

The Visible Divinity

The Sacred Icon in Religious Taoism

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In studies of the Chinese history of art great attention is paid to Buddhist iconography and Buddhist works of art. Most recently we have seen new, extensive and exciting publications by the Academy of Social Sciences of Szechwan Province (China) concerning the stone sculptures at Mt. Ta-tsu.¹ Some other recent publications also prove that modern Chinese scholarship is very much involved in the study of religious traditions of art.² The anonymous artists and sculptors appear to represent common people and folk-art, whereas the very background for the existence of these documents and relics of a once flourishing religious tradition are said to exemplify „feudal society“.³ We find it revealing that didactic purposes justify the preservation and study of these artefacts. We do not want to speculate about the future development of such efforts in China, but welcome the presentation of these important materials.

Generally there is much material concerning Buddhism. Buddhist sculptures, paintings, caves and temples obviously outnumber Taoist ones, and this may suggest a predominant and leading position of Buddhist works of art within the frame of Chinese religious and artistic traditions. Anyway, there are Taoist caves and sculptures in Szechwan and in other areas. In any Taoist temple of any period of time icons of divinities served pious and ritual purposes, which suited the lay believer and the liturgic specialist as well.⁴ However, we hardly find Taoist priests, who made pious efforts to assemble communities of believers in front of an ideally perceived icon of a deity, in the manner of Shih Hui-yüan

1 See LIU Ch'ang-chiu / HU Wen-ho / LI Yung-ch'iao (comp.): *Ta-tsu shih-k'o yen-chiu*, Ch'eng-tu 1985 (Ssu-ch'uan sheng she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan ch'u-pan she).

2 For instance see the various contributions in *Ssu-ch'uan wen-wu*, (SCWW) and *Ch'eng-tu wen-wu* in the period 1984–1988, which we have seen.

3 See HUANG Pang-hung: „Chien-ko Hao-min shan han tao-chiao tsao-hsiang“, in: *SCWW* 1987, 3, 26–28; especially 27a. Also see WEI Fu-hua: „Chung-kuo tao-chiao fa-yüan ti, Hao-min shan“, in: *Ch'eng-tu wen-wu* 1985, 1, 12–14; especially 13a. See WU Chüeh-fei: „Shih-t'an Ssu-ch'uan ti tao-chiao shih-k'o“, in: *SCWW* 1984, 2, 28.

4 See e.g. the catalogue, M. KRAATZ (ed.): *Religiöse Malerei aus Taiwan*. Veröffentlichung der Religionskundlichen Sammlung der Philipps-Universität Marburg. 1.1980.

(334–417).⁵ Nothing like the many findings of Mañjuśrī-icons with the inscription „cast by Aśoka“ ever occurred in Taoist traditions.⁶ All of this leads us to study the part, which sacred icons play in Taoism.

We must keep in mind that in Taoist history during the period Sui/T'ang (581–907) religious Taoism was consolidated on the basis of its heritage from the Liu-ch'ao period (420–589).⁷ The same time Taoism adopted on a large scale institutional features of the Buddhist monastic culture. It is for that period of time that Chinese scholars detect the emergence of Taoist sculptures which show deities sitting or standing on lotos flowers.⁸ Also it is quite clear that early Taoist texts, which were written well before the Sui/T'ang period reveal the existence of paintings and representations of divinities. For instance the *T'ai-p'ing ching* speaks about paintings of some divinities of the human body, which obviously were done in colours corresponding with the [five] intestines. In a clean cell they were hung up in order to guide meditation. They were designed to help call back those divinities to return in time into the body of the person concerned. This points to a very specific function of such images or icons.⁹ In any case, the very understanding of the deity or deities in Taoism is the crucial point. If it was possible to see or perceive the „shadow of Buddha“ on the wall of a cave, a fairly clear-cut perception of the „true icon“ was bound to emerge.¹⁰ In other words, if we want to say anything about the sacred icon in Taoism, we must know what the Taoist concept of the divine was like. Consequently we can find out if that concept was suitable or likely to produce a specific iconography or not. The Taoist Canon contains many indications concerning divine potencies or forces, which manifest themselves as apprehensible and visible realities. Various practices of meditation most commonly provide direct contacts with the world of the divine.¹¹ Divinities may reveal themselves in dreams to people of any standing. Emperors and eremites alike may have such experiences, which occasionally were fixed in „portraits“ of the respective apparition. Hagiographies and local inscriptions or other secular sources reported such events which contributed to the specific flair of local culture, linking single

5 See E. ZÜRCHER: *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, reprint Taipei 1975, 219–229 („Dhyāna and the cult of Amitābha“, „The body of the Buddha“).

6 See ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 277–280 (The relics of Aśoka). For the discovery of an icon of Lao-tzu during the T'ang period, see below. In terms of quantity and meaning, this cannot be compared with the discoveries of those Buddhist figures with the inscription „cast by Aśoka“.

7 See F.C. REITER: „Das Selbstverständnis des Taoismus zur frühen T'ang Zeit, in der Darstellung Wang Hsüan-ho's“, in: *Saeculum* 1982, 240–257.

8 See HUANG Pang-hung: „Chien-ko Hao-min shan tao-chiao tsao-hsiang“, in: *SCWW* 1987, 3, 28a. Also see SHIH Yen-feng: „Tao-chiao tsao-hsiang chung ti lien-t'ai chi ch'i t'a“, in: *SCWW* 1984, 2, 29–32. See below.

9 See WANG Ming (ed.): *T'ai-p'ing ching ho chiao*, Peking 1979, 14 (I-yüeh ch'üeh-chai fa).

10 See ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 220, 224–243 (Shadow of the Buddha).

11 Generally see I. ROBINET: *Méditation taoïste*, Paris 1979.

locations with the background of Chinese culture at large. Such revelations and the ensuing religious activities may lead to the establishment of temples and elicit donations of commodities like bells, paintings and figures. This is well known from the history of famous sites like Mt. Lu and Mt. Hua-kai in Kiangsi province.¹²

