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THE ETERNAL PALACES OF THE WESTERN HAN: A NEW VIEW OF THE UNIVERSE

Two recent archaeological finds, the terracotta warriors of the First Emperor of Qin (reigned 221–10 B.C.) and the jade suits of the Imperial family of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), have been widely seen in the great capitals of the world as center pieces of several major exhibitions. But although we have all marveled at these phenomena, on reflection it seems that we have asked ourselves too few questions about them. We have not considered whether these extraordinary finds are really consistent with our usual picture of ancient China. Indeed I shall argue that they are not.

In this paper, I claim that the terracotta warriors and the jade suits show that a fundamental transformation of ancient Chinese burial practices must have happened during the latter part of the third century B.C. To assess the scope of this change, the warriors and the jade suits have to be measured against assemblies of bronze ritual vessels, bells and weapons, placed within wooden coffins in shaft tombs that had delineated the afterlife, and the ritual practices of that afterlife, during the preceding Zhou period. Although from the third century B.C., and indeed earlier, many new impulses are evident in archaeological finds, political unification under the Qin and the Han seems to have been the critical moment when a major change was consolidated.

Four particular features of Qin and Han period tombs make this present re-examination necessary. The first two I have already mentioned: the terracotta warriors, installed in pits to the east of the tomb mound of the First Emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi, were completely unprecedented when first discovered. Today we know that armies of ceramic figures on a smaller scale were buried near Han Imperial tombs at Xi'an and at the entrances to some of the rock-cut tombs to be described below. All such ceramic armies differed fundamentally from the Shang and Zhou presentations of military might in typical Yellow River area tombs.

Jade suits first became known to present-day archaeologists and scholars from those belonging to a king of the Han period State of Zhongshan, Liu Sheng (died 113 B.C.), and his consort Dou Wan. Now it transpires that these are merely two examples of what was a widely used burial garment among the kings of the Liu family (who formed the Han dynasty), their consorts, and also, very occasionally, lower ranking members of the élite.¹ Although in many periods before the Han, jades had been used to cover the bodies of the dead, such carefully made suits without a chink of space between the plaques, had not been customary before the ascendancy of the Liu family. What is more, as these suits are extravagant of material and complex in workmanship, their similarity one to another, not to say uniformity, indicates both some sort of shared belief system and ideology and also a shared workshop tradition.

¹ For a survey of some of the known suits, see *Kaogu* 1981. 1, 51–58 and *Wenwu* 1989.10, 60–67. For a list of the identities of the members of the Liu family buried in excavated tombs, see *Wenwu* 1992. 2, 37–43. One striking exception to the proposition that such jade suits were confined to members of the Liu family and their immediate associates is the tomb of the King of Nan Yue in which Zhao Hu was interred in a suit. For all references to this tomb, see *Xi Han Nan Yue Wang mu*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), hereafter referred to as Nan Yue Wang report.

A yet more surprising development was the way in which the funerary officials of minor Han kingdoms sought out tomb sites on small mountains into which they cut several linked rooms on a horizontal rather than a vertical axis. Such tombs were a radical departure from the standard, late Zhou period plan with a vertical shaft and nested coffins in wood at the base. Shaft tombs had, indeed, been standard from the neolithic period. Given that it would have been perfectly possible to create cave-like tombs with many separate rooms within the loess,² it is all the more remarkable that tombs with a horizontal arrangement seem to have been especially favored in areas with small rocky mountains.

The fourth change is illustrated most clearly by the repertory of bronze vessels of Western Han tombs, as seen, for example, in those of Liu Sheng (fig.1). The substantial, carefully cast bronze food and wine containers used in the rituals addressed to the ancestors during the Warring States period, (and earlier), seem to have been relegated to an inferior position, and even, in many instances, completely abandoned. Instead, Han tombs contained wine flasks, basins, lamps, incense burners and braziers, often made especially attractive by fine decoration in inlay or gilding on bronze, and quite unlike the pieces previously used for ancestral rites. It is possible that offerings in substantial highly decorated bronzes continued and that these were just not buried. But this in itself would have been a major change, as in earlier Warring States tombs, the traditional vessels, especially *ding* and *hu*, were interred. *Ding* and *hu* do appear in Han tombs, but seem no more and often less important than other vessel categories. If food and wine were to be offered by the tomb occupant (and they probably were), vessels of lacquer or clay, whose character we cannot at present clearly discern among the surviving pieces in major tombs, must have been used.³

These four innovations indicate a radical departure from previous ritual and burial practices. If the practices had altered, it is likely that salient attitudes to the ancestors and spirits had also been transformed. Indeed, I shall argue that Western Han tombs suggest that some sort of implosion had taken place, contributing elements from many areas, but leaving us with a situation in which we are forced to conclude that concern for or knowledge of the previous Zhou culture was absent. The attitude to the life after death illustrated by the tombs was notably preoccupied with creating a microcosm of the universe within the confines of the tomb for the benefit of the tomb's occupant, as well as asserting the tomb occupant's claims to a prominent place in the afterlife hierarchy.

In this paper I shall address this development through an account of the Western Han tombs of the kings of the Liu family and through finds of the immediately preceding period of the late Zhou, at which time some new developments had begun to appear. But although antecedents are, indeed, to be found earlier than the third century B.C., I will argue that the unification under the Qin and

² Shaft tombs within which an additional cave-like compartment was dug out at the foot were employed in Shaanxi province. For Qin state tombs of this form, see *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1981.1, 12–38. While the form of these graves may have contributed to the development of large, many-roomed tombs on a horizontal axis, the fact that they did not initially stimulate such a development in Shaanxi indicates the priority of the mountain tombs in eastern and central China in providing models for Han tombs on a horizontal axis lined with stone slabs or fired clay bricks.

³ It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider further the nature of the offerings to the ancestors. Buildings at or near the tumuli of the Warring States, and the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi indicate that offerings to the tomb occupant were made near the tombs. But this tells us nothing about the offerings, if any, made by the tomb occupant. Developments in the Eastern Han seem to indicate that forms of respect and offerings had to be thought up and put into practice, for example see comments on practices in the later Han, B.J. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han, Their Author, Sources, Contents and Place in Chinese Historiography* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 105–08.

Han was responsible for a rupture with, rather than simply a continuing development from, past practice. Political unification gave the Qin and the Han emperors an opportunity to assimilate systematically practices and beliefs from many parts of the area we today call China, but which, in the fourth and third centuries B.C., had been parts of independent political entities. What resulted was not only a new political, social and economic order, but also, it now seems, a new religious or ideological outlook.

The spirits revered included many awesome figures additional to, or instead of, the ancestors to whom the Shang and Zhou ritual banquets had been addressed.⁴ To describe such spirits and to enlist their support, objects and decorative elements were adopted from the south, from the east, and even from the areas beyond the Chinese-speaking world, giving physical existence to a new view of the universe. These imports or additions to traditional Yellow River material culture seem to have been viewed not simply as dazzling new luxuries, but as potent pieces whose value may have stemmed from their links with distant and powerful spirit realms.

Fundamental to this account is the view that the landmass we now designate as China was far from unified during the periods known by the names of the ancient dynasties, the Shang (*circa* 1500–*circa* 1050 B.C.) and the Zhou (*circa* 1050–221 B.C.). These two dynasties held territories along the Yellow River and its tributaries, especially the River Wei. Throughout the period prior to the flight of the Zhou from their capital near Xi'an in 771 B.C., many other groups and probably even some states flourished in other areas. The Yangzi River, in particular, supported highly developed societies. These did not necessarily seek hegemony, but remained centered in Sichuan, Hubei and Jiangxi, where agricultural land was abundant. During the Spring and Autumn (770–465 B.C.) and Warring States (465–221 B.C.) periods, regional diversity contributed to distinctive cultures in many of the states into which the landmass was now divided.

In this paper, the cultural characteristics of the Yellow River area will be treated as the basis on which all earlier accounts of ancient China have been founded. The argument that I shall put forward describes many of the features of the Qin and Han tombs as borrowed from areas outside these Yellow River centers, especially from the state of Chu and from the east, and it depends upon the view that these areas had earlier fostered cultures that were in many respects distinct from those of the Yellow River.

During the Warring States period there had, of course, been extensive contact between the states, and practices of one area had been borrowed by another. Such interchange was, above all, evidence of diversity of practice and of material culture as between the different regions. However, Western Han tombs and the picture of the afterlife presented in them are remarkable for their consistency, between tombs of individuals, (especially between the kings of the eastern kingdoms), between tombs of people at different levels of the extensive social hierarchy and between groups in different regions. Such uniformity in description of the universe implies a unified ideology. So, not only will the paper describe the ways in which features of a new religious and material assemblage were drawn together

⁴ The balance between offerings to the ancestors and the concern with other spirits has been insufficiently considered. A significant contribution to this debate has been made by Mu-chou Poo, *In Search of Personal Welfare, A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (Albany: State University of New York, 1998). Poo makes a strong case for the large role of the beliefs in spirits and deities (other than the ancestors) in ancient China. However, he seems to remain anxious to demonstrate that these beliefs were in some way "popular," while having to admit that they were espoused by the highest ranking of the élite. In addition, he is inclined to see more continuity between the Shang and early Zhou and the later Zhou and Han period than can easily be sustained on archaeological evidence.

from many areas, it will also emphasize the ideological coherence or uniformity which could only have been achieved as an aftermath of political unification. Indeed, a factor that was undoubtedly important, but which cannot be extensively pursued here, is the need that the First Emperor and his Han successors felt to reinforce their political control with religious rites and other practices.

The paper will start by describing the principal features of the major Han tombs that are the basis of this account, with references to Qin and earlier material where relevant. It will then offer some information on the intellectual background as seen from excavated and transmitted texts. In the second part of the paper, the sources of the new object categories and tombs structures in the south, the east and the northern borderlands will be described.

