The Transformation of *Guai* Imagery in China (1949-78)

Volume II: Figure

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Figure

Figure 1.1. Taotie 饕餮 pattern in the middle Shang dynasty, illustrated in Li Song 李松 (2011), *Chinese Bronze Ware*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 95.

Figure 1.2. Zhenmu shou 镇墓兽, Tang Dynasty, unearthed in 1957, Xi’an 西安, Shanxi Province, pottery, height 63.2 cm, width 67.5 cm. The collection of Historical Times, the National Museum of China, Beijing.

Figure 1.3. *The Ten Kings of Hell Sutra* (a detail), late 9th-early 10th century CE, ink and pigment on paper, height 28 cm. The collection of Chinese Religious Paintings, the British Museum, London.

Figure 1.4. *Xiyou ji 西游记* (*Journey to the West*), printed on paper. Illustrated in Zhang Mangong 张满弓 (2004), *Gudian wenxue banhua 古典文学版画* (*Classical Literature Prints*). Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p. 15.

Figure 1.5. The snake guai 斜 fighting Monkey King is shown in the block-printed book of *Journey to the West* in Ming Dynasty. Illustrated in Li Zhuowu 李卓吾 (Ming Dynasty), *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piqing Xiyou ji 李卓吾先生批评西游记* (*Mr. Li Zhuowu’s Comments on Journey to the West*). Anhui Library, Hefei.

Figure 1.6. Jiang Yinggao 蒋应镐, *Bibi 獙 黍*, Ming Dynasty, printed on paper. Illustrated in Guo Pu 郭璞 (c. 1573-1620 CE), *Shanhai jing zhu 山海经注* (*Explanatory Notes of The Classic of Mountains and Seas*). The collection of Chinese Ancient Classics, the National Museum of China, Beijing.

Figure 1.7. *Dragon*, Ming Dynasty, woodblock. Illustrated in Wu Zhihe 吴之鹤 (1615), *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi: Disijuan 性命双修万神圭旨: 第四卷* (*Principles of the Jade Tablet on Vital Force and Innate Nature: Volume IV*). The collection of Chinese Ancient Classics, the National Museum of China, Beijing.
Figure 1.8. Example of the dragon robe. Illustrated in Zhou Xun 周讯 and Gao Chunming 高春明 (1984), Zhongguo fushi quqiannian 中国服饰五千年 (5000 Years of Chinese Costumes). Hongkong: Commercial Press, p. 148.

Figure 1.9. Portrait of the Ming Hongzhi Emperor, 15th century CE, colour on silk, 208 x 154 cm. The collection of Chinese Paintings, the National Palace Museum, Taipeii.

Figure 1.10. Dragon Boat Festival, 1750-1850, tapestry woven silk, 79 x 90 cm. The East Asia Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 1.11. Dragon Flag, 1889-1912, ink and colour on cotton, 109 x 130 cm. The collection of Historical Times, the National Museum of China, Beijing.


Figure 1.13. Portrait of the Ming Renxiaowen Empress, 15th century, ink and colour on silk. Illustrated in Choi Kyu-soon 崔圭顺 (2010), Zhongguo lidai diwang mianfu yanjiu 中国历代帝王冕服研究 (A Study of Official Costumes of Chinese Emperors). Beijing: Donghua University Press, p. 3.


Figure 1.15. Danfeng chaoyang 丹凤朝阳 (The Scarlet Phoenix Toward the Sun), Suzhou, woodblock. Personal collection of Yang Liren.

Figure 1.16. Feng chuan mudan 凤穿牡丹 (Phoenixes Crossing the Flowers), 1600-1644, woven silk, 32 x 32 cm. The collection of Chinese Antiquities, Hong Kong.
Museum of Art, Hong Kong.

Figure 1.1. Qilin 麒麟, Ming Dynasty, printed on paper. Illustrated in Church, Sally K. (2004), ‘The Giraffe of Bengal: A Medieval Encounter in Ming China’, The Medieval History Journal, No. 1, p. 37.


Figure 2.1. Gu Yuan 古元, Jiangjiu weisheng, renxing caiwang 讲究卫生, 人兴财旺 (Attention to Hygiene and a Flourishing Population with Wealthy Prosperity), 1943, Yan’an, woodblock, 32 x 46 cm. The collection of New New Year Prints, the National Art Museum of China, Beijing.

Figure 2.2. Yaoqianshu 摇钱树 (The Money Tree), Qing Dynasty, Yangjiabu 杨家埠, Shandong Province, woodblock, 68 x 40 cm. Personal collection of Wang Kun.

Figure 2.3. Shi Banghua 施邦华, Zheshi zhenzheng de yaoqianshu 这是真的摇钱树 (This is the Real Money Tree), 1952, Yangjiabu 杨家埠, Shandong Province, woodblock, 72 x 42 cm. Personal collection of Wang Kun.

Figure 2.4. Lianhuanhua 连环画 (illustrated story book) is usually printed in a three to five inch illustrated story book. Photograph from Hosane 鸿盛, see http://www.hosane.com/auction/detail/P14071418 [accessed on 13 March 2017].

Figure 2.5. Chen Guangyi 陈光镒, Danao tiangong 大闹天宫 (Havoc in Heaven), Shanghai, printed on paper. Illustrated in Liang Shi 良士 and Chen Guangyi (1956),

Figure 2.6. A half-turtle half-human *guai*, half- shrimp half-human *guai* and half-fish half-human *guai* are depicted in the *lianhuanhua* of *Baishe zhuan* 白蛇传 (*Madam White Snake*), printed on paper. Illustrated in Zhao Hongben 赵宏本 (1956), *Madam White Snake*. Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 137.


Figure 2.8. Jiang Fan 江帆, *Weile gutou* 为了骨头 (*For Bones*), 1954, printed on paper. Illustrated in Xie Tian’ao 谢天傲 (1954), ‘*Taiwan de gou zai jiao* 台湾的狗在叫 (*Taiwanese Dog is Barking*)’, Manhua 漫画 (*Cartoon*), No. 46, p. 5. The National Library of China, Beijing.


