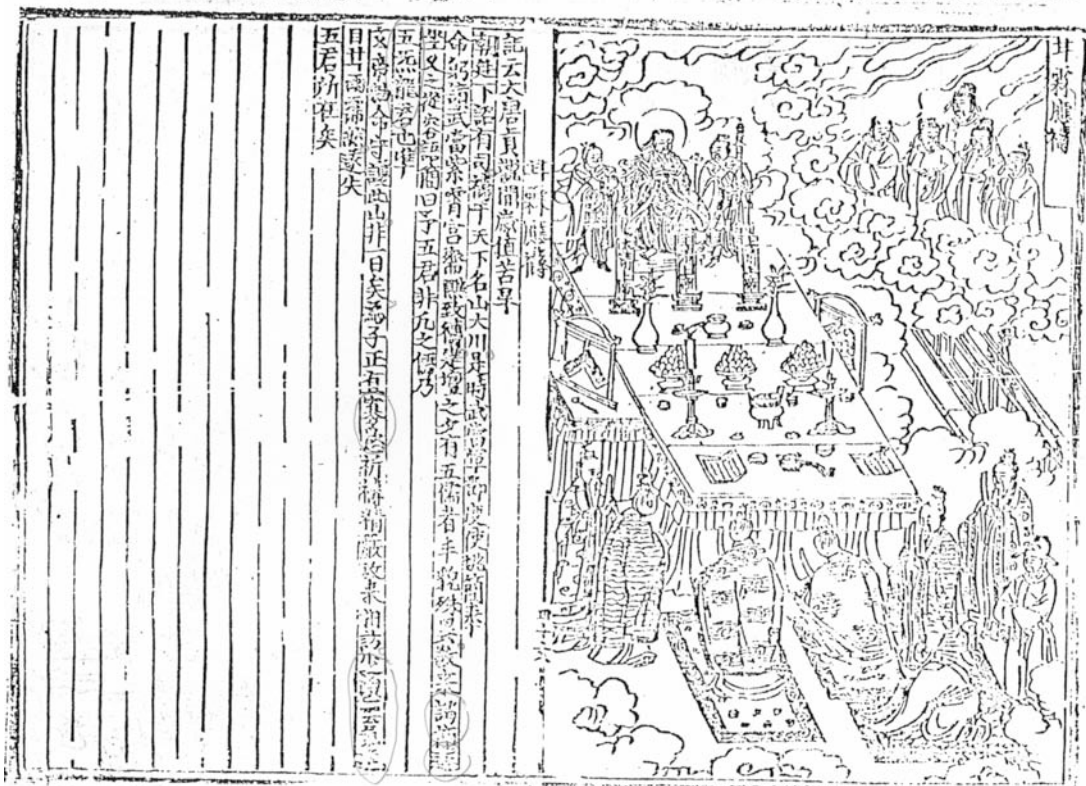
- 5.21 *Fenpan rengui* 分判人鬼 [Dividing and Judging Humans and Ghosts] (entry 40) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.22 *Kaixuan qingdu* 凱還清都 [Returning Victorious to the Pure Capital] (entry 41) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.23 *Fuwei kangong* 復位坎宮 [Returning to His Throne at Kan Gong] (entry 42) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



