Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings
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Published by Cornell University Press

McNair, Amy.
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Chapter Two

Buddhist and Daoist Subjects, Two

Tang

Wu Daoyuan, Zhai Yan, Yang Tingguang, Lu Lengqie, Zhao Deqi, Fan Qiong, Chang Can, Sun Wei, Zhang Nanben, Xin Cheng, Zhang Suqing, Chen Ruoyu, Yao Siyuan

Wu Daoyuan, whose style name was Daozi, was a man of Yangdi.¹ His original name was Daozi. He was orphaned young and grew up poor. When he traveled to Luoyang, he was unsuccessful at studying calligraphy with Topsy-turvy Zhang and He Zhizhang, but subsequently gained skill at painting.² Even before attaining the age of majority, he fully grasped its subtleties, as though it were awakened in his nature, not something arrived at by copious study. At first, he served as Defender of Xiaqiu in Gunzhou, but then Emperor Minghuang³ heard of him and called him to serve at court, where his name was changed to the present one, and Daozi became his style name. From that moment on, his name was known throughout the realm. He mainly took as his model Zhang

¹. Wu lived from around 685 to 758. Yangdi is in modern Yu County, Henan. The Yuan edition of Xuanhe huapu (Ying Yuan Dade ben Xuanhe huapu) uses yuan 元 for xuan 玄. Wu Daozi is called Wu Daoxuan in most Tang-dynasty sources. See ZGMSJRMCD, 306; Chen, Sui Tang huajia shiliao, 180–220; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDM-HJQY, 470–472; Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 208–210.
². Zhang Xu (675–759) and He Zhizhang (659–744).
³. The authors invariably refer to Emperor Xuanzong of Tang (r. 712–756) as Minghuang.
Sengyou, and there were those who said he was a reincarnation of him. Yet it is doubtful that Sengyou could reach his variety of imagery and his peerless creativity. Painting has its Six Laws, and Gu Kaizhi is praised for ability in them all. When Kaizhi painted the neighbor girl and then stuck a thorn in her heart [in the picture], that caused her to cry out. When Daozi painted a donkey on the wall of a monk's cell, all night the sounds of something walking on the rush mats and smashing things could be heard. When Sengyou dotted in the eyes of the dragons he had painted, to the sounds of thunder and lightning, the wall cracked, and they flew away. Daozi painted dragons with scaly armor that seemed to move in flight. Whenever it was about to rain, a mist would arise from them. Since Gu topped those who came before, and Zhang surpassed all who came later, and Daozi combined the [strengths of] both, how did he regard himself? In the Kaiyuan period, General Pei Min was in mourning for his mother. He asked Daozi to paint some demons and gods at the Tiangong Monastery in order to earn good fortune for her in the next life. Daozi told Min to remove his mourning clothes and put on his military attire. Astride his horse, he brandished his sword in a dance, charging, wheeling, and stopping short. His appearance was heroic and magnificent, and the onlookers, who numbered in the thousands, were all terrified and awestruck.

After Daozi “took off his robes and stretched out his legs,” he employed the spirit [of Min’s performance] to form the conception of his painting. He began to paint as suddenly as a wind

5. This anecdote is from LDMHJ, ch. 5. See Acker, Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts, 2:43.
6. The full story is found in Taiping guangji (Siku Quanshu Wenyuyange edition electronic version), 212.3b, cited from Lu Yan (Tang dyn.), Lushi zashuo.
7. See Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 209.
8. This telling of the well-known anecdote appears to derive from the account in Guo Ruoxu’s THJWZ. See Soper, Experiences, 75.
9. This commonly employed expression comes from Zhuangzi and refers to the preparation of a court painter who was declared “a true artist.” See Zhuangzi, Tian Zifang chapter, Watson, trans., Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, 228.
springing up, creating the most magnificent sight in the realm. When Cook Ding carved an ox and Wheelwright Bian hewed a wheel, they both used skill to enter the Way.\textsuperscript{10} When Topsy-Turvy Zhang witnessed Lady Gongsun dance the Jianqi, his cursive script became marvelous.\textsuperscript{11} Daozi’s approach to painting was simply the same. Further, how could someone who was able to ask the valiant general [to perform the dance] in such a heroic manner be an ordinary person? And if [Zhang] threw back strong drink every time he wielded the brush, how is this different from composing literature? Truly, the most important thing is the spirit. For example, what about [Wu] painting the halo after [finishing the figure] by drawing it with a swing of the shoulder and completing it in a single stroke?\textsuperscript{12} When [something causes] the onlookers to cry out and the whole town to be amazed, isn’t it marvelous? It is common for people to credit what they hear and disregard what they see with their own eyes, so as highly as people of his own day revered him, haven’t those of later generations done so even more? A critic said that in High Tang, “the apogee in literature was attained by Han Yu, in poetry by Du Fu, in calligraphy by Yan Zhenqing, and in painting by Wu Daoyuan. They were the most capable throughout the realm.”\textsuperscript{13} His best-known works were his Hell Tableaux. Viewers grasped the idea that deeds done in another life receive recompense on earth and deeds done on earth receive their reward in the afterlife. Because his scenes of aristocratic


