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The heavenly court: a study on the Iconopraxis of Daoist temple painting

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APPENDIX

**PhD Dissertation
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1 Iconographic Description

1.1 Yongle gong

Temple history and layout

The Yongle gong 永樂宮 (Palace of Eternal Joy) was originally located in the small township of Yongle 永樂 on the northern riverbanks of the Yellow River in southern Shanxi province. In 1952, when the Chinese government planned the construction of the Sanmenxia Dam in the Yellow River, archaeologists coincidentally discovered this temple adorned with unique Daoist wall paintings, and in 1959 they initiated a rescue operation before the rising waters of the dammed river would swallow the precinct. They moved the temple brick by brick and tile by tile to a site north of Ruicheng 芮城, some twenty kilometres of its original location where it was rebuilt, most aptly, at the heart of the ancient Wei 魏 capital, Ruibo 芮伯, of the Western Zhou period. The entire project of relocating and renovating the temple and its murals was finished in 1964.⁹⁰

Building of the temple started in 1240 on the site of a shrine to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (Veritable Chunyang, *Chunyang zhenren* 春陽真人), a famous Daoist immortal who had become the first patriarch of the Quanzhen order, initiating its founder Wang Zhe 王嘉 (Veritable Chongyang, *Chongyang zhenren* 重陽真人, 1112-1170) into the Dao. In its present location, the Yongle gong has the following structures on an axis from south to north, the traditional layout of a Daoist monastery since the Tang, in succession from south to north we find Dragon and Tiger Gate (*Longhu men* 龍虎門), a long path leading up to a high platform projecting from the front of the central hall dedicated to the Three Purities, Three Purities Halls (*Sanqing dian* 三清殿) measuring seven by four bays, a slightly smaller hall dedicated to Lü Dongbin, Chunyang Hall (*Chunyang dian* 春陽殿) measuring five by three bays, and

⁹⁰ The history of the Yongle gong is best surveyed in Ruicheng, *Ruicheng xianzhi*. See also the special issue of *Wenwu* 8 (1963) dedicated to Yongle gong; Su Bai 宿白, “Yongle gong chuangujian shiliao biannian 永樂宮創建史料編年.” *Wenwu* 4-5 (1962), 80-87; Jing, “Yongle Palace;” and Katz, *Images of the Immortal*.

finally the smallest hall dedicated to Wang Zhe, Chongyang Hall (Chongyang dian 重陽殿) measuring five by four (narrower) bays. A shrine to Lü Dongbin is located to the west and several other small shrines to Daoist popular deities such as the God of Wealth (*Caishen* 財神) and the True Warrior (*Zhenwu* 真武) are found to the east of the central complex (Fig. 70).

On its original site, the complex consisted however of many more buildings. A fourth hall dedicated to Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Veritable Changchun 長春真人, 1148-1227), closed the sequence of halls but it was torn down by Japanese soldiers during Second World War to serve as firewood to burn their war casualties. The complex comprised further structures like dormitories, refectories, gardens, and granaries. In the centuries after the Yuan period, several new shrines were added to the complex, comprising a City God Hall, a Three Officials Hall, a Shrine of Repaying Merit, and an Upper-Storey Pavilion to the Jade Emperor.⁹¹ None of these have survived. On the old site, a new shrine to Lü Dongbin has been erected under the direction of Quanzhen monks.⁹²

The Yongle gong was designed by the Quanzhen priest Song Defang 宋德方 (Veritable Piyun 披雲真人, 1183-1247) who also had initiated the building of the temple. He was a Daoist with artistic aspirations and great managing skills, known for example to have conducted the carving of several caves with Daoist sculptures at Longshan 龍山 near Taiyuan 太原 in 1234 as well as the printing of the Daoist Canon in Pingyang 平陽 in 1236.⁹³ Pan Dechong 潘德冲 (Veritable Chonghe 冲和真人, 1190-1256) was ordered by the Quanzhen patriarchate to take charge of the project in 1245.⁹⁴ Both Quanzhen priests were eventually

⁹¹ Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, pp. 107, 108, 127.

⁹² The Yongle gong is officially a museum but on Lü Dongbin's birthday, the 14th day of the 4th lunar month, Quanzhen priests from Huashan near Xi'an occasionally perform rituals, as I was informed during my visit in April 2001.

⁹³ *Xuandu zhidao Piyun zhenren Song Tianshi citang beiming bing yin* 玄都至道披雲真人宋天師祠堂碑銘並引, by Li Ding 李鼎, dated 1262. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, pp. 546-549; *Zhongnanshan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* DZ 955, 3.22-23. On the Longshan sculptures, see Zhang, "Taiyuan Longshan Daojiao shiku yishu yanjiu," Hu, *Zhongguo Daojiao shike yishu shi*, Vol. 2, pp. 322-401, and Little, "Daoist Art," p. 730.

⁹⁴ See the stele inscription *Dachao chongjian da Chunyang wanshou gong zhi bei* 大朝重建大純陽萬壽宮之碑, by Wang E 王鄂, dated 1262. Ruicheng, *Ruicheng xianzhi*, pp. 795-796, and its translation in Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, pp. 102-103; and *Zhongnanshan zuting xianzhen neizhuan* DZ 955, 3.11b.

buried in tombs on the site.⁹⁵ The printing blocks of the Daoist Canon were also stored at the site.⁹⁶

The entire complex is presently adorned with wall paintings covering a total of 880 m². Wall paintings depicting a Heavenly Court audience of life-size Daoist deities decorate the Three Purities Hall. An inscription left on the murals indicates that a painting workshop from Luoyang 洛陽 headed by Ma Junxiang 馬君祥 completed the murals in 1325. Ma Junxiang had also painted murals in the famous Baimai si 白馬寺 (White Horse Monastery) in Luoyang in 1299, China's first Buddhist establishment where sutras were copied from Sanskrit into Chinese.⁹⁷ As the Chinese scholar Meng Sihui 孟嗣徽 recently demonstrated, a close reading of the inscriptions would reveal that the Ma Junxiang workshop only applied the clouds and other decorative paintings on some sections of the murals. Next, she convincingly argues that a comparison with the Xinghua si 興化寺 (Monastery of Flourishing Transformation) murals from Jishan 稷山 painted by Zhu Haogu 朱好古 proves that the Heavenly Court paintings of the Yongle gong were painted by one and the same painter (and his workshop), Zhu Haogu. She further argues that the Xinghua si murals should have been painted in 1320, and not in 1298 as is generally believed, and the Yongle gong murals between 1320 and 1325.⁹⁸

Zhu Haogu hailed from Xiangling 襄陵 (present Xiangfen 襄汾) in Pingyang 平陽 Prefecture (central Shanxi), and is one of the very few wall painters of the Yuan dynasty whose name has been preserved in (local) official history. Zhu Haogu's murals at the Xinghua si were sold at the beginning of the twentieth century and eventually ended up in two museums, one mural depicting a Maitreya Paradise in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto,

⁹⁵ On the coffins, which are now on display at the Yongle gong, see Li Fengshan 李鳳山, "Shanxi Ruicheng Yongle gong jiuzhi Song Defang Pan Dechong he 'Lüzu' mu fajue jianbao 山西芮城永樂宮舊址宋德方潘德冲和〈呂祖〉墓發掘簡報," *Kaogu* 考古 8 (1960), pp. 22-25, and Xu Pingfang 徐蘋芳, "Guanyu Song Defang he Pan Dechong mu de jige wenti 關於宋德方和潘德冲的幾個問題," *Kaogu* 考古 8 (1960), pp. 42-45.

⁹⁶ See the abovementioned stele inscription of 1262 by Wang E in Ruicheng, *Ruicheng xianzhi*, pp. 795-796.

⁹⁷ Jin Weinuo, "Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu," p. 45; Xu Jinxing 徐金星, "Guanyu Luoyang Baima si de jige wenti 關於洛陽白馬寺的幾個問題," *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 4 (1996), p. 92.

⁹⁸ Meng Sihui 孟嗣徽, "Xinghua si yu Yuandai Jinnan siguan bihua qun de jige wenti 興化寺與元代晉南寺觀壁畫群的幾個問題," *Gugong xuekan*, forthcoming. She also gave a lecture on the topic of the relationship between the Xinghua si and Yongle gong murals at the Daoist art symposium held in Xi'an in May 2007, which will be published in the proceedings of the symposium.

Ontario, Canada, and one mural of an Assembly of Seven Buddhas in the Palace Museum in Beijing. The temple was destroyed.⁹⁹

Despite some small parts having been repainted in 1562 (Plate 3),¹⁰⁰ and the retouching after the relocating of the murals from Yongle to Ruicheng for which they were cut from the walls in pieces of one square meter and then reassembled, the Yongle gong murals are in a fairly good condition.¹⁰¹

The Dragon and Tiger Gate also has murals depicting several warriors and other figures but these are mostly eroded. Since no inscription is left, the murals are generally believed to date to 1325 as well, but the coarse style of the figures – short, bulbous bodies and crudely rendered hands – and use of different hues rather links them to the repainted figures in the central hall and therefore a late sixteenth century date seems more plausible (Fig. 71).

The two other halls have by contrast narrative paintings of a very similar composition and style depicting in two tiers scenes of the lives of Lü Dongbin and Wang Chongyang respectively, set in a landscape scenery with buildings and figures, each scene accompanied by a cartouche explaining the contents of the scene.¹⁰² Inscriptions left on the walls by the painters state that the Chunyang Hall murals were completed in 1358 by members of the Zhu Haogu workshop headed by Zhang Zunli 張尊禮 and Li Hongyi 李弘宜. The murals painted at the Xinghua si reportedly also included a hall with narrative scenes on the life Buddha, and may therefore have been reminiscent of the Chunyang Hall narrative murals.¹⁰³ The Chongyang Hall has no inscription mentioning the painters names, but a stele in one scene has

⁹⁹ *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通志, compiled by Wang Xian 王軒 (Qing dynasty), edited by Gao Ke 高可 and Liu Ying 劉英. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990, j. 158, p. 10969. See also White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*; Steinhardt, “Zhu Haogu Reconsidered,” and Tsang, “Further Observations on the Yuan Painter Zhu Haogu.”

¹⁰⁰ Wang Chang'an, “Yongle gong bihua tiji mulu,” p. 66.

¹⁰¹ After the relocation, the Yongle gong murals were reconstructed in Ruicheng not on the temple wall but on a wooden board allowing for ventilation between the wall and the murals. The joints between the mural pieces as well as some large cracks have all been repaired and retouched.

¹⁰² The textual source for the cartouches and murals in the Chunyang Hall is a Daoist scripture called the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 春陽帝君神化妙通記 DZ 305. The relationship between the mural scenes and cartouches is discussed in detail in Katz, *Images of the Immortal*. The textual source for the Chongyang Hall murals may have been an illustrated scripture in 55 episodes, of which the preface has survived, *Chongyang Wang zhenren minhua tu xu* 重陽王真人憫化圖序, by Ren Shilin, ca. 1260. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, pp. 717-718. Most interestingly, the preface states that patriarch Li Zhenchang made it (the paintings?), and his future successor Zhang Mingcheng did the calligraphy. See also Goossaert, “L'ordre Quanzhen,” p. 459. If the Hall to Qiu Chuji also had been decorated, the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* preserved in a Yuan blockprint version may have been a probable source.

¹⁰³ See Chai, *Shanxi siguan bihua*, p. 67.

a date corresponding to 1368, the year when the murals were probably finished.¹⁰⁴ The whole project of building the Yongle gong thus took more than a century to complete.

Scholarship

The Yongle gong murals have received a great deal of attention resulting, particularly, in the publication of many large photo albums, but discussion of the style and content of the murals has thus far remained limited.¹⁰⁵ I will restrict my discussion here to scholarly publications on the Heavenly Court paintings of the Three Purities Hall. Discussions have mainly revolved around two issues: the source for identifying deities - text or images – and the ritual connection.¹⁰⁶

Text or image. In an article published in the Chinese journal *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics) in 1963, an issue wholly dedicated to the history, architecture, and murals of the Yongle gong, the Chinese scholar Wang Xun presented a complete list with identifications for almost all the deities (although he counted only 286 while there are actually 290 depicted in the murals).¹⁰⁷ He took a *jiao* 醮-offering list from one ritual manual, the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, as his basis, reflecting according to him the Northern Song Daoist pantheon during the Xuanhe reign-period (1119-1125).¹⁰⁸ His main argument for the choice of this particular texts seem to have been that it counted Eleven Sovereigns heading the list, the same number of central deities depicted in the Three Purities Hall murals. A great deal of the remaining deities is also identified on the basis of the offering list, chiefly on the correspondence by number and sometimes corroborated by other Daoist scriptures or an

¹⁰⁴ See Wang Chang'an. "Yongle gong bihua tiji mulu," p. 43.

¹⁰⁵ The murals are reproduced in Shanxi sheng, *Yongle gong*; Jin, *Yongle gong bihua quanji*; and Jin, *Yuandai daoguan*.

¹⁰⁶ Another issue in which the Yongle gong murals play a certain role but not the Heavenly Court paintings as such is the assumption of a regional style among the many Yuan period temple paintings in China and in North American museums. According to Nancy Steinhardt there is one southern Shanxi style, she terms "Ma-Zhu style" after the two only known mural painters from this area Ma Junxiang and Zhu Haogu, but Michelle Baldwin claims there are three different styles which are also chronologically ordered from early and high quality to late and poor quality. She judges the Yongle gong murals as mediocre, apparently because they were painted in the early fourteenth century. Steinhardt, "Zhu Haogu Reconsidered," and Baldwin, "Monumental Wall Paintings." Both authors attempt to create a "scholarly" discourse for "professional" painting, forging regional and period styles while it is not certain if these did exist. Mural workshop consist of many painters, operate on different scales, and murals would be repainted and retouched continuously over time, making issues like authorship or period styles very difficult without knowing or defining which were the main constituents of such a style or how mural production, patronage, and design went about in the Yuan period. These issues still remain to be investigated.

¹⁰⁷ As Anning Jing correctly points out, Wang Xun omits four figures of the west half of the north wall in his drawing. Jing, "Yongle Palace," p. 287.

¹⁰⁸ Wang, "Yongle gong Sanqing dian," pp. 23-24 and *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, chapter 39.

occasional painting The article also includes drawings in black-and-white of the Heavenly Court painting depicting 286 figures.

It must be noted that Wang Xun 王遜 may not have had the access to visual sources in 1963 that we have today, and his attempt in providing a complete identification for so many deities is a great accomplishment. His identifications have however never been questioned by Chinese scholars in later decades, and the identifications are quoted verbatim in all large photo albums on the Yongle gong and other major Chinese publications such as Chai Zejun's 柴澤君 *Shanxi siguan bihua* 山西寺觀壁畫 (Temple Painting in Shanxi province) of 1997. Sadly, Wang Xun nowhere explains his methodology or why this offering list should bear any relationship to the Yongle gong murals.

In 1994, the America-based scholar Anning Jing was first to challenge the identifications made by Wang Xun in his PhD dissertation "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon During the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368)." Pointing out that the number of 360 deities in the offering list do not match the 290 figures in the murals, he argues that the "starting point should not be a scripture, but a direct observation of the iconographical features in the murals"¹⁰⁹ and that "images do not always follow textual traditions because artists can not work without models."¹¹⁰ He therefore sees the Yongle gong murals as representing a stage in the development of the Daoist iconography and the Daoist pantheon, basing his identifications of the Yongle gong deities on previous representations of the Heavenly Court.

Anning Jing proposes new identifications for six of the Eleven Sovereigns and some other deities but unfortunately does not discuss all figures. Furthermore, Jing's methodology of viewing the Yongle gong Heavenly Court as a final stage in a long development of earlier representations – although mainly focusing on main deities such as the Three Purities, the deities of the Five Directions or Five Sacred Peaks, and the Nine or Eleven Sovereigns – restricts him to pictorial sources before the Yuan and not taking into account many later materials such as hanging scroll paintings, other wall paintings, and woodblock prints which depict the same Daoist deities as in the Yongle gong murals; the omission of the related but Buddhist Water-and-Land paintings (*shuilu hua* 水陸畫) is particularly regrettable.

In addition, Jing sees the Yongle gong Heavenly Court as representing a Quanzhen Daoist pantheon. But it should be noticed that all four Heavenly Court paintings under discussion here - Yongle gong, the Toronto murals, Nan'an, and Beiyue miao – were temples

¹⁰⁹ Jing, "Yongle Palace," p. 289.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 14.

under Quanzhen management and all four depict four different pantheons. Lastly, the methodology of paralleling the development of Heavenly Court painting to the development of the Daoist pantheon assumes that there existed one fixed Daoist pantheon for each period or dynasty, which is not confirmed by either existing Heavenly Court paintings or Daoist texts. Apparently, the Yongle gong murals do not depict a typical or standard Quanzhen pantheon, nor do they represent a typical Daoist pantheon of the Yuan dynasty.

Ritual connection. In an article of 1993 and in a study published on the cult of Lü Dongbin at Yongle gong in 1999, Paul Katz found confirmation of Wang Xun's identifications by exploring the ritual connection of the paintings. He first argues that the murals depicted in the Dragon and Tiger Gate formed a unity with those of the Three Purities Hall together depicting 360 deities, the gate representing the outer altar (*waitan* 外壇) and the hall representing the inner altar (*neitan* 內壇) of a Daoist ritual area (*daochang* 道場); and he further suggests that the deities received offerings of a priest "circulating throughout the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones according to the stages defined in their liturgical manuals. The objects of these rituals were none other than the deities featured on the walls of the two buildings as well as the nearly four hundred spirit-tablets mentioned above [in a stele inscription of 1624]." ¹¹¹ Paul Katz also questions Anning Jing's identification of Lü Dongbin as one of the emperor figures depicted in the murals arguing that Jing's identification does not match other known images of Lü Dongbin in which he is always represented as a scholar-immortal and never as an emperor. ¹¹²

Katz points out the importance of both the ritual connection and iconographical comparison with contemporaneous sources. Yet, in insisting on the portrayal of 360 figures in the Yongle gong murals, Katz assumes that Heavenly Court paintings must exactly match the number of deities presented in an offering list. This assumption should then also be applicable to other Heavenly Court paintings or textual references thereof, but numbers all vary – as the other Heavenly Court paintings in this study underscore – and the offering list is therefore not a direct source for the paintings (although it can provide possible names for deities in the paintings). In addition, the Yongle gong murals portray several attendants and court ladies that have no match in an offering-list; thus even if the Yongle gong murals had 360 figures,

¹¹¹ Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, p. 148. Actually, the inscription speaks of "over" (*yu* 餘) 400 spirit-tablets. *Yongle gong chongxiu zhushen paiwei ji* 永樂宮重修諸神牌位記, by Meng Guan 孟綰, dated 1624. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lie*, p. 1304.

¹¹² Paul R. Katz, "The Religious Function of Temple Murals in Imperial China – The Case of the Yung-le Kung." *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 21 (1993), pp. 45-68, and Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, pp. 142-149.

they still would not match the names of an offering-list exactly. Clearly, the number of deities depicted in a Heavenly Court painting is variable.

Katz is the first scholar who attempts to explain the ritual use of Heavenly Court paintings, an aspect missed in the work of Wang Xun. Indeed, Katz quotes a ritual text explaining how a Daoist priest circulates around the ritual area burning incense and making offerings, but nowhere in this text it is stated that offerings are made to the images. Rather, a *jiao*-offering is made to spirit-tablets (*shenwei* 神位, *pai* 牌, or *ban* 版) inscribed with the deity names (as recorded in the *jiao*-offering list) and arranged in two rows against the temple walls.¹¹³ In fact, the practice of offerings to spirit-tablets is confirmed by a stele inscription of 1636 preserved at the Yongle gong stating that “more than 500 spirit-tablets were repaired”¹¹⁴ not only proving the existence of spirit-tablets independently of the murals – used for the *jiao*-offering – but also suggesting that there were many more tablets, presumably 3600 since this is the largest number of tablets or “seats” (*wei* 位) for a *jiao*-offering, normally only held for the benefit of the emperor and the state. Offering-list for smaller numbers – 2400, 1200, 360, 240, 120, 80 etc. – also exist, further suggesting that the same Heavenly Court painting could function in many different types of rituals.¹¹⁵ My suggestions for the identities of the Daoist deities represented in the Yongle gong murals, also taking into consideration the views of the abovementioned scholars, will be given below.

Iconography

The Yongle gong Heavenly Court painting represents one of the most comprehensive and varied Daoist iconographies. Providing a description of and identifying 290 figures presents major problems of organisation and presentation. I have chosen to describe the murals from wall to wall, rather than from group to group as Wang Xun has for example done, thereby placing more emphasis on the figures’ position in the layout and their interrelationship, which are often important aspects as well in determining their identities. I also hope this method will

¹¹³ See the diagram for a *jiao*-offering layout in *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* DZ 466, 1.25b. It may be that Paul Katz is drawing inferences for his thesis on the basis of personal eye-witness accounts of contemporary Daoist ritual in Taiwan or China where ritual procedures may have changed over time and indeed offerings are made to the paintings of the deities. I am also unaware if contemporary Daoist ritual still uses spirit-tablets for *jiao*-offerings, which perhaps could explain such a change in practice.

¹¹⁴ *Chongxiu Pan gong citang ji* 重修潘公祠堂記, by Li Conglong 李從龍, dated 1636. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, p. 1308. Another inscription, the same as mentioned by Paul Katz on the 360 images, states that more than 400 tablets were repaired. *Yongle gong chongxiu zhu paiwei ji* 永樂宮重修諸牌位記, author unknown, dated 1624. Su Bai 宿白, “Yongle gong diaocha riji 永樂宮調查日記.” *Wenwu* 文物 8 (1963), p. 56.