MAJOR FEATURES OF IMPERIAL QIN AND WESTERN HAN TOMBS

We have insufficient evidence of the shape and plan of the tomb of the Qin Emperor to consider it in any detail. Although described by Sima Qian (*circa* 145–86 B.C.) in the *Shi ji*, we cannot be sure whether his description of this tomb as depicting the constellations in the heavens and the rivers of the world is correct. It would, of course, be significant if this account described the actual tomb (rather than merely Han conventions), because if this were so, it would indicate that an attempt to create a tomb as a microcosm of the universe had begun before the Han period (it did of course have precedents as we shall see). We can imagine that the Qin Emperor's tomb is likely to have been at least as massive and as complex as the well-known, late fifth-century tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng in Hubei province.⁵ It may have been even more elaborate. However, because the Qin tomb was located in the center of Shaanxi province, and was thus physically and chronologically sited near vertical shaft tombs of a very ancient type, it may or may not have been a fairly conventional shaft tomb. Thus, we do not know whether it anticipated the horizontal arrangement that became almost universal during the Han period. While we have no archaeological evidence of the orientation of Han period Imperial tombs,⁶ interestingly, Sima Qian describes the tomb of Emperor Wen (180–57 B.C.) as cut into a cliff face, near Xi'an.⁷

We know that rock-cut tombs were a high priority from the significant numbers of immense tombs for members of the Liu family found in the hills of north-eastern and eastern China.⁸ The principal and most impressive examples are the tombs of the Han kings of Chu, Liang, and Lu at Xuzhou, Yongcheng and Qufu, all within a relatively confined region in the northern part of Jiangsu province, the east of Henan province and the south of present-day Shandong province.⁹ The best known, are those of the King of Zhongshan, Liu Sheng, and his consort, Dou Wan, at Mancheng in

⁵ For all references to the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng, see *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), hereafter referred to as Zeng Hou Yi report.

⁶ For a discussion of the Han Imperial tombs based upon textual evidence, see Michael Loewe, "The Imperial Tombs of the Former Han Dynasty and Their Shrines," *T'oung Pao*, 78 (1992), 302–340; Michael Loewe "The Imperial Way of Death in Han China," in *Court and State Ritual*, I. J. McDermott, ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81–111.

⁷ Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 166.

⁸ While some scholars have paid considerable attention to the rock-cut tombs, see Wu Hung, *Monumentality*, 127–42, the exact importance of these tombs as providing an impetus for a entirely new tomb structure at all levels of society has been overlooked. This extraordinary development was to have an indelible effect on Chinese burial practice, most especially in encouraging a disposition of rooms along a horizontal passage.

⁹ For the excavations at Xuzhou see note 11 below; for those at Yongcheng, see *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan* (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou guji chubanshe, 1996), hereafter referred to as Liangguo report; for the tombs at Qufu, see *Wenwu* 1972.5, 39–44, 54, and back cover.

Hebei province (fig. 2).¹⁰ Although they are on a less impressive scale than those of other kingdoms, these two tombs are important for this discussion because their contents were completely undisturbed. The tomb of the King of Nan Yue, Zhao Hu (137–22 B.C), at Guangzhou, Guangdong province, a tomb that seems to mimic the tombs of the kings in very many respects, can also tell us a lot about the range of contents in such burials.

The main tombs at Xuzhou are those at Beidongshan, Guishan and Shizishan, small limestone hills within the greater area of the present city (fig. 3).¹¹ All of the tombs have long, neatly squared off access passages, with small chambers either side. The coffin chambers were hollowed out at the rear, with a reception room, dance hall and other rooms, including kitchens, granaries and storerooms, to make up complete palaces. The tomb at Beidongshan (dated by the excavators to the time of Wendi) had a complex of subsidiary chambers halfway along the principal access passage. The foreman or planner of the tomb had obviously not realized that the small hill was not all solid rock, but had a large fall of earth on one side into which some of the rooms branched horizontally (fig. 3a). Here the rooms were lined with stone slabs. In the tomb at Guishan, belonging to King Xiang, the title taken by Liu Zhu the sixth Western Han King of Chu (128–16 B.C.), the separate accommodations for the king and his consort were joined by a passage between two of the rear rooms (fig. 3b). The better known tombs at Mancheng in Hebei province have a simplified arrangement of rooms (fig. 2). Within the innermost chamber of Liu Sheng's cliff palace, his private retiring room was lined with vertical stone slabs to make a room in a larger cave.¹² The patterns of the Liang kingdom tombs at Yongcheng are much more complex, with rows of small chambers along the extensive passageways (fig. 3c).¹³

These magnificent tombs set their imprint on the many lesser burials in this and other parts of the empire. In Jiangsu tombs of several chambers were constructed from stone slabs set vertically, as in Liu Sheng's private chamber. Many such slabs carry carved scenes of banqueting, excursions in chariots, dancing, music and processions, buildings and deity figures (fig. 4). Less elaborate, but closely related in form, are tombs of brick in Henan, some made with large slab-like bricks, others of small ones. These latter tombs were often vaulted. Such constructions also were decorated with incised and painted scenes or with stamped motifs, covering the same range of activities.¹⁴ While it is necessary to recognize regional and chronological differences, the fundamental role of the mountain tomb in setting the model for lesser burials is essential to our understanding of the ways in which tomb

¹⁰ For all references to Mancheng, see *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), hereafter referred to as Mancheng report.

¹¹ For Guishan, see *Kaogu xuebao* 1985.1, 119–37; and *Kaogu* 1997.2, 36–46; for Beidongshan, see *Wenwu* 1988.2, 2–18, 68; for Shizishan, see *Kaogu* 1986.12, 1–16, *Connoisseur* (Autumn 1995), 16–37, *Wenwu* 1998.8, 4–33.

¹² As Wu Hung has noted in connection with the tomb at Mancheng, the slabs resemble massive wooden planks in their size and use; so too do the roofing slabs in the tomb at Beidongshan. Wu Hung, "The Prince of Jade Revisited: The Material Symbolism of Jade as Preserved in Mancheng Tombs," in Rosemary Scott, ed., *Chinese Jades, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, No. 18, (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997), 147–69.

¹³ Liangguo report, figs. 64, 65.

¹⁴ For decorated Han tombs, see Käte Finsterbusch, *Verzeichnis und Motivindex der Han-Darstellungen*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966 & 1971); and Jean M. James, *A Guide to the Tomb and Shrine Art of the Han Dynasty 206 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996); Xin Lixiang, "Han huaxiangshide fenqu yu fenqi yanjiu," in Yu Weichao, ed., *Kaogu leixing xuede lilun yu shiji* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), 234–306. For a further discussion, see Jessica Rawson, "Eternal Mansions: The Tomb of the King of Nan Yue and those of the Imperial Princes in Eastern China," a German translation will be published in the catalogue of an exhibition to be held at Frankfurt 1998–1999.

structures throughout the empire were developed in the Han period.¹⁵ Indeed, the close similarities between tombs, as with the jade suits mentioned above, illustrate the ideological consistency achieved, it would seem, as early as the period of Wendi.

The Imperial princes took into the afterlife objects for daily use, especially drinking and eating vessels and small tables. In their shapes many of these were derived from lacquers. Élite tombs held sumptuous versions of these vessel categories, often made of precious materials: gold and silver and also gilded bronze.¹⁶ Other highly decorated bronzes have been mentioned: elaborate wine flasks, as in the tomb of Liu Sheng, lamps, braziers, and incense burners (fig. 1). Fittings, in the shapes of animals that supported screens, were intriguing additions to the tomb furnishings, as were tents or canopies, also seen in the tombs of Liu Sheng (fig. 2).

Quite a number of the finest vessels were made of jade. Indeed, the rock-hewn tombs held large numbers of jades, not just jade suits and vessels, but also many discs, weapons, and iron weapons with jade fittings, jade ornaments, seals and pendants, even occasionally animals in jade. In all such cases, the use of jade, rather than less valuable materials, such as lacquer or bronze, suggests that this material, jade, had a specific significance. Again, lesser tombs held alternatives: discs were painted or stamped or carved on stone and brick and sometimes, as at Mawangdui, they were painted on lacquer or provided in wooden copies.¹⁷

While the terracotta warriors are the most magnificent array of figures known to date, all major Han tombs seem to have been supplied with figurines in ceramic or sometimes wood. It is often argued that figures were buried as substitutes for people, but such suggestions may be misleading, as people were, in fact, interred with or alongside high ranking members of the élite. The First Emperor was accompanied by his concubines and perhaps also some relatives.¹⁸ One of the Han-period kings of Chu, buried at Shizishan in Xuzhou, was interred with his cook, identified by the archaeologists from his seal: no doubt the king did not wish to take any chances with his banquets and wanted a particular cook.¹⁹ The cook's attendants were of clay, suggesting that where a specific individual was to accompany a king, that person was buried; but where a generic type was required, they could be provided in clay or bronze or even jade or stone (fig. 5).

Humans and figures in wood, clay, bronze, stone and jade all belonged to a single system of presenting the inhabitants of the afterlife. We can see the ways in which humans and models seem to have been treated as equivalent from two examples. First, as Sofukawa Hiroshi has suggested, if the terracotta warriors were to face the armies of the Six States massacred by the First Emperor in life, an army of clay seems to have been viewed as a suitable defence against the armies of spirits.²⁰ The

¹⁵ For a survey of tomb types, including several not mentioned here, see Pu Muzhou, *Muzang yu shengshi. Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi shengsi* (Taiwan: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1993); and Li Rusen, *Handai sangzangzhidu* (Jilin: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1995).