\textsuperscript{11} For a translation of Du Fu’s poem preface where he describes Zhang Xu’s reaction to Lady Gongsun’s dance, see Arthur Cooper, trans., \textit{Li Po and Tu Fu} (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 229–231. Cheng Zai, in LDMHJQY, 472n12, explains “Jianqi” as the name of a dance done by a young woman in men’s clothes, with empty hands, not holding a sword, as is commonly supposed from the word \textit{jian} (“sword”) in the title.

\textsuperscript{12} See Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 210.

\textsuperscript{13} This is a close paraphrase of the opinion expressed by Su Shi, in his colophon “Written following a Wu Daozi Painting.” See Su Shi, \textit{Dongpo tiba} 5.95, in \textit{Songren tiba}, 2 v., \textit{Yishu congbian} (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), 1.22.
youth wearing shackles and fetters [in hell] could not be described or discussed at the time, now one can only use reason to investigate them. As for his various other works, they are cited in stories and biographical records, which have just been summarized here with the intent of recording only those that are generally the most famous. When Daoyuan served at court, he was a Palace Erudite, and he painted only by order of the emperor. He held the post of Companion to the Prince of Ning. At present, there are ninety-three works kept in the palace storehouses:

- **Heavenly Worthy**, one icon
- **The Heavenly Worthy of Wood Grain**, one icon
- **Emperors of Successive Dynasties Offering Homage to the Primordial**, one picture
- **Buddha Assembly**, one picture
- **Tejaprabhā Buddha**, one icon
- **Amitābha Buddha**, one icon
- **Tathāgatas of the Three Directions**, one icon
- **Vairocana Buddha**, one icon
- **Vimalakīrti**, two icons
- **The Peacock Vidyā-rāja**, four icons
- **The Precious Sandalwood Flower Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Guanyin Bodhisattva**, two icons
- **Pensive Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Precious-Seal Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Maitreya Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva**, three icons
- **Samyak-sambodhi Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Wish-Granting Bodhisattva**, one icon

14. Li Xian (679–742), eldest son of Emperor Ruizong (r. 684–690, 710–712), was made Prince of Ning when his elder brother Emperor Xuanzong took the throne.

15. According to Suchan and Sørensen, this is a deity only depicted in Sichuan, hence this picture is likely a forgery. See Suchan and Sørensen, “Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan,” 414.
Two Bodhisattvas, one icon
Bodhisattva, one icon
Dizang, one icon
Indra, two icons
The Lord Sun God, one icon
Morning Star, one icon
Venus, one icon
Mars, one icon
Rāhu, one icon
Ketu, one icon
The Five Stars, five icons
The Five Stars, one picture
The Twenty-Eight Constellations, one icon
Stūpa-Holding Lokapāla, one picture
Dharma-Protecting Lokapālas, two icons
Lokapāla Traveling, one icon
Cloud-Canopied Lokapāla, one icon
Vaiśravana Lokapāla, one icon
Lokapāla Coming with a Stūpa, one icon
Lokapālas, five icons
Guardians, two icons
Great Dharma-Protecting Deities, fourteen
Good Deities, nine icons


17. Dharma-protectors are lokapālas, of which there are normally four. The character “ten” here, which creates the number fourteen, is probably a mistake for the character xiang, or icon, which is missing. It should probably be “Great Dharma-Protecting Deities, four icons.”