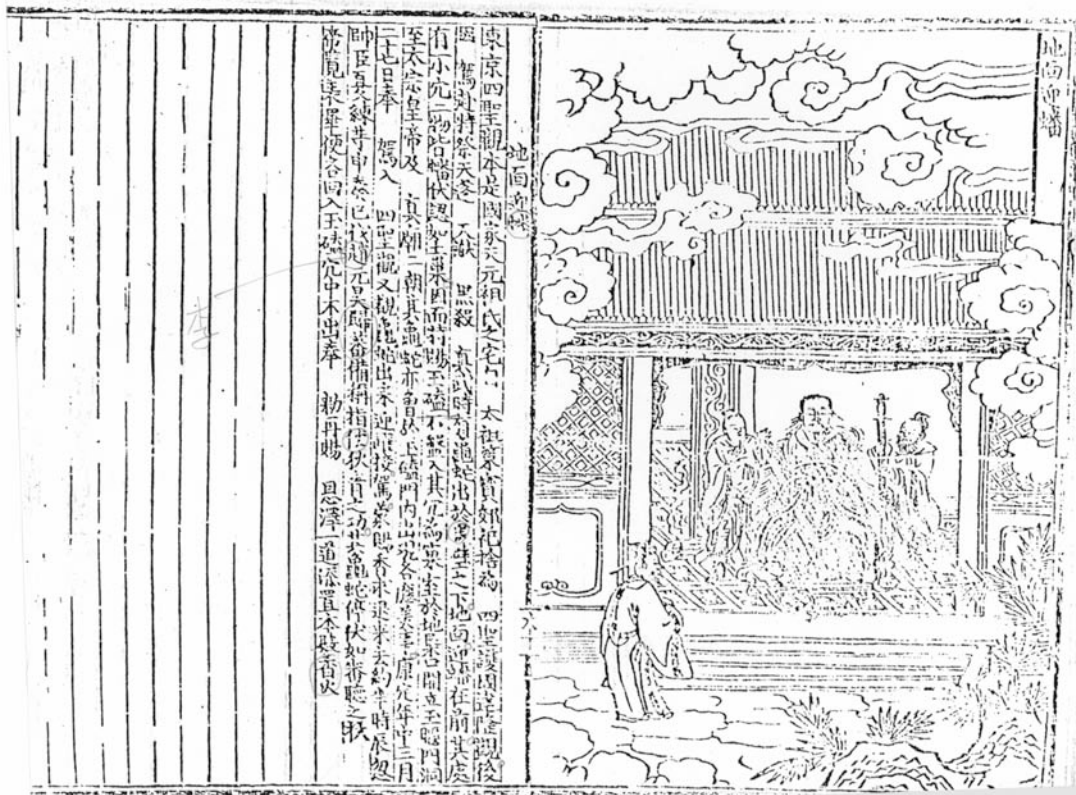
5.24 *Ganlin yingdao* 甘霖應禱 [Sweet Rain in Response to Prayers] (entry 47) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.25 *Gongsheng chongshi* 供聖重時 [Making Offerings to the Sacred (Being) at Chong Time] (entry 52) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



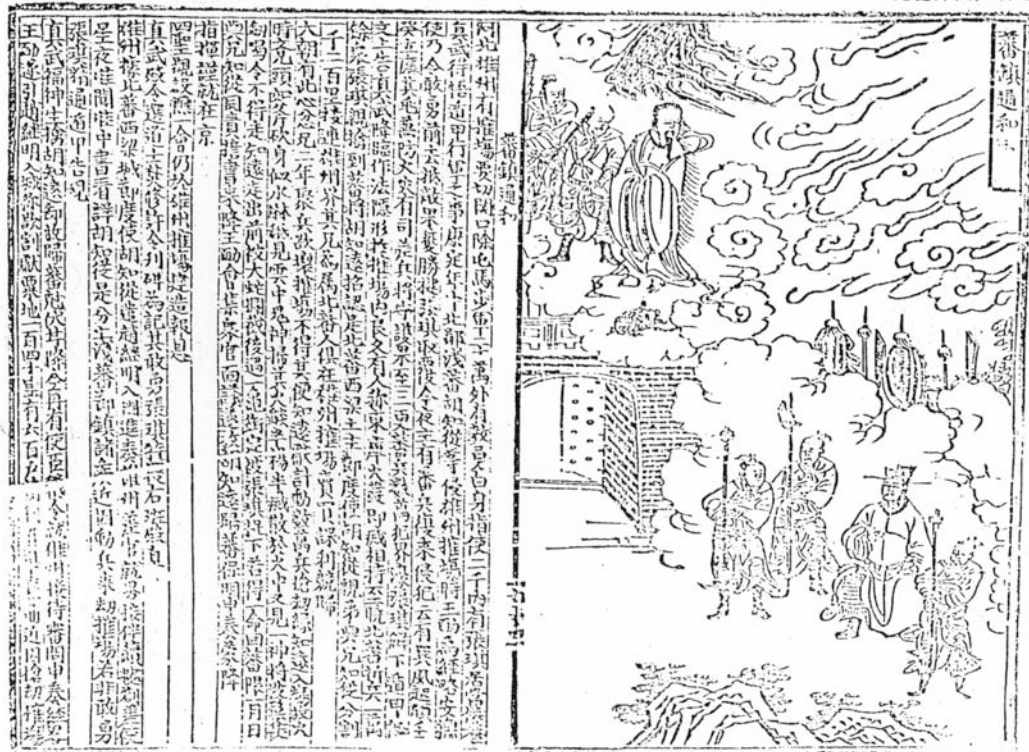
5.26 *Dongtian yungai* 洞天雲蓋 [Clouds Cover the Grotto Heaven] (entry 55) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.27 *Dimian yingpan* 地面迎蟠 [Entwined (Turtle and Snake) Face the Earth] (entry 58) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