¹¹⁵ How these Heavenly Court paintings “functioned” in Daoist ritual, and how the differences between them should be explained, is one of the central questions of this study, and will not be discussed here.

help to give a better sense of looking at murals which are not compartmentalised even though the reproduction may sometimes suggest this. I will start with the main deities and gradually proceed from wall to wall, from north to south and from easy to more difficult to recognise images. A chart with all the deity names suggested by Wang Xun, Anning Jing, and myself, together with references to attributes and important visual sources such as related Water-and-Land paintings is found in Appendix 2.1 for overview. All numbers in the discussion and the chart refer to the drawings published in Wang Xun's article, which I have rearranged in a logical order (shrine walls, east walls, west walls) in Drawings 1A, 1B, and 1C to imitate the layout of the original murals and to facilitate looking up deity figures. I discuss the deities by wall and not by number as did Wang Xun.

Together with the statues of the Three Purities in the altar-shrine (now replaced by modern replicas), the eight main emperor deities on the shrine and sidewalls make up the Eleven Sovereigns, taking up position all around the viewer.¹¹⁶ These imperial figures, numbered in roman numerals, match in number the eleven deities mentioned in the ritual manual *Shangqing lingbao dafa*, but Wang Xun mixed up some of the deities' locations. Anning Jing corrects the identifications by pointing out the right attributes. Empress VIII should be Earth Goddess (*houtu* 后土) as identified by the *kun* 坤-trigram of three broken lines symbolising earth in her headdress and the two bronze child-brooches across her chest symbolising fertility (Fig. 72); and her male companion, emperor VII, should therefore be the Jade Emperor (*yuhuang* 玉皇), although he has no known attributes (Fig. 73). The two imperial figures on the opposite wall are correctly identified by Anning Jin as King Father of the East (*dongwanggong* 東王公, V) and Queen Mother of the West (*xiwangmu* 西王母, VI) respectively (Plate 3). King Father of the East has a green dragon symbolising the east at his feet and turning it head in his direction; Queen Mother of the West has standard attributes of a peacock, hare, and peaches since Han times; the peacock is found in front of her, and the hare and peaches make up the background decoration of her seat. A *zhen* 震-trigram formed of two broken lines above and one complete line below symbolising wood and the east further strengthens the bond with her male companion King Father of the East. Wang and Jing agree on the identifications of emperor III as representing the North Pole Emperor (*beiji* 北極) (Fig. 74) and emperor IV as the Heavenly Sovereign (*tianhuang* 天皇) on the two north walls. Both are dressed in dark blue gown symbolising their northern origin, which could create some

¹¹⁶ In chapter 4.1 I will demonstrate that there are actually thirteen sovereigns but for convenience sake, I will refer to the Eleven Sovereigns.

confusion, but since the North Pole Emperor and the seven stars of the Big Dipper (*beidou* 北斗, 60-66) form a unity, found on the eastern north wall, emperor III should be the North Pole Emperor.¹¹⁷

The identification of emperors I and II (Plates 1 and 2) on the exterior walls of the altar-shrine presents however some difficulties. Wang Xun identified them as the South Pole Emperor (*nanji* 南極) on the east wall and the East Pole Emperor (*dongji* 東極) on the west, on the basis of the offering list, but Anning Jing contends that they rather should represent Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, the two main patriarchs of the Quanzhen order, for Zhongli had initiated Lü into the Dao according to legend and this scene is depicted in a mural scene on the rear of the shrine wall in the Chongyang Hall.¹¹⁸ His main argument is first that both were promoted to emperor by imperial decree in 1310 accounting for the imperial representation rather than as immortals as in the Chunyang Hall mural; and second that the deities are standing rather than sitting on a throne like the other emperors; and third, that the accompanying figures for the most part can be identified as their disciples or lineage masters, e.g. figure 9 should be Wang Zhe, and the person behind him (10) holding a fan should be Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Veritable Danyang 丹陽真人, 1123-1183), his most important disciple. Anning Jing further says a portrait in profile of Qiu Chuji he witnessed in the collection of the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Monastery) in Beijing and according to him of a Yuan date, closely resembles the portrait in frontal view of figure 7 on top of the east shrine wall, therefore identifying him as Qiu Chuji.¹¹⁹ I identify this figure as Sun Lüdao 孫履道 (fl. 1312-1327), the acting Quanzhen patriarch when the murals were painted.¹²⁰ Also, on the west shrine wall, figures 19 and 20 hold a lotus flower and an elixir pill, which Anning Jing takes as attributes for Chen Tuan 陳搏 (871-989) and Liu Haichan 劉海蟾 (10th cent.) who are associated with these objects in their biographies (Plate 1). The identities of the other figures are inferred. Wang Xun had identified ten of these figures as the Ten Masters of Mysterious Origin (*xuanyuan shizi* 玄元十子).¹²¹ Paul Katz already professed doubt on

¹¹⁷ Wang, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian,” pp. 23-24; Jing, “Yongle Palace,” pp. 289-305.

¹¹⁸ Reproduced in Jin, *Yuandai daoguan*, p. 111.

¹¹⁹ Anning Jing does not reproduce this painting. A painting of Qiu Chuji in three-quarter view of probably late Ming or early Qing date judging from its style and use of pigments from the Baiyun guan Collection is published in Zhongguo daojiao xiehui, *Daojiao shenxian huaqi*, p. 105 which does not match the mural figure.

¹²⁰ For this identification, I refer the reader to chapter 4.1.

¹²¹ Wang, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian,” pp. 23-25; Jing, “Yongle Palace,” 306-317.

Anning Jing's identifications of the two emperors and subordinate figures, arguing that Jing had presented not enough textual and iconographical evidence to support his claims.¹²²

With regard to the two emperors, iconographical evidence from Water-and-Land Paintings as well as internal evidence from the Yongle gong paintings suggests however that Wang Xun's view is the correct one. First of all, there is a painting of the South Pole Emperor at the Pilu si 毗盧寺 (Vairocana Monastery) in Shijiazhuang, southern Hebei province, and dating to the early Ming, which is identified by a cartouche as such and which depicts the deity in almost a similar pose, holding diagonally a handheld incense burner, and dressed in a red gown, the symbolic colour of the south (Fig. 75). The pose, incense burner and red gown are identical in emperor I, and since the Pilu si figure is identified in a cartouche, the Three Purities Hall emperor should also represent the South Pole Emperor (Plate 2). Emperor II on the opposite side can be identified as the East Pole Emperor by the conspicuous green cloud hovering above his head, green symbolising the east (Plate 1).¹²³

As for the subordinate figures accompanying the two emperors, these show very distinct representations in crown and gown and positions on the wall. Following each emperor, are five Daoist priests (9-13, 19-23), recognisable by their colourful ceremonial robes embroidered with auspicious signs and their lotus crowns. All these ten priests have haloes and thus should form one group. By contrast, the figures placed in front of the two emperors are not Daoist priests but are dressed as officials (6, 16-18) except for the Sun Lüdao portrait (7) who is dressed in a peculiar costume representing a Quanzhen master, a feature I will come back to shortly. These five figures, two on the east flank and three on the west flank, also have haloes and should also form one group. Their dresses however differentiates them from the other figures which therefore must present two different groups. The five figures in the front group most probably represent donors, similar to the Nanshan Heavenly Court sculptures in Sichuan where donor-images were also depicted on the posts of the altar-shrine, but their identities remain unclear. With regard to the ten Daoist priests, these may indeed represent ten famous immortals, probably those venerated by the Quanzhen order, although their precise identities remain unclear.

I want to draw attention here to a similarity between the altar-shrine of the Three Purities Hall and the altar mound of "traditional" Daoist ritual, i.e. the ritual layout on a tiered

¹²² Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, p. 149.

¹²³ Strangely, Anning Jing, "Yongle Palace," p. 311 claims that the green cloud is a later addition replacing an original canopy similar to that of emperor. Personal investigation at the site however revealed no traces of repainting in this section. One could further wonder why painters would go through the effort of removing a canopy and paint a seemingly insignificant green cloud.

altar in the open air. The traditional ritual area consists of a tiered altar mound surrounded circles of poles with gates and banners, and it would have statues (or tablets) of the Three Purities in the centre, a ring of ten gates on the first mound for the Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Direction (*shifang tianzun* 十方天尊) with their tablets, which was standard format; in some versions the third ring on the lowest mound would further have banners with the names of the Thirty-Two Heavenly Emperors (*sanshi'er tiandi* 三十二天帝).¹²⁴ A similar layout is witnessed in the murals of the altar-shrine in the Three Purities Hall: the centre of the shrine was occupied by statues of the Three Purities, images of the Ten Heavenly Worthies occupy the side walls (now represented as Daoist priests), and the images of the Thirty-Two Heavenly Emperors on the rear of the shrine. The hierarchy would then logically go further down via the north walls to the east and west walls ending on the south walls. The paintings of the ten Daoist priests would therefore essentially depict the Ten Heavenly Worthies but painted with the faces or attributes of famous Daoist priests and immortals.

From the exterior and rear of the shrine walls, the Heavenly Court audience continues on the north walls, where first two generals, Red Bird (*zhuque* 朱雀, 56) and Xuanwu (玄武, 282) guard the front (and possibly also the northern entrance door against any baleful influence from entering) followed each by three Daoist priests (57-59, 101-103) on the forefront. One of the priests (58) is evidently the first Heavenly Master, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, identified by his bristle hair and protruding eyes, the same features witnessed in his other images, for example as one in the Baiyun guan Collection (Fig. 76).¹²⁵

An explanation for the six Daoist priests on both sections of the north wall may be that they belong to a series of deities whose paintings were traditionally hung on the corridor leading up to the altar,¹²⁶ comprising: Xuanshi 玄師 (Mystery Master) who is traditionally identified as Laozi; Tianshi 天師 (Heavenly Master), or Zhang Daoling, who is indeed represented here; Sanshi 三師 or Jingjidushi 經籍度師 (Scriptural, Heritage, and Conversion

¹²⁴ The middle mound would have banners to the deities of the nine heavens in this version, but these are not represented in the Three Purities Hall murals, see *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* DZ 466, 1.20b-21b.

¹²⁵ The images of Zhang Daoling all date after that of the Yongle gong but the characteristics of the wing-shaped hair and bristle beard have remained the same. See the Ming woodblock print in *Huitu sanjiao yuanliu souchen daquan* 繪圖三教源流搜神大全. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990, pp. 319-320; the painting in the Baiyun guan collection, *Zhongguo daojiao xiehui, Daojiao shenxian huaqi*, p. 99; and the painting in the collection of Kristofer Schipper, reproduced in Ebert, Kaulbach, and Kraatz, *Religiöse Malerei aus Taiwan*, p. 40.

¹²⁶ Three paintings, literally *mu* 幕 “curtains,” were hung to the left and three to the right of the corridor: Xuanshi 玄師, Tianshi 天師, and Jianshi 監師 to the east, and Wudi 五帝, Sanguan 三官, Sanshi 三師 to the west. See *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* DZ 466, 1.23b; *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* DZ 508, 2.9-10; *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 16, 9-10. Images of the Daoist patriarchs (Xuanshi, Tianshi, Jianshi, Sanshi) were also placed in the oratory of the priest. This practice seems to have started with the Tianshidao.

Masters), the founding master, lineage master, and personal master of each Daoist priest; a Jianshi 監師 (Supervision Master) overseeing the ritual proceedings and altar layout; the Wudi 五帝 (Five Emperors of the five directions or the Sacred Peaks); and the Sanguan 三官 (Three Officials) of Heaven, Earth and Water. Because the last two are also represented in the murals (132-134, 164-167, Fig. 37), and the other six figures could therefore all correspond to the six images of the Daoist priests, although one would expect to find a Laozi image among them which is not the case. Perhaps the meaning of the Mystery Master had been lost and all six masters were collapsed into one group; in the Southern Hermitage murals discussed below they also appear in a group of six and in company of the Three Officials and Five Emperors, following standard ritual procedures for the layout of the altar. Wang Xun considered them as six Transmission Masters (*chuanjing fashi* 傳經法師) but could count only five and with different identities.¹²⁷

The eastern north wall has further images of the Big Dipper consisting of the seven stars of the Big Dipper (*beidou* 北斗, 60-61) all dressed in black, the colour of the north, and its two “invisible” stars, Fu 輔 and Bi 弼 (67-68); above them the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台, 69-71); and surrounding the North Pole Emperor, fourteen images of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions (*ershiba xiu* 二十八宿, 76-81) each with a specific emblem of their corresponding animal in their headdress, except for seven figures who have heads in the shapes of their particular animal (76-78, 81-82, 87-88).¹²⁸ The fourteen others are found on the western north wall. The Eleven Luminaries (*shiyi yao* 十一曜) closes this part of the audience on the north wall, comprising the male Sun (*ri* 日, 90) and female Moon (*yue* 月, 91) identified by a red and white disc in their headdresses, the symbols of the Sun and Moon since early Han times; behind them we find the Five Planets (*wuxing* 五星, 92-96) in their respective Central Asian iconographies, and accompanied by the two Indian stellar deities in tantric style Ketu (*jidu* 計都, 100) and Rahu (*luohou* 羅睺, 99), and two Chinese stellar deities Ziqi 紫氣 (97) in the representation of a Daoist priest, *ziqi* referring to the auspicious purple cloud vapours the Guard of the Pass, Yin Xi 尹喜, saw when Laozi was approaching, and Yuebo 月孛 (98) in official dress (Fig. 77).

The opposite western north wall has many similar stellar deities, also identified as groups by their similarity of dress, emblems or crowns, such as the six stars of the Southern

¹²⁷ Wang, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian,” p. 25.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 27; Jing, “Yongle Palace,” p. 294.

Dipper (*nandou* 南斗, 104-109), the Three Walls (*sanyuan* 三垣, 110-111, 281 not in drawing) denoting the celestial spheres surrounding the Pole Star called Ziwei 紫微 (Purple Tenuity), Taiwei 太微 (Great Tenuity), and Tianshi 天市 (Heavenly Market); fourteen of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions taking place behind the Heavenly Sovereign (118-131), and in front right of the Heavenly Sovereign the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官) of Heaven (*tianguan* 天官, 132), Earth (*diguan* 地官, 133), and Water (*shuiguan* 水官, 134) wearing blue, yellow and red dresses respectively (although these colours vary in other examples) and, as Wang Xun has pointed out, each with a particular emotional expression - happy, stern, and angry¹²⁹ – but which is not known for any other painting of the Three Officials (Fig. 37). Strangely, the Official of Water is dressed as a general wearing a suit of armour rather than as an official as his title would suggest.

The western north wall has several unidentifiable figures. Two deities in front (279-290) are dressed in official outfit but inferior in rank than the Southern Dipper deities although all have haloes suggesting, together with their position in front, an important status. A painting in the Baiyun guan Collection mentions two possible candidates: messenger deities appointed to the Heavenly Sovereign and North Pole Emperor called Qing Yang 擎羊 and Tuo Luo 陀羅, but in the painting these are female and not male.¹³⁰ Another unidentified deity is an isolated figure represented as a young man holding in both hands a bronze wheel and presumably dressed as a Daoist priest. A similar figure holding a wheel is found in the Baiyun guan Collection but where he is part of the Thirty-six Thunder Generals (*sanshiliu leigong* 三十六雷公).¹³¹ Four obscure figures in the top row of obscure representation (priests?) remain unidentified.¹³²

The audiences on the east and west walls are both headed by furious images of the Four Saints: Tianpeng 天蓬 with six arms and three heads (204) assisted by the Black Killer (*heisha* 黑殺, 205) on the west (Fig. 78); and Tian You 天猶 (141) with four arms and two heads assisted by Martial Warrior (*zhenwu* 真武, 142) on the east (Fig. 79).¹³³ Old Four Eyes (Simu laoweng 四目老翁, 143) stands directly behind them and figures with them in exorcist

¹²⁹ Wang, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian,” pp. 27-28.

¹³⁰ Zhongguo daojiao xiehui, *Daojiao shenxian huiji*, p. 67.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 78.

¹³² Possible candidates in the offering list could be the Four Heavenly Officers (*tiancao* 天曹) or the Four Inner Heaven Lords (*tianzongjun* 天中君), see *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1123, 39. 13a; or perhaps the Four Chancellors (*sixiang* 四相) recorded in a memorial list who are interestingly followed directly in the list by the Four Saints, like in the mural, see *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* DZ 508, 7.12.

¹³³ Wang, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian,” p. 28 has these two couples inversed.

texts.¹³⁴ He is followed by deities of the Twelve Zodiacal Mansions (*shi'er shengxiao* 十二生肖), corresponding to the Twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支) and assisting Tianyou, each with an emblem in his crown with a corresponding animal (144-155).

If we first go further down the east wall, we see in the front row to the left and right side of the Queen Mother of the West two standing imperial figures. These must be the Mulberry Emperor (*fusang dadi* 扶桑大帝, 160), reigning over the Water Department (*shuifu* 水府), and the Fengdu Emperor (*fengdu dadi* 豐都大帝, 178), ruler of the Chinese Hades called Earth Department (*difu* 地府), and more easily identified by the ten officials standing behind him, the Ten Kings of Hell (*shidi yanjun* 十地閻君, 179-180, 182-186, 190-191) forming one group on the basis of their unity in crown and gown (Plate 3).¹³⁵ The Mulberry Emperor is further identified by deities associated with his Water Department, found behind him in the top row, the Emperors to the Five Sacred Peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽, 164-168), wearing *mian* 冕-crowns according to their ranks bestowed on them during the Song in 1011,¹³⁶ and robes in the colour of their corresponding directions, and next to them the deities of the Four Sacred Marshes (*sidu* 四瀆, 169-172).

In between the Mulberry Emperor and the Five Sacred Peaks three peculiar-looking figures take up a rather prominent position in the audience, not indentified by Wang Xun and also not listed in any offering or memorial list. In front we see a Daoist priest (161) but with a gauze hat capping his lotus crown, and Anning Jing has pointed out the similarity with the alleged portrait of Qiu Chuji (in my opinion Sun Lüdào) on the shrine wall (Fig. 52).¹³⁷ He holds a sceptre and stands in the first rank in full size at the bottom of the mural. Behind him there is another Daoist priest-like figure (162) and finally an old man holding a gnarled wooden staff and a grotesque, large forehead (163). This last figure should be identified as the God of Longevity (*shoulao* 壽老, *shouxing* 壽星, *nanji laoren* 南極老人, *laoren xing* 老人星). He is only known from much later paintings and, importantly, as a popular folk deity, not

¹³⁴ Four-Eyed Old Man is a thunder general surnamed Tao 陶. See *Shangqing Tianpeng fumo dafa* 上清天蓬伏魔大法 collected in the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 DZ 1220, 156.4b.

¹³⁵ Only two individual emperors are recorded in the offering list as well as in the memorial list, and in combination with their particular associated deities, it is possible to identify them as Mulberry Emperor on the left and Fengdu Emperor on the right. *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* DZ 508, 7.24a, 26a; *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 39, 15a.

¹³⁶ *Song shi* j. 102, pp. 2486-2487.

¹³⁷ Lecture held in Boston, June 2003.

as a member of the Daoist pantheon incorporated in memorial and offering lists.¹³⁸ He is particularly known as a member of a triad called the Three Stars (*sanxing* 三星) or the Gods of Fortune, Emolument, and Longevity (*fu lu shou*, 福祿壽), whose statues still can be found in many Chinese restaurants. A late fifteenth-century painting in the Palace Museum in Beijing depicts the God of Longevity with a large head, and a painting dated 1454 in Musée Guimet in Paris has all three deities depicted as Daoist priests.¹³⁹ The two figures in front dressed as Quanzhen masters would then represent the two other members of the triad, turning the portrait of Sun Lüdao in an image of the God of Fortune (*fu* 福). The representation would also be the oldest known representation of the Three Stars thus far.¹⁴⁰

Three other unidentified figures are found on the top row behind the Queen Mother of the West, one (177) dressed in a casual white robe and a black Dongpo-hat named after the Song artist-statesman Su Shi 蘇軾 (style Dongpo 東坡, 1036-1101).¹⁴¹ He has a young face and has his hands folded inside his sleeves, rather than holding a tablet, and his whole demeanour is again much different from the rest of the regular audience (Fig. 54). Offering and memorial lists do not give any clues, but his costume suggests a more popular identity and in the Water-and-Land paintings of the Pilu si at Shijiazhuang, a figure wears the same hat and casual robe, albeit yellow, and is identified as Qingyuan miaodao zhenjun 清元秒道真君 (True Lord of Pure Origin and Subtle Dao), a title bestowed by Song Emperor Zhenzong on a Sui dynasty statesman and Daoist priest, called Zhao Yu 趙昱 (Fig. 80).¹⁴² The same image is found in a Yuan period woodblock print with illustrations and biographies on divinities and immortals of the Three Religions (*sanjiao* 三教) Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, called the *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji* 新編連相搜神廣記 (Fig. 3).¹⁴³ It remains difficult to assess who his two companions are, but Zhao Yu was also known as the Water God Erlang 二郎, and was in fact named after Li Bing 李冰 and his son, both known as Erlang. Li Bing was a Han magistrate in Sichuan who made the region prosper by building an irrigation system at Guankou 關口 and who was therefore deified as a water god together with

¹³⁸ However, the Daoist painter-priest Zhang Suqing 張素卿 (fl. 845-927) painted once an image of the “Old Man Star” (*laoren xing* 老人星), according to *Yizhou minghua lu*, p. 131.

¹³⁹ Reproduced and discussed in Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, pp. 268-271, 273 n. 1.