18. Those beings among the eight classes who support Buddhism; variously said to be eight, sixteen, or thirty-six.
*The Six Jia Deities*, one icon

*Deva and Nāga Guardian Generals*, one icon

*The Dragon King Manasvin*, one icon

*The Dragon King Vāsuki*, one icon

*The Dragon King Utpalaka*, one icon

*The Dragon King Upananda*, one icon

*The Dragon King Takṣaka*, one icon

*Sandalwood [Image] with Lakṣaṇa and Mudrā*, two pictures

*The Śāla Trees*, one picture

*Ratnasambhava, Tathāgata of the South*, one icon

*Madhura-svara-nirghoṣa, Tathāgata of the North*, one icon

When Zhai Yan was young, his master was Wu Daoyuan. Whenever Daoyuan finished drawing the lines for a painting and was about to leave it, he usually ordered Yan to fill in the colors. The divine spark in figure painting can only be achieved by subtle gradations of light and dark [color]. Daoyuan generally found his work acceptable, which shows that Yan’s abilities were not average. Since Yan applied the colors and [re-]drew the lines, it is not easy to distinguish the genuine Daoyuan from the false. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Heavenly Worthy Saint*, one icon

*The Most High*, one icon

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20. These five pictures were probably part of a set of eight, the eight dragonkings named in the *Lotus Sutra*.

21. The Buddha was said to have entered nirvana in a grove of śāla trees.

22. This entry is a paraphrase of the one in LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 474–475. For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1262.
Yang Tingguang was a contemporary of Wu Daoyuan. He was good at portraying Buddhist icons and sutra depictions. Additionally, he was skilled at other categories of painting, including landscape, in all of which he exhausted their subtleties. People of the time said he really had the style of Master Wu. However, his brushwork was thinner, so in this they were not the same. In the end, this thinner brushwork is what made him inferior to Master Wu. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

- Medicine Master Buddha, one icon
- Five Esoteric Tathāgatas, one icon
- Guanyin, two icons
- Cintā- maṇi-cakra Bodhisattva, one icon
- Meditating Bodhisattva, one icon

23. This entry is a paraphrase of the entry in LDMHJ, ch. 9; see LDMHJQY, 475–476. By contrast, Zhu Jingxuan wrote that “his strength of brush was not eclipsed by Master Wu’s.” See Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 225. For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1187.

24. The words used here, jīng bianxiāng 經變相, appear to be a conflation of jīngbian and bianxiāng, both descriptors of religious murals utilized by ninth- and tenth-century critics such as Zhang Yanyuan and Huang XiuFu. Bianxiāng has been rendered into English as “transformation tableau.” This is based on a literal translation of bian as “transformation.” See Wu Hung, “What Is Bianxiang?—On The Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature,” Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 52, no. 1 (June 1992):111–192. According to Daniel B. Stevenson (personal communication, May 3, 2017), the Sanskrit term in the Amitābha scriptures that was rendered by early translators as bian is more akin to the notions of “display,” “depiction,” “manifestation,” or “performance.” Despite the classical defense by Wang Wei of the term bian as “transformation” in a spiritual sense, it seems more likely the original idea in the Sanskrit was of a display of figures in a Buddhist scene or story. See Taraneh Aghdaie, “Transforming the Spirit: Wang Wei’s Encomium on a Pure Land Bianxiāng,” MA thesis, University of Kansas, 2017. Hence, I will translate jīngbian as “sutra tableau” and bianxiāng as “tableau.”
Pensive Bodhisattva, one icon
Humane King Bodhisattva, one icon
Longevity Bodhisattva, one icon
Bodhisattva, one icon
The Five Planets, one icon
Star God, one icon
Minghuang and Attendants on an Outing, one icon
Sketch-copy of Empress Wu, one portrait

Lu Lengqie was a man of Chang’an who studied painting with Wu Dao-yuan, yet his talent and ability never reached [Wu’s]. He particularly liked to make sutra depictions. After he went to Shu, his fame increased, and even though he was a celebrity for a time, he was respected by all. Early in the Qianyuan period, he painted Monks Circumambulating at the Great Shengci Monastery, for which Yan Zhenqing wrote out the title. These were praised in their day as the “Two Perfections.” He also did paintings for the triple-gate of Zhuangyan Monastery, which he personally considered comparable to Wu Daoyuan’s murals at Zongchi Monastery. One day, Daoyuan suddenly came upon them, and startled, he said with admiration: “This gentleman’s brush strength ordinarily does not equal mine, but here it has come close. This gentleman has exhausted all his vital energies in this work!” A month later, Lengqie actually died. Lengqie mostly painted Buddhist icons, so when Daoyuan praised his paintings as being like his, we know it was not an empty