Figure 2.10. Yuanxing bilu 原形毕露 (*Show Oneself in One's True Colours*), printed on paper. Illustrated in Beijing wenlian chuangzuo weiyuanwei 北京市文联创作委员会 (the Committee of Creation of Beijing Federation of Literary and Art Circles) (1955), Jianjue suqing Hu Feng fangeming jituan he yiqie angcang de fangeming fenzi manhua xuanji 坚决肃清胡风反革命集团和一切暗藏的反革命分子漫画选集 (*Selected Cartoon Collection of Resolutely Eliminating Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Group and All Hidden Counterrevolutionaries*). Beijing: Beijing Mass Press, p. Cover. The National Library of China, Beijing.

Figure 2.11. Bai Chunxi 白纯熙 and Chen Yifu 陈贻福, *Tonggen* 同根 (*The Same

Figure 2.12. Zhang Leping 张乐平, Hu Feng de zhengzhi beijing 胡风的政治背景（Hu Feng's Political Background）, 1955, printed on paper. Personal collection of Jiang Jimeng.

Figure 2.13. Renmin ribao 人民日报（People's Daily), the official Party newspaper, gave a full page to publish cartoons including guai images. Illustrated in Unknown (1950), ‘Meidi qinhua bainian shihua 美帝侵华百年史画（Cartoons of Centennial History of the American imperialists violating China）’, People's Daily, 18 October, p. 5. The National Library of China, Beijing.

Figure 2.14. Factory workers in Shengyang are depicting a political cartoon on the blackboard in April 1951. The collection of the Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 3.1. Shao Yu 邵宇, Ye Qianyu 叶浅予, Wu Zuoren 吴作人 and Jiang Zhaohe 蒋兆和 are Painting Wall Paintings on a Village Wall in Hebei. Photographed by Shi Panqi 时盘棋, cited in China Reconstructs, November 1958, p. 8. The National Library of China, Beijing.

Figure 3.2. Fangshan renmin gongshe julebu 房山人民公社俱乐部（The club from Fangshan People's Commune), Da long 大龙（Big Dragon), papercut. Illustrated in Beijing wenlian meishu zu 北京文联美术组（Art Group of Beijing Federation of Literary
Figure 3.3. Police Luo Mingqiu 罗明秋, Zhenkuai ya! 真快呀! (So Fast!), Wuhan, printed on paper. Illustrated in Wuhan qunzhong yishuguan 武汉群众艺术馆 (Wuhan Mass Art Museum) (1959), Dayuejin zhigong manhua xuanji 大跃进职工漫画选集 (Selected Cartoon Collection of the Great Leap Forward Staff and Workers). Wuhan: Hubei People’s Publishing House, p. 19.

Figure 3.4. A woman over seventy was painting a wall painting on a village wall in Anhui, 1958. The photograph collection of Anhui Library, Hefei.


Figure 3.6. Wu Shaoyun 吴少云, Zhang Yuqing 章育青 and Lu Zezhi 陆泽之, Gongshe ru julong, shengchan xian weifeng 公社如巨龙, 生产显威风 (The Commune is like a Gigantic Dragon, and Production is Noticeable Awe-inspiring), 1959, Shanghai, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.

Figure 3.7. Zhang Ruji 张汝济, Wang Shuhui 王叔晖 and Shao Guohuan 邵国寰, Guzu ganjin zheng shang you. Dongfang yuejin xifang you 鼓足干劲争上游. The East Leaps Forward, the West is Worried (Go all out and Aim High. The East Leaps Forward, the West is Worried), 1958, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.

Figure 3.8. Ha Qiongwen 哈琼文 and Qian Daxin 钱大昕, Wei 1959, shengchan gengduo genghao de gang er fendou! 为 1959 年生产更多更好的钢而奋斗 (Fighting for...

Figure 3.9. He Yanrong 何艳荣, Yong gangtie hongliu yansi diren! 用钢铁洪流淹没敌人 (Drowning the Enemy in a Torrent of Steel!), 1958, Chengdu, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.

Figure 3.10. Danfeng chaoyang 丹凤朝阳 (The Scarlet Phoenix Flies towards the Sun). Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Guangdong huabao 广东画报 (Guangdong Pictorial) (1960), Guangdong Pictorial, No. 4. The National Library of China, Beijing.


Figure 3.13. Jiang Mi 江敉, Long feng chengxing 龙凤呈祥 (Prosperity Brought by the Dragon and the Phoenix), 1959, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.

Figure 3.15. Winged horse in front of the Qianling mausoleum of Li Zhi 李治, Emperor Gaozong, Tang Dynasty. Photograph cited in Howard, Angela Falco; Li Song, Wu Hung and Yang Hong (2006), *Chinese Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 178.


Figure 3.18. Feng Guolin 冯国琳, Jiao lao longwang ting zanmen de 叫老龙王听咱们的 (*Call the Old Dragon King to Listen to Us*), 1958, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.

Figure 3.20. Zhao Yunchang 赵运昌, Bangzi yadao Sun Wukong 棒子压倒孙悟空 (Corn Overwhelm the Monkey King), Shulu 束鹿, wall painting. Illustrated in Hebeisheng wenhuaju 河北省文化局 (Hebei Provincial Bureau of Culture) (1958), Hebei bihua xuan 河北壁画选 (Selected Works of Wall Paintings in Hebei Province). Shijiazhuang: Hebei People’s Publishing House, p. 9. The National Library of China, Beijing.

Figure 3.21. Sun Wukong dangcheng Huoyanshan 孙悟空当作火焰山 (Monkey King Mistakes for Flaming Mountains), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Cartoon (1958), Gangtie jiushi liliang 钢铁就是力量 (Steel is Strength). Beijing: People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 49. The National Library of China, Beijing.