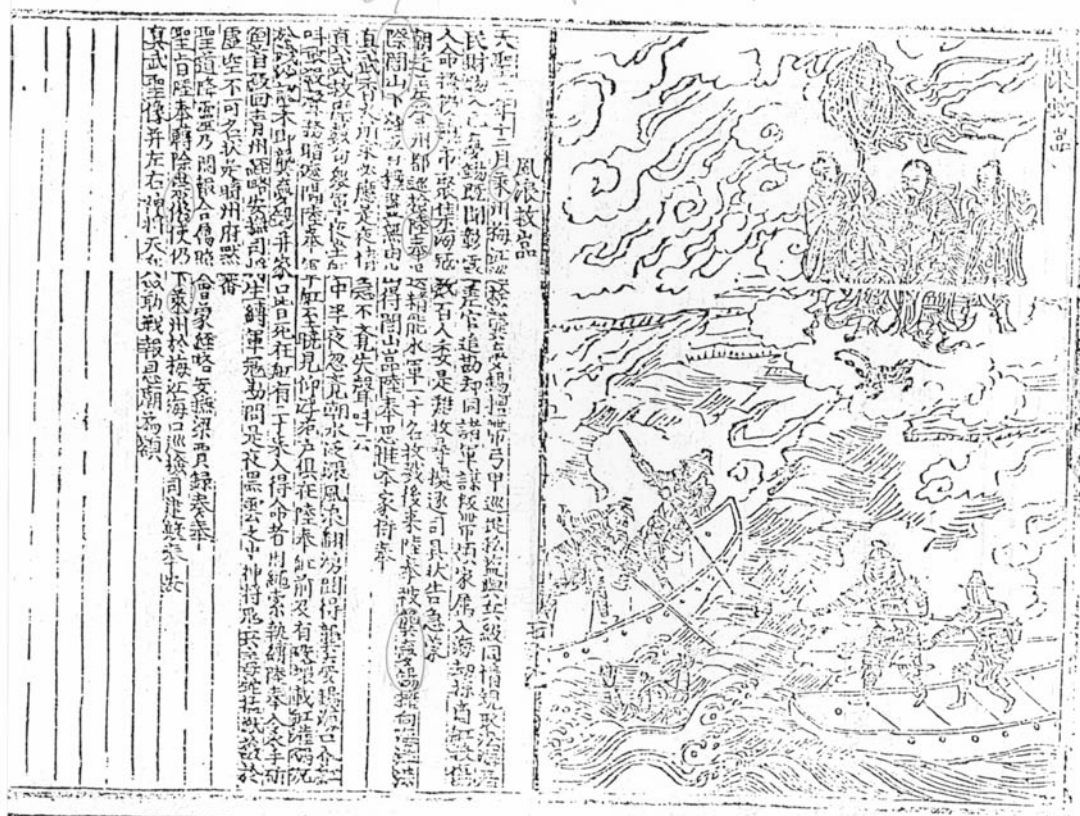
5.28 *Ershi huaguang* 二士化光 [Two Men Transform into Light] (entry 62) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.29 *Fanzhen tonghe* 藩鎮通和 [Harmonious Conquest of the Warlords] (entry 72) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.30 *Piaoqing sanwan* 瓢傾三萬 [The Dipper Empties 30,000 (Times)] (entry 73) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.31 *Fenglang jiuyan* 風浪救岳 [Saving the Cliff from Wind and Waves] (entry 76) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



5.32 *Heiyun ganying* 黑雲感應 [Efficacious Response of a Black Cloud] (entry 2) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.33 *Tianzhen xianxian* 天真顯現 [Heavenly Perfected Being Manifests on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth lunar month in the tenth year of Yongle (1412)] (entry 8) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.34 *Yuanguang xianying* 圓光顯應 [Manifested Response in a Round Halo on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month in the tenth year of Yongle (1412)] (entry 10) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.35 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 12) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.36 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 13) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.37 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 14) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.38 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 15) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



- 5.39 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 17) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-6



- 5.40 *Tianzhen xianying* 天真顯應 [Manifested Response of the Heavenly Perfected (Zhenwu) on the nineteenth day of the eighth lunar month in the eleventh year of Yongle (1413)] (entry 18) from *Wudang jiaqing tu* 武當嘉慶圖 [Pictures of Joyful Celebrations on (Mount) Wudang]. Ming period, dated 1432. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zangwai Daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon] (ZWDS 965) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), volume 32: 1022-61.