25. Most likely an image of Wu Zetian (624–705).
26. For citations, see ZGMSJRMCMD, 1406; Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 22; Soper, Experiences, 18, 189–190n606; LDMHJ, ch. 9, in LDMHJQY, 476–477. For the anecdote about Lengqie’s death, see Alexander C. Soper, “A Vacation Glimpse of the T’ang Temples of Ch’ang’an. The Ssu-ta Chi by Tuan Chêng-shih,” Artibus Asiae 23, no.1 (1960):36.
27. This story comes from Huang Xiufu (late 10th c.–early 11th c.), Yizhou minghua lu (preface 1006), in Songren huaping, Yun Gao, ed. (Changsha: Hunan meishu, 1999), 131. The monastery was in Chengdu.
28. This anecdote quotes from LDMHJ. Acker, Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts, 2:238–239.
At present, there are one hundred fifty works kept in the palace storehouses:

- *A Perfected One Offering Lingzhi*, one icon
- *Śākyamuni Buddha Attaining Enlightenment*, one icon
- *Śākyamuni Buddha*, four icons
- *Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva*, one icon
- *Guanyin Bodhisattva*, one icon
- *Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva*, one icon
- *Samantabhadra Bodhisattva*, one icon
- *Cundī Guanyin Bodhisattva*, one icon
- *Luohans*, forty-eight icons
- *Sixteen Arhats*, sixteen icons
- *Luohans*, sixteen icons
- *Sixteen Luohans, Small*, three icons
- *Monk Zhisong Crossing the River in a Bamboo Hat*, one icon
- *Monks Crossing a River*, two pictures
- *Eminent Monks*, two icons
- *Eminent Monks*, two pictures
- *The Peacock Vidyā-rāja*, one icon
- *Sixteen Great Arhats*, forty-eight icons

Zhao Deqi’s father Wen was praised by the world for his painting, and Deqi subsequently became an able follower of the family style. His extraordinary works and untrammeled brushwork were much praised by those of his day. In the Guanghua era, an imperial edict permitted Wang

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30. This entry is a paraphrase of the entry in THJWZ, except that the earlier text calls the father Wenqi. See Soper, *Experiences*, 23. The entry for Zhao Wenqi is in Chapter 6. For other citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1295; Soper, *Experiences*, 23, 146n347; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 130–131, 165.
Jian to set up a shrine to himself in Chengdu while he was still living. Deqi was ordered to paint the Prince of Xiping with his ceremonial regalia, and he completely captured in every detail the cortege of chariots and banners and the ceremonial guard in tight columns, so strictly correct. Together with his paintings of the imperial consorts, concubines, and palace women on the walls of the Chaozhen Hall, they reached the height of refinement and skill. Emperor Zhaozong was pleased with them and appointed him Painter-in-Waiting in the Hanlin Academy. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lokapāla Crossing the Ocean*, one icon

Fan Qiong’s hometown is unknown. He lived in Chengdu in the time of Chen Hao and Peng Jian, all of whom had gained fame for being good at painting figures, Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and demons and gods. There were many monasteries where these three had worked together to paint the Buddhist icons. During the Xiantong era, he painted *Lokapālas of the North and the East* and *Greatly Compassionate* in the main hall at the Shengxing Monastery, which were very famous at that time. He abandoned his image of Ucchusma with the colors half done, but the ink brushwork was so surpassingly excellent that of all the famous artists who came later, none was able to complete it. This is just like the line in the Du Fu poem, “His body is as agile as a lone bird that

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31. Wang Jian (847–918) was the founding ruler of Former Shu (907–925).
32. See Soper, *Experiences*, 133n233, where he identifies the Prince of Xiping as General Li Sheng (728–793).
33. This entry abridges the one in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 124–125. For other references, see ZGMSJRMCD, 644; Soper, *Experiences*, 24; Soper, “A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue;” 20.
34. Both were active around 836–841.
35. Reading Wusemo 烏瑟摩 as Wuchusemo 烏芻瑟摩, or Ucchusma, the Vidyā-rāja who presides over toilets, as an unclean being who makes others clean. See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, buddhism-dict.net/ddb/, accessed 12/9/2015. Up to this point, this entry is a shortened version of the one for Fan in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 124–125.
flies past.” The earliest transcription accidentally left out the character *guo*, but the poets of the time who tried to supply the missing word in the end were unable to do so.\(^{36}\) This shows us that where artistic creativity is unsurpassed, the regular methods of brush and ink may be shed. At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water*, three icons\(^{37}\)

*The Star Gods of the Southern Dipper*, one icon\(^{38}\)

*Vimalakīrti*, one icon

*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva*, one icon

*Lokapāla Descending with a Pagoda*, one icon

*Copy of Feilian, the [Wind] God*, one icon\(^{39}\)