Figure 4.1. Statues of Buddha were burned as part of Demolishing the Four Olds, 1966. The collection of University of Manitoba, see http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/departments/asian_studies/3978.html [accessed on 5 July 2016].


Figure 4.3. Sandstone Pediment with Nāga, 10th century, Vietnam. The collection of Religion, the Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City.

Figure 4.4. Niugui sheshen 牛鬼蛇神 (The ox-demons and snake-spirits), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in Shoudu dazhuan yuanxiao hongweibing silingbu 首都大专院校红卫兵司令部 (Capital Universities of Red Guard Command) (1966),
Hongweibing 红卫兵 (Red Guards), 1 September. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.5. Dadao Liu Shaogou 打倒刘少奇 (Down with Liu the Dog), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Chengjian zhanbao 城建战报 (Battlefield Report of Urban Construction) (1967), Battlefield Report of Urban Construction, 6 May, p. 2. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.6. The character qi 奇 transforms into the character gou 狗 (dog). The transforming illustration is conducted by the author.

Figure 4.7. Zougou 走狗 (Lackey), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Daqing gongshe 大庆公社 (Daqing Commune) (1967), Daqing Commune, 26 April, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.8. Dadao zougou Liushaoqi 打倒走狗刘少奇 (Down with the Lackey Liu Shaoqi), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Daqing Commune (1967), Daqing Commune, 26 April, p. 6. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.9. Kuangquan feiri 狂犬吠日 (A Mad Dog Barking at the Sun), Beijing, 1 May 1967, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Dongfang hong 东方红 (Red East) (1967), Red East, 1 May, p. 6. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.10. Dadao Liuxiu 打倒刘修 (Down with Revisionism of Liu), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Feng lei ji 风雷激 (Wind and Thunder are Stirring) (1967), Wind and Thunder are Stirring, No. 17, 12 July, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.11. Chedi cuihui xiuzhengzhuyi wenyi heixian (Completely Destroyed Black Art Line of Revisionism), Beijing, May 1968. Personal collection of the author.

Figure 4.12. Wo shi yiguan geming de! (I was Always Revolutionary!), Beijing, 1967, printed on paper. Illustrated in Douzheng Tao Zhu dahui choubeichu (Preparatory office of Mass Meeting of Fighting Tao Zhu) (1967), Dou Tao zhanbao (Battlefield Report of Fighting Tao), 27 February, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.13. Jian weiba (Cutting the Tail), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in Beijing gongnongbing tiyuan (Beijing Sports Institute of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers) (1967), Zalan Liu Deng Tao fan dong luxian manhua xuanji (Selected Cartoon Collection of Smashing the Reactionary Route of Liu, Deng and Tao). Beijing: Beijing Sports Institute of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, p. 68. Personal collection of Wang Mingxian.

Figure 4.14. Chen Sijing, Pizhe yangpi de lang (A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing), Birmingham, 2016, ink on paper. This is a recreation of a 1967 cartoon by Wang Haifeng based on his narrative.

Figure 4.15. Chanchu xiuzhengzhuyi (Uproot Revisionism), printed on paper. Illustrated in Gongnongbing meishu gongzuozhe lianhe zaofan bingtuan (Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Art Workers Jointed Rebellion Regiment) (1967), Gongongbing meishu (Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Art), No. 1. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.16. Xixin peiyu (Carefully Cultivating), Beijing, printed on paper.
Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Jinggangshan bao (Jianggangshan) (1967), Jianggangshan, 5 August, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.17. Baoshu (Protective Kangaroo), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in Hongqi zhandou dadui (Red Flag Combat Team) of Beijing Foreign Language Institute (1967), Hongwei bao (Report of the Red Guards), 18 January, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.18. Heping gaige (Peaceful Reform), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Pipan minzu gongzuo zhanlan huakan (Pictorial of Criticising the Exhibition of Work of Ethic Groups) (1967), Pictorial of Criticising the Exhibition of Work of Ethic Groups, July, p. 3. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.19. Duoshou zhuangquan (Multi Hands with Rights), Beijing, ink on paper. Illustrated in Beijing geming zhigong daibiaohui (Beijing Revolution Worker Association) (1967), Beijing gongren (Beijing Workers), 6 September, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.20. Huangchong (Pest), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Hongweibing wenyi (Red Guards Literature and Art) (1967), Red Guards Literature and Art, No. 3, p. 20. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.21. Li Zhensheng 李振盛, Zai Tian’anmen guangchang tiao zhongzi wu 在天安门广场跳忠字舞 (Loyalty Dance at Tian’anmen Square), 5 October 1966, Photograph.
Figure 4.22. Mao with the Sun on a Red Guard Material, printed on paper. Personal collection of Jin Dalu.


Figure 4.24. Mao zhuxi shi women xinzhong zuihong zuihong de hong taiyang 毛主席是我们心中最红最红的红太阳 (Chairman Mao is the Reddest, Reddest Sun in Our Heart), 1967, papercut. Personal collection of the author.


Figure 4.26. A flag-shape Mao badge with a slogan of “All living things need the sun”. Personal collection of the author.

Figure 4.27. Jingzhu Mao zhuxi wangshou wujiang 敬祝毛主席万寿无疆 (Respectfully wish Chairman Mao Eternal Life), 1968, printed on paper, 52 x 71 cm. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.

Figure 4.28. Li Yang 李阳, Wuxian zhong yu weidade lingxiu Mao zhuxi, wuxian zhong yu weidade Mao Zedong sixiang, wuxian zhong yu Mao zhuxide geming luxian 无限忠于伟大的领袖毛主席，无限忠于伟大的毛泽东思想，无限忠于毛主席的革命路 (Boundlessly Loyal to the Great Leader Chairman Mao, Boundlessly Loyal to the Great Mao Zedong Thought, Boundlessly Loyal to Chairman Mao’s Revolutionary Line), October 1966, printed on paper, 76 x 53 cm. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 4.29. Hu Zhenyu 胡振宇, Mao zhuxi shi women xinzhong de hong taiyang 毛主席是我们心中的红太阳 (Mao is the Red Sun in Our Heart), 1966, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.