¹⁴⁰ The Nezu Museum in Tokyo also has a painting of the Three Stars attributed to the Yuan but this identification is unconfirmed. Ibid. pp. 268-271.

¹⁴¹ See *Sancai tuhui*, p. 1503.

¹⁴² Kang, *Pilu si qun hua*, p. 53.

¹⁴³ *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji*, pp. 537-538.

his son.¹⁴⁴ I would therefore argue that the three figures should represent water deities. They are appropriately located between the Water and Earth Departments in the mural composition.

The closing section of the audience on the east wall is only partly clear. Wang Xun correctly identified three figures in armour and holding a sword as the Three Original Generals (*sanyuan jiangjun* 三元將軍), Tang Hong 唐宏, Ge Yong 葛永, and Zhou Wu 周武 (197-199), three Zhou period generals who now guard the Three Gates (*sanmen* 三門) before entering the Heavenly Court and mentioned in the offering list.¹⁴⁵ The other figures are more problematic. The four warrior figures (Fig. 48) holding short axes on the foreground can be identified as the Four Meritorious Officers Guarding Time (*sizhi gongcao* 四值功曹, 193-196) guarding the year, month, day, and hour, by comparison to identical paintings in the Baoning si 寶寧寺 (Monastery of Precious Tranquility) in northern Shanxi, Pilu si, and Baiyun guan Collection.¹⁴⁶

A single bearded figure wearing a conspicuous *putou*-hat with long horizontal wings projecting outwards and a white robe (during the repairs of 1562 painted partly red!) takes a prominent position on the foreground (181). Wang Xun identified him as the God of Literature, Wenchang 文昌, the God of Literature (but also an exorcist stellar deity), but this seems improbable. Namely, this same figure also appears in the Pilu si paintings and the Baiyun guan Collection, named Chenghuang 城隍 or City God, the equivalent in the celestial bureaucracy of the distric magistrate and therefore dressed with *putou* 幞頭-hat and scholar's dress (Figs. 6, 81). In addition, in the Pilu si painting he is accompanied by a general, as in the wall paintings (192), of unknown identity, and an old man with white hair, the Earth God (Tudi 土地), the god of the local village who is often dressed in plain robe and casual hat. An old man slightly bending forward and wearing a casual cap is found in the top row (201) but in company of three officials which seems to suggest they form a group. Interestingly, Wang Xun has relegated the City God and Earth God to a place outside the temple following scriptural annotations and did not include them in the wall paintings, which led Paul Katz to the conclusion that their images decorate the Dragon and Tiger Gate forming this outer altar

¹⁴⁴ Hu, *Zhonghua dao jiao da cidian*, p. 1496.

¹⁴⁵ Wang, "Yongle gong Sanqing dian," p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ Shanxi sheng bowuguan, *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, p. 82; Zhongguo dao jiao xiehui, *Dao jiao shenxian huaji*, p. 92; and Kang, *Pilu si qun hua*, p. 73.

(waitan),¹⁴⁷ but it now seems more likely that they took up their positions in the very last section in the audience similar to their position in the offering and memorial lists.¹⁴⁸

The west wall has many figures left unidentified by Wang Xun or Anning Jing and in fact they remain very difficult to identify because of their garbled representation – their crowns and gowns vary greatly and it is therefore not always clear who belongs to which group; and when a possible group is formed their number does not correspond to any numbers found in offering or memorial lists. Many of the following identifications are therefore tentative and need further study.

The majority of figures behind Tianpeng and Black Killer are unidentified by Wang Xun. Dividing them into groups, we have a group of two (219-220), a group of five (221-225), and a group of six (213-218). The group of two form the two most conspicuous figures, a six-eyed old man and another old man behind him, both wearing a scholar costume with a casual hat and the last one holding a feathered fan rather identifying him as a Daoist priest (Fig. 57). Wang tentatively identifies the first as Cang Jie 倉頡 (219), the mythological inventor of the Chinese script and behind him Confucius (220). The six-eyed old man should of course parallel the four-eyed old man on the opposite wall behind Tianyou and therefore relate both figures to thunder magic, but I have found no evidence to support this assumption. Cang Jie is included as an attending deity in a set of sketches of the Thirty-Six Thunder Generals in the Junkunc Collection, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, thus confirming his association to thunder magic.¹⁴⁹

The figures in the group of five all have different caps (221-225), the one in front (221) a Daoist crown, the one behind him a so-called Zhuge 諸葛-hat which is rolled up like a Chinese bun (224), and named after the famous Three Kingdoms general Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234) and the others variations on the ribbed *tongtian* 通天-crown.¹⁵⁰ Most probably, they should be paired with the five other official figures (230-235) also wearing quite distinct crowns on the left side of the Jade Emperor's throne. They could perhaps represent the Ten Heavenly Stems (*shi tiangan* 十天干) because we find the Twelve Earthly Branches (*shi'er dizhi* 十二地支, 144-155), or the Twelve Zodiacal Mansions on the opposite wall. The group of six officials may represent the Six Jia (*liujia* 六甲) but these are normally represented as

¹⁴⁷ Wang, "Yongle gong Sanqing dian," pp. 33-34; Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, p. 148.

¹⁴⁸ In a memorial list, the Four Time Meritorious Officials are the very last deities after the City God and Earth God like in the murals, see *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* DZ 508, 8.15.

¹⁴⁹ Zhu, *Daozi mobao*, pl. 11.

¹⁵⁰ See *Sancai tuhui*, p. 1503.

generals and often together with the female Six Ding (*lauding* 六丁) as in the *Pilu si* murals.¹⁵¹

The remainder of the audience on the west wall is better identified. Three Daoist priest on the top row behind Earth Goddess, unidentified by Wang, should represent the Three Mao Brothers (234, 236-237), patriarchs of the Shangqing tradition (Fig. 55). A ritual painting of the Three Mao Brothers is included in the Baiyun guan Collection and in the illustrations of the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* of the Yuan, always depicted as three Daoist immortals or priests.¹⁵² To the left and right of the Earth Goddess are ten officials, identified by Wang as the Ten Taiyi deities (*shi taiyi* 十太一, 238-247), which makes perfect sense if we go further down the wall where we find deities of the Eight Trigrams (*bagua* 八卦, 260-267) who are the assistants of Taiyi (Fig. 47). The other deities are also related because they belong to the so-called Thunder Ministry (*leibu* 雷部). Nine figures in armour suits (250-258), but strangely four with haloes and five without, and one figure, even more strangely, dressed as an official (259), should represent the Divine Kings of the Ten Directions Flying to Heaven (*shifang feitian shenwang* 十方非天神王) who are exorcist deities of the North Pole Emperor and part of the Thunder Ministry.¹⁵³ The final five figures in the bottom corner of the west audience consist of the traditional gods of the Thunder Ministry: Thunder Father (*leigong* 雷公, 268) with his ring of drums, his consort Lightning Mother (*dianmu* 電母, 269) but this time without her mirror, and Rain Master (*yushi* 雨師, 270) normally depicted with a bowl (Fig. 82).¹⁵⁴ The two officials in front of them (248-249) have peculiar feathers on their caps and remain unidentified but may represent Uncle Wind (*fengbo* 風伯) and Cloud Master (*yunshi* 雲師) who together with the three previous deities are known as the Five Thunders (*wulei* 五雷).

The sequence of the two audiences on the east and west walls is closed by the Green Dragon Lord (*qinglong jun* 慶龍君, 271) on the eastern south wall (Fig. 83), and the White Tiger Lord (*baihu jun* 白虎君, 275) on the western south wall, both represented as fierce generals in armour suits and wielding a sword or halberd and accompanied by their corresponding animals. Three Meritorious Officers (*tiancao* 天曹, 272-274) with *putou*-hats

¹⁵¹ Kang, *Pilu si qun hua*, p. 36.

¹⁵² *Xinbian lianxiang soushen guangji*, pp. 511-515; Zhongguo daojiao xiehui, *Daojiao shenxian huaji*, p. 97.

¹⁵³ In offering and memorial lists, they are also in sequence with other thunder deities where they directly followed by deities of the Earth and Water Departments. *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* DZ 508, 7.22b-23b; *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 39.14.

¹⁵⁴ The deities of the Thunder Ministry will be discussed below in the section on the Beiyue miao murals.

assist the Green Dragon lord, a part damaged and repainted in the Ming; and similarly three Strongmen (*lishi* 力士, 276-278) holding long axes assist the White Tiger Lord.

Not discussed thus far are the numerous attendants that assist the eight imperial figures. The male attendants are also dressed as various officials or as warrior figures but generically called Golden Boys (*jintong* 金童) and the female are represented as court ladies, called Jade Maidens (*yunü* 玉女). They hold banners, carry trays with precious gifts, or simply hold tablets. So we find six figures assisting the North Pole Emperor (I:1-5,8); only two court ladies for the East Pole Emperor (II:14-15); again six for the Heavenly Sovereign (IV:112-117) and Jade Emperor (V:207-212); and four figures for the remaining emperors (III:72-75, V:156-159, IV:173-176, VII:226-229). It is interesting to note that also among the attendants a hierarchy is expressed through their dress and headgear. For example, only the male attendants of the Heavenly Sovereign and the Jade Emperor wear a square transparent net over a seven-ribbed crown, called “marten-cicada crowns” (*diao chan guan* 貂蟬冠), which in the terrestrial bureaucracy is only worn by a Chancellor; the crowns of the attendants to the Heavenly Sovereign have indeed seven ribs, while those of the Jade Emperor have five ribs. All the other attendants have crowns of a lesser rank (a lower number of ribs means a lesser rank; this is of course also true for the deity-officials with ribbed crowns).¹⁵⁵

Perhaps two attendants (Plate 2) could be singled out because they both carry scriptures under their arms, one a square book (8) and the other a heavy scroll (3). Their position next to the South Pole Emperor (I) who also receives a text from a Daoist priest (9) together with the emphasis in Daoist ritual on presenting a written memorial, the two attendants may have a special position in the murals, for example as two deities mentioned in the offering list: one Immortal Official presenting the memorial below the Three Heavens Gate, the entrance to the Heavenly Court, and the other an Immortal Official who carries it into the Heavenly Court.¹⁵⁶ In fact, in several sections of the murals, Daoist priest are engaged in an activity – rather than simply attending a court audience – such as the Daoist priest (9) handing over (or receiving?) a scroll to the North Pole Emperor, one priest (101) bowing and holding his tablet horizontally in reverence to the Heavenly Sovereign, and also on the east side, one official (206) – not a Daoist priest – bowing with a hand-held incense burner to the Jade Emperor. This last figure does not belong to any group and also remains to be investigated, but one would suspect a donor. Because the Jade Emperor is the celestial

¹⁵⁵ *Sancai tuhui*, p. 1514.

¹⁵⁶ The first is called *santianmen xia shang zhangcibiao xianguan* 三天門下上章詞表次仙官, and the other *santianmen xia yinjin xianguan* 三天門下引進仙官. *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 39.14b-15a.

equivalent of the emperor on earth, although this emperor was a Mongol Khan, this way he paid his respect to the Jade Emperor in order to ensure eternal blessings as in the traditional homage scenes found in offering shrines of the Han period.

1.2 Toronto murals

Scholarship

A pair of Daoist murals depicting a Heavenly Court in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada, (hereafter referred to as the Toronto murals) are of unknown origin and unknown date, and most scholarship has dealt with these two issues. Iconography or the correct identifications of the deities is also discussed, but I will incorporate these views in my discussion on iconography in the next section.

Origin and date. The Royal Ontario Museum acquired the paintings in 1937 from the Japanese art dealers, Yamanaka & Co., who claimed the murals had been cut from the walls of a Buddhist temple called Longmen si 龍門寺 (Dragon Gate Monastery) located in Quwo 曲沃 County east of Houmashi 侯馬市 in the Pingyang area (Southwest Shanxi). In 1938, the keeper of the Far Eastern Department of the museum from 1934 to 1948, William White, hired two students from Hongtong county to investigate the area but could find no traces or any references to a monastery with this name in local gazetteers.¹⁵⁷ An inscription of a date on the west wall is as dubious. It states that the murals were repaired in the second year of the *zhiping*-reign period of the Northern Song dynasty, equivalent to the year AD 1065. This date the art dealers must have added to increase its value. William White concluded that the paintings must have originated from a Daoist temple in the Pingyang area and should date to the late thirteenth century by comparison to the very reminiscent style of the Xinghua si murals also in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.¹⁵⁸

In 1994, Anning Jing proposed a new, radical theory on the Toronto murals, suggesting that they are “a Buddhist distortion of the early Quanzhen pantheon to humiliate the Quanzhen Daoists as well as their gods” mainly based on the argument that the murals would include a frontal image of Laozi in standing position, rather than in seated position as

¹⁵⁷ Considering that the murals were removed from China at most a decade before 1937, it is regrettable to find that the two students were asked simply to investigate local gazetteers rather than being sent a photograph or drawing of the murals which probably would have yielded much better results.

¹⁵⁸ White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 47; Jing, “Yongle Palace,” p. 251.

one of the Three Purities, a humiliating posture according to Jing which can only be explained by presupposing that the murals were painted in a Buddhist monastery; an intention he sees evidenced by the Buddhist-Daoist debates held at the Mongol court in 1255 and 1258, the Buddhists seeking redemption for loss of temples to the fast-growing Quanzhen order. Jing thus implies that the murals were painted in the latter half of the thirteenth century. He finally explains that the murals should however depict an early thirteenth-century prototype of the Quanzhen pantheon because painters would rely on fixed models, or schemata in Gombrich's terms, and were therefore unable to paint the Daoist pantheon "in a far more humble manner than that shown in the Toronto murals" as the Buddhist undoubtedly would have liked to see.¹⁵⁹

Jing's identification of a supposed Laozi painting is strangely taken over from William White without providing any supporting evidence. Laozi is normally portrayed as an old man with a white (three-pointed) beard and holding a flywhisk or fan. Instead, the image portrayed in the murals is that of a young, beardless man dressed as Daoist priest wearing a ceremonial robe with cloud-motives and a jade-studded lotus-crown. This is certainly not a Laozi image. In addition, no evidence is given that a standing position is humiliating: the Wu Zongyuan scroll deities are standing, the Nan'an murals discussed below have standing deities, and the Beiyue miao murals also have standing deities, not to speak of the many Water-and-Land paintings which all have standing deities. It is therefore highly improbable that the paintings originated from a Buddhist monastery or that they were painted with the intend of humiliating Daoism.

In a Chinese publication of 2002, Anning Jing further elaborated upon his theory and identified a Longmen si in Pingshun 平順 County as the original site of the Toronto murals.¹⁶⁰ The east and west walls are however about a half a meter shorter than the murals, which would rule out the possibility that this Longmen si is the original site. In addition, Jing does not mention the height of the walls which should of course also match the height of the murals.¹⁶¹

In 1997, the Chinese scholar Jin Weinuo suggests in a footnote that the murals originated from a Daoist temple, the Wansheng guan 萬聖觀 (Monastery of Myriad Sages)

¹⁵⁹ Jing, "Yongle Palace," pp. 255-257, 281-283.

¹⁶⁰ Jing Anning 景安寧, *Yuandai bihua – Shenxian fuhui tu* 元代壁畫 – 神仙赴會圖. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2002.

¹⁶¹ The Longmen si central hall is 10.4 m. wide and 9.9 m. deep. Murals are usually depicted on the east and west walls (the front wall and often the back wall have doors), so the murals could have measured at most 9.9 m., yet the Toronto murals are 10.22 m. long and 3.1 m. high (east) and 10.61 m. long and 3.17 m. high (west) respectively. Ibid. pp. 5, 11; and Jing, "Yongle Palace," p. 251.

located in Qicun 齊村, west of Xiangling 襄陵 in Pingyang Prefecture, and built at the beginning of the Zhiyuan reign period (1264-1294).¹⁶² He provides no sources or evidence for this identification.

The original temple site still needs to be determined. Comparing the measurements of the murals to halls of still standing Daoist monasteries in the Pingyang area, and preferably the area near Quwo County, could yield a possible location, if the original temple has not been destroyed yet. In chapter 4.2 of this study I will propose a new date for the Toronto murals, mainly on the basis of the identification of the Daoist priest on the west wall. I date the murals to 1234-1247. This date remains tentative until more evidence can be found on the origin of the Toronto murals.

Iconography

In comparison to the Yongle gong murals, the deities in the Toronto murals present a much easier task - the audience only consists of sixty-three figures and the figures are more easily recognised as groups. The two Toronto murals form one pair, consisting of an east and a west wall, and both depict a procession of deities, not in a static audience as in the Yongle gong murals where the main deities are seated on thrones and the minor deities are standing behind them, but moving in a file from south to north where originally the central altar-shrine with the statues of the Three Purities would have been located. The central deities, three for each mural, imposingly take up positions in the centre of the murals, subordinate figures of court ladies hold banners and fans or tend to an altar table in front, while Daoist deities precede and follow in groups. Numbers in my discussion refer to the drawing of the murals published by William White (2A - east; 2B - west). Both William White and Anning Jing discussed the iconography of the Toronto murals extensively, Jing suggesting many new identifications. I will include their views in my discussion.

The murals have six main deities, consisting of three emperors and one Daoist priest – the figure identified as Laozi by White and Jing – and two empresses. Writing in 1940 and yet unacquainted with the Yongle gong murals, William White's main tool for identification was a painting of three Daoist imperial deities in a Japanese collection which has a cartouche identifying them as the Heavenly Sovereign, Earth Emperor (*dihuang* 地皇, identified by White as the Yellow Emperor), and Earth Goddess; White applies these titles to the three

¹⁶² Jin, *Yuandai daoguan*, p. 27, n. 15. Jin Weinuo gives no source and since no temple of that temple exists today Jin must rely on a textual source. There is no Wansheng guan recorded in the stele inscriptions collected in Chen Yuan's *Daojia jinshi lüe*.

imperial figures of the east wall, asserted further by the *kun*-trigram in the phoenix-crown of the Earth Goddess (A11-13) (Fig. 84). Jing agrees only as far as the Earth Goddess is concerned. He correctly argues that her male companion must be the Jade Emperor (A12) and the emperor in front of him rather as the North Pole Emperor (A11) because he is traditionally associated with the Northern Dipper, the seven deities are depicted in front of him dressed as officials in black gowns (A4-10) (Plate 4).¹⁶³ The east wall central deities present no great difficulties.

Matters become complicated when we turn to the west wall central deities (Plate 5). William White identified them as Laozi, the Jade Emperor and Heavenly Goddess (*tianhou* 天后) (B11-13), supporting his choices with historical data of the deities but no iconographical evidences.¹⁶⁴ Anning Jing points to a child-brooch (in fact there are two) on the empress's chest symbolising motherhood and therefore identifies her and her companion as the Holy Ancestress (*shengmu* 聖母, B13) and the Holy Ancestor (*shengzu* 聖祖, B12), the two Song imperial family ancestors who also had been incorporated in the Daoist pantheon during the Song.¹⁶⁵ White's identification of the alleged Laozi image is further left unmentioned.

Beside the Laozi image which should represent a Daoist priest, the other two imperial figures also could be identified differently. In the Yongle gong murals we recognised the phoenix and the dragon as the standard attributes of Queen Mother of the West (B13) and King Father of the East (B12), and the same motifs, albeit in a different format, are represented in the Toronto murals: the empress is accompanied by an attendant holding a large wing-shaped fan made of feathers, symbolising the phoenix bird, and the emperor is similarly accompanied by an attendant but holding a square lantern on a long pole, the lantern is decorated with a green dragon. The fan and lantern are very conspicuous and are for example not represented in the Yongle gong murals where the two respective deities are shaded with fans decorated with the so-called isles of bliss, mythological isles in the far ocean where immortals roam. In addition, the Earth Goddess in the Yongle gong murals also wears a child-brooch symbolising fertility. If we check the Earth Goddess in the Toronto murals we discover she is wearing two phoenix-brooches across her chest. All iconographic markers point to the identities of the Earth Goddess and the Queen Mother of the West, yet wearing

¹⁶³ White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, pp. 77-79; Jing, "Yongle Palace," pp. 258, 261.

¹⁶⁴ White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, pp. 97-99. Tianhou is the title of Mazu 媽祖, a popular goddess in coastal regions of southeast China and bears no relationship to the Yuan Heavenly Court paintings. On this goddess, see James Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ("Empress of Heaven") along the South China Coast, 960-1960." David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (eds.), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: Berkeley University Press, 1985, pp. 292-324.

¹⁶⁵ Jing, "Yongle Palace," p. 259.

the wrong set of brooches. Or should we regard this as again another deliberate ploy of the painters exchanging or inverting standard attributes, such as the *zhen* (wood/east)-trigram on the chest of the Queen Mother of the West as an attribute of the King Father of the East?

The Daoist priest takes the position of the Heavenly Sovereign and would therefore represent him. The identity of the Daoist priest is discussed in full in chapter 4.2 and will not be discussed here. The Daoist priest can be identified as the Quanzhen patriarch Qiu Chuji.