¹⁶ Indeed in place of ritual bronze sets, some forms of lacquer or ceramics decorated as lacquer seems to have been prevalent, see the Mancheng report, vol. 2, pls. 79, 84–94, and pieces on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Peter C. Sturman, "Celestial Journeys: Meditations on (and in) Han dynasty Painted Pots at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Oriental Art* 19, no. 5 (May 1988), 54–67, fig. 4. See also Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "The Art of Dining in the Han period: Food Vessels from Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui," *Food and Foodways* 4 (1991), 209–19.

¹⁷ Tomb M1 at Mawangdui had painted examples of jade discs shown on the middle inner coffin, a screen and the famous banner. The tomb was also provided with a case of wooden *bi*, *Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973), pl. 224, hereafter referred to as Mawangdui report.

¹⁸ Wang Xueli, ed., *Qin Shibuangling yanjiu* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994), 114–18.

¹⁹ Personal communication from the archaeologists.

²⁰ Sofukawa Hiroshi, "Lingmu zhidu he linghun guan," *Wenbo* 1989.2, 34–38.

pottery figures and the dead soldiers were equivalent.²¹ Second, contract documents for the purchase of the land in which Eastern Han period tombs were constructed often set down a standard clause by which any persons who had at any previous date been buried in the said plot were deemed to have become servants of the tomb owner, perhaps alongside other servants who had been provided in ceramic or wood.²² Where ceramics or other materials were employed to make figurines, a hierarchy seems to have been observed, with bronze or stone being more prized than ceramic. Thus stone figures (fig. 5) stood within the inner chamber of Liu Sheng's tomb, while ceramic ones occupied the outer ones. It would seem that a systematic series of hierarchies operated in all aspects of the contents of the tombs, as well as in their structures – already mentioned above.

To some extent the hierarchies were also maintained by the sizes of the figures and other objects, but in some respects relative size seems to have been unimportant. Liu Sheng had full-sized chariots and some parts of miniature ones; he had small attendant figures in stone and ceramic and miniature ones in bronze and in jade. Liu Mai in the Kingdom of Liang was buried at Yongcheng with miniature chariots. Much more important than scale seems to have been correct presentation of the necessary parts to make a vehicle or servant function correctly. Thus the miniature chariots belonging to Liu Mai each had a full set of gilt bronze fittings; the half-size bronze chariots of the First Emperor were also complete in all their components.²³ The case of the terracotta warriors is particularly interesting, because, although of clay and thus less precious than the bronze of which the First Emperor's chariots and drivers were made, they were fully life size. The scale of the warriors seems to have been determined by the weapons that they carried, which were real weapons, some of them confiscated from the Six States. Such weapons required life-sized warriors of necessity, as Lothar Ledderose has argued.²⁴ These weapons were, presumably, expected to make the army effective.

Dancers and story-tellers were very common among figure groups in all tombs. Scenes of feasting, entertainment and ceremonial processions, seen on later stone slabs and bricks (fig. 6), seem to have been their equivalent. Once again proper provision of the appropriate functions or needs seems to have been important and the means by which they were supplied, thus either as ceramic figures or as carved scenes on stone, less so.

Some of the figures may have been spirit mediums described in the dictionary, the *Shuowen jiezi*:

Spirit mediums are invocators (*zhu*). They are women who can perform services to the Shapeless and make the Spirits come down by dancing. ... Among the ancients, Wu Xian was the first to act as a spirit medium.²⁵

Instead of interpreting the figures of entertainers and servants as simply to provide comfort and enjoyment for the tomb occupant, we might consider them and the carved and painted scenes as making available the correct preparation of meals and ceremonies for the appropriate moments of the

²¹ That large numbers of soldiers were slaughtered in battle is evident not only from textual accounts but also from excavation of a portion of the burials at the site of the battle of Changping (260 B.C.), *Wenwu* 1996.6, 33–40.

²² Discussed by Terry F. Kleeman, "Land Contracts and Related Documents," in *Makio Ryōkai Hakase Shōju Kinen Ronshū: Chūgoku no shūkyō, shisō to kagaku* (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankokai, 1984), 1–34, who talks about the intention that all burial preparations should be efficacious.

²³ *Wenwu* 1983.7, 17–21; *Wenwu* 1991.1, 1–13, 14–19.

²⁴ Described in "Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art," The Forty-seventh Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts given at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., March 1–April 5, 1998.

²⁵ Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezizhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 201. Quoted after Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The Wu Officials in the Zhou Li," *Early China* 20 (1995), 279–300. See also Susan Erickson, "'Twirling Their Long Sleeves, They Dance Again and Again...' Jade Plaque Sleeve Dancers of the Western Han Dynasty," *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1994), 39–63.

day or for seasonal rites and rituals.²⁶ Some support for such a view comes from a few items in early Han tombs. Figures of peach-wood in the tomb of the lady Dai at Mawangdui (*circa* 186 B.C.), for example, seem likely to have belonged to the peach-wood ceremony, as discussed by Derk Bodde quoting Wang Chong (A.D. 27–*circa* 97):

In the midst of the eastern sea there is the Tu-so (Crossing the New Year) Mountain, on which there is an enormous peach tree, which twists and coils its way over a distance of three thousand *li*. Between its branches, on the northeast, there is what is called the Gate of Demons (*kuei men*), in and out of which pass a myriad demons. Above there are two divine beings, one called Shen Shu, and the other Yü Lü. They watch and control the myriad demons, and those that are evil and harmful they seize with rush ropes and feed to tigers. This being so, the Yellow Sovereign (Huang Ti) has prepared a ritual for their seasonal expulsion (*shih ch'ü*), in which large peachwood figures are set up. [Representations of] Shen Shu and Yü Lü, as well as of tigers, are painted on gates and doors, and rush ropes are hung up, so as to ward off [evil demons].²⁷

Patricia Berger has argued that some of the figures found in the pits near the tomb of Jingdi (reigned 156–141 B.C.) may be figures of youths and young girls to take part in ritual fights as part of the ceremony of the Great Exorcism.²⁸ Although it is not easy to determine the roles of the figures scenes in the early Han tombs, it is obvious that many of the Eastern Han ones depicted ceremonies and rites, as for example long elaborate processions carved and incised on stones from Yi'nan (fig. 6).²⁹ In this way the tomb owners could expect not just to follow a daily routine, but to mark out the seasons of the year with the proper rites and ceremonies. Throughout the year, work in the fields was needed, and in some tombs, most especially those in Sichuan, this seems to have been provided by bricks moulded with scenes of farming activities.³⁰

The ways in which such scenes and figures were understood and interpreted will be explained in the next section as examples of *xiang*, that is, visible presentations of features of the invisible afterlife. Such images were understood to bring to their owners and makers the effects of their counterparts in the spirit world. In the worldly realm dancers were expected to be successful in bringing down the spirits. What is more the figures were an effective means by which a desired effect, the presence of the spirits, could be achieved. We can compare this phenomenon with a parallel one, the making of clay dragons. As the sighting of dragons was linked with rain, when rain was desired, the effect, the presence of the dragons, this time in clay, was expected to be correlated with, that is to produce, rain.³¹

²⁶ A survey of typical scenes on such tomb slabs is found in Finsterbusch. In describing some of the scenes and figure groups as providing ceremonies and rituals, I am following Patricia Berger, "Rites and Festivities in the Art of Eastern Han China: Shandong and Kiangsu Provinces," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1980). Wu Hung, "Beyond the 'Great Boundary': Funerary Narrative in the Cangshan Tomb," in John Hay, ed., *Boundaries in China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 81–104; and Lydia Thompson, "The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25–220 C.E.) China," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1998), lay more stress on the depictions of elements of the actual funeral rites.

²⁷ Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances During the Han Dynasty, 206 BC – AD 220* (Princeton and Hong Kong: Princeton University Press, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1975), 128. Bodde may have gone too far in inserting the word "representations" as the ancient Chinese may have understood what we call representations as being the deities themselves. For actual figures see Mawangdui report, vol. 1, 100.

²⁸ Patricia Berger, "Body Doubles: Sculpture for the Afterlife," *Oriental Art* 29, no. 2 (February 1998), 46–53. See also Michael Loewe, "The *Chüeh-ti* Games; a Re-enactment of the Battle between Ch'ih-yu and Hsüan-yüan?" in *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 236–48.

²⁹ *Yi'nan gu huaxiangshi mu fajue baogao* (Nanjing: Wenhua bu Wenwu guanli ju chubanshe, 1956).

³⁰ Finsterbusch, pls. 3:10, 5:20.

³¹ Loewe, "The Cult of the Dragon and the Invocation for Rain," in *Divination*, 142–59, see p. 145.

The tomb builders were intent on creating more than simply daily life, they also provided a cosmic setting.³² Most significant among the beings of the cosmos were the animals of the four directions, the images of the sun and the moon and the creatures linked with them, the crow, the toad and the hare, and the constellations. In later Han tombs, the Queen Mother of the West, Fuxi and Nüwa, and the Herd Boy and the Weaver Girl added to the rich description of the universe. Fragments surviving from one of the tombs at Yongcheng and from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue suggest that scenes were painted on the walls of the kings' tombs. It is possible that the contents of the paintings resembled the subjects and styles of the cosmological figures on the banner painting from Mawangdui (fig. 7). Indeed, we might see the painting at Mawangdui as part of a sustained attempt to reify the features of the universe for the benefit of a tomb owner.³³

The generally later images on stone and brick are counterparts of such fine painting. Many Han tombs at Luoyang, as well as a well-known example at Xi'an, have painted scenes of the heavens on the ceilings.³⁴ That this cosmos was provided for the benefit of the tomb occupant is evident from a variety of tomb decorations that appear to show a figure, perhaps the tomb occupant, riding through the skies in a chariot drawn by dragons, in the manner described in the *Chuci*.³⁵ It seems that, as the cosmos was so brought to the tomb owner, he or she did not have to leave the confines of the tomb to partake of its realms.