*Eminent Monks*, one picture

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\(^{36}\) This refers to an anecdote told by Ouyang Xiu in his *Remarks on Poetry*: “Once, Chen happened to obtain an old manuscript of Du Fu’s collection, which was full of lacunae and wrong characters. In the poem “Seeing Off Commandant Cai,” the last character was missing from the line that reads, “His body is as agile as a lone bird that ____.” One day Chen asked several of his guests to fix the line by supplying the missing word. Someone suggested “swiftly goes,” another said “descends,” another said “rises,” and another said “falls.” They could not agree on which was best. Later, Chen got hold of a better copy of Du Fu’s works, which had the original complete line, with the character *guo*: “His body is as agile as a lone bird that flies past.” Chen sighed with admiration, realizing that although it was a question of just a single word, none of his gentlemen friends were able to equal what Du Fu had written.” Translation adapted from Ronald Egan, *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 74.

\(^{37}\) According to Susan Huang, the worship of these three “bureaucratic” gods goes back to Han times, while in the fifth century, they converged with the Three Pure Ones and the Three Primes. See Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 296.

\(^{38}\) Possibly similar in appearance to *Deities of the Northern Dipper*, although showing six deities instead of seven. See Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, fig. 1.25.

\(^{39}\) Feilian is the Wind God named in the *Lisao* poem in the *Chuci*. For a translation, see *Chʻu Tʻzu: The Songs of the South*, trans. David Hawkes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 28.
Chang Can was a man of Chang’an. During the Xiantong era, when Lu Yan governed Shu, Can went to Shu, where Yan treated him with every courtesy. Can was good at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figure painting, for which he gained fame in his day. He was good at the robes and caps of high antiquity and did not fall into [depicting] recent customs. The older the costume, the more excellent was his evocation of its style. This is not the sort of thing that a painter-artisan who seeks only for form-likeness can attain. His pictures of that time, such as *Fuxi Drawing the Trigrams*, *Shen Nong Sowing Seed*, and *Chen Yuanda Admonishing in Chains*, are all marvelous works that have circulated in the world. Arching brows and full faces, songs of Yan and dances of Zhao—such things the senses appreciate, yet they are never seen in his work, for Can only depicted such events as sowing seed and admonishing in chains. He depicted every last detail, with the same intent as the poets of the *Book of Songs*, whose “indirect admonitions [were chiefly noted for their mellifluousness].” It is proper for his paintings to be handed down to later generations. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fuxi Drawing the Trigram Images*, one picture

*Shen Nong Sowing Seed*, one icon

40. See ZGMSJRMCD, 802; Soper, *Experiences*, 24; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 143.
41. Lu Yan lived from 829 to 874.
42. The anonymous *Great Preface* to the *Book of Songs* said the poets’ “indirect admonitions were chiefly noted for their mellifluousness,” which means they sweetened the instruction with pleasurable aesthetic experience. See Siu-kit Wong, *Early Chinese Literary Criticism* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1983), 2. Here the idea is that the visual pleasure of studying all the details of the painting will allow the admonitory message to get through.
43. The culture hero Fuxi is credited with many of the inventions of civilization, including the trigram symbols, which are the basis of the divinatory classic *Yijing*. See Sima, *Shiji*, 4.119.
44. Shen Nong, traditionally one of the “Five Emperors” of legendary times, is credited with inventing agriculture. He and Fuxi and the Yellow Emperor are termed the “Three August Ones,” according to Sima Qian (see *Shiji*, 1.3). Huang
Sun Wei was a man of Kuaiji. When Emperor Xizong graced Shu, Wei went to Shu from the capital, where he called himself the Mountain Man of Kuaiji. His behavior was heedless and uncultivated, but his feelings were generous. Though he loved to drink wine, he was rarely seen drunk, and he took pleasure in his unsullied friendships with recluses. In the Guangqi period, he painted the east wall of the Yingtian Monastery according to a sketch of the Victorious Lokapāla that Zhang Sengyou had done at the Gaozuo Monastery in Runzhou. When the painting was completed, with all the lances and halberds carefully drawn and bristling, it was as though one could hear the distant sounds of pipes and drums beating. His falcons and dogs dash forward. Xiufu, however, in his discussion of the paintings of Chang Can, says there was a set of “Three August Ones” that consisted of images of Fuxi, Shen Nong, and Nüwa. See Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 143. Perhaps these two pictures listed here, of Fuxi and Shen Nong, were part of a set of three pictures, which may have been in the Shu royal collection.

45. No earlier source attributes such a picture to Chang. A picture of this subject, bearing forged seals of Emperor Huizong, is in the Freer Gallery. See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, D.C.: David R. Godine, in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973), cat. no. 10, 70–73.