The subordinate figures present fewer difficulties. On both sides, the Four Saints lead the procession, Tianpeng (A2) and True Warrior (A1) on the east, and Tianyou (B2) and Black Killer (B1) on the west wall, as identified by the number of their arms and heads and their respective attributes.¹⁶⁶ The deities of the Northern Dipper (A4-10) follow on the east wall, one of them kneeling in front of an altar placed with a fantastic coral in the shape of a mountain. Six female attendants (A15-20), two of them still young girls in plainer dress and headgear lifting the altar table accompany the three main deities. Two groups of five deities close the procession. The first group are the Five Planets (A21-25) in their standard Central Asian appearance, which needs no further explanation (Fig. 85). The second group of five is more problematic. The Emperors to the Five Sacred Peaks would be an obvious suggestion, were it not that they are not depicted as emperors; three of them wear officials' crown and gown but two others have slightly different and simpler crowns. Obviously, their status is not as elevated as that of the Emperors to the Five Sacred Peaks. Offering and memorial lists offer two possible solutions: they represent the Five Dippers (*wudou* 五斗) which are placed together with the Five Planets in the same category, as seen in the murals;¹⁶⁷ or they could represent the Five Elders (*wulao* 五老) of the five directions who precede the deities to the Nine Heavens (*jiutian shangdi* 九天上帝) in another offering list.¹⁶⁸ These Emperors of the Nine Heavens are located at the beginning of the west wall (B3-10). The last option is however preferred since a hanging scroll painting of the Five Elders also appears in the Baoning si collection of Water-and-Land paintings and in the Baiyun guan Collection, suggesting that this group of deities belonged to a tradition, or rather praxis of ritual paintings, while the Five Dippers did not, as far as we know.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ White identified only the True Warrior by his attribute the turtle-snake (A3), White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 169. Anning Jing gave the correct identifications for the Four Saints. Jing, "Yongle Palace," p. 264.

¹⁶⁷ The Five Dippers is a division in five groups of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* DZ 508, 7.6-7.

¹⁶⁸ *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 36.5.

¹⁶⁹ Shanxi sheng bowuguan, *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, p. 59. In the Baoning si paintings they are however represented as emperors with *mian*-crowns but where their title is also Five Emperors of the Five Directions (*wufang wudi* 五方五帝). In the Baiyun guan Collection the Five Elders are represented on five separate scrolls

The procession on the west wall comprises besides the three main deities and the two warriors, a group of nine figures in front of the procession, representing the deities of the Nine Heavens (B3-11) (Fig. 86), and twelve figures in the rear easily identified by animal symbols in small discs on their crowns as the Twelve Zodiacal Mansions (B22-33), both also identified as such by White. Anning Jing prefers to divide the nine deities in two groups, representing the Southern Dipper (B4-7, 10-11) and the Three Terraces (B3, 8-9). Although not placed together as a group, the deities of the Three Terraces all carry a jade sword and have a darker complexion while the six others of the group do not, leading Jing to conclude that they are two separate groups of deities.¹⁷⁰ It seems however that the carrying of jade swords is not sufficient evidence to identify two separate groups, because for example neither all of the Thirty-Two Heavenly Emperors depicted on the central altar-shrine in the Yongle gong murals carry swords even though they constitute one single group.¹⁷¹ The same is true for the colour of the faces, which can vary in one group. In favour of the Nine Heavens deities, I would further like to add that nine paintings of the Nine Heavens deities attributed to Lu Huang 陸晃 (10th cent.) are listed in the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (Painting Collection of the Xuanhe Period, 1119-1125), demonstrating that such paintings existed.¹⁷²

1.3 Nan'an

Temple history and layout

The Nan'an 南庵 or Southern Hermitage is the name of a temple complex located on a small mountain, Wutaishan 五臺山 or Yaowangshan 藥王山 (lit. Medicine King Hill), east of Yaoxian 耀縣 in southern Shaanxi 陝西 province. It is dedicated to the Tang physician and Daoist scholar Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581-682), a native of Yaoxian. He first lived as a recluse in the mountains south of the Tang capital Chang'an 長安 (modern Xi'an 西安),

as five old Daoist priests. Zhongguo daojiao xiehui, *Daojiao shenxian huaji*, pp. 20-23. The offering list in *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 36.11b-12a also lists a group of Emperors to the Five Directions. William White identified the five figures as the deities to the Five Phases (wood, fire, earth, metal, water) which are basically the same as the deities of the five directions but do not appear under this title in any related painting or memorial or offering list. White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 188.

¹⁷⁰ Jing, *Shenxian fuhui tu*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷¹ Jin, *Yongle gong bihua quanji*, pp. 14-17, especially p. 14.

¹⁷² *Xuanhe huapu*, p. 80. The title of "Nine Heavens" appear in two of the deity names given in the catalogue. and because each painting depicted a Veritable Lord (*zhenjun* 真君), it further demonstrates that the Nine Heavens deities were not emperors. The names however do not match those given in the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 39.

Zhongnanshan 終南山, but his knowledge of medicines and longevity techniques soon attracted the attention of the court and the three first emperors of the Tang all invited him to the capital. In 675, over ninety years old, Sun Simiao retired to his native place where he spent the last years of his life at Wutaishan.¹⁷³ Wutaishan is best known for its many fifth and sixth century stele sculptures with early carvings of Buddhist and Daoist deities, many bespeaking the involvement of local communities in their production.¹⁷⁴ In the following centuries after Sun's death, a local cult emerged on this famous Chinese physician which flourishes up to this day.¹⁷⁵

The temple complex and the location of the Heavenly Court paintings do not follow the standard layout of a Daoist monastery with a Three Purities hall in front and the other halls placed behind it. Rather, the temple complex consists of a jumble of structures sprawled over two hilltops separated by a 200 meter-wide gully. The northern hilltop, now called Beidong 北洞 (Northern Cave), is the site of the main temple to Sun Simiao to be reached over a steep staircase climbing the hill. The southern hilltop, Nan'an (Southern Hermitage), is a flat area where two rows of halls and buildings are placed perpendicular to a north-south axis that runs from the gate at the southern hill, across the gully, and ending at the central hall to Sun Simiao on the northern hill. The hall with the Heavenly Court paintings is located in a small hall only three bays wide in one row of buildings on the southern hill. The hall is normally closed to public, and pending funding, the murals are scheduled for renovation in 2007. Only the east and west walls have murals, which suffered significant damage over time, especially at the bottom side and near the southern end where latticed windows and wooden entrance doors seal the front. Only a very short layer of fired bricks separates the murals from the moist of the earth, which must have been one of the main reasons for the present state.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ A history of the temple and Sun Simiao is found in Yaoxian zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 耀縣志編纂委員會 (ed.), *Yaoxian zhi* 耀縣志. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui, 1997, pp. 443-464. According to a Song stele inscription the temple had wall paintings in 1059. *Sun zhenren ci ji* 孫真人祠記, by Wang Huan 王璣, dated 1081. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, pp. 288-291. Another stele inscription indicates that the temple was under Quanzhen hierarchy since the names of the Daoist sponsors include the characters *dao* and *zhi*, which signify lineage systems within the Quanzhen order. *Yaozhou Wutaishan Sun zhenren* 耀州五臺山孫真人開穴居記, by Qiu Duanqing 丘端卿, dated 1295. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, p. 1126.

¹⁷⁴ On the stele carvings and Buddhist and Daoist communities of the fifth and sixth centuries at Yaowangshan, see Abe, *Ordinary Images*, pp. 281-312.

¹⁷⁵ A big festival that will last for fifteen days, including Daoist rituals, will start at Sun Simiao's birthday, the second day of the second lunar month.

¹⁷⁶ Upon inspection of the damaged parts, the plaster foundation of the murals appeared only 1.5-2 cm thick.

Due to its small size, the hall has no altar-shrine for statues, but traces of three haloes indicate that in former times statues of the Three Purities should have lined the rear wall.¹⁷⁷

In the Tang, Song and Yuan dynasties, the temple complex was named Jingming guan 靜明觀 (Monastery of Tranquil Brightness); the names Beidong and Nan'an seem to have been introduced much later.

Scholarship

The Nan'an murals received only a minimum of scholarly attention. Four pictures of the murals have thus far been published in the volume on temple painting of the series on Chinese art, *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集 (Complete Collection of Chinese Art), edited by Jin Weinuo 金維諾. The pictures are accompanied by textual explanations and identifications of the deities (discussed below).¹⁷⁸

A small issue of the murals concerns their date. Jin Weinuo dates the murals to late Yuan period on the basis of Yuan type bracket sets found in the roof structure.¹⁷⁹ In a short article, Xu Jianrong argues that the murals should date to the late Ming. Two stele inscriptions dated to 1664 and 1665 and preserved at the site mention the construction of a hall with images of the Four Emperors and Two Emperors between 1655 and 1664, but since the name and location of this hall is not mentioned and the hall with the Heavenly Court paintings has Yuan type bracket sets, the inscriptions must refer to a different hall.¹⁸⁰ In addition, the Yuan date of the hall is confirmed by an inscription on a roof-beam of the second year of the Zhiyuan-reign period, corresponding to 1336.¹⁸¹

Caution is needed before immediately dating the murals to this year, because the inscription of 1336 on the roof-beam only proves that the roof structure dates to the late Yuan period or was renovated in this period, the walls or the murals may be either older or younger. A comparison with the Wanshou gong 萬壽宮 (Everlasting Life Palace) murals in Gaoping 高平 and the Wuyue miao 五嶽廟 (Five Sacred Peaks Temple) murals in Fenyang 汾陽, both

¹⁷⁷ During my visit to the site in May 2001, I was told that the hall once had a statue of the Medicine King, Sun Simiao, and that it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, but the three haloes contradict this story. Statues of the Three Purities would match the wall paintings which has images of the Four Emperors and Two Empresses, together making the Nine Sovereigns. Perhaps a Sun Simiao statue was placed in the hall when the original Three Purities had already been destroyed.

¹⁷⁸ *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bian* 13, *Siguan bihua*, pp. 57-59, 128-129; and Jin repeats the same identifications in his "Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu," pp. 45-46.

¹⁷⁹ *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bian* 13, *Siguan bihua*, p. 57.

¹⁸⁰ Xu Jianrong 徐建融, "Yaoxin Yaowang shan 'Sidi erhou' niandai de kaoding 耀縣藥王山《四帝二后》年代的考訂," *Wenwu* 文物 2 (1984), p. 93.

¹⁸¹ This information was given me during my visit in May 2001.

in Shanxi and both dating to the late Yuan, in particular with regard to the use of sand-coloured mushroom clouds and the proportions of the figures, makes a late Yuan date however acceptable.¹⁸²

Iconography

The layout and iconography of the Nan'an murals is simple and clear. The east and west wall mirror each other in group composition, a feature which helps us to solve some problems of identification in cases when figures are damaged or lost. There are a total of eighty-nine figures for both walls. Each wall can be divided in an upper and lower section. Let us start our investigation at the west wall which is best preserved. I will adopt the photographs in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* for reference, supplemented with my own observations if figures are not captured in the photographs.

The lower section of the west wall (Plate 7) is occupied by three of the Four Emperors and Two Empresses, two emperors in front followed by one empress and two attendants holding a fan and a gift. They are represented as very generic imperial figures, and hardly any attempt is made to differentiate them in the shape of their gowns or crowns other than the colours. Contrary to Jin Weinuo's identifications, no clues to their individual identities are given.¹⁸³ The next group in the lower section is a group of six figures, who by contrast all vary in headdress and in gender, a feature not found in the previous murals. Two are represented as officials, in the middle is a Daoist priest, and in the row behind them we see a warrior, a scholar with a Dongpo-hat and a woman, who curiously is not represented as a sumptuous court lady but with a rather plain headdress and robe. Three animals, a monkey on the woman's arm, a bird in a disc above the priest's head, and a small sheep to the side of the woman (not visible in the photograph), indicate that this group represents six of the Twelve Zodiacal Mansions (*zi* 紫, *wei* 胃, and *gui* 鬼). The other half of the group is represented on the opposite wall, now the location of a big gaping hole.¹⁸⁴

In front of the Six Zodiacal Mansions (Plate 8), a large warrior figure with floating sashes brandishes a sword, while a demon-warrior with wild flowing hair, is found at the south end of the wall. Since they "only" have one pair of arms, they cannot represent the Four

¹⁸² The Wanshou gong and Wuyue miao murals are discussed and reproduced in Liu Yongsheng 劉永生 and Shang Xingliu 商形流, "Fenyang Beijianyuan Wuyue miao diaocha jianbao 汾陽北建元五岳廟調查簡報." *Wenwu* 文物 12 (1991), pp. 1-15; Chai, *Shanxi siguan bihua*, pp. 74-79

¹⁸³ *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bia*, 13, *Siguan bihua*, pp. 57-58; Jin, "Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu," pp. 45-46.

¹⁸⁴ Jin Weinuo strangely takes these deities as twenty-four of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bian* 13, *Siguan bihua*, pp. 57-58; Jin, "Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu," pp. 45-46.

Saints. But because they are mirrored on the east wall and the figure on the south end, holding a tablet, is accompanied by a green dragon, we know that they should represent the Four Spirits (*sishen* 四神) of the four directions, Green Dragon in the east represented in the south-east, White Tiger in the south-west and in front of them Red Bird and Dark Warrior on either east or west wall; no indication is given. These figures are not mentioned by Jin Weinuo.

A miscellaneous group of six figures close the lower section in the south, among them a woman (Jade Maiden?) carrying a bowl, two soldiers, two Daoist priests and an official. Their identities are unclear. The two warriors might represent the Four Meritorious Officers Guarding Time if for example two other two warriors would be included on the opposite wall. On the same south end on the east wall is a group of four figures, including again a woman but the others are too damaged to allow clear identification.

The top section of the mural is occupied by a group of seven figures in front (Plate 7); they are dressed in long black robes, have long sleek black hair and dangerously lift glittering swords – these are the seven deities of the Northern Dipper. Separated by a puff of brown clouds, twelve figures dressed as Daoist priests and officials follow the Northern Dipper deities. Since a similar group of twelve is found in the corresponding section on the east wall, they should represent the Twenty-Four Energies as Jin Weinuo proposes, but these deities are not recorded in any memorial or offering list. Yet, a ritual text for recitation, the *Salvation Scripture* (*Duren jing* 度人經) names them the Twenty-Four Heavenly Emperors (*ershisi tiandi* 二十四天帝) which seems more likely even though the title of emperor would not match their crowns.¹⁸⁵ It must be noted that one figure on the west wall carries a large red sack in the shape of a Chinese lute, the kind we normally see Venus holding as part of the Five Planets. The figure holding the lute is a female but her standard companions cannot be found. In addition, the Five Planets are part of the Eleven Luminaries and this group consists of twelve figures.

Further along the wall in the top section we see a group of six figures and one of three. The six figures above all wear Daoist lotus crowns and must represent the Six Lineage Masters overseeing the ritual, similarly forming one group as in the Heavenly Gong murals rather than individuals depicted on separate paintings as in the traditional Lingbao altar. The six deities all have generic faces with moustache and small beard; there is for example no

¹⁸⁵ *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* DZ 1, 20.8a-22b. Their names probably refer to the same numerological entity, but the twenty-four energies however reside in the body, eight for each level, while the other refers to stellar deities which is here the case; the two groups of figures are placed together with other stellar deities in the mural.

Zhang Daoling to be recognised among them.¹⁸⁶ The three figures below them are the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water, two of them with ornate *tongtian*-crowns and one wearing another type of elaborated crown.

The lower section of the east wall (Plate 6) begins again with three of the Four Emperors and Two Empresses, who are almost exact copies of their companions on the opposite wall, only the colour scheme of their robes and haloes varies. As discussed, they are followed in the lower section by six of the Twelve Zodiacal Mansions (now lost), two partly damaged warriors, and four figures who are heavily damaged. The upper section first presents six figures in royal costumes, one of them having two pairs of eyes, a variation on the Four-eyed Old Man, a companion to Tianpeng but who is not included here. Since the Northern Dipper occupies the front of the opposite wall, this group is identified as the Southern Dipper which has six stellar deities (Plate 9). The next group consists of twelve of the Twenty-Four Heavenly Emperors and they are followed by a group of five figures with *mian*-crowns and below them a group of four with officials' crowns. In this combination and representation, they represent the Emperors of the Five Sacred Peaks and the Deities of the Four Sacred Marshes.

1.4 Beiyue miao

Temple history and layout

The Beiyue miao 北嶽廟 (Northern Peak Temple) is located in Quyang 曲陽, central Hebei province, and the temple and its murals are closely related to Hengshan 恆山, the Sacred Peak of the North, which lies some one hundred kilometres to the north. During its long history, the temple had started as a shrine on top of the mountain, established by Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 140-87) in 98 BC, but for matters of convenience gradually moved to several places at the foot of the mountain and to the vicinity of Quyang to finally reach its present location during the Northern Wei period between 500 and 512. The odd distance of the temple from the mountain is traditionally explained by a legend according to which a flying stone (*feishi* 飛石) from Hengshan had landed on this very spot; when sage-ruler Shun 舜 wanted to make

¹⁸⁶ Jin Weinuo rather identifies them as the Spirits of the Mountains and Rivers (*shanchuan zhushen* 山川諸神) but this is incorrect. *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bian* 13, *Siguan bihua*, pp. 57-58; Jin, "Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu," pp. 45-46.

sacrifices to the mountain, he was prevented by bad weather, and thereupon decided to perform the sacrifices at the place of the flying stone instead.¹⁸⁷

Quyang remained the site for official sacrifices and Daoist rituals for many centuries to follow; being renovated and expanded numerous times on state orders, it had grown to a temple complex covering 170,000 m² (260.48 *mu* 畝) in 1547.¹⁸⁸ But when the Ming court in 1586 designated another mountain in Hunyuan, northern Shanxi province, as the new Hengshan and when state sacrifices followed in 1660, the temple gradually diminished in scale and was left to the care of the local people of Quyang for the remaining centuries of the imperial period, the county magistrate selling trees standing on the temple grounds to finance renovations in the Qing.

The present temple consists of a main hall, a octagonal pavilion, and two gates all lying on a north-south axis with the main hall located at the north end; four stele pavilions are located to the sides of the central path, together with newly built galleries housing a fine selection of the one hundred-and-sixty-odd steles collected on the temple grounds. In front of the main hall there formerly stood a hall dedicated to the flying stone (*feishi dian* 飛石殿), erected in the early Tang, which burnt down in 1909 so that presently only the foundation platform is left. Other structures, such as a hall to True Warrior (*zhenwu* 真武), Daoist registry offices, and refectories have all been destroyed.

The main hall, called the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility (*dening zhi dian* 德寧之殿) is the oldest structure of the complex and is dated to the Yuan; the other structures are of Ming and Qing dates. The hall is of monumental proportions, seven bays wide and four bays deep, and counts today as the largest surviving timber-frame structure of the Yuan period and with its seven-*puzuo* 鋪作 bracket system it is also our closest example of the imperial building style of the Mongol capital Dadu 大都 (present Beijing).¹⁸⁹ The double-eaved hipped roof is characteristic of the Yuan architectural style with its slender, sloping curves. The eaves are supported by a row of columns creating a gallery going all around. The gallery is fenced by a

¹⁸⁷ The information on history of the Beiyue miao presented here is compiled from the stele inscriptions collected in *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi*, j. 11-13; Li and Zhou, "Quyang Beiyue miao bihua;" Steinhardt, "The Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyang;" Han Aiyang 韓愛營 (ed.), *Quyang xianzhi* 曲陽縣志. Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1998, pp. 400-403; Xue and Wang, *Quyang Beiyue miao*; and Lü Xingjuan 呂興娟, "Beiyue miao jianli Feishi dian de niandai ji yuanyin chukao 北嶽廟建立飛石殿的年代及原因初考." *Wenwu chungiu* 文物春秋 5 (2005), pp. 35-40.

¹⁸⁸ Zhang Lifang 張立方, "Wuyue jisi yu Quyang Beiyue miao 五嶽祭祀與曲陽北嶽廟." *Wenwu chungiu* 文物春秋 4 (1993), pp. 58-62.

¹⁸⁹ The highest number of bracket sets was eight and these were only used in imperial palatial buildings. Steinhardt, "The Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyang," p. 72.

marble balustrade the posts of which are capped with a lion each in a different pose. The hall has folding doors with latticed windows all across the front and relief carvings of narrative scenes depicting military events and auspicious animals intersected by palmette scrolls on the lower sides.¹⁹⁰ The hall is built on a two-meter-high platform that projects from the front of the hall, accessed by two staircases to the sides and one in front, and similarly fenced by a marble balustrade. Interestingly, the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility has many architectural elements in common with the Three Purities Hall of the Yongle gong and indeed both were built in the same period and under auspices of the Quanzhen order; the Beiyue miao hall however represents a higher grade in architectural scale, decoration, and financial support.

We have precise data on the renovation and patronage of the hall. The Hall of Virtuous Tranquility was renovated from 1268 to 1270. When the Archaeological Institute of Hebei province renovated the Beiyue miao in the 1980's, lifting the entire roof off the hall, and disassembling and re-assembling all its pieces, they discovered several dated inscriptions. Two inscriptions found on a tiebeam and on the upper part of the brick altar-shrine wall give the date of *zhiyuan* 5 corresponding to 1268.¹⁹¹ The title-board of the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility (*dening zhi dian* 德寧之殿) has a colophon stating that “[After the completion of the] specially decreed renovations, Li Ting 李庭, Registrar of the Tax Transport and Salt Monopoly Commission of Zhending Route (*Zhending lu zhuan yun shi si jing li* 真定路轉運使司經歷) requested Veritable Chengming to write the calligraphy,” and further that “This title-board was installed on the first day of the first lunar month of the seventh year of the Zhiyuan-reign period (1270) of the Great [Yuan] Dynasty.”¹⁹² The installation of the title-board marked the completion of the hall in 1270.

Veritable Chengming or Zhang Zhijing 張志敬 (1220-1270), mentioned in the colophon of the title-board, is the Quanzhen patriarch of that time who was entrusted with the task of renovating the temples of the Sacred Peaks and Sacred Marshes. A stele inscription recording his biography provides further detailed information on the background and patronage of the renovation of the Beiyue miao in the thirteenth century. It reads in part:

“The temples of the [Five] Sacred Peaks and [Four] Sacred Marshes were greatly damaged or completely destroyed by fire and warfare during the Jin dynasty (1115-

¹⁹⁰ According to local people, these relief carvings date to the Tang dynasty.