In sum, the major rock-cut tombs, and to a lesser extent the smaller ones in stone and brick, were complete settings for the afterlife. Each tomb was an entire universe centered on its occupant.³⁶ He or she was provided with all necessities, especially for feasting and sleeping, for excursions and for music making, for the performance of ceremonies and rites. Such a scope had not been sought or achieved, it would seem, in the Yellow River area before the Qin-Han period. These massive Han tombs and their multifarious contents seem to imply that they were to be viewed from distant regions of the universe, as though the spirits looked down upon a miniature world complete in all parts. This sense that models were in some way, which we cannot now grasp, essential means of controlling or even creating the universe is seen in the descriptions by Sima Qian of the models of palaces that Qin Shihuang set up at Xianyang and the similar ones that were also put into his tomb.³⁷

Carefully prepared tombs indicate that there were participants in the afterlife so created. These would, of course, have been the dead and their dead relatives, but also the deities, spirits and demons

³² Thompson, 163–84, discusses the columns within Eastern Han tombs in terms of an *axis mundi*. See also John Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 47.

³³ Interpretation of this painting has been a matter of considerable debate, see especially Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise, The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979); Anna Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs," in Akizuki Kan'ei, ed., *Dōkyō to shūkyō bunka* (Tōkyō: Hirakawa, 1987), 678–714; Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17, (1992), III–14.

³⁴ See Huang Minglan and Guo Yinqiang, *Luoyang Hanmu bibia* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996); and Jiaotong daxue, *Han bihuamu* (Xi'an: Xi'an Jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 1991).

³⁵ See Lukas Nickel, "Changes in Mortuary Architecture and Painting in Northern Henan at the Time of Wang Mang," paper presented at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, January 1997 (forthcoming); and *Kaogu* 1991.8, 713–21, 768.

³⁶ Compare the descriptions of the universes in David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Anticipating China, Thinking Through the Narratives of Chinese and Western Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

³⁷ Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian, Qin Dynasty* (Hong Kong, New York: A Renditions-Columbia University Press Book, 1993), 45, 63.

represented on the tomb walls, or, as we shall note, recorded in texts buried in the tombs, beings who were, no doubt, intended to see the tomb and to interact with it and its inhabitants. We can also infer that some of the spirits engendered fear in the builders of the tombs. This is clearly indicated by the ceramic armies and the jade suits and weapons. Fear must also have determined the carefully prepared system used to block up the access passages of the mountain tombs, a system that depended on accurately cut blocks of stone assembled in groups of four or six, several deep, one behind another. The tombs were to be cut off from the world of the living.³⁸

The life presented in these tombs differs markedly from that on offer in earlier Yellow River burials. What is more, many of the components, as I shall now discuss, came from areas outside the Yellow River basin, brought together by the political unification of China.³⁹

THE UNIVERSE AS DESCRIBED IN TEXTS

Tombs, often in southern China, have offered up textual evidence of an account of the universe in documents buried for the use of the tomb owners. The excavated writings on bamboo strips or silk include some famous canonical texts, such as the *Laozi* and the *Sunzi Bingfa*, but more important to the current discussion are several different categories relevant to day-to-day activities. These include almanacs, medical texts, charms and incantations to deal with demons and baleful influences, maps and star charts. This evidence suggests that the tomb occupants or their assistants were highly literate and were evidently committed to assistance from recipes and instructions in these texts. Often writing tools, such as ink stones, ink and brushes, were provided, indicating that the tomb owners were to take part in official duties in the afterlife.

In addition, several other types of texts were addressed to the bureaucracies of the underworld, among them inventories of tomb contents, pleas on behalf of the tomb occupant, known as *zhen-muwen*, and the land contracts already mentioned. Such materials are typical of the Eastern Han, but they seem to perpetuate a situation well developed already in the third century B.C., and, in some cases, even earlier. For a document found at Fangmatan in Gansu province, and discussed by Li Xueqin and by Donald Harper, gives an account of that underworld and its offices from the lips of one Dan, who came back to life after committing suicide.⁴⁰ From this report we learn of an underworld bureaucracy, staffed, at least in part, by individuals known to Dan's contemporaries from records if not from personal experience. The belief system in which these texts were located is starkly different from what little we know about early Shang and Zhou religious practice. Almanacs and texts on omens, curses and medical recipes are often described as aspects of popular religion. It is, however, clear that all levels of society subscribed to these beliefs.⁴¹

³⁸ A clear division between the tomb and the living is mentioned by Wu Hung in "Beyond the 'Great Boundary'," 81–104.

³⁹ Robert Bagley, "Changjiang Bronze and Shang Archaeology," *International Colloquium on Chinese Art History, 1991 Proceedings, Antiquities, Part 1*, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1990), 209–55; Jessica Rawson, "Overturning Assumptions: Art and Culture in Ancient China," *Apollo* 145, no. 42 (March 1997), 3–9.

⁴⁰ Li Xueqin, "Fangmatan jian zhong de zhiguai gushi," *Wenwu* 1990.4, 43–47; Donald Harper, "Resurrection in Warring States Popular Religion," *Taoist Resources* 5, no. 2 (1994), 13–28.

⁴¹ The religion of the Han period has been relatively little studied, although a number of secondary works comment on the intellectual or philosophical outlook that existed in parallel. The most recent treatment is provided by Mu-chou Poo, above.

This religious universe has been studied and described by a number of scholars in the west, especially by Anna Seidel, Donald Harper and Mark Lewis.⁴² The salient feature of this work has been to point out the ways in which the mystery and richness of the universe were created by modelling all its aspects on the life of a court at the center of a great empire. Of course, the ancient Chinese viewed this patterning the other way around. The very fact that the world had emperors and bureaucrats, for example, they saw as expressing a pattern of relationships figured in the universe as a whole. In other words, the living world was a microcosm of the universe.

This universe was seen to be under the direction of a celestial ruler, sometimes called the Yellow Emperor, or Huangdi, sometimes the Yellow Spirit and sometimes the Celestial Deity, who had forces, messengers and powers, equivalent to or surpassing those of his worldly counterparts.⁴³ Access to the spirit realms was from the peaks of great mountains, such as Taishan in the former state of Qi. Near Taishan also was the region called Haoli, where entrance was gained to the underworld. Indeed, it is evident that the mountain cults of the eastern Warring States kingdom of Qi contributed greatly to these beliefs.⁴⁴ The records by which the lives and times of death of individuals could be checked were devised by the bureaucracy (which was paralleled by the human bureaucracy) of the Yellow Emperor or the Celestial Deity and were transmitted to the underworld. As already mentioned, from the Warring States period onwards, we have archaeological evidence, gained from tombs, of a concern with all sorts of bureaucratic practices in the afterlife.⁴⁵ Seals, characteristic of many Han tombs, were perhaps intended to enable tomb occupants to identify themselves to the officers of the underworld.

These views of the afterlife within the realms of the deities and controlled by a bureaucracy, were contemporary with an interpretation of the universe described in correlative terms.⁴⁶ Four and later five gods, or *Di*, were thought to govern the cosmos. Such views were alleged by Sima Qian to go back to seventh-century Qin practices and beliefs. Each of the *Di* came to be linked to a direction and a color; the role of the Yellow Emperor stems in part from this source. However, in other ways information about and worship of the Yellow Emperor came, it seems, from Qi. Although, when mentioned in Han period texts, the Yellow Emperor is assumed to have a long lineage, he seems to

⁴² See Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion"; Mark Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); and K.E. Brashier, "Han Thanatology and the Division of 'Souls'," *Early China* 21, (1996), 12–158. These works, in particular, have focussed attention on the role of the celestial and underworld spirits, and have shown that suggestions of a paradise to which the dead hoped to go are, in general, not present at this early date in the Han.

⁴³ For evidence on the patterning of the spirit worlds on the living world, see Wu Rongzeng, "Zhenmuwen zhong suojiandaode Dong Han daowu guanxi," *Wenwu* 1981.3, 56–63; Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion"; and Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, 170–212.

⁴⁴ Although the subject has been little examined, it seems possible that the reverence for mountains in Qi may have come from much further north, from the peaks of Siberia, where we know that the frozen tombs preserved the bodies of the dead buried there. Stories of the "magically" preserved bodies might have reached northern China through long-distance rumors and reports. See also Terry F. Kleeman, "Mountain Deities in China: The Domestication of the Mountain God and the Subjugation of the Margins," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no.2 (1994), 228, where he discusses the account in the *Zuo Zhuan* which links the marchmonts (the *yue*) or cosmological mountains to non-Chinese people. Later in the paper, I will mention other features of Qi culture that suggest contact with the nomadic areas.

⁴⁵ See Warring States tombs at Baoshan and Wangshan: *Baoshan Chu mu*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), hereafter referred to as Baoshan report; *Jiangling Wangshan Shazhong Chu mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), hereafter referred to as Wangshan report; and Han period tombs in the same area, especially at Fenghuangshan, *Kaogu xuebao* 1993.4, 455–513.