46. According to Yue Ren, these are the ten talented poets of the reign of Emperor Daizong of the Tang (r. 762–780). See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu*, 54n11.

47. This entry abbreviates the one in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 122.

48. When Huang Chao sacked Chang’an, Emperor Xizong fled to Chengdu.

49. This anecdote is given in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences*, 98 and 204n708.

50. At this point in the narrative, Huang Xiufu says Sun’s pictures of falcons and dogs were completed with three to five strokes of the brush. See Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 122.
and disappear amidst clouds, with a thousand forms and a myriad attitudes, their momentum like flight. Were he not so skilled with brush and ink, were his sensibility not lofty and his style untrammeled, how could he reach this realm? Later he changed his personal name to Yu, but where he died is unknown. At present, there are twenty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

- The Most High Preaching the Law, one icon
- The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water, three icons
- Vimalakirti, one picture
- The Three Teachings, one picture
- Star God, one picture
- Assembly of Immortals, one picture
- Old Stories of Immortals, four pictures
- Eminent Scholars, one picture
- The Four Hoaryheads Playing Weiqi, one picture
- Wang Boli, one picture
- Sketch-copy of Ma Rong, one icon
- Sketch-copy of Bi Zhuo, one picture
- Lofty Recluses, one picture
- Winning the Contest, two pictures
- Thatched Hut, three pictures
- Weiqi [Chess], one picture

51. Dongyuan Gong, Luli Xiansheng, Qili Ji, and Xia Huanggong were four recluses of the early third to late second century BCE who refused to serve the First Emperor of Qin. Going into reclusion at Mount Shang, they also refused the summons of the first emperor of the Han dynasty. See Alan Berkowitz, “Biographies of Recluses, Huangfu Mi’s Accounts of High-Minded Men,” in Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook, ed. Wendy Swartz, Robert Ford Campany, Yang Lu, and Jessey J.C. Choo (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 343–344.
52. Ma Rong (79–166), a scholar and musician of the Later Han, is considered the earliest of the commentators on the classics and philosophers.
53. A libertine as a youth, Bi Zhuo (d. ca. 329) later served as a high official under the Eastern Jin dynasty.
54. Possibly Du Fu’s Thatched Hut, in Chengdu.
Zhang Nanben’s hometown is unknown. He was especially skilled at painting Buddhist icons, as well as demons and gods, and he particularly liked to paint fire. Since fire has no fixed form, it is rare to see someone who is capable of painting it. Only Nanben was successful. Once he painted the Eight Vidyā-ṛajas in the main hall of the Jinhua Monastery in Chengdu. An old monk came to the monastery on a pilgrimage. Straightening his robes, he ascended into the hall, where he saw the fire painted on the walls [surrounding the deities]. He was awestruck by the leaping flames and so terrified that he nearly fell over. At this time, Sun Wei was famous for painting water, and whenever excellence in the painting of fire and water was discussed, these two alone were praised. Now, since water is likened to the Dao, and fire responds to the spirits, they have deep principles the brush cannot fathom, so they are not easy to depict. He also did some pictures for a Buddhist ceremony at the Baoli Monastery, in which he exhausted his ingenuity. They were later copied and [the copies] secretly switched for the originals, many of which were scattered through the Jinghu area. At that time, pictures of his, such as Collating Texts, The Poetry Society, and The Korean King Making a Ritual Circumambulation with Incense, were widespread. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

55. This entry is a paraphrase of the one for Zhang in THJWZ. See Soper, Experiences, 25. For other citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 835; Soper, “A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue,” 20–21; Soper, Experiences, 25; Huang, Yizhou minghua lu, 139.

56. This project was for the Water Land Ritual precinct established at the monastery by the local governor. See Huang, Yizhou minghua lu, 139.

57. Yun Gao, in Huang, Yizhou minghua lu, 141n10, identifies this area as the two Song-dynasty circuits of Jinghu North and Jinghu South, roughly modern Hubei and Hunan. See Tan Qixiang, ed., Zhongguo lishi ditu ji, 8 vols. (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), 6:27–28.