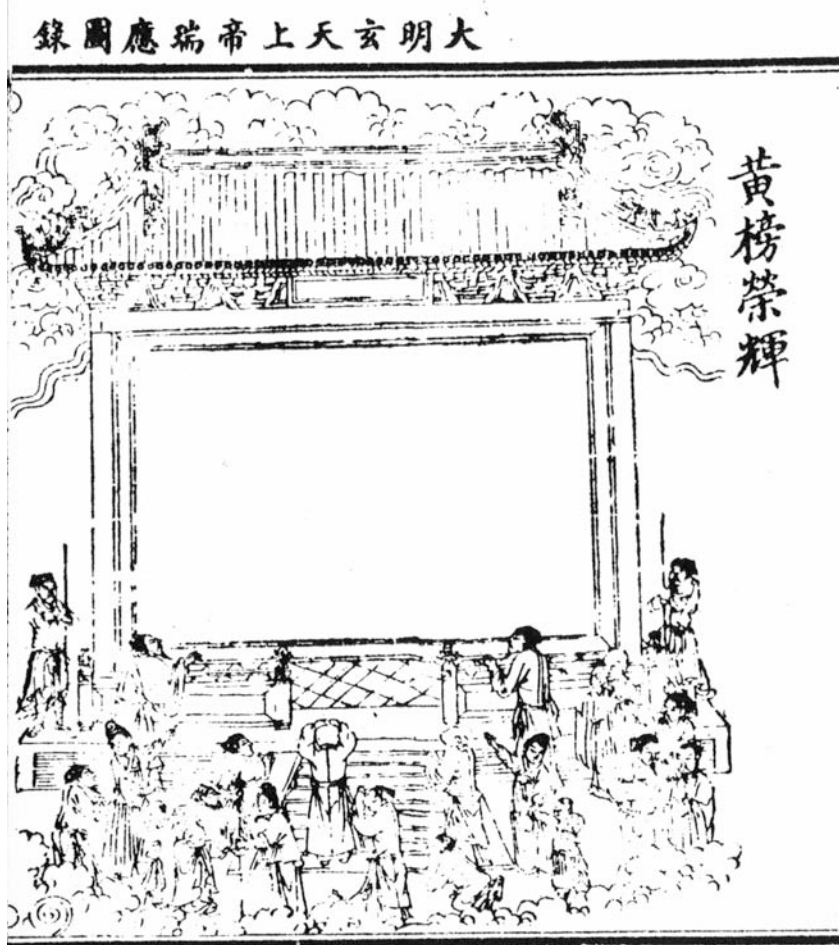
- 5.41 *Langmei chengrui* 榔梅呈瑞 [Auspicious Appearance of Betel-nut Plums] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.42 *Heiyun ganying* 黑雲感應 [Efficacious Response of a Black Cloud] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



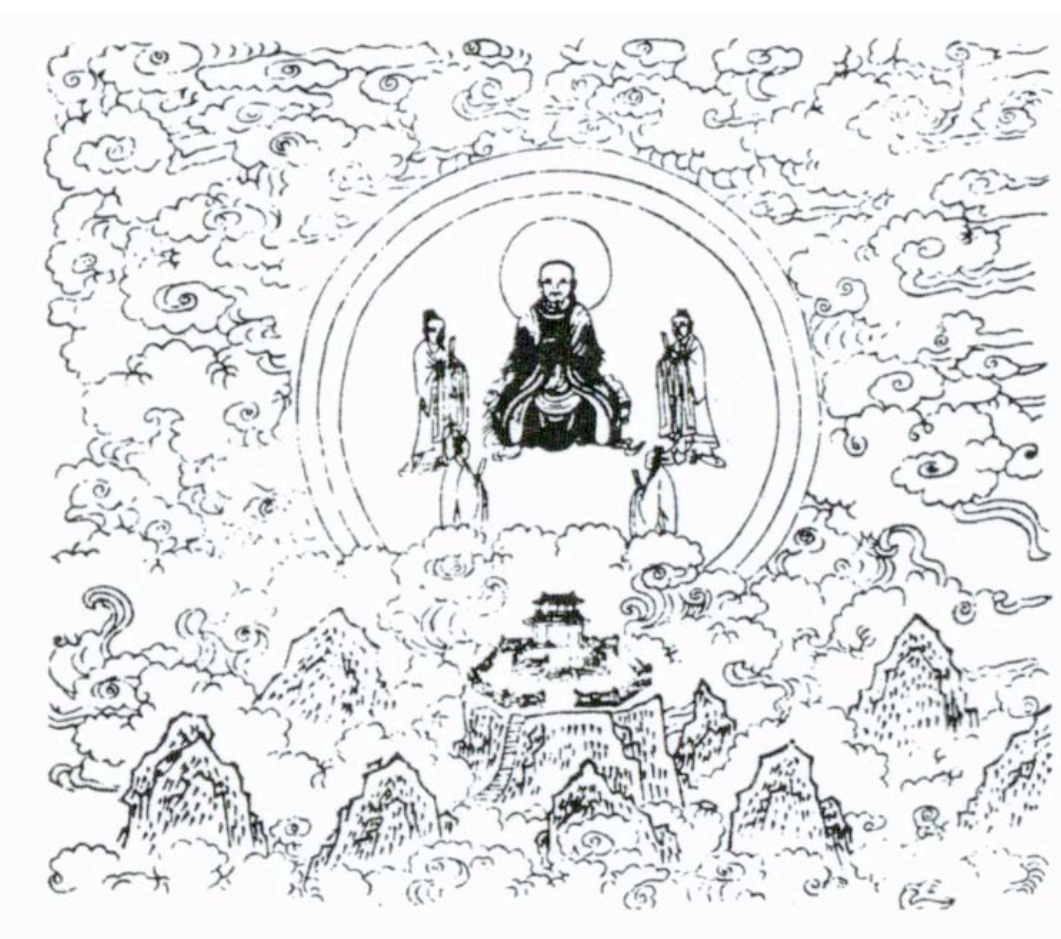
- 5.43 *Jianlin yingxiang* 騫林應祥 [Auspicious Appearance of Jianlin (Trees)] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.44 *Huangbang ronghui* 黃榜榮輝 [Imperial Edict of Prosperous Splendor] from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.45 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.46 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