⁴⁶ See also the discussion of Imperial cults in Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death, Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 B.C. – A.D. 220)* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1982), 127–43.

have been added to the Chinese pantheon during the latter centuries B.C.⁴⁷ To these views were linked the philosophies of the Five Phases (*wuxing*) and of Yin and Yang. Omens were important adjuncts to an understanding of these phases.⁴⁸ For the heavens, the seasons, and the activities of humans were bound together in a complex scheme or pattern.⁴⁹

Indeed, the patterns, known as *wen*, were fundamental to the proper functioning of the universe. All later views on this pattern, or *wen*, take their starting point from the 'Commentary on Attached Verbalizations' of the *Yi Jing* (*The Changes*):

Looking up, we use it [*The Changes*] to observe the configurations (*wen*) of Heaven, and, looking down, we use it to examine the patterns of the earth.⁵⁰

In this juxtaposition *wen* is the fundamental pattern that provides the template, so to speak for the earth. The term was also widely used to describe "natural" patterns, such as the patterning of animals.⁵¹

The tombs and their contents were part of this pattern, and indeed were a way in which the patterns of the invisible world were made visible. Within the universe they had the status of *xiang*. As Willard Peterson has argued with reference to the *Changes*, the term *xiang* is fundamental to the ways in which an understanding of the universe was structured. The term derives some of its connotations from its use in the "Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations" to the *Yi Jing* (just mentioned). It has been described by Peterson as follows:

⁴⁷ The Yellow Emperor is mentioned in the very beginning of the first chapter of the *Shi ji*. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume I, the Memoirs of pre-Han China*, ed., William H. Nienhauser (Taipei: SMC Publishing INC, 1994), 1. See also Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, 168, 187, 201, 308 n. 60; and Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Emulating the Yellow Emperor: The Theory and Practice of Huanglao, 180–144 B.C.E.," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1994), Chapter 2.

⁴⁸ Mu-chou Poo, 44–48; Michael Loewe, "The Oracles of the Clouds and the Winds," in Loewe, *Divination*, 191–213.

⁴⁹ For a general outline of this philosophical development, see Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume I, The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 661–65, 690–92. See also, A. C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao, Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1989), part IV. It is evident that there was a considerable disjunction between the principles about conduct of burials and the actual practice. Despite injunctions to create less lavish tombs, there seems to have been little move in this direction, see Jeffrey Riegel, "Do Not Serve the Dead as You Serve the Living: the *Lüshi chunqiu* Treatises on Moderation in Burial," *Early China* 20 (1995), 301–30. It may be necessary, indeed, to undertake a complete reassessment of the separate strands of early Chinese intellectual life if we are to understand fully these differences. It is also noteworthy that the Han burials do not seem to reveal changes synchronized with changes in Imperial Cults documented by Michael Loewe, "Changes in Qin and Han China: The Religious and Intellectual Background," *Studies in Chinese History*, No. 4 (October 1994), 7–45.

⁵⁰ After Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes, A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 51. The power of these lines in the *Changes* is seen in their quotation by Xiao Tong in the preface to the *Wen xuan*:

The *Changes* says, "Observe the patterns (*wen*) of the sky,
To ascertain the seasonal changes.
Observe the patterns (*wen*) of man,
To transform the world."

After David Knechtges, trans., *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, volume one, Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals*, by Xiao Tong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 73.

⁵¹ The term *wen* has been remarkably little discussed in secondary literature in European languages and is also not widely considered in Chinese. For some relevant comments, see Tse-tung Chow, "Ancient Chinese Views on Literature, the *Tao* and Their Relationship," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles and Reviews* 1 (1979), 3–29; William G. Boltz, *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1994), 134–38; see also Lothar von Falkenhausen, who follows Arthur Waley in discussing *wen* as an epithet for ancestor qualities distinct from its meaning as pattern, "The Concept of *Wen* in the Ancient Chinese Ancestral Cult," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 18 (1996), 1–22. I am indebted to William Boltz for drawing my attention to an article in press by Martin Kern, "Ritual, Music, and the Written Text: Historical Treatment of *wen* in Early China," forthcoming. For the comments on animal patterns, see Lynn, 77.

Each of the sixty-four hexagrams has a name, most of which are words or terms referring to particular objects and activities which are involved in “figuring” (*hsiang*) the situation revealed by the act of divination. The word *hsiang*, as used in the “Commentary,” is sometimes rendered into English as “image,” which connotes resemblance and implies an act of perception. *Hsiang* often is the object of the verb “to observe” (*kuan*), which supports translating *hsiang* as image. However, *hsiang* are independent of any human observer; they are “out there,” whether or not we look. Therefore, I find that the English word “figure” comes closer to covering the meanings of *hsiang* in the “Commentary.” A figure is an image or likeness, but it is also a form or shape, a design or configuration or pattern, and a written symbol; “to figure” is to represent as a symbol or image, but also to give or to bring into shape.⁵²

Sima Qian, recounting the attitudes of Qin Shi Huangdi (reigned 221–10 B.C.) and of Han Wudi (reigned 141–87 B.C.) to the universe, and above all to the spirits, gives examples of the ways in which the term *xiang* was understood at that time. We know from his description of the hopes and fears of the First Emperor and of Wudi in the *Shi ji*, that the peoples of the third and second centuries B.C. expected that images or figures, *xiang*, of spirits would bring them, the spirits, to visit the owners of the images.⁵³

Shao-weng then said to the emperor, “I perceive that Your Majesty wishes to commune with the spirits. But unless your palaces and robes are patterned (*xiang*) after the shapes of the spirits, they will not consent to come to you.” He fashioned five chariots symbolizing the five elements and painted them with cloud designs (*yunqi*), and on the days when each element was in ascendancy, he would mount the appropriate chariot and ride about, driving away evil demons. He also directed the emperor to build the Palace of Sweet Springs, in which was a terrace chamber painted with pictures of Heaven, Earth, the Great Unity, and all the other gods and spirits. Here Shao-weng set forth sacrificial vessels in an effort to summon the spirits of Heaven.⁵⁴
[Words in italics added by the author.]

We see here several levels of images or *xiang*. The images of clouds, of pictures of Heaven, Earth and Great Unity, were pictures in the sense in which we use the word “picture” in the West, but *xiang* in the terms of Sima Qian and his times: that is, they were equivalent and equal to the clouds, Heavens, and the Great Unity themselves. The chariot also, and the palace itself were also *xiang*. That is, their forms correlated with eternal features of the universe. A third type of *xiang* was realized when very fine small bronze chariots were made, decorated with cloud patterns, for burial near the tomb of the First Emperor.⁵⁵ These were half-life size, as we have already noted. Such chariots and, indeed, the models of palaces, also mentioned, illustrate for us the ways in which the features of the universe could be made visible at many levels and on many scales. The tombs were, therefore, further examples of *xiang*, partaking also of the eternal features of the universe.

This concept of *xiang* may help with the difficult issue of where the dead were thought to reside. The tomb was literally a dwelling created by the people of the world, but once the dead were shut away inside it, the tomb and the tomb owner seem to have become separated from the world. If the

⁵² Willard J. Peterson, “Making Connections: ‘Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations’ of the *Book of Changes*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42, no. 1 (1982), 80–81.

⁵³ For a discussion of the use of correlation or analogy in ancient Chinese thought, see David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Anticipating China*, compare Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*.

⁵⁴ Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China, translated from the Shi ji of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), vol. 2, 42; *Shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 1388.

⁵⁵ For an account of highly decorated chariots in ritual, see Kiyohiko Munakata, ed., *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 23–24. The fine decoration of the bronze chariots of Qin Shi Huangdi may imply that they too had a similar function. See note 23 for references.

tomb is understood as having the characteristics of a *xiang*, then the tomb was in effect a dwelling in the world of spirits.

This subject is complicated by discussions on the nature of the soul. It is likely that the notions of the soul varied as between members of different social classes, and between peoples in different regions. Further, any single individual might hold different views in different contexts. Hence the notion of where the ancestors were when receiving offerings might be distinct from their location when buried. Some scholars have suggested that the ancient Chinese conceived of a person as having two souls: one soul, the *po*, remained in the tomb, while the *hun*, ascended to paradise.⁵⁶ This concept of the two souls has now been shown to have been complex and to have varied over time.⁵⁷ From the perspective of preparation for burial it seems that in this context the person was deemed to live in the tomb, but the tomb as a *xiang* was, as already mentioned, as much part of the invisible spirit world as of the living world that had first built it. The tomb occupant's journeys among the realms of deities and spirits might be made as visits, rather than as part of an ultimate progression to a paradise. Notions of ascent to paradise developed later.

UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD OF SPIRITS

The single condition fundamental to this discussion is that when the Qin and the Han emperors unified and ruled their territories, they claimed to embrace the whole known universe, and thus, as Lewis has noted, to include the spirit, demons and deities of that universe.⁵⁸ Indeed as an essential part of the universe, it was not surprising that the emperors sought access to and control of the routes to the spirits and deities. Without such an enterprise it is unlikely that the accumulation of traits and ideas from many diverse regions would have been drawn into the center of burial practice. Nor would the homogeneity we see in the contents of Han tombs have been achieved without a shared ideology and a shared series of workshop practices to create objects to present this ideology. The earlier sections have drawn attention to both the large rock-cut tombs and their lesser imitations and to the jade suits as examples of such ideological and practical unity.

The most conspicuous evidence of the First Emperor's ambition is his choice of the title of Huangdi. In making his claim to a title equivalent to those of the great *Di*, King Zheng of Qin was in effect setting himself alongside them, not only in the human world, but also in the whole universe.

The concerns of the First Emperor, and indeed Wudi, went much further than simply competitive claims. They were obsessed by spirits and by efforts to harness their powers. Sima Qian's accounts of the life of the First Emperor and his discussion of the Feng and Shan sacrifices give us a certain amount of information on the beliefs of the day and on the ambitions of the two emperors to exploit the spirit world.

When the First Emperor united the world, he instructed the officials in charge of sacrifices to put into order the worship of Heaven and Earth, the famous mountains, the great rivers, and the other spirits that had

⁵⁶ See Yü Ying-shih, "'O Soul, Come Back!' A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (1987), 363–95; and Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*.

⁵⁷ Brashier, "Han Thanatology."