58. Collating Texts is likely a depiction of the scholars of the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577) collating the classics, as ordered by Emperor Wenchuan in 556. The
Sketch of Guanyin, one picture
Mañjuśrī and Attendants, one picture
Collating Texts, one picture

Xin Cheng’s hometown is unknown.\textsuperscript{59} That he mostly traveled in Shu is evident from \textit{Yizhou minghua lu}.\textsuperscript{60} He was skilled at painting the icons of the Western [Pure Land]. Since he wasn’t known for anything else, he was probably a specialist in that subject. Generally, the faces of his Buddhas are merciful and compassionate. Seated cross-legged upon thrones, with their robes falling from a bare shoulder, eyes cast downward and head lowered, like a withered tree or dead ashes, they created the same effect as the [Buddhist] doctrine. Hence he established his own tradition. His [images of] Guanyin of Haizhou and his [portrait of monk] Samgha of Sizhou were marvels of painting skill and largely the basis of his fame.\textsuperscript{61} Since he could earn the necessities by them, he felt no need to be good at other subjects. Once Cheng painted Samgha and various sutra depictions at the Dasheng Monastery in Shu, and so many men and women poured out of town and came to view them that there was scarcely any room for the latecomers.\textsuperscript{62} This has been perpetuated as a much-told tale by the people of Shu. When “the architect [consults] others along the road,” opinions [given by passers-by] will differ.\textsuperscript{63} But from the response of the crowd [looking at the murals], it’s easy to grasp how

\textsuperscript{59} For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 466; Soper, \textit{Experiences}, 26.
\textsuperscript{60} Huang, \textit{Yizhou minghua lu}, 136.
\textsuperscript{61} According to Soper, Samgha was a westerner who came to China in early Tang, gained imperial favor, and died around 708. When his ghost appeared in the palace in 780, Emperor Daizong had his portrait painted and offered worship to it. Samgha was also honored by Emperor Yizong in 861. See Soper, \textit{Experiences}, 137n268.
\textsuperscript{62} Huang Xiufu identifies this monastery as the Great Shengci Monastery in Chengdu. See Huang, \textit{Yizhou minghua lu}, 136.
\textsuperscript{63} Quotation from the poem “Foreboding” (\textit{Xiaomin}), from the Minor Odes (\textit{Xiaoya}) of the \textit{Shijing}. See Waley, trans., \textit{Book of Songs}, 175.
successful they were! At present, there are twenty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

- **Buddha**, one icon
- **Buddha Assembly**, one picture
- **Ratnasambhava Buddha**, one icon
- **Āmṛta-tathāgata**, one icon
- **Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva**, two icons
- **Guanyin**, two icons
- **White-Robed Guanyin**, one icon
- **Cintā-manī-cakra Bodhisattva**, two icons
- **Maitreya Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Humane King Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Precious-Seal Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Precious Sandalwood Flower Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Pensive Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Thoughtful Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Musical Sounds Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Amoghaṅkuśa Bodhisattva**, one icon
- **Bodhisattva Attending with Incense**, one icon
- **Bodhisattva Offering Flowers**, one icon
- **Bodhisattva with Lotus Flowers**, one icon
- **Bodhisattva with Incense and Flowers**, one icon

Zhang Suqing was a man of Jianzhou. He was orphaned young and grew up poor. He became a Daoist and enjoyed painting Daoist

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64. This is probably Āmṛta-rāja-tathāgata 甘露王如來 (Tathāgata Ambrosia King), one of the five wisdom Tathāgatas.

65. Jianzhou is modern Jianyang, Sichuan. This entry abbreviates a longer one on Zhang in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 131–132. See also Soper, *Experiences*, 25 and 99, where the entry called The Eight Immortals appears to have been taken from *Taiping guangji* (Siku Quanshu Wenyuange edition electronic version, 204.5b–6a), which quotes Jing Huan 景煥, *Yeren xianhua* 野人閒話 (Idle Talk of a Rustic, preface dated 965), a book that treated gossip at the Meng court of Later Shu (934–965), still extant in the 1080s (Soper, *Experiences*, 99), but now lost.
icons. During the reign of Emperor Xizong, an emissary was dispatched to enfeoff Mount Zhangren with the title “Duke Invisible and Silent.” Suqing submitted a memorial that said, “Mount Zhangren is supreme among the Five Marchmounts. If the Five Marchmounts are enfeoffed as Princes, then it is not appropriate to call it a Duke.” An edict was issued granting his request, and as a result he was awarded the purple [robe]. Later he did Icons of the Twelve Perfected Lords, in which he depicted them variously telling fortunes, selling cinnabar pills, writing out talismans, and practicing breathing exercises. Everyone praised his skill. On the occasion of the birthday of the Shu pretender Wang, An Sijian submitted them. The ruler ordered the Hanlin Academician Ouyang Jiong to compose encomia for them, which were transcribed in the bafen script by Huang Jubao. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Official of Heaven*, one icon  
*The Three Officials*, one icon

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67. Zhangren is the chief peak of the Qingcheng Mountains in Sichuan Province and was considered by Daoists to be one of the Ten Great Grotto-heavens. According to Huang Xiufu, Zhang Suqing lived and practiced Daoist activities there, hence his interest in its status. Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu*, 131.