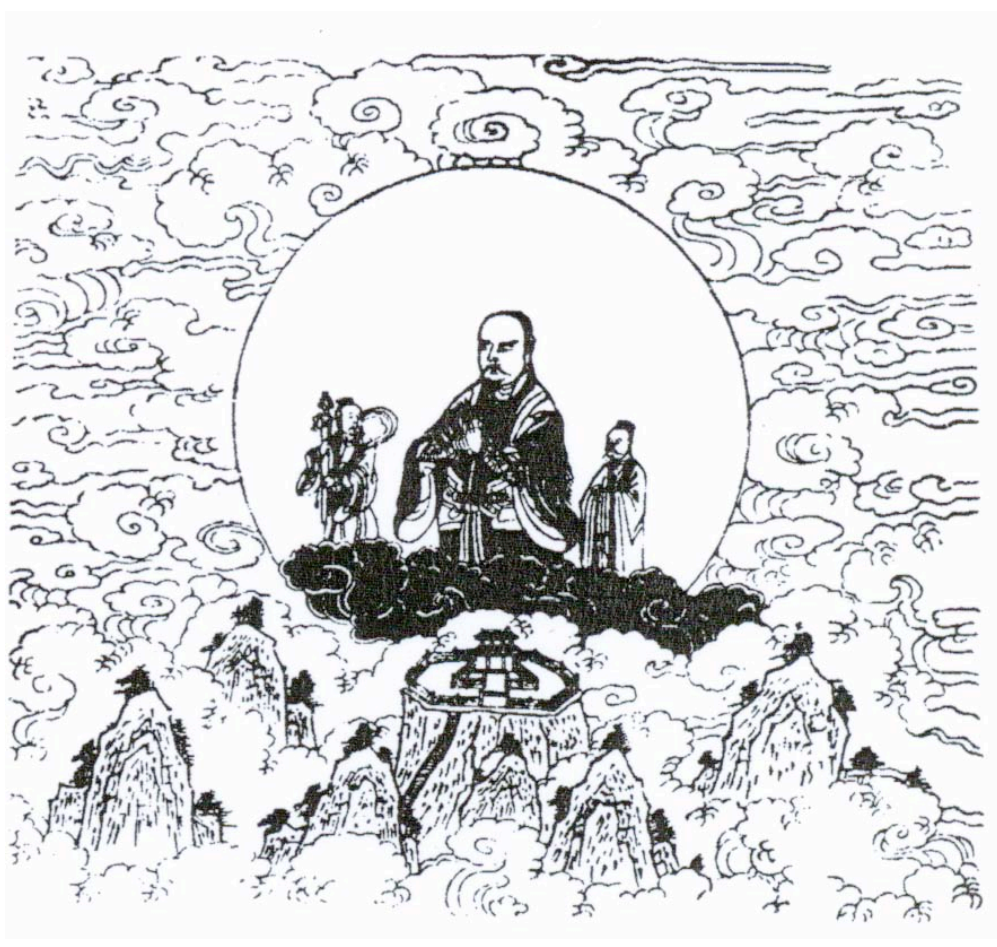
- 5.47 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.47 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.49 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.50 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.51 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.52 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.53 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.