¹⁹¹ Nie Jinlu 聶金鹿 and Lin Xiuzhen 林秀珍, “Quyang Beiyue miao Dening zhi dian bihua weixiu jishu 曲陽北嶽廟德寧之殿壁畫維修技術.” *Gujian yuanlin jishu* 古建園林技術 2 (1989), p. 28.

¹⁹² *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi*, 13.41b-42a. Li Ting is otherwise unknown.

1234). The Palace Treasury issued paper money worth a hundred thousand strings of cash to the Patriarch who consequently hired artisans to start the renovation [on the temples]. He selected among the Daoist adepts those of a fair mind and with good organisation skills to calculate the number of artisans and workers needed. He paid everyone a salary to make sure each of them felt responsible for his job. Some cut tiles or ground stones, and started building; others mended the cracks and holes, and began repairs. When the winter turned into summer for the second time, five temples were completed comprising four Sacred Peak temples and one Sacred Marsh temple.”¹⁹³

The biography demonstrates that the renovation of the Beiyue miao was part of a larger project initiated and financed by the Mongol court but executed by the Quanzhen order on account of their experience and skill in managing temple renovations. In addition, we should also remember that the Sacred Peak temples were supervised by the Daoist clergy, and renovations to the temples fell under their jurisdiction, not under that of the court, as this passage underlines. Although no dates are mentioned, the renovation should have taken place between 1265 and 1270, dates mentioned before and after this passage in the biography, thus confirming the findings at the site. The fact that not all the Sacred Peak and River temples were renovated is not because of lack of funds but presumably because one Sacred Peak temple, that of the Southern Peak, and three of the four Sacred Marshes Temples to the Yangtze 長江, Qi 齊, and Huai 淮, were all located in south China, territory still occupied by the Southern Song court.

Since the Beiyue miao murals are slightly different from other Heavenly Court paintings, let me shortly introduce the general layout of the murals before dealing with the scholarship on the Beiyue miao murals. At present, only the east and west wall of the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility have wall paintings in similar monumental proportions as the architecture of the hall, measuring 6.44 m. in height and 15.55 m. in width and covering a surface of 200 m². The murals stand on a one meter high wall of fired bricks, elevating them to even greater heights. Most regrettably however, the other walls are covered with a thick layer of red plaster. Only on the rear of the shrine wall, measuring 7.70 m. in height and 25.55 m. in width, some images are visible beneath the plaster. Perhaps all walls had murals but they await cleaning. The only damages to the walls are found in the interior of the altar-shrine

¹⁹³ *Xuanmen sifa zhangjiao zongshi Chengming zhenren daoxing beiming bing xu* 玄門嗣法掌教宗師誠明真人道行碑銘並序, by Wang Pan 王磐, dated 1273. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lüe*, pp. 600-601; and *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄 DZ 973, 5.2a-b.

where between the statues – modern replicas of the Northern Peak deity, the God of Hail and Dragon King – two large sections measuring three by six meters have been cut from the shrine wall, reportedly depicting huge landscape paintings.¹⁹⁴ If we include the covered parts, the murals of the hall would measure a total of 526.48 m².¹⁹⁵

The murals depict the deities of the Five Sacred Peaks attending an audience of the Heavenly Court set in a cloudy and misty landscape setting. The Sacred Peak deities, two on the east wall and three on the west wall, are assisted by a large retinue of court ladies holding plates with precious objects, soldiers standing on guard or holding banners, officials, and little, muscled goblins carrying trays with jewels on their heads. The upper part of the murals is occupied by four groups of figures, each group headed by one larger central deity holding a court tablet and indicated by attendants shading him with fans in deference to his elevated status; strangely, these upper register central deities are all dressed as imperial officials except for the one on the top-left corner on the west wall who is dressed in a military costume and bowing with hands clasped in front of his chest, rather suggesting that this figure is not a deity but a donor. Two immortals and several attendants accompany him. The northern end of the murals – exactly starting where the side walls of the central altar-shrine block the view of the murals – are painted with landscape sceneries of mountain streams breaking their way in dashing turns through rocks and boulders set with trees and bushes. The east wall has further an image of a 6.4-meter-long dragon descending from the clouds, his body coiling in similar dashing turns, located between the mountain and the figure section.

Scholarship

Scholarship on the Beiyue miao has thus far mainly focused on its architecture, probably owing to the fact that its murals have not been published anywhere except for a few fragments.¹⁹⁶ I will restrict my discussion here to the scholarship on the murals, which are all

¹⁹⁴ Information obtained from town elders during my visit to the Beiyue miao in March 2001. The village elders further noted that the original statues were much larger, the statue of the Northern Peak deity measuring eight meters against six now; they were destroyed during the Land Reforms. There were also many more smaller statues of attending deities. The statues of the God of Hail and the Dragon King were inversed. They also noted that the landscape sections were cut from the wall by Japanese soldiers during the Second World War, a fact also mentioned in the modern local gazetteer, which further mentions that the landscape paintings were reportedly painted in the Song. Han, *Quyong xianzhi*, p. 402.

¹⁹⁵ The measurements are found in Nie and Lin, “Quyong Beiyue miao,” p. 28. Other studies provide measurements of seven by seventeen or eight by eighteen for the two walls, but since these are less precise I have followed Nie and Lin.

¹⁹⁶ For studies on the architecture of the Beiyue miao, see Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, *Liu Dunzhen wenji* 劉文楨文集, Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984, pp. 202-204; Zhang, “Wuyue jisi yu Quyong Beiyue miao;” Nie, “Quyong Beiyue miao;” and Steinhardt, “The Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyong.” This

very brief and all in Chinese. The murals are practically unknown outside China. I wish to discuss five central issues emerging in this scholarship and which need to be re-addressed: condition, the theme of the murals, the attribution of the murals to Wu Daozi, date and the identification of the deities.

Condition. Authors of a short article on the repair techniques used for the Beiyue miao murals during the renovations in the 1980's write that the murals were "severely damaged" (*yanzhong pohuai* 嚴重破壞);¹⁹⁷ and this harsh judgement on the murals has apparently deterred other scholars from visiting and investigating the murals.¹⁹⁸ Yet upon inspection, the murals appear in a very reasonable condition. In addition, their statement is contradicted by an earlier investigation by the famous scholar of Chinese architecture, Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), who visited the temple prior to the Cultural Revolution and discovered that it was used as an army headquarters and, much to his dismay, glued with posters and drilled with uncountable nails, from which we can infer that the murals were still in a relatively good state.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, the article does not mention major repairs or large-scale repaintings but mainly techniques of fortifying and strengthening the walls, and it mentions the filling of the uncountable holes. The sustained damage to the Beiyue miao murals is however not comparable to the condition of other temple paintings which have large cracks, pieces cut out, or which have simply fallen or flaked off, such as in the Nan'an murals. In my opinion, the judgement that the murals are "severely damaged" is overstated.²⁰⁰

Then what is the condition of the murals (after the renovations)? My findings from field observation are that the murals on the east and west walls are complete without missing parts or minor damages and that the brushwork and black outlining of the figures is still crisp and clear (or have these been repainted too?). Of less importance is the fact that the colours have faded, especially the blues and reds, and that the applied gold-leaf decorations on crowns and armour have eroded or have been scratched off. The fillings of the holes are still visible and in the upper registers and north end of the murals much of the pigment seems to have eroded too, probably due to rain leaking through the roof on the upper parts of the walls. In

last source has one picture of two guards in the murals. A temple guide for sale at the Beiyue miao contains more pictures of the murals but reproduced in small format and of poor quality, Xue and Wang, *Quyong Beiyue miao*.

¹⁹⁷ Nie and Lin, "Quyong Beiyue miao," p. 28. Full-scale copies have been made of paintings during the renovations in the 1980's by students of the Beijing Academy of Fine Arts under the supervision of Wang Dingli 王定理, who also made the drawing of the murals in black-and-white.

¹⁹⁸ See for example the references to the Beiyue miao murals in Jing, *The Water God's Temple*, p. 233 n. 1.

¹⁹⁹ Liu, *Liu Dunzhen wenji*, p. 204.

²⁰⁰ The town elders also assured me that the state of the murals had not changed over time. During the renovations only the roof was lifted from the walls, and bad pieces in the roof structure were replaced.

addition, the murals are presently covered under a thick layer of grey dust, which may help to preserve them, but which does not improve their presentation.

Theme. In all Chinese studies, the theme of the murals is interpreted not as a Heavenly Court painting, but as depicting a “Picture of Clouds Moving and Rain Falling” (*yunxing yushi tu* 雲行雨施圖) on the east wall and as a “Picture of Ten-thousand Countries All in Peace” (*wanguo xian ning tu* 萬國咸寧) on the west wall. These identifications are found in all Chinese writings without exception and reiterated on Chinese websites.²⁰¹ The rain theme is probably invoked by a painting of a long dragon on the east wall and the inclusion of the deities of the Thunder Ministry. The blissful peace on the west wall is however more difficult to gauge. The names further suggest a sequence from east to west with the peace following a blessed rainfall, yet the composition does not support such an assumption. The murals give no clue for these names nor do the authors disclose the source of this identification. The same names are however found in the 1904 local gazetteer of Quyang, the *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi* 重修曲陽縣志 (Revised County Gazetteer of Quyang) of 1904, suggesting that they simply copied the names from the gazetteer, or from each other.²⁰² In addition, one assumes that these titles - and not the murals themselves - led Jin Weinuo to suggest that the Beiyue miao murals are representations of “folk art” (*minjian wenyi* 民間文藝) depicting “widely popular folk legends or historical saga” in the same genre as the Nan’an murals.²⁰³ This qualification then is picked up by a large album series on Chinese art, the *Zhongguo meishu shi* (A History of Chinese Art) which volume on Yuan art places the Beiyue miao murals in a chapter on folk art - unfortunately without pictures - together with the murals of the Mingying wang dian 明應王殿 (Hall of the Prince of Bright Response) rather than with the preceding chapter on the Yongle gong.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Jin Weinuo 金維諾, “Zhongguo gudai siguan bihua,” pp. 35-36; Li and Zhou, “Quyang Beiyue miao bihua,” p. 78; Nie and Lin, “Quyang Beiyue miao,” p. 28; Huang Miaozi 黃苗子, *Wu Daozi shiji* 吳道子事輯. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991, p. 65; Jin, “Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu,” p. 47; Xue and Wang, *Quyang Beiyue miao*, p. 36-39.

²⁰² *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi*, 3.14a. A sequence between prayer and rainfall on west and east walls is for example found in the Murals of the Mingying wang dian 明應王殿 in Hongtong 洪洞 County and the Jiyi miao 稷益廟 in Xinjiang 新絳 district, Shanxi, which are both temples dedicated to local cult deities. The murals have also small narrative scenes in addition to ritual assemblies, totally unlike the Beiyue miao murals. For these murals, see Sickman, “Wall-Paintings of the Yüan Period in Kuang-sheng-Ssu, Shansi,” 1937, *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bian* 13, *Siguan bihua*, pp. 36-40, 67-68, 84-91, 150-157; and Jing, *The Water God’s Temple*.

²⁰³ *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, *Huihua bian* 13, *Siguan bihua*, pp. 35-36; Jin, “Siyuan bihua de kaocha yu yanjiu,” p. 47.

²⁰⁴ Wang Chaowen 王朝聞 (ed.), *Zhongguo meishu shi*. Ji’nan: Jilu shushe, Mingtian chubanshe, 2000, pp. 99-118.

Another name found in many publications, but strangely often in combination with the previous two titles, is “Heavenly Court Painting” (*tiangong tu* 天宮圖). This title is also mentioned in the Quyang gazetteer.²⁰⁵ The publications however fail to explain why the Beiyue miao murals should represent a Heavenly Palace, since no buildings or palaces are depicted.

The misidentification of the murals’ theme is due not only to an apparent reliance of mainland China scholars on scriptural authority but also thus far to a misconception of the murals’ iconography and iconopraxis, which would clearly link them to a tradition of Daoist Heavenly Court painting. Moreover, their contents bear a close resemblance to the description of the murals by the Daoist priest-painter Zhang Suqing 張素卿 (fl. 845-927) found in the *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫錄 (Record of famous painters from Yizhou, completed in 1009) where they are titled *chaozhen tu* 朝真圖 (Painting of an Audience with Truth), thus underscoring the audience-theme of the murals.²⁰⁶

Wu Daozi. The Quyang local gazetteer is also the source for the attribution of the wall paintings to the legendary Tang painter Wu Daozi (fl. 685-758), which however is not followed by most scholarly publications but is still widely publicised on the web and other popular articles.²⁰⁷ The attribution to Wu Daozi is epitomised by a stele engraving of the so-called “Quyang Demon” (*Quyang gui* 曲陽鬼), also called “Uncle Demon” (*gui bo* 鬼伯), or “Flying Spirit” (*feishen* 飛神), found in two versions on the temple grounds, one carved in the Wanli-reign period of the Ming (1573-1620) (Fig. 87) and the other, by an inferior hand, in the Qing. The stele engraving is a smaller replica of the figure found on the centre top west wall inside the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility. The image of the Quyang Demon is a whirlwind of motion; his muscles vibrate with tension, his long mane waves in the wind like flames, and draperies coil around his body and dance in the wind like restless snakes; the demon gazes down one hand raised above his dilated eyes, mouth gaping, and his spear ready for use balancing on his shoulder. Even in the copy of the carver, the brush lines are fluid and forceful, contributing to the furious power radiating from the demon. The rubbing of this carving had also become known in the West already in the mid-twentieth century and was

²⁰⁵ *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi*, 3.14a.

²⁰⁶ *Yizhou minghua lu*, p. 131; Mesnil, “Zhang Suqing.”

²⁰⁷ *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi*, 3.14a.

considered as one of the main images exemplary of his style.²⁰⁸ Unfortunately, the rubbing never led to an investigation into the original murals.

Regardless of the truth of the attribution to Wu Daozi, the timing of the attribution in the Wanli-period at the late Ming is highly suspect. The promotion of temple paintings painted by the famous Wu Daozi through the distribution of stele rubbings should be seen in relationship to other promotional activities of the Beiyue miao patrons in this period. For example, in the Wanli-period a temple gazetteer was printed – interestingly, recording the communications between the Ming emperors and the Northern Peak deity acting as an oracle and stele inscriptions – and in 1536, a stele was carved depicting a map of the temple.²⁰⁹ These promotional activities, I would argue, were clearly intended to strengthen the bond between the temple and the Ming court after it had designated a mountain in Hunyuan as the new Northern Peak in 1586, which would have left the Beiyue miao patrons in fearful anticipation of a pending relocation of the state sacrifices to the Northern Peak deity also to Hunyuan. A relocation of the state sacrifices to Hunyuan would undoubtedly have resulted in a severe loss of state revenues if not a fall in status from a state-supported site frequented by officials and guarded by the military to that of a small, insignificant provincial town. A vehement promotion of Wu Daozi as the painter of the Beiyue miao murals seems therefore to have been made convenient in the circumstances. In 1660, the state sacrifices were indeed moved to Hunyuan which remained the official site for state worship of the Sacred Peak of the North until the end of the imperial period.

Another name should be mentioned in connection with the Beiyue miao murals. A gazetteer of Quyang of 1680 mentions a certain Liu Borong 劉伯榮 from Puzhou 蒲州 (i.e. Pingyang 平陽) of the Tang period who would have painted the eastern gate of the temple complex, the Zhaofu men 昭福門, with an image of a demon-warrior with ferociously looking eyes, holding in his left hand a quiver with arrows and in his right a long snake.²¹⁰ A Dingzhou 定州 gazetteer of further mentions that Liu Borong's paintings were different from

²⁰⁸ Oswald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*. Vol. 3. London: Lund Humphries, 1956, pl 88; Yang, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, p. 73; and James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*. Berkeley: Berkeley University Press, 1980 (2003 reprint), p. 21. On this stele engraving, see also Huang, *Wu Daozi shiji*, pp. 63-66.

²⁰⁹ The temple gazetteer is republished in the *Beiyue miao ji* 北嶽廟集, no author. Reprint of Wanli (1573-1620) edition in *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊, Vol. 118, pp. 747-830. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1998. The stele carving is published in Steinhart, "The Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyang," p. 78.

²¹⁰ *Quyang xian xinshi* 曲陽縣新志, compiled by Liu Shijun 劉師峻 in 1672. Printed in China, 1680, 3.14b.

those in the main hall.²¹¹ The gate and its murals are now destroyed. It is not known where the gazetteers obtained their information, nor is a precise date given. Dong Tao 董濤, the compiler and commentator of the stele inscriptions in the Quyang gazetteer of 1904, argues that the inscription must date to shortly after 753 because it is listed in an older collection of stele inscriptions after an entry dated to this year.²¹² Two Chinese scholars discussing the murals, Li Changrui 李長瑞 and Zhou Yuezi 周月姿 mention that it is said that Liu Borong was Wu Daozi's student from 724, which would then imply that if Liu Borong painted the gate, Wu Daozi would have painted the main hall, but I have found no information confirming their relationship.²¹³

I found however information on a painter named Liu Borong, not from the Tang but from the Yuan dynasty, who was active around 1269 and, importantly, was also involved in Daoist art projects. Namely, an illustrated edition of *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* 玄風慶會圖 (Illustrations to the Celebrated Meetings of the Mysterious Wind) of 1346 has survived in Japan with illustrations copied by a certain Xu Zongru 徐宗儒 after originals made by Liu Borong. The text has a preface dated 1274 and a decree dated 1269, suggesting that the original illustrations by Liu Borong were made before this period for an earlier edition.²¹⁴ This means that Liu Borong of the Yuan period was active exactly in the period the Beiyue miao was repaired. This can hardly be considered a coincidence. It could for example be possible that the Yuan period Liu Borong was a member of a painting workshop hailing from the Shanxi area and that Liu Borong was responsible for the gate murals while others painted the main hall. The great similarity in the colour palette of the Beiyue miao murals and that of the Mingying wang dian murals in Hongtong County, in particular the use of orange and brown, which are only seen in the Mingying wang dian murals. I have also some doubts on the veracity of the attribution to the Tang. As far as I have been able to determine (see chapter 3.2), painters, and especially workshop painters, started only to inscribe their names and origins on murals from the Yuan period onwards.

Date. The Beiyue miao murals are not dated by any inscriptions, and although the popular view is that they are painted in the Tang by Wu Daozi, the fact that the temple was

²¹¹ *Dingzhou xianzhi* 定州縣志, compiled by Bao Lin 寶琳. *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書, Vol. 225. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1849, 5.24.

²¹² *Chongxiu Quyang xianzhi*, 11.72b.

²¹³ Li and Zhou, "Quyang Beiyue miao bihua," p. 77. This alleged relationship between Liu Borong and Wu Daozi is also popular on the internet.

²¹⁴ Wang, "Zaoqi Quanzhen shiliao." On the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu*, see Katz, "Writing History, Creating Identity."

completely burnt by the Khitan in 946, and that the present Hall of Virtuous Tranquility was completed in 1270, led most scholars to argue that the murals should date to 1270.

In their article of 1985, Li Changrui and Zhou Yuezi argued that the murals were painted in 1270 modelled after a Song prototype. Some sections of the murals, such as the landscape and the dragon on the east wall would have been repainted in the Ming and Qing dynasties.²¹⁵ The authors do not explain why it should have been based on a Song prototype or why the landscape or dragons should have been painted in the Ming or Qing.

In her master-thesis of 2003, Zhao Wei 趙偉 argued for a Ming date of 1536-1547 on the basis of stele inscriptions mentioning renovations in that period, and on the basis of a stylistic comparison mainly pertaining to stylistic changes in crowns and dresses, and to the landscape and the dragon on the east wall.²¹⁶ Her findings are often supported with not sufficient evidence – a problem one easily encounters when applying methods from period-style. The Ming stele inscriptions would most likely refer to the huge painting of the Northern Peak deity on the rear-wall of the central shrine seated in a litter and accompanied by an as huge court lady. These figures are stylistically unrelated to the murals on the side walls, and are definitely of a later period. Parts of the landscape sections may also have been repainted. Lastly, we may add that the Ming renovations were ordered by a certain Liu Shaozong 劉紹宗, who was an Assistant-Prefect (*tongpan* 通判) of Zhending Prefecture 真定府, and his rank seems not high enough to have been able to fund such a large project of renovating the temple and the complete repainting of the murals.²¹⁷ I would further suspect that these renovations were part of the promotional activities that set in exactly during that period, and arguing on the part of the Beiyue miao patrons that the murals were painted by Wu Daozi while they had just been completely repainted seems implausible. The renovations to the Beiyue miao of 1536-1537 would therefore be restricted to retouching parts of the murals and not entail the repainting of the entire hall.

An article by Zhang Lifang 張立方 published in 2004 deals with the date of decorative paintings and patterns in the Hall of Virtuous Tranquility, such as the decorative motifs on the ceiling, roof beams, and bracket sets. According to Zhang, the murals should date to the late thirteenth century. His main argument is that the dragon on the east wall – which most scholar view as a Ming (re-)painting, apparently only because it has five claws – is identical to the

²¹⁵ Li and Zhou, “Quyang Beiyue miao bihua,” p. 77-78.

²¹⁶ Zhao Wei 趙偉, “Hebei Quyang Beiyue miao bihua chutan 河北曲陽北嶽廟初探.” MA thesis, Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing, 2003.