⁵⁸ Mark Lewis, "The Feng and Shan Sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han," in J. McDermott, ed., *Court and State Ritual*, chapter 3.

customarily been honored in the past. According to this new arrangement, there were five mountains and two rivers east of Yao designated for sacrifice.⁵⁹

Amongst the many examples of the ways in which the Qin and the Han incorporated the worship of deities venerated in different regions into Imperial cults are the worship of the Eight Spirits, all associated with mountains in Qi, and the offerings to Taiyi, or Great Unity, a deity whose location was sited in the stars and whose worship may have been connected with a spirit known from the state of Chu as powerful in combat.⁶⁰ Far from being a spirit with specific powers, when described by Sima Qian, Taiyi gained a lofty role. Sima Qian recounts the words of one Miu Ji, when instructing Wudi on how to sacrifice to the Great Unity:

“The Great Unity,” he explained, “is the most honored of the spirits of Heaven and his helpers are the Five Emperors. In ancient times the Son of Heaven sacrificed to the Great Unity each spring and autumn in the southeastern suburbs, offering one set of sacrificial animals each day for seven days. An altar was constructed for the purpose which was open to the spirit roads of the eight directions.”⁶¹

The two monarchs were concerned not only with proper attention to cults and to buildings, but also with their own mortality. The First Emperor and Han Wudi sought special advisors (*fang shi*) who might help them make contact with the spirits and to find drugs that would ensure non-death. The term *fang shi* to describe advisors and practitioners referred to their knowledge, especially of recipes, for the ancient Chinese seem to have laid great stress on the correct medicines⁶² and potions to extend their lives, as seen in the attempts by the First Emperor and Han Wudi to acquire elixirs that would grant them non-death.⁶³ In other words, the Qin and Han sought the advice of individuals who might have gained esoteric knowledge, some of which may have been thought to derive spirits and deities from such places as the islands of Penglai. Other remote regions may equally have been thought to be important sources of magical items, as we shall see.

THE CHINESE WORLD

Although I shall not discuss further the contribution of the Yellow River area to the religious and ritual preoccupations of the Qin and the Han, the practices and beliefs of this area, traditionally the center of Chinese-speaking peoples, underlay all their activities. From the Shang and Zhou inheritance stemmed the belief that the afterlife resembled that of the human world and the view that proper preparation of the tomb was essential to the well-being of the tomb occupant and to his descendants. Peoples in the Yellow River area developed the practice of including sets of offering vessels in their tombs. What is surprising is that by the time of the Qin conquest, bronze ritual vessels for offering sustenance in the form of food and wine to the ancestors were no longer buried, and distinct types made of bronze may have receded in importance. Western Han texts seem to lack

⁵⁹ Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 28; *Shi ji*, 1371.

⁶⁰ See Li Ling, “An Archaeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship,” *Early Medieval China* 2 (1995–96), 1–19. Also, Donald Harper, “Warring States National Philosophy and Occult Thought,” in Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, ed., *Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 813–884.

⁶¹ Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 40; *Shi ji*, 1386.

⁶² Illness was thought to be caused by evil influences especially demons. Thus, medication was closely linked to control of the world of spirits. Mu-chou Poo, Chapters 3 and 4. See also Donald Harper, “A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (1985) 459–98.

⁶³ Li Ling, *Zhongguo fang shu kao* (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo chubanshe, 1993).

descriptions of the contemporary rites for venerating or remembering the ancestors,⁶⁴ and it seems that during the third century B.C. new practices and beliefs from regions both to the south and to the north of the Yellow River area had already infiltrated and greatly altered the traditional ceremonies, perhaps changing them out of all recognition. This is a phenomenon that has passed almost without comment or explanation in the literature.⁶⁵ Some discussion of this change will be made later in the paper.

Before I consider the contribution of three major areas, namely the south, especially Chu, the east, namely Qi and Lu, and the northern borders in present-day Inner Mongolia and the steppes, to tombs structures and their contents, I will briefly outline the reasons behind the Qin and Han predilection for Chu practices. Their interest in Chu had quite simple origins. Qin's fourth- and third-century B.C. military campaigns culminated in conquest of Chu areas in present-day Hubei and Hunan provinces. Chu was driven eastwards and Qin assumed much of the territory; in so doing Qin took over some Chu customs and objects. With Chu now established further east, people in parts of present-day Anhui and Jiangsu provinces also took on many aspects of Chu culture. These eastern Chu practices became integral to the Han-period Chu state in this same area. The founder of the Han dynasty, Liu Bang, came from present-day Xuzhou in Jiangsu province, in what was to be the Han kingdom of Chu.⁶⁶ Hence Liu Bang brought to the court at Xi'an customs of the south, and also many eastern practices and beliefs. Chu was influential in other ways too. Several Han monarchs patronized Chu poetry, and poetic forms, similar to those in the *Chuci*, came to have a considerable influence through later poetry known as *fu*.⁶⁷ Chu was not the only source of southern literary and intellectual contributions to Han culture. The great exponent of *fu*, Sima Xiangru, himself, came from the southwest, while the philosophical text, the *Huainanzi*, also provides insight into the southern contribution to the thought and beliefs of the early Han period.

What now follows shows the ways in which the concepts that came from within the landmass we today designate as China were given visible form as the Qin and the Han appropriated objects, categories and motifs from several parts of East Asia. I will discuss in turn the acquisition of items from the borders and beyond, from the state of Chu and from the east coast.

⁶⁴ Such studies as there have been have revealed that much of the ritual activity took place at the tomb, in shrines adjacent to the tumulus; see Michael Loewe, "The Imperial Tombs." The Han, of course, attempted to describe Zhou ritual in the classic ritual texts. Moreover, later Han texts discuss the use of tablets in shrines, see Mansvelt Beck, 105–08.

⁶⁵ Detailed studies of bronzes of course note the disappearance of traditional ritual vessels and the introduction of the specifically Qin-type garlic-headed *hu* and cauldron, *mou*. See especially Hayashi Minao, *Shunjū Sengoku jidai seidōki no kenkyū* (*In Shū seidōki sōran san*). (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989). However, the possibility that a complete change in religious orientation was responsible for such significant changes has not been fully examined. It seems that in studies of the Han period, reverence of deities has been taken as an independent phenomenon that did not relate to anything in the earlier ritual offerings. However, it is possible that the two phenomena, decline in ancestor rituals and an interest in such figures as the Yellow Emperor and the Queen Mother of the West, were connected. It seems likely that ritual offerings continued to be made, but in much more every-day vessels (see fig. 1d).

⁶⁶ For a general account of archaeological finds and textual references to Xuzhou in the Han period, see Wang Zhongwen, ed., *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu* (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1996).

⁶⁷ David Knechtges, "The Emperor and Literature: Emperor Wu of the Han," in Frederick P. Brandauer and Chun-Chieh Huang, ed., *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1994), 51–76.

MOUNTAIN TOMBS AND CONTACT WITH THE BORDERLANDS

It may seem surprising to start with an account of the ways in which object types and decorative motifs from the borders infiltrated the Han world. But the wide variety of material that was introduced and integrated into Chinese material culture at this date is evidence of a sustained enterprise to derive all possible gain from as many sources as possible. Some of the Warring States had had extensive contacts with the peoples of the borders long before the unification of 221 B.C. To summarize the major changes that will be discussed, we can say that some Western Asian objects in gold may have stimulated the use of gold and silver for ornaments and utensils. Elements of the new paraphernalia of mirrors, flasks, braziers, shovels, ladles and incense burners may have come from the north or northwest, as perhaps also did tent-like elaborate canopies (such as those found in Liu Sheng's tomb [fig. 2]), and screens. Finally, many figures of animals, most especially felines based upon the lion, animals in combat, and griffins, were borrowed from quite different societies in Mongolia, Siberia and Western Asia. As the foreign items were borrowed, they were transformed and, in due course, accommodated within traditional Chinese categories, sometimes even being made in jade, that most Chinese of materials, as will be discussed in the section on the eastern contributions to Han tombs.

Some of the early contacts between the Chinese-speaking areas and lands further west are best traced through the use of gold. During the first thousand years of the bronze-using centuries, the inhabitants of the major ancient Chinese centers had rarely exploited gold, concentrating on copper and tin alloys to make ritual vessels, chariot parts and of course weapons.⁶⁸ However, from the time of the fall of the Zhou capital at Xi'an in 771 B.C., gold came to be used for weapons and horse fittings, and for very thin decorative sheets in Qin, Jin and even further south in Zeng and Chu. Rather surprisingly, some of the earliest use of gold is found in Shandong, at Liujiadianzi in Yishui.⁶⁹ By the sixth century B.C., warriors in the Qin state owned iron weapons with exceptionally fine gold hilts, while the bronze casters of the Jin foundry at Houma had, at much the same time, incorporated features of Iranian, Scythian and Siberian gold work, in the form of winged griffins, lion heads modified as tiger or *taotie* heads, and tigers or other felines or griffin-like birds attacking or devouring other creatures.⁷⁰ Gold is a persistent element in sixth- to fifth-century B.C. southern tombs, especially as sheet appliqué found in Henan and Hubei.⁷¹

It seems that gold had entered the Chinese-speaking world by several routes; a direct crossing of the borders in the north and west was probably the primary one. A route by way of the northeast also

⁶⁸ Robert Bagley has drawn attention to the contrasts between the metal-working traditions of Western Asia and those of China. Robert Bagley, *Shang Ritual Bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler Collections, Volume I* (Cambridge MA: The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, and the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1987), 15–17. For a view on the way in which gold was introduced to China as part of a complex interaction between the border peoples and the ancient Chinese states, see Esther Jacobson, "Beyond the Frontier, A Reconsideration of Cultural Interchange Between China and the Early Nomads," *Early China* 13 (1988), 201–40.

⁶⁹ Noted by Jenny So, *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections, Volume III* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1995), 19–20.