68. This happened in 954, hence it should be the Later Shu ruler Meng Chang. As this story is told by Huang Xiufu (*Yizhou minghua lu*, 131–132), An Sijian was a collector and patron of artists. After the conquest of Shu by Song, the ruling Song governor Lü Yuqing obtained the twelve pictures and submitted them to the Song throne. The list of the immortals given by Huang Xiufu is the same, except that Ge Yongguai and Su Dan are missing here, so it is possible these ten pictures were from that set of twelve.

69. For Huang Jubao (d. ca. 960), see the entry below. Although Ouyang Jiong (896–971) is here in service to Wang Yan, second ruler of Later Shu, he is given the title that he would later be granted after he submitted to the Song. In THJWZ, this same story is told with regard to portraits of the Eight Immortals. See Soper, *Experiences*, 99.
Nine Luminaries, one icon
Star of Longevity, one icon
The Perfected One Rong Cheng, one icon
The Perfected One Dong Zhongshu, one icon
The Perfected One Yan Junping, one icon
The Perfected One Li A, one icon
The Perfected One Ma Ziran, one icon
The Perfected One Ge Yuan, one icon
The Perfected One Immortal Changshou, one icon
The Perfected One Huang Chuping, one icon

70. Rong Cheng, or Rong Chenggong, was traditionally held to have been a teacher of the Yellow Emperor. See Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth, 358–359. He is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu painted by Zhang Suqing, as told in the Yeren xianhua anecdote repeated in THJWZ (see Soper, Experiences, 99). The others are Dong Zhongshu, Yan Junping, Li A, Zhang Daoling, Li Babai, Fan Changsheng, and Ge Yonggui.

71. Dong Zhongshu was a scholar of the Spring and Autumn Annals who served under Emperor Wu of the Western Han (r. 140–187 BCE). He was admired by Daoists for his discussion of Huang-Lao philosophy and yin-yang Five Phases theory. See Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth, 114.

72. Yan Junping worked as a fortune-teller in the marketplace in Chengdu at the end of Western Han and was a teacher of Yang Xiong. See Nylan, Exemplary Figures, 95. See also his entry in Berkowitz, “Biographies of Recluses, Huangfu Mi’s Accounts of High-Minded Men,” 344.

73. Li A was a Sichuanese Daoist of the Three Kingdoms period. For Ge Hong’s biography of Li A, see Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth, 212–213.

74. According to Yun Gao (Yizhou minghua lu, 133n17), Ma Ziran (d. 880) was a Tang prescription-maker, author of a one-volume book called Spoken Formulas for Gold and Cinnabar (Jindan koujue).

75. This is Ge Xuan, a Daoist alchemist of the Wu state of the Three Kingdoms and great-uncle of Ge Hong. See Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth, 152–157.

76. This is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu, Fan Changsheng, who was said to have lived as a Daoist recluse in the Qingcheng Mountains in the third century. See Tuhua jianwen zhi; Huaji, annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Mi Tianshui (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2000), 246n17.

77. See Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth, 309–310.
The Daoist Chen Ruoyu was a man of eastern Shu who learned the secrets of “the reds-and-blues” from his teacher Zhang Suqing. He painted icons of the four lords—azure dragon, white tiger, red bird, and dark warrior—at the Jingsi Temple in Chengdu, for which he became quite famous. The Sovereign of Eastern Florescence he painted was especially skillful. Because the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence should be situated in “Arousing” [the east], naturally Heaven will seek and receive “Arousing” [as his eldest son], and this “Arousing” Sovereign will come forth in the position of according with all created things. Were Ruoyu
not a Daoist, how could he have comprehended this? It is only fitting that no one before him depicted [this subject]. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Sovereign of Eastern Florescence*

Yao Siyuan was a man of Linquan. He was famous for a time for his Daoist and Buddhist painting. The *Twenty-Four Transformations of Purple Tenuity* that he made awakened ordinary people. They went well beyond the work of an amateur amusing himself by playing with “the reds-and-blues.” When painting Buddhist subjects, he often chose to paint murals, which is why his pictures that circulated in the world were rare. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

- *Buddha Assembly*, one picture
- *Peacock Buddha Assembly*, one picture
- *Twenty-Four Transformations of Purple Tenuity*, one picture