- 5.54 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.

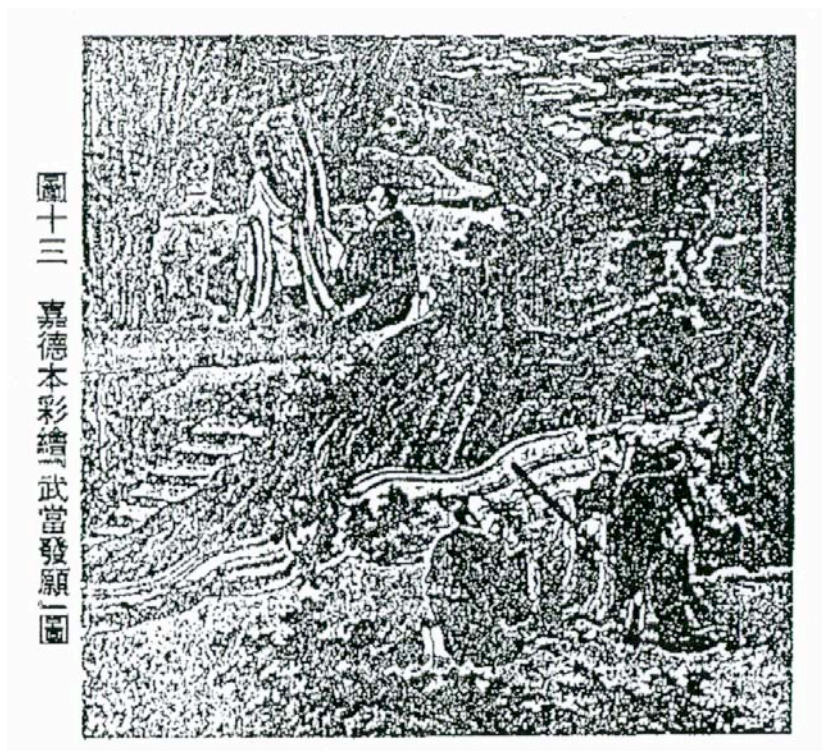


- 5.55 Zhenwu Appearing Above Mt. Wudang from *Da Ming xuantian shangdi ruiying tulu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [Records and Pictures of Auspicious Responses by the Emperor of the Dark Heaven in the Great Ming] (DZ 959), see *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign] reprint, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), volume 19: 632-40 and *Zhonghua Daozang* 中華道藏, (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004), volume 30: 706-14.