Figure 4.30. Shijie geming renmin xinzhong de hong taiyang Mao zhuxi wanshui! 世界革命人民心中的红太阳毛主席万岁! (Chairman Mao Who is the Red Sun in the Hearts of Revolutionary People of the World Has a Long Life!), Beijing, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.

Figure 4.31. Xianchu yuanxing 现出原形 (Showing Original Images), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Battlefield Report of Urban Construction (1967), Battlefield Report of Urban Construction, 6 May, p. 1. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.


Figure 4.34. Lang waipo 狼外婆 (Grandmother Wolf), Shanghai, printed on paper. Illustrated in Hongweibing Shanghai silingbu 红卫兵上海司令部 (Red Guards Shanghai Command) (1967), Hongwei zhanbao 红卫战报 (Battlefield Report of the Red Guards), 12 February, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.35. Liaoning Fine Arts Publishing House, Xuanyang pantu de huomin zhexue
宣传叛徒的活命哲学 (Promote the Survival Philosophy of the Traitor), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Xin Beida 新北大 (New Peking University) (1967), New Peking University, 25 April, p. 3. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.36. Pantu Kong Xiangzhen 叛徒孔祥祯 (Traitor Kong Xiangzhen), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Hongse qingnian 红色青年 (Red Youth) (1967), Red Youth, 27 May, p. 2. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.

Figure 4.37. Xiaozhuang 晓庄, Wenge suiyue 文革岁月 (The Years of the Cultural Revolution), 1966, Nanjing, Photograph.

Figure 5.1. Cartoons and big character posters with the slogan of Criticising Lin Biao, Criticising Confucius posting on the wall, 1974. Personal collection of Jin Dalu.


Figure 5.3. Chanchu Linbao yu Konglao’er 铲除林彪与孔老二 (Uprooting Lin Biao and Confucius), 1974, printed on paper. Personal collection of the author.

Figure 5.4. Shanghai renmin chuabanshe 上海人民出版社 (Shanghai People’s Publishing House), PiLin piKong meishu cankao ziliao 批林批孔美术参考资料 (Art Reference Materials of Criticising Lin and Confucius), 1974, Shanghai, printed on
Figure 5.5. Zhongchuang 重生(Heavy Impact), 1974, printed on paper. Personal collection of the author.


Figure 5.9. Sirenbang de xiao hechang 四人帮的小合唱 (A Small Chorus of the Gang of Four), 1977, printed on paper. Personal Collection of the author.


Figure 5.11. Xiang Jiangqing tongzhi xuexi, xiang Jiangqing tongzhi zhijing! 向江青同志学习，向江青同志致敬! (Study Comrade Jiang Qing, Pay Respect to Comrade Jiang Qing!), 1968, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 5.12. Gongnongbing huabao (Worker-peasant-soldier Pictorial) Editorial Group, Xiang Jiangqing tongzhi xuexi, xiang Jiangqing tongzhi zhijing 向江青同志学习，向江青同志致敬 (Study Comrade Jiang Qing, Pay Respect to Comrade Jiang Qing), 1967, woodblock. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.

Figure 5.13. Wang Hui 王晖, Yi Mao zhuxi wei daibiao de wuchanjiejji geming luxian shengli wansui! Wuchanjiejji wenhua dageming shengli wansui! 以毛主席为代表的无产阶级革命路线胜利万岁！无产阶级文化大革命胜利万岁！ (Long Live the Victory of the Proletarian Revolutionary Line with Chairman Mao as Its Representative! Long Live the Victory of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!), 1967, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.

Figure 5.14. The cartoon board of Smashing Four Pests was displayed in a mass parade of celebrating Smashing the Gang of Four in Beijing in October 1976. Photograph cited in China.huanqiu.com, see http://history.huanqiu.com/Photograph1/p/2012-10/2670227_3.html [accessed on 13 December 2016].

Figure 5.15. Zhang Ding 张仃, Jinhou 金猴 (Golden Monkey), 1976, Shanghai, printed on paper. Illustrated in Ying Tao 英韬 (2001), Zhongguo manhua wushinian 中国漫画五十年 (Fifty Years of Chinese Cartoon). Wuhan: Changjiang Literature & Art Publishing House, p. 61.


Figure 5.17. The dragon king and Lei Gong are depicted in the wall painting in the Dragon King Temple, Zhouzhuang Village 周庄，Zhuolu County 逐鹿县，Hebei Province. Photographed by Liu Zhongyu, July 2011.

Figure 5.18. Xilinmen 喜临门 (Happiness Arrives), 1986, printed on paper. Personal collection of Wang Kun.
Figure 5.19. Fang Dunzhuan 方敦传, Shengshi longnian yu pang wa 盛世龙年育胖娃 (In the Heyday of the Year of the Dragon Plump Babies are Born), 1987, Tianjing, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.

Figure 5.20. Yang Liqun 杨立群, Long teng shenzhou 龙腾神州 (Dragons Rise over the Divine Land), 1985, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.