The creation of visible and tangible representations of divine temple patrons was a most natural consequence. Visions or divine apparitions would be claimed to pin down the appearance of the respective deity, and thus a true likeness was thought to be established. The icon would help the pious believer to address his prayers to the deity or temple patron. Taoist priests would place the icons of such temple patrons according to ritual prescriptions, in case liturgies would have to be performed. Superior divinities, especially the Heavenly Worthies, take the seats of honour within the setting of the altar arrangements.¹³ It readily becomes clear that besides the concept of the individual or local divinity Taoism knows quite a set of superior and even abstract divine entities. These divine entities were not thought of as being separate from human existence. In other words, the spiritual forces or divinities which operate throughout the cosmos, are the same as those which inhabit the human body. Important scriptures are at hand to document this notion which we do not further explain.¹⁴ Space and time are coordinates which determine human life and existence. Taoism identifies them as divine qualities and potencies, which are understood to be „divinities“.¹⁵ This notion is important for the performance of Taoist liturgies by the specialist (*tao-shih*).¹⁶ These divinities virtually are countless, and the creation of visible or individual icons and images appears not to be feasible. The same holds true for those countless divinities, which are named in litanies of repentance, representing cosmic institutions and dimensions. They transmit prayers of

12 Concerning the mountains Lu and Hua-kai, see F.C. REITER: „The ‚Investigation Commissioner of the Nine Heavens‘ and the beginning of his cult in northern Chiang-hsi in 731 A.D.“, in: *Oriens* 1988, 266–289; and *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des Religiösen Taoismus. Das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und frühen Ming-Zeit*, Stuttgart 1988 (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien. 48) 106–126.

13 See M.R. SASO: *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*, Washington 1972, 38–39 (Preparing the temple).

14 E.g. see WANG Ming (ed.): *T'ai-p'ing ching ho chiao*, 11–13 (Lu shen cheng-shen fa). This text says that there are no divinities except those which inhabit the body. A more recent text is TT 121 *Huang-ti yin-fu ching chu* 1.1a–1b (dat. 1229; author: T'ang Ch'un), which identifies the bodily functions with „shen“, see F.C. REITER: „Der Name Tung-hua ti-chun und sein Umfeld in der Taoistischen Tradition, 89“, in: G. NAUNDORF et al. (ed.): *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien*, Würzburg 1985. Also see below note 29.

15 See below concerning TT 1201 *Tao-yao ling-ch'i shen-kuei p'in ching*. Also see e.g. TT 1210 *Cheng-i fa-wen shih-lu. chao-i* 1a–13b.

16 See M.R. SASO, *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*, 41–65.

repentance, eventually cancelling guilt and sin from heavenly archives.¹⁷ Obviously, there is no way to establish a definite iconography for them, which would go beyond the appearance of Chinese civil servants or officials. As these divinities may be grouped according to directions we also have to be aware that the symbolic meaning of colours is an important element for scrolls or other representations. Many books in the Taoist Canon classify and rank the phenomenon of the divine.¹⁸ We present the scope of such an attempt and have a look at the title TT 1201 *Tao-yao ling-ch'i shen-kuei p'in ching* „The Scripture of the Ranks of the Taoist Essential Spiritual Forces [in Heaven and on Earth], of Divinities and Demons“, which had been written during the late Liu-ch'ao period or at the latest in the early T'ang. The title professes to describe categories of divine potencies, which dominate specific spheres of competence in heaven and on earth. The important point is that these potencies have individual names, which we find in this book. It is the name by which they have to be summoned in ritual and prayer. The name is the very key to appeal to the sphere of the divine, and the above quoted text partly introduces appropriate formulae. This book is completely based on extensive quotations of Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao and Cheng-i traditions, which show that the Taoist specialist combined a growing body of Taoist literary and religious elements.

The very first quotation from *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen ching* in the „introduction“ to *Tao-yao ling-ch'i shen-kuei p'in ching*¹⁹ explains that the heavenly spiritual forces (*ling*) as well as the earthly potencies (*ch'i*) are around, protecting and accompanying any human being. Above all, they offer rescue from hells and worldly molestations. Doing so they are supervised by the divinity of the

17 See texts like TT 190 *T'ai-shang yü-ch'ing hsieh-tsui teng-cheng pao-ch'an*; TT 191 *T'ai-shang shang-ch'ing jang-chai yen-shou pao-ch'an*; TT 192 *T'ai-shang t'ai-ch'ing pa-tsui sheng-t'ien pao-ch'an*; TT 193 *Yü-huang yü-tsui hsi-fu pao-ch'an*; TT 194 *Kao-shang yü-huang man-yüan pao-ch'an*. Especially see TT 661 *Lao-tzu hsiang-ming ching*. Whereas TT 661 was written in the T'ang period, the other texts quoted most likely are much later. In the „Scripture of the Symbols and Names [of the Heavenly Worthies] which Lao-tzu [had revealed]“ (TT 661), the names of the Heavenly Worthies had been arranged according to the cosmic directions. Taoists and lay people may recite these litanies and thus turn down future punishments in dreadful hells. The instructions in this text say that the divinities should be modelled as figures or painted on scrolls and venerated in temples.

18 See TT 171 *Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u*, which is a genealogy of the Ch'ing-wei school. There are many similar texts linked with specific deities, groups and schools of Taoism. E.g. see TT 1214 *Kao-shang ta-tung Wen-ch'ang ssu-lu tzu-yang pao-lu*. Also see TT 167 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao chen-ling wti-yeh t'u*, and comprehensive compilations like TT 1220 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, TT 1221 and 1223 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa*, TT 1224 *Tao-men ting-chih*, TT 1225 *Tao-men k'o-yüang ta-ch'üan chi*. Some of these texts were used for the detailed expositions in: SHIH Yen-feng: „Tao-chiao feng-shen ti yen-pien yü shen-hsi ti hsing-ch'eng“, in: *SCWW* 1988, 2, 3–9.

19 See TT 1201 *Tao-yao ling-ch'i shen-kuei p'in ching* 1a. Concerning TT 1201, see N. ÔFUCHI: *Donkô Dôkyô mokuroku hen*, Tôkyô 1978, 351; and *Donkô Dôkyô zuroku hen*, Tôkyô 1979, 812–823.

central astral constellation (*chung-tou*).²⁰ This statement basically characterizes many similar formulations concerning Taoist divinities, which function within a heavenly administration.

The second quotation²¹ in the first paragraph of *Tao-yao ling-ch'i shen-kuei p'in ching* comes from *Tung-chen shang-ch'ing yin-shu lung-wen ching*. It names the divinities T'ai-shang tao-chün and Yuan-shih t'ien-wang („Lord Tao on High“ and „The Heavenly King of the Primordial Beginning“). They are said „to return together to the Ta-yu Palace in heaven, travel to and banquet in the Miao-t'ing Hostel. They have purple clouds condense, recite Seven-Jewel [odes] and let purple vapors evolve. They arrange the heavenly pavilions to be full of [fragrant] flowers, emitting colourful dazzling rays. The Jade Vacuity deeply reshines and all the heavens are filled with the overflowing smell of incense. The ten directions are shining in radiant light – all beyond description. These two divinities summon and assemble all the immeasurable spiritual agents in heaven and on earth (*ling-ch'i*), right down to the creeping creatures. They all do respond without exception full of joy“. This shining and lively divine world reminds of colourful ornaments, drawings and figures which up to today contribute to the beauty of Taoist temples.²² The following first paragraph²³ deals with „The Categories of the Spiritual forces [in heaven and on earth], the spiritual agents“ (*Ling-ch'i shen p'in*). The quotation of *Tung-shen san-huang ching* offers a definition: „The spiritual enlightened [forces] are those [potencies], which know beforehand what has not yet come into being. Their name is „spiritual agent“ (*shen*). If ears and eyes [have the quality] of enlightened intelligence, the name [for this condition] is „spirited“ (*shen*)“.