²¹⁷ *Beiyue miao ji*, 9.20a-22b.

dragon in shape, colour, and claws to the dragon painted in the ceiling. On the basis of a comparison of all the decorative patterns and pigment use on the roofstructure with those of in particular the Yongle gong, Zhang concludes that the decorations, including the dragon, are original (not repainted) and should date to the Yuan, i.e. 1270.²¹⁸

A date of 1270 for the Beiyue miao murals seems fairly conclusive. In my discussion of the personalisations of these murals in chapter 4.4, I will try to elaborate on the issue of the dating further, arguing that the Beiyue miao murals are painted after an archaic model originally painted in 991.

Identifications. A four page article by Li Changrui and Zhou Yuezi of 1985 is thus far the only study on the identities of the deities in the Beiyue miao murals. These identifications are followed in the temple guide and by Zhao Wei.²¹⁹ They correctly identify the five Sacred Peak deities by the colours of their robes as well as the deities of the Thunder Ministry (*leibu*) in the top-left group on the east wall on the basis of their attributes, but other identifications are very doubtful or simply omitted. For example, the central deity of the Thunder Ministry group would be Taiyi 太一; three figures of the top-right group on the east wall would represent the Three Officials (Sanguan) although only one is represented as an imperial official and the other two as dog-faced attendants; and two officials behind the Central Peak deity on the east wall, would represent two of the four Sacred Marshes (Sidu) but the other two are left unidentified.²²⁰

Their identifications are mainly based on correspondence in number and textual sources and do not resemble images found for example at the Yongle gong. One major asset of the article is however the inclusion of black and white drawings of the wall paintings made by Mr. Wang Dingli 王定理 during the renovations in the 1980's, which are thus far the only complete, albeit colourless, reproductions of the murals.²²¹

Iconography

The iconography of the murals presents some difficulties, as is already attested by the identifications proposed by Li and Zhou. The murals count a total of eighty-one figures, forty-one on the west wall and forty on the east wall, but only a dozen or so are readily identifiable as deities, i.e. figures dressed in imperial dress or carrying recognisable attributes, contrary to

²¹⁸ Zhang, "Beiyue miao Dening zhi dian caihui fenxi," pp. 9, 13.

²¹⁹ Xue and Wang, *Quyang Beiyue miao*, pp. 36-41.

²²⁰ Li and Zhou, "Quyang Beiyue miao bihua," pp. 78-80.

²²¹ The copies would measure about two meters in length according to Mr. Wang Dingli. The present whereabouts of the copies are unknown.

the preponderant number of court ladies, banner bearers, guards, goblins, demon soldiers, and immortals who possibly have no identities or identities which are difficult to gauge after so many centuries. Since so many identities present difficulties, I will give slightly longer discussions on each group of deities. I will further use the drawings by Wang Dingli published in the article of Li and Zhou as the main tool of reference (Drawings 3A and 3B). No numbers appear in the drawings but I will treat the deities as groups in upper and lower registers which are easily recognised in the drawings. I will start my discussion with the main deities on the lower register and proceed to the lesser deities on the upper register, moving from east to west and from north to south.

The Five Sacred Peak deities are easily identified. The east wall has the Eastern Peak deity and the Central Peak deity dressed in a green and a yellow robe respectively over their white inner garments and green tunics. The opposite wall has the images of the Southern Peak deity in a red robe, the Western Peak deity in a white robe, and the Northern Peak deity in a blue-black robe from south to north respectively.

They form the focal figures of two large assemblies in the lower register of the east and west walls. The east wall assembly is guarded by soldiers carrying halberds and wearing armour decorated with gold leaf conspicuously located at the south end, and two demon soldiers with spears at the north end of the assembly. The assembly further consists of two banner bearers in plain dress, two muscled goblins carrying trays on their head loaded with jewels and gems radiating with colourful and waving light – a conspicuous figure seen also for example in the Mingying wang Hall temple paintings at Hongtong county and in the Baoning si Water-and-Land paintings, but which are all depicted in a much more elaborate way²²² – three court ladies behind the Eastern Peak deity also carrying trays with gifts and a branch, and two figures who look like Daoist priests with small lotus crowns and two officials holding court tablets behind the Central Peak deity. A small green dragon coils at the feet of the Eastern Peak deity as its emblematic animal. Its counterpart, the white tiger should be located on the opposite wall.

The Five Sacred Peak deities have some peculiar elements in their representation that are worth mentioning. In contrast to the austere, majestic or serene expressions of other Daoist deities such as the Three Purities, the Nine Sovereigns and even many Buddhist deities, the Beiyue miao Sacred Peak deities present some kind of an anomaly within the depiction of

²²² See for example Jin Weinuo 金維諾, (ed.), *Zhongguo siguan bihua dianzang: Shanxi Hongtong Guangsheng si shuishen miao bihua* 中國寺觀壁畫典藏: 山西洪洞廣勝寺水神廟壁畫. Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2001. pp. 4, 6, 9; and Shanxi sheng bowuguan, *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, p. 104.

deities in Chinese history, first of all because they do not comply to the standard Chinese ideas on aesthetics, the faces are painted in a dark red-brown colour and have large beards (except for the Central Peak deity), features normally associated with foreigners; and secondly they all express emotion: the Eastern Peak deity's face shows compassion (Fig. 63), acquiescently holding his tablet in an relaxed oblique position, the Central Sacred Peak deity shows contentment, the Southern Sacred Peak (Plate 11) deity looks back in fear, the Western Sacred Peak deity, his eyes protruding, dashes backwards as if startled holding firmly his tablet in front of him, and the Northern Sacred Peak deity looks down with a severe, angry look (Plate 10). It is also extraordinary to see how the postures and the body language of the deities completely correspond to the emotions they express. It would be enticing to correlate the five emotions to the five phases, but they do not match (e.g. east should correspond to anger).

Another peculiar feature is the absence of the *mian*-crowns with which the Five Sacred Peak deities are depicted in other known representations, be it Heavenly Court paintings or Water-and-Land paintings. The absence of the *mian*-crowns is conspicuous for an alleged Yuan period state temple because the Sacred Peak deities were promoted from prince (*wang*) to emperor (*di* 帝) in 1011 by Song Emperor Zhenzong accompanied by the specific instructions that their representation should accordingly be changed.²²³ The Sacred Peak deities had already been promoted to King (*wang* 王) in 746, and in 1291, Khubilai Khan extended their imperial titles even further.²²⁴ The first Emperor of the Ming, Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368-1399), feeling that mountain deities could not surpass him, stripped them of their titles and demoted them simply to "spirit" (*shen* 神). In contrast to the Song decree, the Ming decree seems never to have been heeded in painting, because all Ming representations of the Five Sacred Peaks, including the imperially commissioned Baoning si paintings, still depict them wearing imperial *mian*-crowns.²²⁵ The absence of *mian*-crowns in the representation of the Beiyue miao Sacred Peak deities is therefore highly significant and suggests that the paintings are based on models from before 1011.

²²³ Song Emperor Zhenzong "ordered the officials of the Hanlin Academy and Ministry of Rites to lay down in detail the regulations for ceremonies and crown and gowns (*mianfu* 冕服) as well as the rites for embellishing their divine images." After which he had sent to the temples various ritual items including a robe and a *mian*-crown. *Song shi* j. 102, pp. 2486-2487.

²²⁴ The Yuan decree is preserved in the stele inscription *Jiafeng Beiyue shengzhi bei* 加封北嶽聖旨碑, no author, dated 1291. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, p. 670.

²²⁵ Shanxi sheng bowuguan, *Baoning si Mingdai shuili hua*, pp. 100-102.

In addition, it may be possible that the designer of the murals relied on or paraphrased the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖 (Pictures of the True Forms of the Five Sacred Peaks), a late Han text and the *locus classicus* for the Daoist cult of the Sacred Peaks, for the representation of the crowns. The Daoist text gives a description of the Five Sacred Peak deities dressed in robes of the colours corresponding to their particular direction but also pays special attention to the types of crowns they are wearing.²²⁶ A similar variation in crowns is seen in the representation of the five Beiyue miao deities while one would not expect such a variation for deities all with the same title and who in other known cases wear the same crowns.

The assembly on the west wall consists of a similar group of mixed figures as on the east wall, but they are not exactly mirrored in position. For example, we find two soldiers carrying halberds at the north end of the assembly but no guards at the south end. Furthermore, many of the attending figures are of quite a different nature; we see a goblin carrying a jewel tray on his head and two court ladies holding presents, but also a military figure carrying a jewel tray, a dog-faced official holding a court tablet, and an attendant holding a large vase with a branch behind the Western Peak deity; while three figures, one young attendant holding a branch, an imperial figure and, presumably, a Daoist priest seemingly descending from the upper left group above the Southern Peak deity. There is no white tiger among the assembly, but the small goblin can be seen standing behind the Western Peak deity (the emblematic colour of the west is white) wearing a chest armour in the shape of a tiger head – the white tiger.

The two officials on the east wall following after the Central Peak deity are uncommon. The standard number of deities is always four, such as the Four Sacred Marshes, also seen in the Yongle gong murals or the Water and Land paintings, or the four auxiliary mountains - Mt. Lu 廬山 in Zhejiang, Mt. Qingcheng 青城山 in Sichuan, Mt. Qian 潛山 in Anhui, and Mt. Huo 霍山 also in Zhejiang - according to the *Wuyue zhenxing tu*.²²⁷ The opposite wall lacks two similar official-figures, and Li and Zhou neither attempted to identify all four of the Sacred River deities. There is one possible solution but it pushes us back to the

²²⁶ The names of the crowns for each Sacred Peak deity are: east - *cangbi qicheng* 蒼碧七稱 (seven victories of the green jade)-crown; south - *jiudan rijing* 九丹日精 (sun essence of the nine times refined red cinnabar)-crown; centre- *huangyu taiyi* 黃玉太已 (great unity of the yellow jade)-crown; west - *taichu jiuliu* 太初九流 (great beginning of the nine streams)-crown; north - *taining zhenling* 太冥真靈 (true numinous power of the great darkness) – crown. *Dongxuan lingbao wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 洞玄靈寶五嶽古本真行圖 DZ 441, 2a-3a.

²²⁷ *Dongxuan lingbao wuyue guben zhenxing tu* DZ 441.

Tang dynasty. Following a decree of 731, Mt. Lu and Mt. Qingcheng were officially incorporated as auxiliary mountains in the state cult of the Five Sacred Peaks, and they are the most likely candidates to represent the two officials on the east wall.²²⁸ Knowing that the Four Sacred Marshes are standard companions to the Five Sacred Peaks in all Yuan and Ming representations, in known Song paintings as well as in the Zhangren guan murals mentioned above, the inclusion of two rather than four companion deities in the Beiyue miao murals, in particular in a temple dedicated to a Sacred Peak, is highly peculiar.²²⁹

The iconography of the four groups in the upper register of the murals presents more difficulties: the central deities do not have clear attributes, they are in each case accompanied by a group of attending deities who are not seen in other Heavenly Court paintings, and one group, on the top-left of the west wall, has a central deity depicted not as an official but as a general. The general's central status is indicated by the two banner-attendants positioned behind him.

The top-left group on the east wall has the most distinct iconographical attributes, and Li and Zhou already identified them as the members of the Thunder Ministry: readily recognisable is Thunder Father as the pig-faced figure encircled by a halo of drums, to his left we see his spouse, Mother Lightning holding a mirror, and in front of them we see Rain Master dressed as a Confucian scholar holding a rain device in one hand and showering rain with the other, and Uncle Wind bending forwards (Fig. 88). An official in imperial dress figure is appended to the right of the Thunder Ministry (Fig. 89), and assisted by two attendants holding a fan and a branch; in front of him on a distance in the green-yellow-and-white clouds two court ladies carry trays with gifts. The group has further three smaller figures of unclear identity. There is also no clear identity for the central deity. Let us first deal with the other groups.

The top-right group of deities on the east wall consists of an official in imperial robe and holding a court tablet assisted by two dog-faced attendants also holding court tablets in front of him (Fig. 90). A demon soldier and a young attendant carrying a tray with gifts follow the official, a young soldier holding a halberd to his right, and the most compelling figure of

²²⁸ The source is a stele inscription on Mt. Lu, the *Jiutian shizhe miao bei bing xu* 九天使者廟碑並序, by Li Pin 李珣, dated 732. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, pp. 114-116. Both temples were decorated with murals probably depicting images of mainly immortals and warriors, but the text is not entirely clear on this point.

²²⁹ The Yongle gong, Nan'an, Pilu si, and Baoning si paintings all depict the Four Sacred Marshes together with the Five Sacred Peaks. The descriptions of the *Yuhuang chaohui tu* 玉皇朝會圖 by Shi Ke 石恪 of the late tenth century and the Central Taiyi temple of the late eleventh century similarly treat the deities of the Sacred Peaks and Marshes as a pair. *Hua pin*, pp. 259-60. *Song Zhong taiyi gong beiming* 宋中太乙宮碑銘, by Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿, dated 1073. Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, pp. 282-283.

the group behind him, a demon soldier treading the clouds and waving a long flag that trails in the wind along the top edge of the mural signalling the official's approach. None of the figures in the group show any distinct marks or iconographical attributes from which we could gauge their identities.

Amidst the clouds on the east wall, we further see three figures, somewhere between the upper register groups and the bottom assembly, and two of them resemble children, one holding what looks like an elephant tusk; the third figure rather looks like an immortal and holds a bowl. Their identities are unknown.

The top-right group of deities on the west wall are perhaps more easily identified (Drawing 3B), albeit depicting far from standard representations. The central deity of the group is an imperial figure astride a small-headed dragon; his hands are folded inside the sleeves of his green robe. A small attendant guides the dragon, and another attendant shields him with a fan, while two female attendants await him in front with banners and a goblin with a treasure-tray on his head stands by his side. I will return to the central deity below.

Following closely behind the dragon deity is a group of seven figures in very varied representations: first there is a chubby, bearded man holding a scroll under his arm, followed by a tall, old man wearing a lotus crown and holding a sceptre, an angry demon, a man carrying a long object in a sack over his right shoulder (usually used to transport a lute), a young man carrying a plate accompanied by an attendant, and lastly a banner-bearer who closes the row. Their varied representation suggests individual identities. Five of these seven figures should represent the Five Planets, but oddly, only the attributes they carry match the standard iconography of the Five Planets deities, the figures themselves do not. If we take the Five Planets in the Baoning si paintings as an example, we see an old Buddhist pilgrim with a sceptre – Saturn, also depicted in the Beiyue miao murals but rather as a Daoist priest – and a warrior-demon with wild hair – Mars, also in the Beiyue miao murals – but then the similarity ends, because the figures of Mercury and Venus are female figures, the first carrying a long thin sack and the latter a scroll and writing brush. The Beiyue miao figures carry the same attributes but are rather depicted as male figures. Finally, the young man holding the tray should represent Jupiter, the bearded official in the Baoning si paintings.²³⁰

How should we explain this inconsistency in representation? All known representations of the Five Planets of the Yuan and Ming, such as those in the Yongle gong (Fig. 77) and in the Toronto murals (Fig. 85) all follow the standard format of their

²³⁰ Shanxi sheng bowuguan, *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, p. 61.

representation with only very minor variations;²³¹ as does a Dunhuang silk painting of Tejaprabha Buddha dated to 897.²³² A long handscroll in the collection of the Osaka Municipal Museum, depicting the Five Planets and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions in anthropomorphic form, also follows, albeit with some small differences, the standard iconography of the Five Planets. This handscroll is traditionally attributed to Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (late 5th – early 6th cent.), but should probably date to the Tang dynasty. The scroll clearly shows the Central Asian origin of the deities' representations.²³³ Then, if the iconography of the Five Planets was codified and well known from at least the late Tang dynasty, and assuming that the introduction of such images in China would be followed by a certain transitional phase when different forms of figures co-exist before the iconography of a particular deity was established, I feel inclined to think that this particular representation should stem from a period when their iconography had not yet been standardised or so well known. Yet, a Tang date of the Five Planets is in contradiction with the alleged Yuan date of the hall's architecture.

At least, the inclusion of the Five Planets makes good sense in the overall composition. Five Sacred Peak deities rule over the five directions on earth, and the Five Planets rule over the five directions in the sky. In addition, their position on the west wall mirrored by the Thunder Ministry group on the east wall, which also governs from the skies. The design bespeaks a well balanced composition both in concept and content.

The so-called Quyang Demon clears the road in front of the top-right group. He is independently positioned at the top centre of the east wall. His compelling location and motion – kicking and sweeping, angrily looking down as if on the look out for any sinners he can swoop up - is further underscored by the golden hue of his body. This technique of sprinkling a figure or decorative part with gold dust (*lifēn* 瀝粉) was also applied to the bodies of the two big dragons on the east and west walls. Since the upper registers and north ends of the walls receive much less light, the gold dust causes the Quyang Demon and two dragons to glisten and sparkle in the dark, another appealing and cunning feature in the well-thought out composition of the Beiyue miao murals.

²³¹ White, *Chinese Temple Frescoes*, p. 187; Jin, *Yuandai daoguan*, p. 26.

²³² The Dunhuang representations of the Five Planets are discussed in Michel Soymié, "Peintures et dessins de Dunhuang, notes d'iconographie." Jean-Pierre Drège (ed.), *Images de Dunhuang: Dessins et peintures sur papier des fonds Pelliot et Stein*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1999, pp. 36-43. For an eleventh century representation (attributed), see Mikhail Piotrovsky (ed.), *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X-XIIIth century)*. Milan: Electa, 1993, pp. 228-231.

²³³ The Osaka handscroll has seals of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100-1125) and is recorded in the *Xuanhe huapu*, but although attributed to Zhang Sengyou, the general opinion is that it should date to the Tang dynasty. See Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, pp. 132-137.

The top-left group on the west wall, as mentioned earlier, has no central official deity but a general. Since he is deeply bowing and clasping his hands in devotion, it is my assumption that he should represent rather a donor figure than a deity. His importance in the group is accentuated by two banner-bearers placed behind him. The method of signalling the central importance of a figure in a composition by shielding him with banners, fans or flags is not only used for the other three official deities in the upper register, but also found in secular paintings and donor-scenes on Buddhist images to indicate a central, often imperial figure rather than a military figure, suggesting that this figure represents an emperor in military outfit.²³⁴ A young attendant to the general's left holds a tray with gifts, further corroborating the idea we are dealing here with a central figure.

The other members of the so-called "donor"-group consist of figures with very individualised representations. Two bearded men – one with a lotus crown and holding a flask in one hand and a short branch in the other, and the other with a knapsack – resemble immortals. Interesting to note, they lack the ceremonial dress to qualify as a Daoist priest, a figure conspicuously absent in the murals when compared to the other Heavenly Court paintings in this study. They are guarded by two men with halberds; a small demon is looking over the shoulder of the immortals. On the far left we see a dog-faced soldier, and behind the two banner-bearers a young female, a long green sash trailing in the wind and holding a wheel or round box with a wheel-motif in front of her chest. A figure with a similar attribute is seen in the Yongle gong murals but depicted as a young man (136) instead of a female. Perhaps this figure is another case of gender-switching or an uncoded iconography, because the two should represent the same deity or immortal, or perhaps a historical figure but whose identity escapes us for the moment.

Let us now turn to the three central deities. The three official deities, I propose, should be regarded as one group and represent the Three Officials (*sanguan* 三官). There are two reasons for identifying the deities as the Three Officials, one is iconographical, the other iconopractical.

A set of three Southern Song paintings of the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts shows some close similarities to the Beiyue miao murals (Plate 13).²³⁵ The Boston paintings depict the officials in their particular realms, the Official of Heaven seated behind a table floating on a cloud in the sky, the Official of Earth

²³⁴ In chapter 4.4, I will discuss and identify this military figure as Song Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997).

²³⁵ The Boston paintings are reproduced for example in Wu, *Tales from the Land of the Dragons*, pp. 63-65, and Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, pp. 233-235. The paintings are subject of a detailed research in Huang, "Summoning the Gods," and idem, "The Triptych of Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water."

riding on a horse crossing a bridge in a rocky landscape, and the Official of Water astride a dragon above billowing waves. Each Official is accompanied by a retinue of soldiers, court ladies, attendants, and demon-warriors.

The painting of the Official of Water comprises several elements also witnessed in the murals. First element, both the Boston paintings and the Beiyue miao murals have a Thunder Ministry. However, they are appended to different officials. In the Boston paintings, the Thunder Ministry is part of the retinue of the Official of Water, while in the Beiyue miao murals he is attached to the Official of Heaven. In a black-and-white drawing attributed to He Cheng 何澄 (early Yuan) in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, we similarly see the Official of Water astride a dragon and accompanied by Thunder Father drawn in a cart hitting his drums (Fig. 91).²³⁶ The representation of the Three Officials in the Beiyue miao murals appears to be another case where the iconography of a deity has not been codified yet. The Five Planets do not appear in the Boston paintings, and both the Five Planets and Thunder Ministry seem to be independent entities similar to the Three Officials, even though an attempt is made by the painters to link them compositionally as deities with their retinues.

Second element, the Quyang Demon is also present in the Boston paintings but in a composite manner. In the bottom left corner of the Official of Water painting we see a demon wielding a spear depicted in almost the same kicking and sweeping position as the Quyang Demon; the top-right soldier constitutes the other compositional part of the Quyang Demon, for he is similarly carrying his spear over his left shoulder and holds the other hand above his eyes, but this time gazing upward instead of down. Although the demon and soldiers in the Boston painting are neatly executed and also present a fine display of dynamic frenzy, the painter of the Quyang Demon at Beiyue miao seems to have condensed all this frenzy and vigour into the body of one figure.

Third element, we further see two attendants carrying book scrolls under their arms following the Official of Water, similar to the figure in the Beiyue miao murals. However, the painting of the Official of Earth has a similar scroll-bearer and I surmise that these motifs are rather related to the judicial function of the Officials recording humans' misdeeds. The Beiyue miao scroll attendant is part of a distinct group of the Five Planets.