Figure 5.22. The story of Lei Zhenzi 雷震子, who is a guai with a bird-like face and a pair of wings in Investiture of the Gods. Illustrated in Zhao Rennian 赵仁年 (1982), Lei Zhenzi hong lutai 雷震子轰鹿台 (Lei Zhenzi Shelling Deer Terrace Pavilion). Shanghai: Children's Press. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 1.1. *Taotie* 饕餮 pattern in the middle Shang dynasty, illustrated in Li Song 李松 (2011), *Chinese Bronze Ware*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 95.
Figure 1.2. *Zhenmu shou* 镇墓兽, Tang Dynasty, unearthed in 1957, Xi’an 西安, Shanxi Province, pottery, height 63.2 cm, width 67.5 cm. The collection of Historical Times, the National Museum of China, Beijing.
Figure 1.3. *The Ten Kings of Hell Sutra* (a detail), late 9th-early 10th century CE, ink and pigment on paper, height 28 cm. The collection of Chinese Religious Paintings, the British Museum, London.
Figure 1.4. *Xiyou ji* 西游记 (*Journey to the West*), printed on paper. Illustrated in Zhang Mangong 张满弓 (2004), *Gudian wenxue banhua* 古典文学版画 (*Classical Literature Prints*). Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p. 15.
Figure 1.5. The snake *guai* fighting Monkey King is shown in the block-printed book of *Journey to the West* in Ming Dynasty. Illustrated in Li Zhuowu 李卓吾 (Ming Dynasty), *Li Zhuowu xiansheng piqing Xiyou ji* 李卓吾先生批评西游记 (*Mr. Li Zhuowu’s Comments on Journey to the West*). The collection of Chinese Classics, the National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.
Figure 1.6. Jiang Yinggao 蒋应镐, Bibi 狈fbe, Ming Dynasty, printed on paper. Illustrated in Guo Pu 郭璞 (c. 1573-1620 CE), Shanhai jing zhu 山海经注 (Explanatory Notes of The Classic of Mountains and Seas). The collection of Chinese Ancient Classics, the National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 1.7. Dragon, Ming Dynasty, woodblock. Illustrated in Wu Zhihe 吴之鹤 (1615), Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi: Disijuan 生命双修万神圭旨：第四卷 (Principles of the Jade Tablet on Vital Force and Innate Nature: Volume IV). The collection of Chinese Ancient Classics, the National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 1.9. Portrait of the Ming Hongzhi Emperor, 15th century CE, colour on silk, 208 x 154 cm. The collection of Chinese Paintings, the National Palace Museum, Taipei.
Figure 1.10. Dragon Boat Festival, 1750-1850, tapestry woven silk, 79 x 90 cm. The East Asia Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Figure 1.11. *Dragon Flag*, 1889-1912, ink and colour on cotton, 109 x 130 cm. The collection of Historical Times, the National Museum of China, Beijing.
Figure 1.15. Danfeng chaoyang 丹凤朝阳 (The Scarlet Phoenix Toward the Sun), Suzhou, woodblock. Personal collection of Yang Liren.
Figure 1.16. Feng chuan mudan 凤穿牡丹 (Phoenixes Crossing the Flowers), 1600-1644, woven silk, 32 x 32 cm. The collection of Chinese Antiquities, Hong Kong Museum of Art, Hong Kong.
Figure 1.17. Qilin 麒麟, Ming Dynasty, printed on paper. Illustrated in Church, Sally K. (2004), ‘The Giraffe of Bengal: A Medieval Encounter in Ming China’, *The Medieval History Journal*, No. 1, p. 37.
Figure 2.1. Gu Yuan 古元, Jiangjiu weisheng, renxing caiwang 讲究卫生, 人兴财旺 (Attention to Hygiene and a Flourishing Population with Wealthy Prosperity), 1943, Yan’an, woodblock, 32 x 46 cm. The collection of New New Year Prints, the National Art Museum of China, Beijing.
Figure 2.2. Yaoqianshu 摇钱树 (The Money Tree), Qing Dynasty, Yangjiabu 杨家埠, Shandong Province, woodblock, 68 x 40 cm. Personal collection of Wang Kun.
Figure 2.3. Shi Banghua 施邦华, Zheshi zhenzheng de yaoqianshu 这是真正的摇钱树（This is the Real Money Tree), 1952, Yangjiabu 杨家埠, Shandong Province, woodblock, 72 x 42 cm. Personal collection of Wang Kun.
Figure 2.4. *Lianhuanhua* 连环画 (illustrated story book) is usually printed in a three to five inch illustrated story book. Photograph from Hosane 鸿盛, see http://www.hosane.com/auction/detail/P14071418 [accessed on 13 March 2017].
Figure 2.5. Chen Guangyi 陈光镒, Danao tiangong 大闹天宫 (Havoc in Heaven), Shanghai, printed on paper. Illustrated in Liang Shi 良士 and Chen Guangyi (1956), Havoc in Heaven. Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, p. Cover. Personal collection of the author.
Figure 2.6. A half-turtle half-human guai, half-shrimp half-human guai and half-fish half-human guai are depicted in the lianhuanhua of Baishe zhuan 白蛇传 (Madam White Snake), printed on paper. Illustrated in Zhao Hongben 赵宏本 (1956), Madam White Snake. Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 137.
Figure 2.7. Children gathered in front of book stalls and read lianhuanhua books in Shanghai in 1951. Photograph cited in Renmin huabao 人民画报 (China Pictorial), September 1951. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 2.8. Jiang Fan 江帆, Weile gutou 为了骨头 (For Bones), 1954, printed on paper. Illustrated in Xie Tian’ao 谢天傲(1954), ‘Taiwan de gou zai jiao 台湾的狗在叫 (Taiwanese Dog is Barking)’, Manhua 漫画 (Cartoon), No. 46, p. 5. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 2.10. Yuanxing bilu 原形毕露 (Show Oneself in One’s True Colours), printed on paper. Illustrated in *Beijing wenlian chuangzuo weiyuanwei* 北京市文联创作委员会 (the Committee of Creation of Beijing Federation of Literary and Art Circles) (1955), Jianjue suqing Hu Feng fangeming jituan he yiqie ancang de fangeming fenzi manhua xuanji 坚决肃清胡风反革命集团和一切暗藏的反革命分子漫画选集 (*Selected Cartoon Collection of Resolutely Eliminating Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Group and All Hidden Counterrevolutionaries*). Beijing: Beijing Mass Press, p. Cover. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 2.11. Bai Chunxi 白纯熙 and Chen Yifu 陈贻福, Tonggen 同根 (The Same Root), printed on paper. Illustrated in Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美术出版社 (People’s Fine Arts Publishing House) (1955), Jianjue suqing Hu Feng fangeming jituan he yiqie ancong de fangeming fenzi manhua ji 坚决肃清胡风反革命集团和一切暗藏的反革命分子漫画集 (Cartoon Collection of Resolutely Eliminating Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Group and All Hidden Counterrevolutionaries). Beijing: People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 28. Anhui Library, Hefei.
Figure 2.12. Zhang Leping 张乐平, Hu Feng de zhengzhi beijing 胡风的政治背景 (Hu Feng's Political Background), 1955, printed on paper. Personal collection of Jiang Jimeng.
Figure 2.13. Renmin ribao 人民日报 （People’s Daily), the official Party newspaper, gave a full page to publish cartoons including guai images. Illustrated in Unknown (1950), ‘Meidi qinhua bainian shihua 美帝侵华百年史画 (Cartoons of Centennial History of the American imperialists violating China)’, People’s Daily, 18 October, p. 5. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 2.14. Factory workers in Shenyang are depicting a political cartoon on the blackboard in April 1951. The photograph collection of the Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 3.1. Shao Yū 邵宇, Ye Qianyu 叶浅予, Wu Zuoren 吴作人, and Jiang Zhaohe 蒋兆和 are Painting Wall Paintings on a Village Wall in Hebei. Photographed by Shi Panqi 时盘棋, cited in *China Reconstrucre*, November 1958, p. 8. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 3.2. *Fangshan renmin gongshe julebu* (The club from Fangshan People's Commune), Da long (Big Dragon), papercut. Illustrated in *Beijing wenlian meishu zu* (Art Group of Beijing Federation of Literary and Art Circles) (1960), *Bejingshi Zhoukoudian qu nongmin hua xuanji* (Selected Collection of Peasant Paintings in Zhoukoudian District, Beijing). Beijing: People's Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 34. Anhui Library, Hefei.
Figure 3.4. A woman over seventy was painting a wall painting on a village wall in Anhui, 1958. The collection of Anhui Library, Hefei.