A quotation from the *T'ai-p'ing ching* points out how intimately „man“ and „spiritual agent“ are entities which ideally maintain close communication: „In antiquity the divine saints and perfected could all behold Tao. Being in a state of purity and tranquility, they ate at dawn. All spiritual agents were called on and they conversed with them. That resembled the way, in which nowadays someone may call in his guests“.²⁴

Several quotations from *T'ai-p'ing ching* follow. They feature the omnipresence of spiritual agents which accompany life in an administrative manner, and thus have differing spheres of might and influence.²⁵ There is a genuine and intimate relationship between man and his manifold divinities (spiritual agents), which dominate body and life. We present some other quotations, which further document this point.

20 Compare TT 1 *Ling-pao wu-liang iu-jen ihang-p'in miao-ching* 1.10a. Chung-tou is the constellation of the centre, which TT 1 places within the frame of the constellations of the four main directions.

21 See TT 1201: 1a.

22 See above note 4.

23 See TT 1201: 1a–3a.

24 Compare WANG Ming (ed.): *T'ai-p'ing ho chiao*, 15 (T'iao-shen ling-fa). See TT 1201: 1b.

25 See TT 1201: 1b–2a.

The *Lao-tzu kuan-shen t'ai-ch'ing chung-ching* introduces the „Heavenly Divinities of the Pa-kua“ (Pa-kua t'ien-shen) which „manifest themselves in man“. These are the messengers of the eight directions which rule the eight astronomical feasts (*pa-chieh*). In heaven („above“) they account for and revise the registers on good and bad deeds, which were committed down on earth. This text says that the divinity „Ch'ien has the name Chung-ni and the name of honour Fu Hsi. The divinity K'an has the name Ta-hsiang tzu. The divinity Keng has the name Fei-hsien wang. The divinity Ch'en has the name Hsiao-ts'eng tzu“, and so on. This passage ends with the observation that people use these eight days to concentrate their pious adoration on these divinities in order to secure good luck. We also remember that the Pa-kua represent a set of eight graphs or symbols, which constitute the very basis for the „Book of Changes“ *I-ching*. Embodying the reality of the cosmos in a very abstract sense they also figure prominently in the symbolism of Taoist rituals. The Pa-kua determine altar arrangements and, to a considerable extent, the actions, directions and movements of the Taoist priest.²⁶ Although this leads well beyond the scope of our theme we keep in mind, that the actions of the Taoist priest are usually performed *vis-a-vis* portraits and figures of divinities and saints. Disregarding any abstract meaning which we may detect in Taoist religious ceremonies, there always is a strong appeal to artistic sensations, partly conveyed by colourful paintings and impressive icons.

Tao-yao ling-ch'i shen-kuei p'in introduces in the following paragraphs divinities and demons, which make their presence felt in specific spheres, like „water“ or „mountain“. ²⁷ Again it is crucial to know their names and to possess the means of keeping them at a distance. An extended system of divinities constructs the world in which we live. We remind of the long rows of calendaric data all of which have their divine potency.²⁸ On the other hand, divinities which inhabit the human body and mean life to human beings, can be visualized in meditation. They have to be recognized and treated properly, considering the possibility that they eventually report in heaven about the human demeanor. There are many texts, which guide this meditation and indicate the marks of identity of those divinities.²⁹ In this sense the meditative visibility of divinities, being documented in Taoist literature, is a firm platform for artistic representations. No doubt, the meditative visibility of the sphere of the divine precedes such artistic representations. We get an impressive survey on features of Taoist

26 E.g. see M.R. SASO: *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*, 58–59. See TT 1201: 2a–2b.

27 See TT 1201: 5a–6b (Shan-shen p'in); 6b–7b (Shui-shen p'in). Potentially harmful forces („ghosts“, *kuei*) can be made obedient by proper and ritually effected addresses.

28 Concerning the „chia-tzu“ day and those following, together sixty days, see TT 1201: 13a–16a. Compare TT 790 *Nü-ch'ing kuei-lü* 1.4b–7b.

29 E.g. see TT 1168 *T'ai-shang Lao-chün chung-ching*. Also see TT 1314 *Tung-chen T'ai-shang su-ling lung-yüan ta-yu miao-ching* 12b–27a {*T'ai-shang tao-chün shou yüan-tan shang-ching*}; 27a–41a (*T'ai-shang ta-tung shou-i nei-ching fa*). Also see I. ROBINET, *Méditation taoïste*, Paris 1979.

divinities which may become visible, e. g. in the encyclopedia TT 1139 *San-tung chu-nang* („The Pearlbag of the Three Caves“). This book was compiled by the court Taoist Wang Hsüan-ho in the early 7th century (T'ang period). Many entries show Taoist divinities to have „marks“ or symbols of rank (*hsiang-hao*), which facilitate their identification in meditation. We should like to suggest that all of this also served as iconographic indications for artists.³⁰

Religious Taoism is linked with the revelation of scriptures, which were believed to be something like worldly copies of divine originals. Lao-tzu being the renown founder of Taoism, has a unique position in this context. He was deified at an early stage in Taoist history and was believed to take an active part in human history. He thus appears to act as advisor to the emperors. In the course of history Lao-tzu adopts varying names and appearances, oscillating between many forms and shapes. His distinguishing divine marks or symbols of rank also were described in the above mentioned encyclopaedia *San-tung chu-nang*.³¹ The chapter on the conversion of the barbarians (TT 1139: 9.8b–20b) also is very important for this theme. TT 1139: 8 (see above) describes many more divinities. Some quotations only list „marks“ and no names. It is important to understand that these signs of rank can be achieved by a successful Taoist career and especially by self-cultivation. Taoism offers the transition to the world of the divine.