The other two paintings are iconographically much less related, but enable some interesting stylistic comparisons. For instance, several faces of soldiers and banner-bearers in

²³⁶ Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1973, pp. 156-159. On the date of this painting, see Marsha Weidner, "Ho Ch'eng and Early Yüan Dynasty Painting in Northern China." *Archives of Asian Art* 39 (1986), pp. 6-22. I owe my thanks to Susan Huang for pointing out this painting to me.

the Boston paintings have a characteristic “French Musketeer” moustache and beard, which is for example also spotted on the two banner-bearers in the donor-immortal group on the west wall. Perhaps this would suggest a Song style for portraying faces but this assumption is contradicted by other stylistic elements in the paintings. For example, the *putou*-hat with the long horizontal flaps is worn by the scroll-bearers in the Boston paintings is not seen anywhere in the Beiyue miao murals. Interestingly, it only came into fashion in the Song dynasty. Other stylistic incongruities with the Boston paintings are the shapes of banners, precious objects, clouds, headdresses, especially those of the female attendants, and wardrobe. The Beiyue miao murals present an overall greater variation in the types and forms of faces, postures of figures, and attributes, but in each the representation is more basic and plainer, and similar to the Quyang Demon and his composite counterparts, the Beiyue miao images seem to represent proto-types rather than variations of a type or model which seems to be case with later Song, Yuan, and Ming paintings.

The Boston paintings and the Beiyue miao murals of the Three Officials have in common that they are divided into three, instead of being grouped together. Other Heavenly Court paintings and Water-and-Land Paintings of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties all depict them together on one scroll or as a single group on a wall. With regard to hanging scroll paintings – the case is less clear for wall paintings for lack of evidence or comparative material – the division into three seems to have been the standard format up to the Song dynasty. Seven out of eight references in the *Xuanhe huapu* are to paintings of the Three Officials consisting of a set of three.²³⁷ The earliest reference to paintings of the Three Officials in the catalogue is attributed to Zhou Fang 周昉 (fl. 730-800), although such attribution should be treated with caution. If it was common practice to depict the Three Officials on individual scrolls in Song and pre-Song times, as far as can be judged from the *Xuanhe huapu* without other material to compare, it may be a strong indication that this practice was also applied in wall painting.

Beside an iconographical basis for identifying the three central deities as the Three Officials, there is also an iconopractical one related to Daoist liturgical practice.

First of all, the images of the Three Officials are related to the rite of “tossing dragons and slips” (*tou longjian* 投龍簡) to the Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water and has been

²³⁷ The *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* records paintings of the Three Officials by Fan Qiong 範瓊, Zhang Suqing 張素卿, Sun Wei 孫位, Zhu You 朱繇, Du Nigui 杜嗣龜, Cao Zhongyuan 曹仲元, Sun Zhiwei 孫知微, and Zhou Fang 周昉. Only Zhang Suqing depicted the Three Officials on one scroll, the other painters depicted them separately on three scrolls. *Xuanhe huapu*, pp. 52, 55, 61, 71, 76, 78, 85, 126.

the subject of a meticulous study by Édouard Chavannes published in 1919. The jade slips were inscribed with a prayer directed to each of the Officials and read aloud during the rite, after which the slips were “sent” to the appropriate deity by means of a golden dragon - the envoy of the message - and tossed into a Sacred Peak mountain cave (Heaven), buried into the ground often at the altar site (Earth), or thrown in a river or lake (Water).²³⁸ Judged by the stele inscriptions collected by Chavannes on the performance of the rite, primarily on Taishan 太山, the Eastern Peak, the rite seems to have been particularly popular in the Tang dynasty, but performances continued at least until the Yuan dynasty.²³⁹

Secondly, the identities and the positions of the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and, Water become clear when we take the ritual configuration into account that lies at the foundation of the composition.²⁴⁰ The standard ritual performed on Sacred Peaks according to Daoist liturgy, which has many different types of rituals for different occasions, is the so-called Golden Register Retreat (*jinlu zhai* 金籙齋), the standard ritual held for the benefit of the emperor and the state (worship of the Five Sacred Peaks was part of the state cult).²⁴¹ Its most essential part consists of the installation of five True Writs (*zhenwen* 真文), which empowers the Daoist priest with control over the forces of the five directions. In other Daoist rituals, such as the Yellow Register Retreat (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) held for the salvation of the dead, the installation of the True Writs is part of an introductory rite performed on the first day (of a three day liturgy) used for the consecration of the ritual area, in fact by inviting the deities to the site and attend the audience ritual, called Nocturnal Annunciation (*suqi* 宿啓). In the Golden Register Retreat, this consecration rite not only applies to the ritual area but is in fact extended to include the consecration of the entire empire, in which the Five Sacred Peaks become representations of cosmic powers that, when brought back in harmony, will bring peace and prosperity to the empire, analogous to the human body with its five organs (heart, liver, spleen, kidneys, and lungs) or the universe with its Five Planets.²⁴²

²³⁸ Chavannes “Le jet des dragons,” pp. 184-189, 207 n. 78.

²³⁹ Chavannes, “Le jet des dragons,” pp. 68-128 contains thirty-six references dating from 661 to 1316 to the rite of “tossing of dragons.” Interestingly, the performance of the rite in the Tang was almost always concluded with the presenting of statues, paintings or relief sculptures of Daoist deities. See further Liu, “Transformations of the Dao,” pp. 256-258 who has also collected examples of archaeological finds of bronze and silver “golden dragons” and jade slips.

²⁴⁰ These ritual foundations of Heavenly Court paintings are discussed in full in chapter 2.

²⁴¹ *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 41. 3b-4a. The performance of Golden Register Retreats at Sacred Peaks is confirmed by the stele inscriptions collected and annotated by Édouard Chavannes. Chavannes 1919: 68-128.

²⁴² The correspondences between the Five Planets, Five Sacred Peaks, and five organs is explained in *Shangqing lingbao dafa* DZ 1223, 40.1a-5a.

The basic text for the installation of the True Writs is a fourth-century scripture, the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經, often abbreviated as *Yujue* 玉訣 or *Jade Formulae*, which contains a description for an altar layout which, most intriguingly, would perfectly match with the layout of the Beiyue miao murals.²⁴³ Namely, the Daoist altar or ritual area would consist of five tables in the centre on which the True Writs were fixed (*zhen* 鎮) with a golden dragon, and six gates on the outside, five for the deities of the five directions and one for a group of deities called the “Assembled Veritables” (*zhongzhen* 眾真) which consists of immortals of the Sacred Peaks and Marshes and the numinous officials of the Three Offices (*sanguan* 三官) who are none other than the Three Officials. The deities of the directions are found in the lower register of the Beiyue miao murals, and the “Assembled Veritables” are found in the upper register in the four groups of the immortals and the Three Officials. There is no counterpart in this ritual text for the images of Five Planets and the Thunder Ministry but as deities belonging to the five directions in the heavenly sphere (the Five Planets) and deities responsible for making rain (Thunder Ministry), they seem to be obvious choices for inclusion in a register of deities invoked for attending a Heavenly Court audience (the Golden Register Retreat) which principle aim was to bring health and longevity to an emperor (the jurisdiction of the Three Officials), and to bring an end to natural disasters and other calamities (the jurisdiction of the Five Sacred Peak deities, the Five Planets, and the Thunder Ministry).

But which official in the mural represents which deity? Although it would be enticing to identify the official seated on the dragon as the Official of Water, a further analysis of the ritual foundations of the Beiyue miao murals, in particular in comparison with other Heavenly Court paintings would demonstrate (see chapter 2) that the northwest corner in a temple hall corresponds to Heaven, the southeast corner to Earth, and the northeast corner to Water. This division correlates exactly to the arrangement of the three groups in the Beiyue miao murals; the donor-group occupies the “vacant” southwest corner. If the Three Officials occupy their respective corners – the Official of Heaven on the top-right east wall (NW), the Official of Earth on the top-right west wall (SE), and the Official of Water on the top-left east wall (NE) – the composition of the Beiyue miao murals suddenly makes perfect sense, even harmonising the upper and lower registers. The Official of Heaven is depicted above the Northern Peak

²⁴³ *Taishang dongxuan lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* DZ 352, 2.20a-22a. This scripture is one of the “revealed” texts of the original Lingbao corpus of the fourth century. For the essential position of this scripture for the Golden Register Retreat, see Du Guangting’s (850-933) *Jinlu zhai qitan yi* DZ 483, 4a. For the True Writs and the Jade Formulae, see Benn, *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission*, pp. 49-54.

deity, whose emblematic colour is blue-black, the emblematic colour of heaven. The Official of Earth is depicted above the Central Peak deity, whose emblematic colour is yellow, the emblematic colour of earth. Furthermore, the Five Planets as deities of heaven accompany the Official of Heaven, while the Thunder Ministry responsible for rain accompanies the Official of Water.

2 Tables

2.1 Yongle gong deities.

Table 2.1 compares the identifications for the deities depicted in the Heavenly Court paintings of the Three Purities Hall, Yongle gong, as made by Wang Xun 王遜, Anning Jing 景安寧, and by me.⁶²¹ The numbers for the deities refer to the numbers in Wang’s drawings. Arrows (^) mean the same as the previous one. A deity name placed in brackets means that this deity should be part of the group but that his or her name cannot be linked to a specific figure in that group. The column of “related paintings” are references to other paintings or woodblock prints that depict the same deity or group of deities, often including a cartouche identifying the deity. These references are not exhaustive but intend to corroborate my identifications of the Yongle gong deities presented here. The numbers behind these references refer to the pages in works reproducing these images:

PLS – Water-and-Land paintings in the Pilu si 毗盧寺.⁶²²

BNS – Water-and-Land Paintings in the Baoning si 寶寧寺.⁶²³

BYG – Paintings in the Baiyuan guan 白雲觀 Collection.⁶²⁴

SSJ – Woodblock prints in the illustrated *Soushen ji* 搜神記.⁶²⁵

The deities listed in this table are discussed in Appendix 1.1.

⁶²¹ Wang, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian;” Jing, “Yongle Palace.”

⁶²² Kang, *Pilu si qun hua*.

⁶²³ Shanxi sheng bowuguan, *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*.

⁶²⁴ Zhongguo dao jiao xiehui, *Dao jiao shen xian hua ji*.

⁶²⁵ *Xinbian lianxiang souchen guangji*, by Tai Zijin.

No.	Wang	Jing	Gesterkamp	Social Type	Attributes	Related Paintings
I	South Pole Emperor 南極大帝	Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓	South Pole Emperor 南極大帝	Emperor		PLS 50, BYG 17
II	East Pole Emperor 東極大帝	Zhongli Quan 鍾離權	East Pole Emperor 東極大帝	^		BYG 35
III	North Pole Emperor 北極大帝	North Pole Emperor 北極大帝	North Pole Emperor 北極大帝	^		BNS 56, PLS 76, BYG 16
IV	Heavenly Sovereign 天皇大帝	Heavenly Sovereign 天皇大帝	Heavenly Sovereign 天皇大帝	^		BYG 15
V	Jade Emperor 玉皇上帝	King Father of the East 東王公	King Father of the East 東王公	^		
VI	Earth Goddess 后土	Queen Mother of the West 西王母	Queen Mother of the West 西王母	Empress	Peach, hare, phoenix, <i>zhen</i> 震- trigram	
VII	King Father of the East 東王公	Jade Emperor 玉皇上帝	Jade Emperor 玉皇上帝	Emperor		PLS 41, SSJ 15
VIII	Queen Mother of the West 西王母	Earth Goddess 后土	Earth Goddess 后土	Empress	<i>Kun</i> 坤 - trigram	BYG 17, SSJ 24
1	Jade Maiden 玉女		Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady		
2	^		^	^		
3			Golden Boy 金童	Official	Scroll	
4			Golden Boy 金童	Official		
5			Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady		
6		(Tan Chuduan 譚處段)	Donor?	Official		
7		Qiu Chuji 丘處機	Sun Lüdao 孫履道	Master		
8		(Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄)	Golden Boy 金童?	Official	Book	
9	Ten Mysterious Masters 玄元十子	Wang Zhe 王嘉	Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions 十方天尊 (Ten Masters)	Priest	Scroll	BYG 29

				十子)				
10	^		Ma Yu 馬鉉	^		^	Fan	
11	^		(Wang Chuyi 王處一)	^		^		
12	^		(Hao Datong 郝大通)	^		^	Sceptre	
13	^			^		^		
14	Jade Maiden 玉女			Jade Maiden 玉女		Court lady		
15	^			^		^		
16			(Xue Daoguang 薛道光)	Donor?		Official		
17			(Chen Nan 陳楠)	^		^		
18			(Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾)	^		^		
19	Ten Mysterious Masters 玄元十子		Chen Tuan 陳搏	Heavenly Worthies of the Ten Directions 十方天尊(Chen Tuan 陳搏)		Priest	Lotus flower	
20	^		Liu Haichan 劉海蟾	^ (Liu Haichan 劉海蟾)		^	Elixir pill	
21	^		(Dong Shouzhi 董守志)	^		^	Fly whisk	
22	^		(Zhang Boduan 張伯端)	^		^	Sceptre	
23	^		(Shi Tai 石泰)	^		^	Tablet	
24	Thirty-Two Heavenly Emperors 三十二天帝君			Thirty-Two Heavenly Emperors 三十二天帝君		Emperor		BYG 25-26
25	^			^		^		^
26	^			^		^		^
27	^			^		^		^
28	^			^		^		^
29	^			^		^		^
30	^			^		^		^

31	^				^		^		^
32	^				^		^		^
33	^				^		^		^
34	^				^		^		^
35	^				^		^		^
36	^				^		^		^
37	^				^		^		^
38	^				^		^		^
39	^				^		^		^
40	^				^		^		^
41	^				^		^		^
42	^				^		^		^
43	^				^		^		^
44	^				^		^		^
45	^				^		^		^
46	^				^		^		^
47	^				^		^		^
48	^				^		^		^
49	^				^		^		^
50	^				^		^		^
51	^				^		^		^
52	^				^		^		^
53	^				^		^		^
54	^				^		^		^
55	^				^		^		^

56	Sage of the Heavenly Mainstay 天 罡大聖?		Dark Warrior 玄武	General			
57	Transmission Masters 傳經法師		Mystery Master 玄中法師	Priest			BYG 99
58	^		Heavenly Master 天師/ Zhang Daoling 張道陵	^		Bristle beard and “wing”-hair	^
59	^		Supervision Master 監師	^			^
60	Northern Dipper 北斗		Northern Dipper 北斗	Official		Black robe	BNS 74, PLS 56, BYG 55
61	^		^	^		^	^
62	^		^	^		^	^
63	^		^	^		^	^
64	^		^	^		^	^
65	^		^	^		^	^
66	^		^	^		^	^
67	Fu-star 輔		Fu-star 輔	Official			^
68	Bi-star 弼		Bi-star 弼	^			^
69	Three Terraces 三台		Three Terraces 三台	Official			BYG 53
70	^		^	^			^
71	^		^	^			^
72	Immortal Officer 仙曹		Golden Boy 金童	Official			
73	^		^	^			
74			Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady			
75			^	^			
76	Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 二		Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions	Official		Snake	BNS 69- 73, PLS

	十八宿 Yi 翼 [Crater, Hydra (22)]		二十八宿 Yi 翼 [Crater, Hydra (22)]		59-67, BYG 61- 63
77	^ Zhen 軫 [Corvus (4)]		^ Zhen 軫 [Corvus (4)]	^	Worm
78	^ Lou 婁 [Aries (3)]		^ Lou 婁 [Aries (3)]	^	Dog
79	^ Fang 房 [Scorpio (4)]		^ Fang 房 [Scorpio (4)]	^	Rabbit
80	^ Xin 心 [Scorpio (3)]		^ Xin 心 [Scorpio (3)]	^	Fox
81	^ Wei 尾 [Scorpio (6)]		^ Wei 尾 [Scorpio (6)]	^	Tiger
82	^ Ji 箕 [Sagittarius (4)]		^ Ji 箕 [Sagittarius (4)]	^	Leopard
83	^ Bi 壁 [Pegasus (1), Andromeda (1)]		^ Bi 壁 [Pegasus (1), Andromeda (1)]	^	Wild boar
84	^ Kui 奎 [Pisces (16)]		^ Kui 奎 [Pisces (16)]	^	Wolf
85	^ Wei 胃 [Musca Boralis (3)]		^ Wei 胃 [Musca Boralis (3)]	^	Pheasant
86	^ Mao 昴 [Pleiades (8)]		^ Mao 昴 [Pleiades (8)]	^	Rooster
87	^ Zi 紫 [Orion (3)]		^ Zi 紫 [Orion (3)]	^	Monkey
88	^ Shen 參 [Orion (7)]		^ Shen 參 [Orion (7)]	^	Ape
89	^ Jing 井 [Gemini (8)]		^ Jing 井 [Gemini (8)]	^	An 犴-beast
90	Sun		Eleven Luminaries 十一曜, Sun 日	Prince	Red sun disc
91	Moon		^ Moon 月	Princess	White moon disc
92	Jupiter		^ Five Planets 五星, Jupiter 木星		Fruit plate
93	Saturn		^ ^ Saturn 土星	Old man	Seal, ox
94	Mercury		^ ^ Mercury 水星	Lady	Brush, tablet
95	Venus		^ ^ Venus 金星	Lady	Pipa

96	Mars			^ ^ Mars 火星	Warrior	Weapons, donkey	^
97	Ziqi			^ Ziqi 紫氣	Priest		BNS 63
98	Yuebo			^ Yuebo 月孛	Warrior	Snake, black face	^
99	Rahu			^ Rahu 羅睺	Warrior	Sword	^
100	Ketu			^ Ketu 計都	Warrior		^
101	Transmission Masters 傳經法師			Three Masters 三師	Priest		
102	^			^	^		
103	^			^	^		
104	Southern Dipper 南斗			Southern Dipper 南斗	Official		PLS 57, BYG 57
105	^			^	^		^
106	^			^	^		^
107	^			^	^		^
108	^			^	^		^
109	^			^	^		^
110				Three Walls 三垣 (Purple Tenuity 紫微)	Official		
111				^ (Great Tenuity 太微)	^		
112	Immortal Officer 仙曹			Golden Boy 金童	Official		
113	^			^	^		
114				Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady		
115				^	^		
116				Attendant	Attendant		
117				^	^		

118	Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 二十八宿, Dou 斗 [Sagittarius (6)]		Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 二十八宿, Dou 斗 [Sagittarius (6)]	Official	Crab	BNS 69-73, PLS 59-67, BYG 61-63
119	^ Niu 牛 [Aries (3), Sagittarius (3)]		^ Niu 牛 [Aries (3), Sagittarius (3)]	^	Ox	^
120	^ Nü 女 [Aquarius (4)]		^ Nü 女 [Aquarius (4)]	^	Bat	^
121	^ Xu 虛 [Aquarius (1) Equuleus (1)]		^ Xu 虛 [Aquarius (1) Equuleus (1)]	^	Rat	^
122	^ Wei 危 [Aquarius (1), Pegasus (2)]		^ Wei 危 [Aquarius (1), Pegasus (2)]	^	Swallow	^
123	^ Shi 室 [Pegasus (2)]		^ Shi 室 [Pegasus (2)]	^	Pig	^
124	^ Bi 畢 [Hyades (6), Taurus (2)]		^ Bi 畢 [Hyades (6), Taurus (2)]	^	Bird	^
125	^ Gui 鬼 [Cancer (4)]		^ Gui 鬼 [Cancer (4)]	^	Ram	^
126	^ Jiao 角 [Virgo (4)]		^ Jiao 角 [Virgo (4)]	^	Flood dragon	^
127	^ Kang 亢 [Virgo (4)]		^ Kang 亢 [Virgo (4)]	^	Dragon	^
128	^ Di 氏 [Libra (4)]		^ Di 氏 [Libra (4)]	^	Raccoon dog	^
129	^ Liu 柳 [Hydra (8)]		^ Liu 柳 [Hydra (8)]	^	River deer	^
130	^ Xing 星 [Hydra (7)]		^ Xing 星 [Hydra (7)]	^	Horse	^
131	^ Zhang 張 [Hydra (5)]		^ Zhang 張 [Hydra (5)]	^	Deer	^
132	Three Officials 三官(Official of Heaven 天官)		Three Officials 三官(Official of Heaven 天官)	Official	Happy face, blue robe	BNS 77, PLS 40, BYG 19, SSJ 35
133	^ (Official of Earth 地官)		^ (Official of Earth 地官)	^	Stern face, yellow robe	^
134	^ (Official of Water 水官)		^ (Official of Water 水官)	^	Angry face, red	^

							robe		
135							Official		
136					Thunder Marshall?		Boy	Wheel	BYG 78
137							Priest		
138							Master		
139							Priest		
140							Master		
141	Tianpeng 天蓬		Tianyou 天猶		Tianyou 天猶		Tantric warrior	Four arms, two heads	BNS 78, PLS 87
142	Black Killer 黑殺		True Warrior 真武		True Warrior 真武		Warrior	Turtle-snake, sword	BNS 78, PLS 38
143	Old Four Eyes 四目老翁				Old Four Eyes 四目老翁		Scholar	Four eyes, Dongpo-hat	
144	Attendants Tianpeng 天蓬 (Earthly Branches 地支)				Twelve Zodiacal Mansions 十二生肖, Twelve Earthly Branches 十二地支, You 酉		Official	Rooster	
145	^				^ Zi 子		^	Rat	BNS 66-67, PLS 30
146	^				^ (Niu 牛)		^	Ox	^
147	^				^ (Yin 寅)		^	Tiger	^
148	^				^ (Mao 卯)		^	Rabbit	^
149	^				^ (Chen 辰)		^	Dragon	^
150	^				^ (Wu 午)		^	Horse	^
151	^				^ (Wei 未)		^	Ram	^
152	^				^ Si 巳		^	Snake	^
153	^				^ (Shen 申)		^	Monkey	^