Figure 3.6. Wu Shaoyun 吴少云, Zhang Yuqing 章育青 and Lu Zezhi 陆泽之, Gongshe ru julong, shengchan xian weifeng 公社如巨龙, 生产显威风 (The Commune is like a Gigantic Dragon, and Production is Noticeable Awe-inspiring), 1959, Shanghai, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 3.7. Zhang Ruji 张汝济, Wang Shuhui 王叔晖 and Shao Guohuan 邵国寰, Guzu ganjin zheng shang you. Dongfang yuejin xifang you 鼓足干劲争上游. 东方跃进西方忧 (Go all out and Aim High. The East Leaps Forward, the West is Worried), 1958, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 3.8. Ha Qiongwen 哈琼文 and Qian Daxin 钱大昕, Wei 1959, shengchan
gengduo genghao de gang er fendou! 为 1959 年生产更多更好的钢而奋斗 (Fighting for
Producing More and Better Steel for 1959!), 1958, Shanghai, printed on paper. Personal
collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 3.9. He Yanrong 何艳荣, Yong gangtie hongliu yansi diren! 用钢铁洪流淹死敌人 (Drowning the Enemy in a Torrent of Steel!), 1958, Chengdu, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 3.10. Danfeng chaoyang 丹凤朝阳 (The Scarlet Phoenix Flies towards the Sun). Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Guangdong huabao 广东画报 (Guangdong Pictorial) (1960), Guangdong Pictorial, No. 4. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 3.13. Jiang Mi 江敉, Long feng chengxing 龙凤呈祥 (Prosperity Brought by the Dragon and the Phoenix), 1959, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 3.15. Winged horse in front of the Qianling mausoleum of Li Zhi 李治, Emperor Gaozong, Tang Dynasty. Photograph cited in Howard, Angela Falco; Li Song, Wu Hung and Yang Hong (2006), *Chinese Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 178.
Figure 3.16. Li Zhi 李智 and Zhang Yintong 张银彤, Gongnong da yuejin 工农大跃进 (Great Leap Forward of Industry and Agriculture), printed on paper. Illustrated in Henan renmin chubanshe 河南人民出版社 (Henan People’s Publishing House) (1961), Henan nianhua ji 河南年画集 (Henan New Year Print Collection). Zhengzhou: Henan People’s Publishing House, p. 20. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 3.18. Feng Guolin 冯国琳, Jiao lao longwang ting zanmen de 叫老龙王听咱们的 (Call the Old Dragon King to Listen to Us), 1958, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 3.21. Sun Wukong dangcheng Huoyanshan 孙悟空当作火焰山 (Monkey King Mistakes for Flaming Mountains), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Cartoon (1958), Gangtie jiushi liliang 钢铁就是力量 (Steel is Strength). Beijing: People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 49. The National Library of China, Beijing.
Figure 4.1. Statues of Buddha were burned as part of Demolishing the Four Olds, 1966. The photograph collection of University of Manitoba, see http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/departments/asian_studies/3978.html [accessed on 5 July 2016].
Figure 4.3. *Sandstone Pediment with Nāga*, 10th century, Vietnam. The collection of Religion, the Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City.
Figure 4.4. Niugui sheshen 牛鬼蛇神 (The ox-demons and snake-spirits), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in *Shoudu dazhuan yuanxiao hongweibing silingbu* 首都大专院校红卫兵司令部 (Capital Universities of Red Guard Command) (1966), *Hongweibing 红卫兵 (Red Guards)*, 1 September. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.5. Dadao Liu Shaogou 打倒刘少奇 (Down with Liu the Dog), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Chengjian zhanbao 城建战报 (Battlefield Report of Urban Construction) (1967), Battlefield Report of Urban Construction, 6 May, p. 2. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.6. The character $qi$ 奇 transforms into the character $gou$ 狗 (dog). The transforming illustration is conducted by the author.
Figure 4.7. Zougou 走狗 (Lackey), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Daqing gongshe 大庆公社 (Daqing Commune) (1967), Daqing Commune, 26 April, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.8. Dadao zougou Liushaoqi 打倒走狗刘少奇 (Down with the Lackey Liu Shaoqi), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Daqing Commune (1967), Daqing Commune, 26 April, p. 6. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.9. Kuangquann feiri 狂犬吠日 (A Mad Dog Barking at the Sun), Beijing, 1 May 1967, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Dongfang hong 东方红 (Red East) (1967), Red East, 1 May, p. 6. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.10. Dadao Luixiu 打倒刘修 (Down with Revisionism of Liu), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Feng lei ji 风雷激 (Wind and Thunder are Stirring) (1967), Wind and Thunder are Stirring, No. 17, 12 July, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.11. Chedi cuihui xiuzhengzhuyi wenyi heixian (Completely Destroyed Black Art Line of Revisionism), Beijing, May 1968.
Personal collection of the author.
Figure 4.12. Wo shi yiguan geming de! 我是一贯革命的 (I was Always Revolutionary!), Beijing, 1967, printed on paper. Illustrated in Douzheng Tao Zhu dahui choubeichu 斗争陶铸大会筹备处 (Preparatory office of Mass Meeting of Fighting Tao Zhu) (1967), Dou Tao zhanbao 斗陶战报 (Battlefield Report of Fighting Tao), 27 February, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.13. Jian weiba 剪尾巴 (Cutting the Tail), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in *Beijing gongnongbing tiyuan* 北京工农兵体院 (Beijing Sports Institute of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers) (1967), Zalan Liu Deng Tao fandong luxian manhua xuanji 砸烂刘邓陶反动路线漫画选集 (*Selected Cartoon Collection of Smashing the Reactionary Route of Liu, Deng and Tao*). Beijing: Beijing Sports Institute of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, p. 68. Personal collection of Wang Mingxian.
Figure 4.14. Chen Sijing, Pizhe yangpi de lang (A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing), Birmingham, 2016, ink on paper. This is a recreation of a 1967 cartoon by Wang Haifeng based on his narrative.
Figure 4.15. Chanchu xiuzhengzhuyi (Uproot Revisionism), printed on paper. Illustrated in Gongnongbing meishu gongzuozhe lianhe zaofan bingtuan (Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Art Workers Jointed Rebellion Regiment) (1967), Gongongbing meishu (Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Art), No. 1. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.16. Xixin peiyou (Carefully Cultivating), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Jinggangshan bao (Jianggangshan) (1967), Jianggangshan, 5 August, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.17. Baoshu 保鼠 (Protective Kangaroo), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in Hongqi zhandou dadui 红旗战斗大队 (Red Flag Combat Team) of Beijing Foreign Language Institute (1967), Hongwei bao 红卫报 (Report of the Red Guards), 18 January, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.18. Heping gaige 和平改革 (Peaceful Reform), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Pipan minzu gongzu o zhanlan huakan 批判民族工作展览画刊 (Pictorial of Criticising the Exhibition of Work of Ethnic Groups) (1967), Pictorial of Criticising the Exhibition of Work of Ethnic Groups, July, p. 3. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.19. Duoshou zhuangquan 多手抓权 (Multi Hands with Rights), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in Beijing geming zhigong daibiaohui 北京革命职工代表会 (Beijing Revolution Worker Association) (1967), Beijing gongren 北京工人 (Beijing Workers), 6 September, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.20. Huangchong 蝗虫 (Pest), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Hongweibing wenyi 红卫兵文艺 (Red Guards Literature and Art) (1967), Red Guards Literature and Art, No. 3, p. 20. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.21. Li Zhensheng 李振盛, Zai Tian’anmen guangchang tiao zhongzi wu 在天安门广场跳忠字舞 (Loyalty Dance at Tian’anmen Square), 5 October 1966, Photograph.
混进党里、政府里、军队里和各种文化界的资产阶级代表人物，是一批反革命的修正主义分子，一旦时机成熟，他们就会要夺取政权，由无产阶级专政变为资产阶级专政。这些人物，有些已被我们识破了，有些则还没有被识破，有些正在受到我们信用，被培养为我们的接班人，例如赫鲁晓夫那样的人物，他们现在睡在我们的身旁，各级党委必须充分注意这一点。