On a different level, Lao-tzu's presence in human, cosmic and divine history was documented in works of a more popular appeal. We remind of the religious and propagandists picture book *Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua t'u-shuo* („Eightyone Pictures and Explanations of the Incarnations and Influences of Lao-chün“). This book came to have some negative bearing on the fate of Taoism in the Yüan period (1271–1368).³² The very origin of the book and its stories can be traced back to the early history of Buddhism in China. Buddha is featured as „incarnation“ of Lao-tzu or Yin Hsi. This is one of the crucial statements in this propagandistic book, which was designed to claim the superiority of Taoism. The book contains eighty-one paragraphs, each of them consisting of a picture and an explanatory text. We introduce five of them which deal with images and icons of Lao-tzu.

30 See above note 7. See TT 1139 *San-tung chu-nang* 8.1a–24a.

31 See TT 1139: 8.1b (*Lao-tzu tzu-jan chai-i*), 2a–2b (*Lao-tzu shih-liu pien ching*), 3b (*Chin-chien nei-ching*), 4a (*Lao-tzu shih ching-kung ching*), 7a (*Lao-tzu tsa-shuo*), 10a (*Hua-hu ching*), 12b–13a (*Kuan-shen chih-hui ta-chieh ching*), 21b (*Lao-tzu tao-ie ching*).

32 See F. C. REITER, „Grundelemente und Tendenzen des Religiösen Taoismus“, 132–139; and „Die ‚Einundachtzig Bildtexte zu den Inkarnationen und Wirkungen Lao-chün's‘. Dokumente einer tausendjährigen Polemik in China“, in: *ZDMG* 1986, 450–491. Concerning the eightyone pictures, see my *Leben und Wirken Lao-tzu's in Schrift und Bild*, Würzburg: Verlag Dr. J. Königshausen / Dr. Th. Neumann 1990.

Lao-chun pa-skih-i hua t'u-shuo

No. 55 reports that T'ai-shang Lao-chün at the time of Huang-ti and King Mu of the Chou period had requested the Royal Mother (of the West) to safeguard the icons of the Heavenly Worthies and the Taoist patrons. Later, T'ai-shang Lao-chün is said to have realized that the Han emperor Wu had taken an interest in Taoism. For this reason he dispatched the „Messenger of the Nine Heavens“ Tung-fang Shuo to support the emperor in this matter. Tung-fang Shuo then arranged for the emperor a mysterious encounter with the Royal Mother. The emperor hoped to receive a medicine which would save him from decay and death. The Royal Mother however told the emperor that such a medicine would not yet be available for him. The deity then ordered a divine member of her entourage to present the emperor with five figures made of silver. We are told that these figures showed Lao-chün.³³

These figures may be classified as „true likeness“. Being revealed and presented by a divinity we call them „sacred icons“. Obviously, the establishment of Taoism during the reign of emperor Wu of the Han period is connected with icons. Places of adoration will have to house them. We sense a close connection between icons, temples and appropriate liturgical services.

No. 65 reports that in the year 618 T'ai-shang Lao-chün made an apparition. He sent the Taoist Chi Shan-hsing with a message to the T'ang emperor Kao-tsu, assuring a continuation of the good fortune of his (newly founded) reign. Lao-chün also asked for the establishment of a Taoist temple An-hua kung („Palace of Pacification“) near the capital.³⁴

This paragraph supports our interpretation concerning the connection between icons, temples and rituals. The same is true for the following paragraphs of Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua t'u-shuo.

No. 71 reports that in the year 742 emperor Hsüan-tsung dreamt of Lao-chün, who told him that he was since long at a place near the capital, and he should meet the emperor in a specific palace hall. The emperor dispatched a Taoist priest and an official, who reached the reknown Lou-kuan („The Storied Belvedere“). They were led by white rays to a spot where they found a jaden figure of Lao-tzu buried in the ground.³⁵

No. 75 reports that in the year 756 the emperor travelled to Szechwan when he visualized Lao-chün. Then he had the portrait of Lao-tzu cut into the rocks where that apparition had occurred.³⁶

No. 78 reports that in the year 837 the commander Kao Yüan-yü saw radiant light which covered a cliff. Taking a close look at the place he found that the cracks on the rock had naturally formed an image of Lao-tzu. Servants were

33 See F.C. REITER, Die ‚Einundachtzig Bildtexte‘, 479.

34 See F.C. REITER, Die ‚Einundachtzig Bildtexte‘, 482-483.

35 See F.C. REITER, Die ‚Einundachtzig Bildtexte‘, 485.

36 See F.C. REITER, Die ‚Einundachtzig Bildtexte‘, 486.

holding incense burners, which emitted purple smoke as the commander set out praying.³⁷

All these examples, referring to quite different periods of time, prove that within the Taoist tradition the revealed and sacred icon was indeed an important expression of religious notions. The examples which refer to the T'ang period are especially significant. The wealth of Buddhist and Taoist establishments during the T'ang period is generally known. We also know that the historic developments of both religions had produced quite a set of common features. One of them surely was the monastic culture, which during the T'ang greatly enjoyed imperial support. It is the frame of the monastic establishment which demands and facilitates the creation of „sacred icons“, figures and portraits. We want to continue exploring this matter.

The title TT 1125 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* („The Regulations for the Practice of Taoism in Accordance with the Tung-hsüan Ling-pao and San-tung Scriptures“), which most likely had been compiled during the early T'ang period turns out to be most instructive. The indications in this collection are meant to set a standard concerning the professional requirements for the Taoist specialist. The importance of this work also is shown by the extended scholarly efforts, which were made so far in order to elucidate the history of this work.³⁸

We do not know much about the reputed author Chin-ming Ch'i-chen. In this work, Ch'i-chen appears to be the name of the speaker. Whereas Chin-ming Ch'i-chen is sometimes used as one name, there are some other texts which do not suggest such an interpretation.³⁹ Chin-ming and Ch'i-chen seem to be the names of a deity and of its transmitter in the world of man. The names Chin-ming and Ch'i-chen also stand for a series of revelations and liturgies, which are documented in the Taoist Canon. Amongst all the works in the Canon, which are connected with the name Chin-ming Ch'i-chen, the title *Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* is most comprehensive. This work shows essential aspects and features of Cheng-i Taoism, which received substantial

37 See F.C. REITER, Die ‚Einundachtzig Bildtexte‘, 487.

38 See N. ÔFUCHI, *Donkô Dôkyô mokuroku hen*, 115–121; and *Donkô Dôkyô zuroku hen*, 219–242. See Y. YOSHIOKA: *Dôkyô to Bukkyô*, Vol.3, Tôkyô 1976, 77–219. Yoshioka gives a complete Japanese paraphrase of TT 1125. The earliest quotation of this text seems to be TT 1123 *I-ch'ieh tao-ching yin-i miao-men yu-ch'i* 19b (et al.). The catalogue of 1042 *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 9.3b has the title *San-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh* and the indication „three chapters“. Today we have a version with six chapters and an enlarged title, which all point to a later re-edition of the text. See P. VAN DER LOON: *Taoist books in the libraries of the Sung period, a critical study and index*. Oxford 1984, 74. The present edition of TT 1125 is incomplete, compare TT 1132 *Shang-ch'ing tao lei-shih hsiang* 1.1a and TT 1139 *San-tung chu-nang* 6.13a.