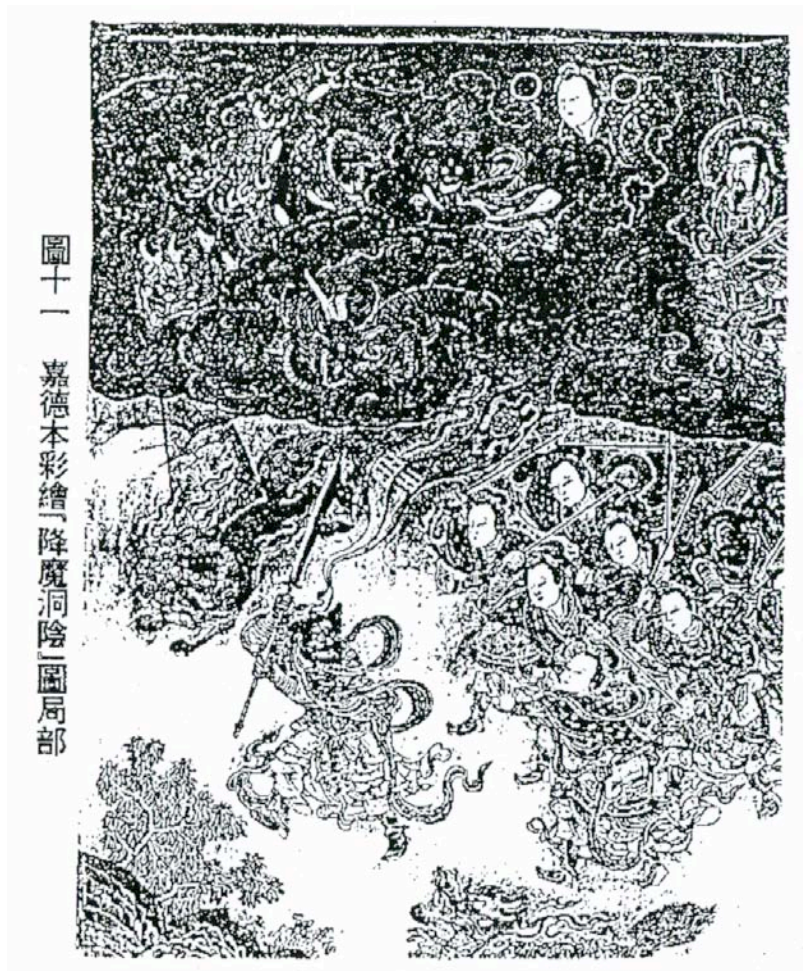


圖十四 嘉德本彩繪「二士化光」圖局部

- 5.56 *Ershi huangang* 二士化光 [Two Men Transform into Light] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.



5.57 *Wudang fayuan* 武當發願 [Making a Wish at Wudang (Mountain)] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.



圖十一 嘉德本彩繪「降魔洞陰」圖局部

- 5.58 *Xiangmo dongyin* 降魔洞陰 [Subduing Demons at Dong Yin] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.



5.59 *Yubi chaocan* 玉陛朝參 [Paying Respects at Court on the Jade Platform] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.



5.60 *Bairi shangsheng* 白日上昇 [The White Sun Rises] from *Zhenwu lingying tu ce* 真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Pictures of Zhenwu's Numinous Responses], each leaf, 28 x 28 cm. Sold at auction by Jiade in Beijing in May 1998.



5.61 Zhenwu Ascending from Mt. Wudang to the Celestial Court. Ming period, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Bronze. 121 cm high. British Museum (BM OA 1990.12-15.1).



5.62 Detail of coin-shaped mark on Zhenwu Ascending from Mt. Wudang to the Celestial Court. Ming period, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Bronze. 121 cm high. British Museum (BM OA 1990.12- 15.1).



5.63 Text of Entry for Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 [Newly Compiled Combined Record of the Search for the Supernatural]. Yuan period (1279-1368). Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 2: 26-29.



- 5.64 Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 [Newly Compiled Combined Record of the Search for the Supernatural]. Yuan period (1279-1368). Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 2: 25.



- 5.65 Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 三教源流聖帝佛祖大全 [Compendia of the Search for the Supernatural of the Sacred Emperors and Buddhist Patriarchs of the Three Religions]. Seven juan version. Ming period, early-mid sixteenth century. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 3: 28.



5.66 Text of Entry for Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻 出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]. Ming period, dated 1593. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 4: 79-83.



- 5.67 Xuantian shangdi (Zhenwu) from *Xinke chuxiang zengbu soushen ji daquan* 新刻出像曾補搜神記大全 [Newly Carved Illustrated, Expanded, and Supplemented Compendium of the Search for the Supernatural]. Ming period, dated 1593. Woodblock-printed book. Reprinted in *Zhongguo minjian xinyang ziliao huibian* 中國民間信仰資料彙編 [Collection of Material on Chinese Popular Beliefs]. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuchu, 1989), volume 4: 78.



5.68 *Zushi shanglao zhong jiang* 祖師賞勞眾將 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) Rewarded Many Generals] (picture 225) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



5.69 *Zushi shouba tianmen* 祖師守把天門 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) Guards the Heavenly Gate] (picture 226) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



- 5.70 *Zhong jiang shou ? can jian* 眾將受? 參見[Generals Receive Their Titles and Positions, Pay Their Respects and Meet (Zhenwu)] (picture 227) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



5.71 *Zushi xiafan jian jiu yao* 祖師下凡間救妖 [The Patriarch (Zhenwu) Descends to Earth to Save (People from) Demons] (picture 228) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



5.72 *Yudi she yan hui qunchen* 玉帝設宴會群臣 [The Jade Emperor Holds a Banquet for Officials] (picture 1) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



- 5.73 *Guowang yan dai chun chen* 國王宴待群臣 [The King Holds a Banquet for Officials] (picture 47) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



- 5.74 *Kang Xi ying daoshi ru dong* 康蓆迎道士入洞 [Kang Xi Welcomed the Daoist to Enter the Cave] (picture 166) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



- 5.75 *Tudi ying jie xuantian shangdi* 土地接玄天上帝 [The Earth God Welcomes and Meets the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven] (picture 115) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