毛泽东

Figure 4.22. Mao with the Sun on a Red Guard Material, printed on paper. Personal collection of Jin Dalu.
Figure 4.24. Mao zhuxi shi women xinzhong zuihong zuihong de hong taiyang  毛主席是我们心中最红最红的红太阳 (Chairman Mao is the Reddest, Reddest Sun in Our Heart), 1967, papercut. Personal collection of the author.
Figure 4.26. A flag-shape Mao badge with a slogan of “All living things need the sun”. Personal collection of the author.
Figure 4.27. Jingzhu Mao zhuxi wangshou wujian (Respectfully wish Chairman Mao Eternal Life), 1968, printed on paper, 52 x 71 cm. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 4.28. Li Yang 李阳, Wuxian zhong yu weidade lingxiu Mao zhuxi, wuxian zhong yu weidade Mao Zedong sixiang, wuxian zhong yu Mao zhuxide geming luxian 无限忠于伟大的领袖毛主席，无限忠于伟大的毛泽东思想，无限忠于毛主席的革命路线 (Boundlessly Loyal to the Great Leader Chairman Mao, Boundlessly Loyal to the Great Mao Zedong Thought, Boundlessly Loyal to Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line), October 1966, printed on paper, 76 x 53 cm. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 4.29. Hu Zhenyu 胡振宇, Mao zhuxi shi women xinzhong de hong taiyang 毛主席是我们心中的红太阳 (Mao is the Red Sun in Our Heart), 1966, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 4.30. Shijie geming renmin xinzhong de hong taiyang Mao zhuxi wanshui!
世界革命人民心中的红太阳毛主席万岁! (Chairman Mao Who is the Red Sun in the
Hearts of Revolutionary People of the World Has a Long Life!), Beijing, printed on
paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 4.31. Xianchu yuanxing 现出原形 (Showing Original Images), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Battlefield Report of Urban Construction (1967), Battlefield Report of Urban Construction, 6 May, p. 1.

Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.34. Lang waipo (Grandmother Wolf), Shanghai, printed on paper. Illustrated in Hongweibing Shanghai silingbu (Red Guards Shanghai Command) (1967), Hongwei zhanbao (Battlefield Report of the Red Guards), 12 February, p. 4. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.35. Liaoning Fine Arts Publishing House, Xuanyang pantu de huomin zhexue 宣传叛徒的活命哲学 (Promote the Survival Philosophy of the Traitor), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Xin Beida 新北大 (New Peking University) (1967), New Peking University, 25 April, p. 3. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.36. Pantu Kong Xiangzhen (Traitor Kong Xiangzhen), Beijing, printed on paper. Illustrated in the Editorial Department of Hongse qingnian (Red Youth) (1967), Red Youth, 27 May, p. 2. Universities Service Centre for China Studies, Hong Kong.
Figure 4.37. Xiaozhuang 晓庄, Wenge suiyue 文革岁月 (The Years of the Cultural Revolution), 1966, Nanjing, Photograph.
Figure 5.1. Cartoons and big character posters with the slogan of Criticising Lin Biao, Criticising Confucius posting on the wall, 1974. Personal collection of Jin Dalu.
Figure 5.3. Chanchu Linbao yu Konglao'er 铲除林彪与孔老二 (Uprooting Lin Biao and Confucius), 1974, printed on paper. Personal collection of the author.
Figure 5.4. *Shanghai renmin chuabanshe* (Shanghai People's Publishing House), *PiLin piKong meishu cankao ziliao* (Art Reference Materials of Criticising Lin and Confucius), 1974, Shanghai, printed on paper. Personal collection of the author.
Figure 5.5. Zhongchuang 重創 (Heavy Impact), 1974, printed on paper. Personal collection of the author.
Figure 5.9. Sirenbang de xiao hechang 四人帮的小合唱 (A Small Chorus of the Gang of Four), 1977, printed on paper. Personal Collection of the author.
Figure 5.11. Xiang Jiangqing tongzhi xuexi, xiang Jiangqing tongzhi zhijing! 向江青同志学习，向江青同志致敬! (*Study Comrade Jiang Qing, Pay Respect to Comrade Jiang Qing!*) , 1968, printed on paper. Personal collection of Yang Peiming.
Figure 5.12. Gongnongbing huabao (Worker-peasant-soldier Pictorial) Editorial Group, Xiang Jiangqing tongzhi xuexi, xiang Jiangqing tongzhi zhijing 向江青同志学习，向江青同志致敬 (Study Comrade Jiang Qing, Pay Respect to Comrade Jiang Qing), 1967, woodblock. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 5.13. Wang Hui 王晖, Yi Mao zhuxi wei daibiao de wuchanjieji geming luxian shengli wansui! Wuchanjieji wenhua dageming shengli wansui! 以毛主席为代表的无产阶级革命路线胜利万岁! 无产阶级文化大革命胜利万岁! (Long Live the Victory of the Proletarian Revolutionary Line with Chairman Mao as Its Representative! Long Live the Victory of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!), 1967, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 5.14. The cartoon board of Smashing Four Pests was displayed in a mass parade of celebrating Smashing the Gang of Four in Beijing in October 1976. Photograph cited in China.huanqiu.com, see http://history.huanqiu.com/Photograph1/p/2012-10/2670227_3.html [accessed on 13 December 2016].
Figure 5.15. Zhang Ding 张仃, Jinhou 金猴 (Golden Monkey), 1976, Shanghai, printed on paper. Illustrated in Ying Tao 英韬 (2001), Zhongguo manhua wushinian 中国漫画五十年 (Fifty Years of Chinese Cartoon). Wuhan: Changjiang Literature & Art Publishing House, p. 61.
Figure 5.16. The preface of the Monkey King product in 1977 explains the Monkey King represents the Chinese people. Illustrated in Yi Fu 艺夫 and Deng Ke 邓柯 (1977), Sun Wukong san da baigujing 孙悟空三打白骨精 (Sun Wukong Thrice Defeats the White-boned Demon). Tianjing: Tianjing People's Fine Arts Publishing House, p. 1.
Figure 5.17. The dragon king and Lei Gong are depicted in the wall painting in the Dragon King Temple, Zhouzhuang Village 周庄, Zhuolu County 逐鹿县, Hebei Province. Photographed by Liu Zhongyu.
Figure 5.18. Xilinmen 喜临门 (Happiness Arrives), 1986, printed on paper. Personal collection of Wang Kun.
Figure 5.19. Fang Dunzhuan 方敦传, Shengshi longnian yu pang wa 盛世龙年育胖娃 (In the Heyday of the Year of the Dragon Plump Babies are Born), 1987, Tianjing, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 5.20. Yang Liqun 杨立群, Long teng shenzhou 龙腾神州 (Dragons Rise over the Divine Land), 1985, printed on paper. Personal collection of Stefan R. Landsberger.
Figure 5.21. The story of the Monkey King fighting with the Bull Guai in Jindou Cave. Illustrated in Liu Haizhi 刘海志 (1980), Jindou dong 金兜洞 (Jindou Cave). Shijiazhuang: Hebei People’s Fine Arts Publishing House.
Figure 5.22. The story of Lei Zhenzi, who is a *guai* with a bird-like face and a pair of wings in *Investiture of the Gods*. Illustrated in Zhao Rennian (1982), Lei Zhenzi hong lutai (Lei Zhenzi Shelling Deer Terrace Pavilion). Shanghai: Children's Press.