39 See TT 674 *Wu-shang tan-yüan chen-chai ling-lu* 9a; and for the second case TT 1388 *Shang-ch'ing chin-chen yü-huang shang-yüan chiu-t'ien chen-ling san-pai-liu-shih-wu pu yüan-lu* 1a–1b.

imperial favours at the time this book was written. It is rewarding to compile its table of contents.

Table of contents

TT 1125 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih*

Chapter 1.2a–8b: *Tsui-yüan p'in* („Chapter on crimes as conditions [for retribution]“)

1.8b–12a: *Shan-yüan p'in* („Chapter on good deeds as conditions [for retribution]“)

1.12a–12b: *Tsung-lieh p'in* („Chapter on summary assessments“)

1.12b–19b: *Chih-kuan p'in* („Chapter on the establishment of belvederes“)

Chapter 2.1a–5b: *Tsao-hsiang p'in* („Chapter on the creation of icons“)

2.5b–7a: *Hsieh-ching p'in* („Chapter on the copying of scriptures“)

2.7b–15a: *Tu-jen p'in* („Chapter on the conversion of people“)

Chapter 3.1a–6a: *Fa-chü p'in* („Chapter on the utensiles [for life in a belvedere]“)

3.6a–8b: *Fa-fu p'in* („Chapter on the clothes for ritual purposes [and the occasions for their use]“)

3.8b–10a: *Chü-ch'u p'in* („Chapter on the living quarters“)

Chapter 4.1a–3a: *Sung-ching i* („Ritual of the recitation of the scriptures“)

4.3b–4b: *Chiang-ching i* („Ritual of the exposition of the scriptures“)

4.4b–8a: *Fa-tz'u i* („Ritual of ranking in the religious order“)

4.8a–10b: *Ling-pao chung-meng ching mu* („Index of the Ling-pao scriptures of the middle contract“)

Chapter 5.1a–4a: *Shang-ch'ing ta-tung chen-ching mu* („Index of the Shang-ch'ing true scriptures of the great cave“)

5.4a–8a: *Fa-fu t'u-i* („Charts on priestly clothing“)

Chapter 6.1a–4a: *Ch'ang-ch'ao i* („Ritual of the common audience“)

6.4a–7a: *Chung-chai i* („Ritual of the second fast“)

6.7a–9b: *Chung-hui i* („Ritual of the second assembly“)

6.9b–12a: *Tu-jen i* („Ritual of the salvation of people“)

The table of contents shows the range of religious concerns, which pertain to the realities of a religious Taoist life. No doubt, starting with the „Chapter on the establishment of belvederes“ (1.12b–19b) the monastic centre of Taoist religion is in the very focus of *Tung-hsuan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih*.⁴⁰ Also we should like to observe that it was the celibatarian priest who was supposed to inhabit the envisaged ideal belvedere. Libraries, especially designed living quarters, facilities to copy scriptures and perform rituals combine to make the belvedere a place suitable to attract divine support. Quite a few hagiographic reports document this fact, e.g. speaking about the interest

40 See F.C. REITER: „Some Observations Concerning Taoist Foundations in Traditional China“, in: *ZDMG* 1983, 366–371.

Lao-tzu took in his birthplace and the respective temple. According to such reports, which may be found in collections like TT 590 *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* („Reports on Magic Events in Taoism“), divinities were spiritually present in their worldly lodgings. Such lodgings, in other words temples and belvederes, may well have been established on „divine request“. The portraits and figures of such divinities carried spiritual potencies, representing most directly the „visible divinity“ which was to be honoured. The destruction of such images, figures and portraits, all of them „sacred icons“, was sure to cause retribution and punishment in the dreadful hells of the netherworld.⁴¹ Of course, donations of icons and the support of belvederes greatly earned religious merits.⁴² Often it was the court which made its presence in the countryside felt that way. All of this justifies our speaking of Taoist „sacred icons“. Indeed, they were a reality in religious Taoism, which we have to acknowledge. The text *Tung-hsuan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* gives us the unique chance to study the creation of icons within the context of religious life in a belvedere. We give a translation of the chapter „On the creation of icons“.

Tung-hsuan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih

2.1a–5b: *Tsao-hsiang p'in* („Chapter on the creation of icons“)

„The regulations say:

The great images (*ta-hsiang*) do not have any form. Being utmost perfect they do not have any colour. They are clear, void and tranquil. Neither seeing nor hearing can contact them, but responding to cosmic mutations they let their bodies (*shen*) become visible. For a short while they manifest themselves and retreat [again] into a hidden [state of existence]. Those who this way behold the perfected ones, attach their thoughts to the appearances (*jung*) of the saints. For this reason they use colours, metal and jade to work out portraits and icons. Those appearances of the perfected are then adorned with white lead.⁴³ All those who thus devote their mind first create icons. There are six types of icons (*hsiang*), which should be realized according to this sequence:

1. First create icons of Wu-shang fa-wang yüan-shih t'ien-tsun, T'ai-shang hsü-huang yü-ch'en ta-tao kao-shang Lao-tzu and T'ai-i t'ien-tsun.

41 See F.C. REITER: „Taoist Foundations“, in: *ZDMG* 1983, 371–373. See TT 590 *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 1.8b–9b.

42 See TT 1125 *Tung-hsuan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* 1.8b (*Shan-yüan p'in*); and 1.2a (*Tsui-yüan p'in*) where the destruction of icons ranks as very first evil deed to be listed.

43 „White lead“ seems to be the basic essence for colouring, which is recommended. Concerning „white lead“ in this sense, see CH'IN Ling-yun: *Min-chien hua-kung shih-liao*. Peking 1958, 32 (Yen-liao p'in-chung). Obviously the visionary is the one who creates first the icon in order to support or maintain the reminiscence of his vision. This could imply an understanding of a fixed „true“ iconography. However, *Tung-hsuan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* does not make such a statement, see below.