- 5.76 *Zhu Yanshi xiang xuantian shangdi* 朱彥失降玄天上帝 [Zhu Yanshi Surrenders to the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven] (picture 155) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



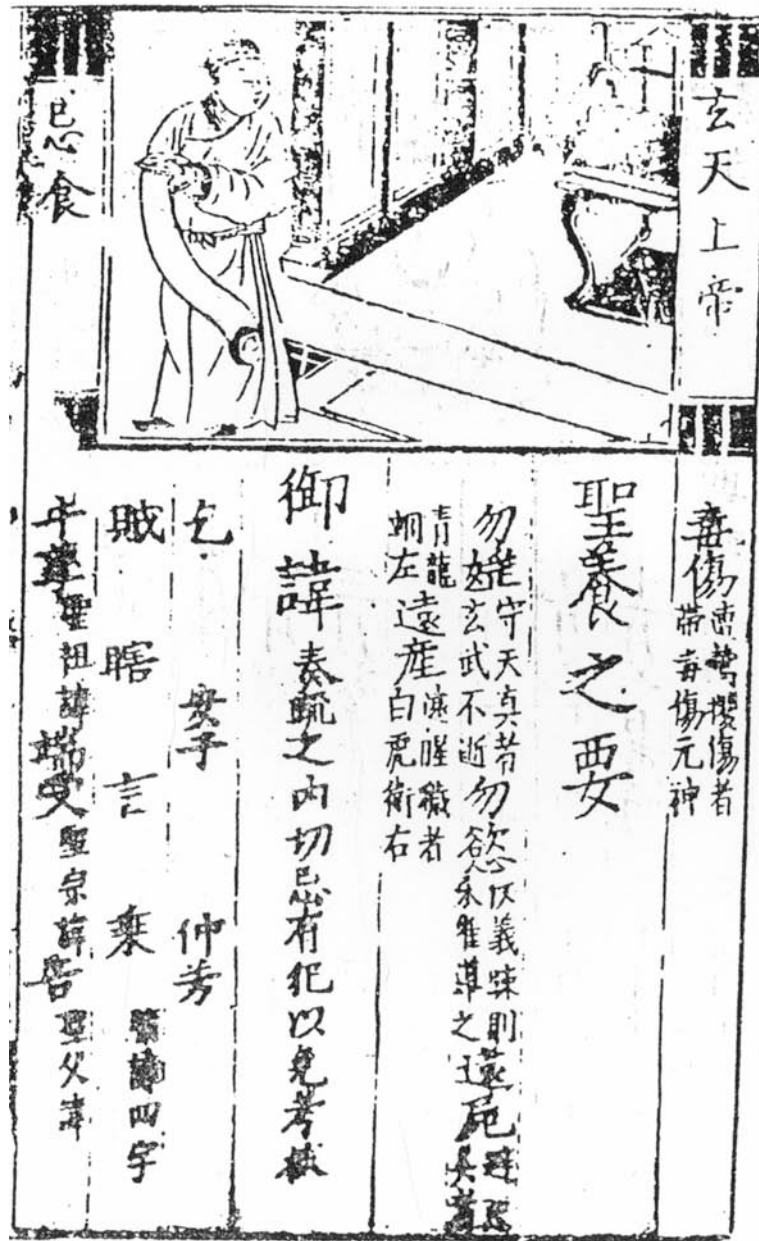
- 5.77 *Shangdi zhi xiang Dang Guiji* 上帝智降當歸藉 [The Supreme Emperor (Zhenwu) Uses His Wisdom to Force the Surrender of Dang Guiji] (picture 163) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



- 5.78 *Ma shuai zhuo ren ning er jiang jian shangdi* 馬帥捉任甯將見上帝 [Marshal Ma Captured the Two Generals Ren and Ning to Meet the Emperor] (picture 189) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



5.79 *Simin she gong xuantian shangdi* 四民設供玄天上帝 [People from the Four Directions Make Offerings to the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Zhenwu)] (picture 236) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum



5.80 *Xuantian shangdi jishi* 玄天上帝忌食 [Food Taboos (Regarding) the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Zhenwu)] (picture 237) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.



5.81 *Shangdi xiang fan* 上帝降凡 [Supreme Emperor (Zhenwu) Descends to Earth] (picture 238) from *Beifang Zhenwu zushi xuantian shangdi chushen zhi zhuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳 [The Chronicle of the Incarnation of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, Venerable Teacher, Perfected Warrior of the North]. Also known as *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 [Journey to the North]. Ming period, dated 1602. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.