⁷⁰ See *Houma zhutong yizhi*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993), hereafter referred to as Houma report. The moulds show many examples of birds of prey, griffins and feline faces, tiger-like or *taotie*-like in character, developed on the basis of lion faces. Many mould pieces show tiger stripes. The bronze casting moulds derive some of their detail from work in gold. For discussion of these two points, see Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 60–69.

⁷¹ Use of thin gold appliqué found in tombs of the Spring and Autumn period may have been transmitted by way of Siberia or Central Asia from Iran or the Caucasus. For such appliqué in China, see *Xichuan Xiasi Chun Qiu Chu mu*, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), pls. 73–76; Zeng Hou Yi report, vol. 2, pl. 149; and *Kaogu xuebao* 1988.4, 455–502, figs. 11–15.

seems likely in the light of many traits found in Shandong that suggest contact with south Siberia and even with the Caucasus. But Western Asian tastes were, perhaps, also carried down the great tributaries of the Yangzi River from Shaanxi through Sichuan to Hubei, and yet further south to the kingdom of Dian in Yunnan.⁷²

Other features that may have penetrated several regions of China along these routes include a respect of deities or spirits, represented as crowned with antlers, mirrors, and incense or perfume burning. In addition, we can see that the links with the metal-working traditions of the Near East strengthened over a century or more in objects from the tombs of the rulers of the Kingdom of Zhongshan at Pingshan in Hebei province in the late fourth century B.C.⁷³ Among their possessions were inlaid bronze winged beasts (fig. 8a) and a magnificent inlaid bronze casting of a tiger attacking deer (fig. 8b), a local version of the Western Asian animals-in-combat theme, bronze standards or emblems and fittings for tents or screen (fig. 8c). Objects in the Zhongshan tombs and, indeed, in many fourth- to third-century burials, included gold and gilded bronze, and pieces inlaid with turquoise, all reminiscent of the fine metal work of Siberia, Bactria and the Caucasus.⁷⁴ During the Han, the most sumptuous bronze vessels were made of gilded and inlaid bronze, with shining surfaces that were much more typical of Western Asia than of the principal ancient Chinese traditions.

It is difficult to reconstruct how the peoples of the pre-Han and Han period understood the regions from which these marvelous objects and creatures were borrowed. We know that access to such regions was prized. Several scholars have suggested that Wudi's campaigns in and embassies to the west were stimulated by a search for the lands where the treasures of these strange regions were to be found.⁷⁵ Zheng Yan has shown how non-Chinese peoples who inhabited these regions seem, from references in poems and carved figures in stone, to have been included among the auspicious creatures of the universe whose sighting was thought to bring good fortune.⁷⁶ The most famous examples are colossal bronze figures cast on the orders of Qin Shi Huangdi and recorded in the *Shi ji*. Other examples are in stone, including a sculpture from the Maoling, the tomb of the general Huo Qubing, showing a horse trampling a man and a very unusual stone carving of the Han period, now in Ji'nan.⁷⁷ The figure has staring eyes and a long elongated face that may indicate a beard. Similar figures occur as capitals on some brick and stone columns in Han period tombs.⁷⁸ The use of stone was another innovation that possibly entered China from the north and west.

If we turn to less exotic figures, the terracotta warriors, themselves, seem to have been thought to include recruits from the borders, as many sport moustaches and beards and are very tall (fig. 23). To fight the ghost enemies of the afterlife, perhaps the First Emperor sought individuals who might

⁷² Although the phenomenon has not been fully examined, this route should be further considered. A related example is found in the ways in which the bronze castings of animals made by the Dian peoples in present-day Yunnan included subjects, most particularly animals in combat, that came ultimately from the northwestern borderlands.

⁷³ For all references here and later in the paper to the tombs of the Zhongshan kingdom, see *Cuomu Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), hereafter referred to as Zhongshan report.

⁷⁴ Zhongshan report, color pls. 17–18.

⁷⁵ Wu Hung, *Monumentality*, 126–42. Wu Hung treats the source of some of the features described as being derived from Buddhist monuments in India. On the present evidence, this source seems unlikely; Siberia and Western Asia, having been the source of many of the animal features discussed, were perhaps also the sources of the interest in stone and mountain tombs.

⁷⁶ Zheng Yan, "Barbarian Images in Han Period Art," *Orientalia* 29, no. 6 (June 1998), 50–59.

⁷⁷ Watson, *Qin Dynasty*, 45. A fine and strange figure of a non-Chinese individual is in the Museum of Stone Sculpture at Ji'nan, see Zheng Yan, fig. 1. Others are published in Wang Luyu, ed., *Zhongguo diaosu shice. Han Jin Nan Beichao mu qian shidiao yisbu*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Guangbo xueyuan chubanshe, 1992).

⁷⁸ Aileen Lau, ed., *The Spirit of the Han, Ceramics for the After-Life* (Singapore: Sun Tree Publishing Ltd., 1991), no. 7.

already have experiences of the spirit world. If the peoples of the borders had been regarded solely as enemies it seems unlikely that they would have been included in the terracotta army, or incorporated within tombs.⁷⁹ Moreover, as Terry Kleeman has pointed out, some texts, including the *Zuo zhuan*, linked *yue* (often translated as marchmonts) or sacred peaks with the Rong or other non-Chinese peoples, in the sense of describing the Rong as descendants of the mountains.

The abodes of spirits were, indeed, located on the margins of the known Chinese-speaking world.⁸⁰ In the late Warring States, the Qin and the Han periods, the Queen Mother of the West was thought to live somewhere in this north or even northeasterly direction.⁸¹ The marvelous islands of Penglai, where dwelt immortals who had secret recipes for medicine to ensure non-death, were said to be in the eastern sea.⁸² From the south came accounts of the Kunlun mountains, described as the abodes of spirits: these mountains are mentioned in the famous southern poems of the *Chuci* and the pseudo-geographical text, the *Shanbaijing*.⁸³ Such attitudes described a universe seen from the center, surrounded on all sides by liminal regions that gave access to miraculous lands. Some of the inhabitants of these strange places are described in the *Huainanzi*.⁸⁴ This picture is matched in the *Zhao Hun* (the *Summoning of the Soul*) in the *Chuci*.⁸⁵ The soul is warned to avoid all distant regions where frightening supernatural creatures lived. Those of the south are depicted in the famous Chu Silk Manuscript.⁸⁶ Those of the north survive in the sculptures already described and in gilded and inlaid bronze fittings and even in jade, as we shall see.

The imagined realms were to be realized in some measure in the mountains chosen for tomb sites; it, indeed, seems likely that the great tombs hollowed out of the rock were part of an enterprise to gain access to the spirits. I put forward this suggestion on the basis of the concept *xiang*, described in the previous section on attitudes to the universe. To have made them at all, the Han period Chinese must have thought that these tombs were appropriate in terms of their positions, forms and contents and presumably, also, they viewed them as correlated with similar features of the universe. In addition, a palace in a mountain might find itself literally next to the dwellings of powerful deities. Support for this suggestion is found in a much-quoted passage in the *Shi ji*, indicating that the Queen Mother of the West was believed to reside in a great cave-like palace, perhaps like the tombs at Xuzhou or Yongcheng. The *fu* on *The Mighty One* by the court poet Sima Xiangru describes

⁷⁹ See also mention of a barbarian in an inscription within a tomb at Cangshan in Shandong that describes the decoration of the stone slabs. Wu Hung, "Beyond the 'Great Boundary'", 93.

⁸⁰ Zheng Yan suggests that the lands of the barbarians were thought to be located between the known world and the spirit realms, "Barbarian Images," 53.

⁸¹ For a discussion of early tales about Xiwangmu, see Thomas E. Smith, "Ritual and the Shaping of Narrative: The Legend of the Han Emperor Wu," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1992), 54–69. See also Riccardo Fracasso, "Holy Mothers of Ancient China, A New Approach to the Hsi-wang-mu Problem," *T'oung Pao* 74 (1988), 1–46.

⁸² Described in the *Shi ji* in connection with the First Emperor's search for non-death. Watson, *Qin Dynasty*, 53, 56–57.

⁸³ Munakata, 12–20. Munakata suggests that the animal in combat scenes shown in Chu metalwork and later lacquer painting were derived from the southern region. This, however, seems unlikely. It may be the case that motifs and objects from the steppe entered China by way of the north and east and also from the west, reaching both Qi and Chu. The Qin and Han borrowed from Chu the lacquer patterns that formed the basis for the scrolls of *qi*, also interpreted or read as mountains. The question of the significance of the scrolls has not been definitely resolved.

⁸⁴ John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought, Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 141–216.

⁸⁵ David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of the South* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 219–31.