2. Create icons of the immeasurable saints, perfected and immortals in [the realm of] the Three Pure Ones, below the Ta-lo [Heaven] and above the T'ai-ch'ing [Heaven].
3. Create icons of the saints, who peer into the future without limit.
4. Create or draw icons of the perfected and immortals of the astral constellations (*hsing-tou*) in all the heavens.
5. Create holy icons of the countless categories of the saints, perfected and immortals.
6. Create forms and icons of the infinite saints and perfected, who respond to the causations of karma.

If one has engaged oneself this way, eighteen methods can be used to model the appearances of the perfected:

1. To carve them in precious jade, red and green jasper, in stones of the sort of the „seven jewels“.
2. To cast them in gold.
3. To cast them in silver.
4. To cast them in bronze.
5. To cast them in blue iron.
6. To cast them in pewter.
7. To carve them in fragrant materials like the sandal wood from river Ch'en.
8. To weave [them].
9. To do embroideries.
10. To model [them] in clay.
11. To press [them] on hempen cloth.
12. To paint [them] on white silk.
13. To paint [them] on walls.
14. To dig caves.
15. To engrave [them] on fine stones.
16. To set up steles.
17. To do imprints on incense clay.
18. To print [them] on paper, model mud, carve bricks, bring earth together [to shape them], engrave [them] on tiles, rub [them out of] bones, carve ivory, cut wood, get snow piled up [to form them], and to paint them with lime.

[Whoever] has engaged himself with all his thoughts, he earns immeasurable blessings. Be it that [these icons] have a size of one, two, three, four or five *ts'un*, up to [the size of] one *ch'ih*, nothing stands against any size, and there is no limit as to their quantity. And consequently [they may have a size] of one, two, three, four or five *ch'ih*, up to [the size of] chang, of one, two, three, four, five and six [up to] hundred *ch'ih*, thousand *ch'ih* and ten-thousand *ch'ih*. [There

may be] one location (*ch'ü*) or ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand locations. [The icons may count] from one piece (*p'u*) up to ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand pieces. [There may be] one, ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand caves (*k'an*), and one, ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand scrolls (*ch'eng*). [There may be] one, ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand altar figures (*tso*). [There may be] one, ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand chapels (*shih*), one, ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand temple halls (*fang*), all up to extremely huge ones, counting in millions and tens of millions. [There may be] one, two, up to ten, hundred, thousand, ten-thousand, one million, tens of millions Heavenly Worthies, and also the perfected, the immortals and saints, the jade lads and girls, all the heavenly emperors and kings, the diamond divine kings, the incense officials, the dragons and tigers which attend the incense, the lions which fend off evil, temples and halls, scrolls and figures, embroidered flowers and embroidered baldachins, musicians who soar in the heavens, any type of administering and protecting [agent], all of them are realised according to the vigor of the mind, as to be ritually venerated, presented with offerings of incense, and remembered in meditation day and night like facing true forms. For the past and the future immeasurable blessings will be achieved, and the true Tao can be completed.

The regulations say:

Any creation of icons is based on the scriptures, implementing [the instructions concerning] their correct marks [of rank] (*i-hsiang*). The Heavenly Worthies have fifty million marks, Tao-chün seventy-two, Lao-chün thirty-two, and the perfected ones twenty-four.⁴⁴ Clothes, hats and adorned seats have all to accord with the rules (*fa*). Heavenly Worthies wear an upper dress, which is a nine-coloured open gaze [gown] or also a five-coloured „clouds and vapours“ [gown], yellow clothes with varied embroideries of landscapes. [They wear] golden or jaden hats with tassels and girdles on the fringe of the left and right side. Their golden or jaden hats also are ornamented with multi-coloured adornments. The upper dress must not be unicoloured with purple, crimson, blue, white or green or any other [colour]. Also, the perfected must not have loose hair. The long ears and the one hair knot must wear hats [of the type] „hibiscus flower“, „flying clouds“ and „original beginning“. On the other hand, they must not wear hats of the type „*Erh-i* flat cap“ and „Deer fawn [cap]“. The two perfected ones on the left and right side present offerings, or hold scriptures, keep the insignia or hold fragrant flowers. They all must look reverential and respectful and must not have a disorderly position, hands, feet and clothes twisted to one side. The Heavenly Worthies sit upright, their fingers grasping

44 See above note 31.

the Great Void. In their hands they do not hold the *ju-i* [sign]⁴⁵ or the deer tail whip. Their hands are just empty.

The regulations say:

On the left and right side of the Heavenly Worthies and of Tao-chün and Lao-chün, perfected ones, jade lads and jade girls are positioned, who administer incense and scriptures. Incense officials, dragon and tiger lords on the left and right side, official messengers on the left and right side, the heavenly wards and warriors, the diamond divine kings, the lions which fend off evil, dragon and unicorn, wild beasts and flying snakes, divine tigers, phoenix and peacock, scarlet birds with golden wings, the four mighty [forces] and the eight potencies,⁴⁶ the good deities which protect the law, they all give protection on the left and right side. Each of them shall be installed according to the available means.

The regulations say:

The names and titles of honour of the perfected are extremely many and cannot be told or counted. All of them had been planted in a former kalpa and following the completion of Tao they were the utmost, which was reached and received. On the left and right side of the Heavenly Worthies, of Tao-chün and Lao-chün they assist, guard and present appeals to them. Mutations are naturally effected. In the places where the Heavenly Worthies reside, they [all the time] assist and keep guard.

The regulations say:

The jade lads and jade girls all came to life by the breaths of Tao, and not by growth in a womb. They all have official functions. Some of them may administer the scriptures or the incense, some may distribute [fragrant] flowers or present [pious] addresses. Some of them may be around immortals, or some may assist in attaining Tao. As to their ranking, there are, however, grades.

The regulations say:

The assistants for [presenting] scriptures and incense are altogether born out of the condensations of breaths. They always are in the places where the Heavenly Worthies live and the true scriptures are stored. They transmit memorials, roaming freely [everywhere]. They record and keep in order [the listings] of good and bad.

The regulations say:

The divinities of the four poles of the Diamond Heaven are positioned at its four corners, some at the gates of Heaven and the windows of Earth. They are 1200

45 Concerning the *ju-i* sign, see *Tz'u-hai*, Taipei 1972, 818d–819a. This sign of rank is also closely associated with Buddhist images, see TING Fu-pao: *Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien*. Taipei 1974, 1094b–1095a. A similar meaning can be associated with the deer tail whip.