154	^			^ (Xu 戌)	^		Dog	^
155	^			^ (Hai 亥)	^		Pig	^
156	Immortal Officer 仙曹			Golden Boy 金童	Official			
157	^			^	^			
158				Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady			
159				^	^			
160	Mulberry Emperor 扶桑大帝			Mulberry Emperor 扶桑大帝	Emperor			PLS 74
161	Water Department 水府?			Three Stars 三星 (God of Fortune 福), Sun Lüdao 孫履道	Master			
162	^			^ (God of Emolument 祿)	Master			
163	^			^ God of Longevity 壽星	Immortal		Large forehead	
164	Five Sacred Peaks 五嶽			Five Sacred Peaks 五嶽, Western Peak 西嶽	Emperor		White robe	BNS 102, PLS 14, SSJ 41
165	^			^ Southern Peak 南嶽	^		Red robe	BNS 101, PLS 15, SSJ 41
166	^			^ (Northern Peak 北嶽)	^		Black (face)	BNS 102, PLS 15, SSJ 43
167	^			^ (Eastern Peak 東嶽)	^		Green-blue robe	BNS 100, PLS 14, SSJ 37
168	^			^ Central Peak 中嶽	^		Yellow robe	BNS 101, PLS 14, SSJ 43
169	Four Sacred Marshes 四瀆			Four Sacred Marshes 四瀆, Huai River 淮?	Official		(Red robe)	BNS 109, SSJ 47

170	^			^ Yellow River 黄河	^		Yellow dres	^
171	^			^ Yangtzu 長江	^		Black robe	^
172	^			^ Qi River 齊?	^		(White robe)	^
173				Golden Boy 金童	Official			
174				^	^			
175	Jade Maiden 玉女			Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady			
176	^			^	^			
177	Inner Official 内官			Zhao Yu 趙昱	Scholar		Dongpo-hat	PLS 53, SSJ 93
178	Fengdu Emperor 豐都大帝			Fengdu Emperor 豐都大帝	Emperor			
179	Mao Ying 茅盈			Ten Kings of Hell 十地閻君	Official			
180	Saint Ancestor Zhao Xuanlang 聖祖趙玄郎			^	^			
181	Wenchang 文昌			City God 城隍			Putou-hat	PLS 45, BYG 125
182	Fengdu deities 豐都諸神			Ten Kings of Hell 十地閻君	Official			
183	^			^	^			
184	^			^	^			
185	^			^	^			
186	^			^	^			
187	^			Li Bing 李冰?	Master			
188	^			Erlang 二郎?	^			PLS 53
189	^			Ten Kings of Hell 十地閻君	Official			
190	^			^	^			
191	^			^	^			

192	Feitian shenwang?			City God general?	General	Armour	PLS 45
193	Tianding lishi			Meritorious Officer Guarding Time 四值功曹, (Year 年)	Warrior	Axe	BNS 82, PLS 73, BYG 92
194	^			^ (Month 月)	^	^	^
195	^			^ (Day 日)	^	^	^
196	^			^ (Hour 時)	^	^	^
197	Generals of the Three Primes 三元 將軍 (Tang Hong 唐宏)			Generals of the Three Primes 三元 將軍 (Tang Hong 唐宏)	General	Armour, sword	
198	^ (Ge Yong 葛永)			^ (Ge Yong 葛永)	General	^	
199	^ (Zhou Wu 周武)			^ (Zhou Wu 周武)	General	^	
200	Strongmen Destroying Evil 破邪 力士?			?	Official		
201	Immortal Duke of the Great Ultimate 太極仙侯			Earth God 土地	Old man	White hair	PLS 45, BYG 127
202	Spirit of the Bright Star 明星大神			?	^		
203	Jiuyi xianhou? Immortal Duke of Nine Doubts 九疑仙侯			?	^		
204	Tianyou 天猶	Tianpeng 天蓬		Tianpeng 天蓬	Tantric warrior	Six arms, three heads	BNS 78, PLS 88
205	True Warrior 真武	Black Killer 黑刹		Black Killer 黑刹	Warrior	Sword	BNS 78, PLS 87
206	Immortal Official for Introductions 引進仙官			?	Official/ Priest		
207	Immortal Officer 仙曹			Golden Boy 金童	Official		
208	^			^	^		

209	Jade Maiden 玉女			Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady			
210	^			^	^			
211	Immortal Officer 仙曹			Golden Boy 金童	Warrior?			
212	^			^	^			
213				Six Jia 六甲	Official			PLS 36
214				^	Priest?			
215				^	Official			
216				^	^			
217				^	^			
218				^	^			
219	Cang Jie 倉頡			(Old Six Eyes?)	Old man		Six eyes	
220	Confucius 孔子?			?	Master		Feather fan	
221				Ten Heavenly Stems 十天干 (Jia 甲)	Priest?			
222				^ (Yi 乙)	Official			
223				^ (Bing 丙)	Official			
224				^ (Wu 戊)	Priest?		Zhuge-hat	
225				^ (Ji 己)	Official			
226	Jade Maiden 玉女			Jade Maiden 玉女	Court lady			
227	^			^	^			
228	^			^	^			
229	^			^	^			
230				Ten Heavenly Stems 十天干	Official			
231				^ (Geng 庚)	^			

232				^ (Xin 辛)	^			
233				^ (Ren 壬)	^			
234				Three Mao Brothers 三茅 (Mao Ying 茅盈)	Priest			BYG 97, SSJ 67
235				Ten Heavenly Stems 十天干 (Gui 癸)	Official			
236				Three Mao Brothers 三茅 (Mao Gu 茅固)	Priest			BYG 97, SSJ 67
237				^ (Mao Zhong 茅衷)	^			^
238	Taiyi			Taiyi 太一	Official			
239	^			^	^			
240	^			^	^			
241	^			^	^			
242	^			^	^			
243	^			^	^			
244	^			^	^			
245	^			^	^			
246	^			^	^			
247	^			^	^			
248	Taiyi attendant			Uncle Wind 馮伯?	Official		Feather in hat	
249	^			Cloud Master 雲師?	^		^	
250	Thunder Ministry Generals 雷部元帥			Thunder Ministry Generals 雷部元帥	General			
251	^			^	^			
252	^			^	^			

253	^			^	^		
254	^			^	^		
255	^			^	^		
256	^			^	^		
257	^			^	^		
258	^			^	^		
259	^			?	Official		
260	Eight Trigrams 八卦, Qian 乾			Eight Trigrams 八卦, Qian 乾	Official	Trigram	
261	^ Kan 坎			^ Kan 坎	^	^	
262	^ Gen 艮			^ Gen 艮	^	^	
263	^ Zhen 震			^ Zhen 震	^	^	
264	^ Xun 巽			^ Xun 巽	^	^	
265	^ Li 離			^ Li 離	^	^	
266	^ Kun 坤			^ Kun 坤	^	^	
267	^ Dui 兌			^ Dui 兌	^	^	
268	Thunder Father 雷公			Thunder Father 雷公	Man	Ring of drums	BNS 114, PLS 82
269	Lightning Mother 電母			Lightning Mother 電母	Lady		^
270	Rain Master 雨師			Rain Master 雨師	Confucian master?	Confucian hat?	^
271	Green Dragon Lord 慶龍君			Green Dragon Lord 慶龍君	General	Green dragon, sword	PLS 90
272	Meritorious Officer 功曹			Meritorious Officer 功曹	Official	Putou-hat	
273	^			^	^	^	
274	^			^	^	^	

275	White Tiger Lord 百戶君		White Tiger Lord 百戶君	General	White tiger, halberd	PLS 90
276	Messenger 使者		Messenger 使者	Warrior	Axe	
277	^		^	^	^	
278	^		^	^	^	
279	(omitted)		Qing Yang 擎羊?	Official		BYG 67
280	^		Tuo Luo 陀羅?	^		^
281	^		Three Walls 三垣 (Heavenly Market 天市)	Official		
282	^		Red Bird 朱雀	General		

2.2 Paintings of Daoist deities in the *Xuanhe huapu*

Painter	Painting	Number
Liang dynasty		
Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (6 th cent.)	Nine Luminaries 九曜	1
Tang dynasty		
Yan Lide 閻立德 (d.656)	Seven Luminaries 七曜	2
Yan Liben 閻立本 (d. 673)	Three Purities 三清	1
	Heavenly Worthy of Original Beginning 原始天尊	1
	Dao-lord of Yuchen 玉晨道君	1
	Heavenly Worthy of Prolonging Life 延壽天尊	1
	Heavenly Worthy of Original Vein 木紋天尊	1
	Emperor of the North 北帝	1
	Twelve Veritable Lords 十二真君	1
	Five Planets 五星	2
	Venus 太白	1
	Great Emperor of the North Pole in Ziwei Heaven 紫微北極大帝	1
	Supreme Virtuous Emperor of Chaotic Origin 混元上德皇帝	1
He Changshou 何長壽	Stars and Planets 晨星	1
	True Officials of the Five Sacred Peaks 五嶽真官	1
Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 689-758)	Heavenly Worthy [of Original Beginning] 天尊	1
	Heavenly Worthy of Original Vein 木紋天尊	1
	Sun 太陽帝君	1
	Stars and Planets 晨星	1
	Venus 太白	1
	Mars 火星	1
	Rahu 羅睺	1
	Ketu 計都	5
	Five Planets 五星	1
	Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 二十八宿	1
	Six Jia 六甲	
Zhai Yan 翟琰	Heavenly Worthy [of Original Beginning] 天尊	1
	Laozi 太上	1
Yang Tingguang 楊庭光	Five Planets 五星	1
	Stellar Officials 星官	1
Wang Wei 王維 (699-759)	Laozi 太上	2
Zhang Zao 張瑑	Laozi 太上	1
Zhang Xuan 張萱 (8 th cent.)	Lady Wei [Huacun] 衛夫人	1
	Birth Star 元辰	1
Zhou Fang 周昉 (late 8 th -early 9 th)	Three Officials 天地水三官	6
	Stellar Officials 星官	1
	Six Ding and Six Jia 六丁六甲	4
	Great Emperor of the North Pole 北極大帝	1
Five Dynasties		
Fan Qiong 範瓊	Three Officials 天地水三官	3
	Southern Dipper 南斗	1
Sun Wei 孫位	Three Officials 天地水三官	3
Zhang Suqing 張素卿 (fl. 845-927)	Celestial Officials 天官	1
	Three Officials 三官	1
	Nine Luminaries 九曜	1
	Longevity Star 壽星	1
	Veritable Rongcheng 容成真人	1

	Veritable Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒真人 Veritable Yan Junping 嚴君平真人 Veritable Li A 李啊真人 Veritable Ma Ziran 馬自然真人 Veritabel Ge Xuan 葛玄真人 Veritable Chang Shouxian 長壽仙真人 Veritable Huang Chuping 黃初平真人 Veritable Yao Ziming 竇子明真人 Veritable Zuo Si 左慈真人	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Chen Ruoyu 陳若愚	Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence 東華帝君	1
Zhu You 朱繇	Heavenly Worthy of Original Beginning 元始天尊 Three Officials 天地水三官 Venus 金星 Jupiter 木星 Mercury 水星 Mars 火星 Saturn 土星 Tianpeng 天蓬 Northern and Southern Dipper 南北斗星真	1 3 1 ? 2 3 1 2 1
Li Sheng 李昇	Six Jia 六甲	6
Du Nigui 杜覲龜	Three Officials 天地水三官	3
Cao Zhongyuan 曹仲元	Nine Luminaries 九曜 Three Officials 三官	1 3
Lu Huang 陸晃	Jade Emperor 玉皇大帝 Laozi 太上 Celestial Officials 天官 Stellar Officials 星官 Veritable Lord of Long Life and Preserving Fate 長生保命真君 Veritable Lord of the Nine Heavens Determining Fate 九天定命真君 Veritable Lord of the Heavenly Office of Calculations 天曹益算真君 Veritable Lord of the Heavenly Office of Controlling Emolument 天曹掌祿真君 Veritable Lord of the Heavenly Office Resolving Disaster 天曹解厄真君 Veritable Lord of Nine Heavens Controlling Fate 九天司命真君 Veritable Lord of the Nine Heavens Crossing Disaster 九天度厄真君 Veritable Lord of the Heavenly Office of Bestowing Blessings 天曹賜福真君 Veritable Lord of the Heavenly Office of Controlling Calculations 天曹掌算真君	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Wang Qihan 王齊翰 (ca. 961)	Sun 太陽 Moon 太陰 Venus 金星 Mercury 水星 Saturn 土星 Rahu 羅睺 Ketu 計都 Northern Dipper 北斗星君 Birth Star 元辰 Southern Dipper (copy) 寫南斗星	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 6
Dong Yuan 董元 (d. 962)	Veritable of Long Life 長生真人 Veritable Sun (copy) 寫孫真人	1 1
Huang Quan 黃筌 (903-965)	Three Purities 三清	3 1

	Stellar Officials 星官 Longevity Star 壽星 Old Man of the South Pole 南極老人 Ten Veritables (copy) 寫十真人 True Officials 真官	3 1 1 1
Zhou Wenju 周文矩 (917-975)	Tianpeng 天蓬 Northern Dipper 北斗 Heavenly Worthy of Long Life and Preserving Fate 長生保命天尊	1 1 1
Guo Zhongnu 郭忠恕 (d. 977)	Nine Luminaries 九曜	1
Shi Ke 石恪	Laozi 太上 Saturn 鎮星	1 1
Northern Song dynasty		
Sun Mengqing 孫夢卿	Laozi 太上 Ge Hong 葛仙翁	1 1
Sun Zhiwei	Marshall Tianpeng 天蓬 Three Officials 天地水三官 Nine Luminaries 九曜 Saturn 填星 Libra 亢星 Mars 火星 Eleven Luminaries 十一曜 Jupiter 歲星 Five Planets 五星 Stellar Officials 星官 Immortal of Long Life 長壽仙	2 6 3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1
Gu Deqian 顧德謙	Laozi 太上 Laozi, Zhuangzi, Wenzhi, Liezi 四子太上	1 1
Wu Dongqing 武洞清	Sun 太陽 Moon 太陰 Jupiter 金星 Mercury 木星 Mars 火星 Saturn 土星 Rahu 羅睺 Ketu 計都 Water Immortals 水仙 Golden Boy Carrying Incense 侍香金童 Jade Maiden Spreading Flowers 散花玉女	2 2 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1
Han Qiu 韓虬	Moon (copy) 寫太陰 Mercury 水星 Stellar Officials 星官 Jinyang Veritable, Director of Fate of Eastern Florescence 東華司命晉陽真人	1 1 1 1
Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (d. 1050)	Heavenly Worthy [of Original Beginning] 天尊 Emperor of the North 北帝 True Warrior 真武 Mars 火星 Saturn 土星	1 1 1 1 1
Li Derou 李得柔	Eldest Immortal Lord Mao 大茅仙君 Second Immortal Lord Mao 二茅仙君 Third Immortal Lord Mao 三茅仙君 Veritable Zhongli Quan 鍾離權真人 Veritable Zhuangzi 南華真人	1 1 1 1 1

	Veritable Wei Shanjun 韋善俊真人 Immortal Tao 陶仙君 Immortal Feng 封仙君 Immortal Kou 寇仙君 Immortal Zhang 張仙君 Immortal Tan 譚仙君 Veritable Sun Simiao 孫思邈真人 Veritable Wang Ziqiao 王子喬真人 Veritable Zhu Taozhui 朱桃椎真人 Veritable Fu Qiugong 浮丘公真人 Veritable Liu Gen 劉根真人 Heavenly Master [Zhang Daoling] 天師 Veritable Liezi 沖虛至德真人 Veritable Wu Daozi (copy) 謝吳道玄真人	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Hao Deng 郝澄	North Pole (copy) 寫北極	1
Liu Yongnian 劉永年 (b. 1020)	Jupiter (copy) 謝木星	1
Wu Yuanyu 吳元瑜	Eleven Luminaries 十一曜 Heavenly Worthy [of Original Beginning] 天尊 True Warrior 真武 Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 二十八宿	1 1 1 14
Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106)	Five Planets and Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 五星二十八宿	1

2.3 Mural workshops in Shanxi province, ca. 1100-1400.

	Temple	Location	Hall	Year	Wall	Painters
1	Kaihua si 開化寺	Gaoping 高平	Mahariva Hall 大雄寶殿	1096	West	Guo Fa 郭發
2	Yanshan si 嚴山寺	Fanzhi 繁峙	Vimalakīrti Hall 文殊殿	1167	West	Wang Kui 王達 Wang Zun 王揮 Song Qiong 宋瓊 (Song) Fuxi 福喜 (Song) Runxi 潤喜
3	Xinghua si 興化寺	Jishan 稷山	Centre Hall 中院殿	1320? (後大殿)	?	Zhu Haogu 朱好古 Zhang Boyuan 張伯淵
4	Guangsheng xiasi 廣勝下寺	Hongtong 洪洞	Mingying wang dian 明應王殿	1324	East	Wang Yanda 王彥達 Wang Xiao 王小 Hu Tianxiang 胡天祥 Ma Wenyuan 馬文遠 □□□ Yuan Yancai 元彥才 Yuan Xiao 元小 Mr. Xi 席
					West	Zhao Guoxiang 趙國祥 Shang Junxi 商君錫 Jing Yanzheng 景彥政

5	Yongle gong 永樂宮	Ruicheng 芮城 (Yongle 永樂)	Three Purities Hall 三清殿	1325	Altar-shrine (clouds)	Ma Seven 馬七
					East and West (clouds and decorative patterns)	Ma Junxiang 馬君祥 Ma Seven 馬七 Wang Xiuxian 王秀先 Wang Two 王二 Mr. Zhao 趙 Ma Eleven 馬十一 Ma Twelve 馬十二 Ma Thirteen 馬十三 Mr. Fan 範 Mr. Wei 魏 Mr. Fang 方 Mr. Zhao 趙
			Chunyang Hall 純陽殿	1358	East	Zhang Zunli 張尊禮 Tian Dexin 田德新 Cao Demin 曹德敏
					West	Li Hongyi 李弘宜 Wang Shiyan 王士彥 Wang Chun 王椿 Zhang Xiushi 張秀實
6	Wuyue miao 五嶽廟	Fenyang 汾陽	Five Sacred Peaks Hall 五嶽殿	1326	East	Tian Run 田潤 Liang Zi'an 梁子安

					West	Wang Zhongshi 王仲實 Song Junde 宋君德
			Water Immortal Hall 水仙殿	Yuan	North	Guo Congli 郭從禮 Ren Nianzong 任甘宗
					East	Jia Congzheng 賈從政 (Jia) Chaoyan 朝廷 Yuan Kedao 原可道 (Yuan) Ting'an 庭安 (Yuan) Tingyu 庭玉 (Yuan) Tingjun 庭鈞 (Yuan) Tingxiu 庭秀
					West	Wang Jizong 王繼宗
7	Qinglong si 青龍寺	Jishan 稷山	Rear Hall 後殿	Late Yuan	East	Liu Dingxin 劉鼎新
					West	Guo Siqi 郭思齊
8	Guangsheng shangsi 廣勝上寺	Hongtong 洪洞	Vairocana Hall 毗盧殿	Late Yuan or early Ming	East	Yang Huai 楊懷
					West	Zheng Dengkui 鄭登魁

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[Illustrations, pp. 360-423, are placed under embargo, apologies for the inconvenience]

Curriculum Vitae

Lennert Gesterkamp (born 1 November 1971, Oosterhout, NB) got his high-school diploma Gymnasium-B from the Dominicus College in Nijmegen (1990), and after one year of studying Physics and Philosophy at the Radboud University of Nijmegen (1990-1991) and another year of military service (1991-1992), he completed a study in Sinology at Leiden University (1992-1998). Subsequently, he followed the Advanced Master's Programme of the CNWS Research School at Leiden University (1998-1999), and completed with distinction a MA-study in Chinese Art and Archaeology at SOAS, University of London (1999-2000). Having returned to Leiden University, he did a PhD research on Daoist wall painting in Chinese temples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (2000-2008) financed by the Hulswé-Wazniewski Foundation. Presently, he is a visiting fellow at the Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, with a grant of the National Science Council of Taiwan doing research on Daoist landscape paintings of the tenth to the fourteenth centuries (2007-2008).

Lennert Gesterkamp (geb. 1 november 1971 te Oosterhout, NB) heeft het gymnasium-B op het Dominicus College te Nijmegen doorlopen (1990) waarna hij eerst na een jaar Natuurkunde en Filosofie aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen (1990-1991) en een jaar militaire dienst (1991-1992) een studie Talen en Culturen van China (Sinologie) aan de Universiteit Leiden heeft afgerond (1992-1998). Daarna heeft hij een jaar het Advanced Master's Programme van de Onderzoeksschool CNWS van de Universiteit Leiden (1998-1999) gevolgd en daarop een cum laude MA-studie Chinese Kunst en Archeologie aan SOAS, University of London (1999-2000) afgemaakt, om vervolgens terug aan de Universiteit Leiden een promotieonderzoek te doen naar daoïstische muurschilderingen in Chinese tempels van de dertiende en veertiende eeuw (2000-2008) gefinancierd door de Hulswé-Wazniewski Stichting. Op dit moment is hij gastwetenschapper met een beurs van de National Science Council van Taiwan aan de Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, die onderzoek doet naar daoïstische landschapsschilderkunst van de tiende tot de veertiende eeuw (2007-2008).