46 See below notes 47–48.

chang tall, holding down a sword and grasping a club. Their bodies are clad with heavenly clothes. [They wear] precious „Flying Clouds“ hats. Their feet tread on huge mountains, divine beasts, great rocks and all the demons. They are set up to wield the might of killing the demons. They rule over all unlawful demons and deities between heaven and earth. With their angry eyes and biting shouts the evil forces fearfully submit. As to the gates and windows, temples and halls at the seats of the Heavenly Worthies, on their left and right side such icons are to be installed. They protect and safeguard them. Their mutations are without limit, and thus they do not have a regular appearance. This is so, because they are born by the fierce breaths of Tao, and it is not so that they had attained their existence by birth from a womb. Today, inside a belvedere the gates and windows, temples, halls and archives, they all are controlled by these icons.

The regulations say:

The divine kings (*shen-wang*) are the masters of all divinities. There are three types.

1. [Those who are based on] the condensation of breaths.
2. [Those who are based on] rewards for a [former] life.
3. [Those who are based on] causations of karma.

[Those who are based on] the condensation of breaths were not born out of a womb, but emerged due to the breath of spontaneity.

[Those who are based on] rewards for a [former] life, obeyed demons and divinities and earned merits concerning Tao. When they were born they received their present body.

[Those who are based on] causations of karma received the karma they had amassed in a [preceding] kalpa. They give orders and personally see to [their being effected]. Anytime people complete perfectness and attain Tao, they all come to supervise the conversion.

The names of the divine kings however are also without number. They all are dressed with armours and helms. They [have] a lance, carry knives and hold down swords. Either standing or sitting they do not have a regular appearance. They make serve and control the many demons. They expel what is unlucky and bad. All of this is contained in the instructions of the scriptures,⁴⁷ and we do not provide again this information in a detailed form.

The regulations say:

The demon kings (*mo-wang*) also belong to the group of the divine kings. Altogether there are three types.

1. The demon kings of the three heavens.

47 This text does not give any bibliographic reference. But we remember that TT 1125 chapters 4 and 5 contain extended listings of *Ling-pao* and *Shang-ch'ing* scriptures (4.8a–10b; 5.1a–4a).

2. The demon kings of the five emperors.
3. The demon kings who soar in the heavens.

They all prepare, protect and promote those who study the practice of Tao. For this reason the great meritorious demon kings are the capacities who arrange the promotion [of rank].

The regulations say:

The heavenly wards and warriors, the dragons and tigers, the incense officials on the left and right side, they all came into existence due to the influences of breaths (*ch'i*). Responding to causations of karma they appear, subdue demons (*mo*) and summon ghosts (*kuei*). They transmit messages and go as couriers. They are mighty officials who protect the law.

The regulations say:

The eight mighty potencies (*pa-wei*) are said to be the poisonous dragon, the fierce tiger, the flying snake and the lightning [creature], the „long teeth“, the rampaging cow, the ape [which reaches to] heaven, „brightness and lightning“. These also were malignant elements, which had accumulated [bad] karma. The Heavenly Worthies subdued them with their might and employed them in order to guard gates and control passages. In caves and on border walls they ward off what is not good.⁴⁸

The regulations say:

The four magic forces (*ssu-ling*) are said to be the turtle, the dragon, the unicorn and the phoenix. They all correspond with the different breaths of astral constellations, and combine the refinement of the five elements (*wu-hsing*). Some of them recite magic formulae (*ling-wen*) and their bodies bring forth diagrams (*t'u-lu*). They know the time to retreat or not, and in time they come down into the world. All of them are ominous birds or auspicious animals, which live in the gardens of the Heavenly Worthies.⁴⁹

The regulations say:

All Heavenly Worthies [have] seats (*fa-tso*). Altogether there are eight types.

1. The lotos flower with one thousand leaves.⁵⁰
2. The five-coloured lion.
3. The golden couch with seven jewels.

48 The term *pa-wei* often stands for *pa-kua chih shen* („The Pa-kua divinities“), and figures in texts of internal alchemy. See TT 1032 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 11.17b–18a (et al.). TT 1032 however does not identify the „eight mighty potencies“ the way this text does it.

49 See TT 1032 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 41.1b, 61.4b. Some of these names, amongst others, had been listed above, besides the terms *ssu-ling* and *pa-wei*. This does not appear to point to an established system of identifications.

50 Taoist icons on lotos seats appear in the Sui/T'ang period, see SHIH Yen-feng: „Tao-chiao tsao-hsiang chung ti lien-t'ai chi ch'i t'a“, in: *SCWW* 1984, 2, 29–32.

4. The seat of jade with nine layers.
5. The nine crouching dragons.
6. The destroyed eight poisonous [snakes].
7. The seat on fleecy clouds.
8. The seat towering above smoke and vapours.

They all become visible forms, following [divine] mutations, and in a specific situation [the Heavenly Worthies] dwell on them. Today, for scrolls and figures only the seven jewels and the eight precious stones, pearls, jade, gold and white stone are used to work out ornamentations and produce imitations. And yet, not all of it can be [completely] achieved.

The regulations say:

In the course of long years and much time the icons of the Heavenly Worthies, of Lord Tao, Lord Lao, and all the saints, perfected and immortals may become soaked and injured by wind and the sprinkling and splashing of rain. In time they all have to be repaired and restored. One must not let the carvings of the appearances of the perfected fall down [from their places]. [This way] one should receive immeasurable blessings.

The regulations say:

For the figures and icons of the Heavenly Worthies, which were made of gold, bronze and precious jade, at each 15th day of a month a fast (*chai*) shall be held. They shall be bathed and adorned with well smelling liquids. In case they had been pressed [as pictures] on hempen cloth or carved in wood, one had to mop them and let them shine clear and clean. This is the best way to earn merits.“

The text *Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* defines the basic conditions for the creation or production of Taoist icons. „Great images“ are said to be without form and colour. Obviously they represent entities and potencies which are beyond plain human comprehension. In the course of cosmic mutations and only for a short time these potencies emerge to be images, which can be apprehended in a meditative vision. This vision incites the pious and creative thought, which creates a likeness by means of the „true icon“.

The text introduces six different types of divinities, which can become objects for meditative visualization and artistic realisation. We notice that it is left unexplained how such visualizations are effected. Also it may be noticed that the cosmic entity which turns to be a visible divinity is understood to exist well beyond the sphere of any human being. This way, the religious value of the icon is linked with the idea of having a true likeness of the divine fixed in one of its many possible forms of apparition. Consequently we may say that a divinity is present in its icon itself. This is proven to be correct by the instructions given in the final paragraph 2.5b of *Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih: Tsao-hsiang p'in*. It deals with the maintenance and ritual attention

these icons deserve. If we again consider the notion that the spheres of the human body and the divine overlap, we must note the very specific function of the sacred icon for liturgies. The priest beholds in meditation the divinities which the artifacts in the temple outwardly feature. Thus these artifacts can also represent exteriorizations of inner potencies of the performing priest.

Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih proceeds to describe the working materials which can be used. Precious stones are the first choice, followed by gold and other metals. Whatever materials would be used, the making of icons earns great merits and blessings. This indeed is an important point, which this text eventually repeats. The text explains at great length that neither the number nor the size of the icons matter. The crucial point is the fact of the donation itself.

The pictures and figures convey divine potencies. The appearances of the different types of divinities are well described. They must look orderly. Their whole appearance must match their function. Much seems to depend on the surroundings within which they are placed. High divinities have an entourage of lower charges around. In fact all of them represent the manifold divine potencies which organize the cosmos. This becomes clear e.g. by the indication that those agents, who protect the heavenly poles, were „not born out of a womb“. They came into existence by condensations of heavenly breaths (*ch'i*). This implies, most significant, that they do not have constant or fixed forms. As to iconography, their appearances seem to be based on „official“ functions. Tutelary deities have to have armours, clubs and swords.

We see that the sphere of the divine shows many facets. Accordingly there are manifold ways of representing them. All these artifacts represent in a very literal sense the presence of the respective divinity. They seem to fix one possible appearance of a divine reality, which originally was apprehended in meditation. Whereas icons were concrete indicators of heavenly ranks and files, there also was any chance for differences as to the actual appearances. The cosmic conditions were specified by changes, and so were the divinities specified by just these changes. No doubt, there was an iconographic set of symbols, which straightaway would lead to identifications, e.g. of icons showing Lao-chün, the „Eight Immortals“ (*Pa-hsien*) or other saints. Long hagiographic traditions contributed to shape the artistic representations of divinities and immortals.⁵¹

In theory nothing was really statical, except basic features which were established by hagiography and biography, and also by considerations of function. However, we know that distinct colours characterized e.g. the faces of these icons, indicating specific divine qualities. It is not quite clear how much had been left to the intuition of the artist. We suspect that these artists hardly were identical with those, who had the meditative insights into the sphere of the di-

51 Concerning these hagiographic traditions, see F.C. REITER: „Studie zu den ‚Überlieferungen von mutmasslich Unsterblichen‘ (*I-hsien chuan*) aus dem Taoistischen Kanon“, in: *Oriens* 1986, 351–361. See above note 32.

vine. The anonymous artists or craftsmen most likely executed instructions, which came from those who had visions, read books and belonged to the group of religious specialists. For this reason the visionary and the artist must have communicated concerning these matters, and finally this may have led to a considerable number of generally agreed features in the sense of a standard iconography.

Statical elements like the symbolic colours, and ways and means of individual creativity merged to produce the world of the sacred icon in Taoism. The Taoist icon was an important religious object for temples, belvederes and altars. It was the result of pious and meditative efforts. Having been produced and installed in temples or other places of adoration, they guided in turn pious thought and meditation. Icons thus became the focus of religious energies. The older the icons and pictures were, the more they were exposed to prayers and incense offerings. They literally were „charged“ with religious energies. Such icons were bound to become reknown as influential (*ling*), attracting believers and donators. In these icons the divinity was felt to be present, and there hardly was any better place to cast the lot than in front of such influential icons.

The text *Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* places the production of images well within the setting of the Taoist culture. Like the copying and distribution of scriptures, the production of images offered to the well-to-do layman the chance to earn religious merits and spiritual blessings. It is most important to realize that Taoist religion thus provided inviting ways and means to guide religious energies and to satisfy the pious mind of the people. In this sense the religious icon plays a decisive and distinct part in religious Taoism.

Abbreviations

SCWW *Ssu-ch'uan wen-wu*

TT *Tao-tsang*, reedited from the 1925–1927 repr. (Shang-hai), by I-wen Comp. in 61 vols., Taipei 1977. References are to the enumeration of titles in this edition (see vol. 61).

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Glossary of Chinese Characters

- An-hua kung 安化宮
 chai 齋
 Ch'en 震
 ch'eng 橙
 Cheng-i 正一
 ch'i 祇
 ch'i 氣
 Chi Shan-hsing 吉善行
 Ch'ien 乾
 Chin-ming Ch'i-chen 金明七真
 Chung-ni 仲尼
 chung-tou 中斗
 ch'ü 區
 Erh-i 二儀
 fa 法
 Fei-hsien wang 非先王
 Fu Hsi 伏獻
 hsiang 像 / 相
 hsiang-hao 相好
 Hsiao-ts'eng tzu 小曾子

- hsing-tou 星斗
 I-ching 易經
 i-hsiang 儀相
 ju-i 如意
 jung 容
 K'an 坎
 k'an 龕
 Kao Yüan-yü 高元裕
 Keng 艮
 kuei 鬼
 Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua t'u-shuo 老君八十一化圖說
 Lao-tzu kuan-shen t'ai-ch'ing chung-ching 老子觀身太清中經
- ling 靈
 ling-ch'i 靈祇
 Ling-ch'i shen p'in 靈祇神品
 Ling-pao 靈寶
 Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen ching 靈寶無量度人經
 ling-wen 靈文
 mo 魔
 mo-wang 魔王
 pa-chieh 八節
 Pa-hsien 八仙
 Pa-kua 八卦
 Pa-kua t'ien-shen 八卦天神
 pa-wei 八威
 p'u 鋪
 San-tung 三洞
 shen 神
 shen 身
 shen -wang 神王
 shih 室
 Shih Hui-yüan 釋慧遠
 ssu-ling 四靈
 ta-hsiang 大像
 Ta-hsiang tzu 大象子
 Ta-lo 大羅

T'ai-ch'ing 太清
 T'ai-i t'ien-tsun 太一天尊
 T'ai-p'ing ching 太平經
 T'ai-shang hsü-huang yü-ch'en ta-tao kao-shang Lao-tzu 太上虛皇玉晨
 大道高上老子
 T'ai-shang tao-chün 太上道君
 t'ang 堂
 tao-shih 道士
 Tsao-hsiang p'in 造像品
 tso 座
 t'u-lu 圖錄
 Tung-chen shang-ch'ing yin-shu lung-wen ching 洞真上清隱書龍文經

 Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔
 Tung-hsüan 洞玄
 Tung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih 洞玄靈寶三洞
 奉道科戒營始
 Tung-shen san-huang ching 洞神三皇經
 Wang Hsüan-ho 王懸河
 wu-hsing 五行
 Wu-shang fa-wang yüan-shih t'ien-tsun 无上法王元始天尊
 Yüan-shih t'ien-wang 元始天王