⁸⁶ For the Chu Silk Manuscript, see Noel Barnard, ed., *Early Chinese Art and its Possible Influence in the Pacific Basin, vol. 1, Chu and the Silk Manuscript* (New York: Intercultural Arts Press, 1972); Li Ling, *Fang shu kao*, Chapter 3; Jao Tsung-yi and Zeng Xiantong, *Chu bo shu* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1985).

journeys to the spirit worlds as crossing mountains, their peaks and their valleys, to find the Queen Mother of the West.⁸⁷

“Behold!” cries the Mighty One, “the Queen Mother of the West,
With her hair of silvery white
And her burden of hairpins, living in a cave!
Fortunately she has her three-legged crow to bring her food.”⁸⁸

Perhaps for this reason, palaces could be built on mountains and incorporate grottoes. In the *fu* on the *Shanglin Park*, Sima Xiangru writes:

Here the peaks have been levelled for mountain halls,
Terraces raised, storey upon storey,
And chambers built in the deep grottoes.
Peering down into the caves, one cannot spy their end;
Gazing up at the rafters, one seems to see them brush the heavens;⁸⁹

The rock tombs of the Liu family princes seem to be such palaces, tunneled into the mountains, creating new grottoes in which they would live eternally, like the Queen Mother of the West. This extraordinary enterprise of creating palaces in mountains was a complete departure from the burial practices of the loess regions of China, however. It seems possible that the Chinese had heard stories about tombs in Siberia, Iran and even further west.⁹⁰ In Siberia, most especially in the tombs at Pazyryk in the Altai, mummified bodies, their clothes and wooden carts have been discovered in an extraordinary state of preservation, a consequence of the intense perma-frost below the mounds or kurgans over the tombs. These mounds were similar to the kurgans of the Scythians in the Caucasus.⁹¹ Had any such tombs ever been reported, the Chinese may have believed that the peoples of the north had exceptional means to preserve the body from attack by baleful influences. As some scholars have argued, mounds over tombs had been used in several parts of the Chinese landmass before the Eastern Zhou.⁹² However, from the fifth century B.C. many more appeared over the great tombs in Qi and Chu for instances. Robert Thorp argues that this tradition stems from the choice of mounds in the northern state of Yan, borrowed perhaps from the borderlands.⁹³

My suggestion that both stone sculptures and stone tombs were derived from Western Asia via intermediaries in Central Asia or Siberia may seem less far-fetched if we consider certain detailed features of them. The stone creatures are especially interesting for the large eyes and wings that can be matched on Western Asian figures, while tombs include characteristics, such as columns and

⁸⁷ In the first part of the Han, and the pre-Han period, the site of the residence of the Queen Mother of the West was not thought to be the Kunlun mountains, but a region to the north of the main Chinese area. Indeed, interest in Kunlun was associated with Chu and in the Queen Mother with Qi. Smith, 54–64.

⁸⁸ Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 335; *Shi ji*, 3060.

⁸⁹ Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 312; *Shi ji*, 3026.

⁹⁰ It is even possible that references to tombs being opened and found with the bodies intact within them may refer to either Siberia, where frost preserved organic material, or present-day Central Asia where the dry heat had the same effect.

⁹¹ For a connection between mountains and the liminal areas in the writings of the period, see Kleeman, “Mountain Deities.”

⁹² Han Guohe, “Lun Zhongguo gudai fenqiumude chansheng yu fazhan,” *Wenbo* 1998.2, 32–41, 45.

⁹³ Robert L. Thorp, “The Mortuary Art and Architecture of Early Imperial China,” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas 1979), 42–46.

capitals, that can equally be compared with Western Asian examples.⁹⁴ For instance, in the east of China, in Shandong and in Jiangsu, tombs show some very distinctive features: faceted columns with several types of capitals, which occur in several tombs, may have come from Iran or the Caucasus (fig. 9).⁹⁵ Occasionally such columns stand on the backs of animals, including rams (4b). This convention is well known from Western Asia, from Persepolis for example. Some Chinese stone tombs have stepped roofs, again resembling the structure of tombs in the Caucasus and caves in Western Asia, especially Iran.⁹⁶ Such features in late Western and Eastern Han tombs suggest that contact between China and Western Asia was frequent and persistent. It, therefore, seems reasonable to suggest that interchanges of this nature endured over a long of time.

Indeed, other traces of direct copying are very intriguing. A much earlier tomb in the Qi state in eastern China, often treated as the tomb of Jing Gong (547–490 B.C.), is especially perplexing but also especially suggestive. The main coffin pit lies at the center of an almost square tomb. This pit was lined with boulders, a feature of Scythian and Siberian tombs. It was surrounded on its sides by pits in which more than six hundred horses were neatly laid out (fig. 10), in the manner of some famous Scythian tombs, such as that at Kostromskaja in the Caucasus (fig. 11).⁹⁷ While at first sight it may seem somewhat implausible that this unusual tomb owed anything to an area as distant as the Caucasus, other tombs in Shandong in which the central burial is surrounded by subordinate human burials are also somewhat similar to the tomb patterns in the Caucasus.⁹⁸ These particular burials are not the ancestors of the cave-like tombs, but they appear to show that peoples from the borderlands may have penetrated far into the heartlands of Qi. These traces provide further support for the view that tomb shapes, in general, and rock-cut tombs, in particular, were perhaps created as a result of a continuous trickle of information about tombs in the north and the northwest that penetrated Shandong and later Jiangsu over several hundred years, from the Warring States period to the Eastern Han.

The occupants of the unusual square tombs in Shandong carried distinctive pendants of crystal, agate and amethyst, but not of jade. A persistent shape is a small tapered horn-like object, blunt and unfinished at one end with a small branch. Such pendants are circular or roughly oval in cross section and not flattened like the usual jade ones. It is possible that horn shapes were copied from Siberian or

⁹⁴ Chuan Tianchou, *Zhongguo meishu quanji, diaosu bian*, 2, *Qin Han diaosu* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), nos. 87–88, 93. It is possible that sculptures of sheep, especially of rams, were also derived originally from Western Asia, see *ibid.*, no. 86. The history of such sculptures in China is discussed in Ann Paludan, *The Chinese Spirit Road, The Classical Tradition of Stone Tomb Statuary* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991). It is also likely that in China this possibly newly introduced sculpture type was favored because of the relationship between the graphs for *yang* (ram) and *xiang* (auspicious).

⁹⁵ For other categories of capital, see Wang Luyu, pls. 20–23.

⁹⁶ See Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks. A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 196.

⁹⁷ The Qi state tomb is very inadequately reported and the arrangement of the pits with horses not well explained, see *Wenwu* 1984.9, 14–19. For tombs in the Caucasus, see Minns, 224–27. For a discussion of the kurgans in the Caucasus, see M.I. Artamonov, *Treasures from the Scythians Tombs in the Heritage Museum, Leningrad*, Tamara Talbot Rice, trans., (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).

⁹⁸ For three remarkable burials at Linzi and at Linyi in Shandong, see *Wenwu* 1984.9, 14–19 (Heyaitou, Linzi); *Kaogu xuebao* 1977.1, 73–104 (Langjiazhuang, Linzi); and *Linyi Fenghuangling Dong Zhou mu* (Ji'nan: Qi Lu Shushe, 1987).

Central Asian cheek pieces or harness ornaments (fig. 12).⁹⁹ A common, pointed flat jade pendant seems to be a sinicised version of these exotic crystal or agate pieces. Early examples have come from the late Qi state in Shandong, from Shangwang at Linzi, and later ones from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue.¹⁰⁰ The flattened, pointed jades are often found with a category of oval ornaments that was made by treating the thumb ring form as a flat pendant. It seems likely that the thumb rings too were taken as ornaments from the borderlands (fig. 13).

These observations introduce an important methodological point. These particular jade pendants have, hitherto, seldom been recognised as having exotic origins because they have been neatly categorized with ancient types of flat carved jade, such as *huang* arcs or *bi* discs. In all traditional discussions of pendants, these two, the *xi* point pendant and the thumb-ring-shaped pieces, have simply been treated as part of a long-running development of jade carving within a Chinese context. This approach of including all items in a single category, regardless of origin, has thus obscured the sources of such pieces and the mixing of traditions that such origins imply. When we turn next to bronze vessels, we find something similar has happened, but this time changes have been ignored because the category of bronze ritual vessels has been treated as exclusive.

We have to approach the problem of the apparent disappearance of the bronze ritual vessels from this vantage point. The bronzes that I am now going to describe have rarely been accommodated within the categories venerated for their associations with rituals for the ancestors. Thus in any account of the history of ritual bronzes, we see a consistent decline in numbers of the well-known shapes over the fifth to third centuries B.C. But what this observation elides is evidence that, over an even longer period, new types had also been coming into being. Many of these new types have correctly not been accepted as being part of the ritual vessel category.¹⁰¹ The question of what these bronzes were for has, however, usually been addressed piecemeal. Whether new rituals came into being is a subject that has not been tackled, regrettably, for these interesting pieces have been inadequately recorded or discussed.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ See *Kaogu xuebao* 1977.1, 73–104, pl. 15. Compare also a few examples from a Jin tomb at Taiyuan, in *Taiyuan Jinguo Zhao qing mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 158, fig. 85, hereafter referred to as Jinguo report. I am grateful to Roger Moorey and John Curtis for suggesting to me that these horn-shaped hardstone pendants might descend from Iranian harness ornaments illustrated in the sculptures at Persepolis. See P. R. S. Moorey, “The Iranian Contribution to Achaemenid Material Culture,” *Iran* 23 (1985), fig. 5.

¹⁰⁰ See *Linzi Shangwang mudi* (Ji’nan: Qi Lu Shushe, 1997), 58, fig. 47:4, hereafter referred to as Shangwang report. For related jade pendants in the tomb of the King of Nan Yue, see Nan Yue Wang report, vol. 2, pl. 116:3,4. As with the gold appliqué, this interest in horns had several different manifestations over a relatively long period. Horns appear at an early date in the Warring States period, or even earlier as parts of sculptures that acted as guardians. Such antlered creatures are known especially in Chu, but may have been yet earlier in the Huang state tombs in Henan, where a stand has been found. Horned beasts occur again in the *bixie* of the Han, as small jade carvings and as massive stone ones. As with the lions, to be discussed below, these many imaginary powerful creatures, later carved in stone and jade, were given horns. What is surprising about this observation is that the south, as much as the northern periphery, seems to have been interested in the protective forces of horns. It seems possible that this interest reached the south by way of either the east coast or down the Yangzi River from the west. In a similar manner, the south shared the steppe area interest in gold appliqué. Such gold appliqué were found in the tomb of the Zeng Hou Yi, see Zeng Hou Yi report, vol. 2, pls. 148–49. In addition, the same tomb contained some very intriguing ornaments in the shapes of horns. These are embellished to look somewhat like later jade pendants, mentioned earlier in this note. For these ornaments, see Zeng Hou Yi report, vol. 1, fig. 252.

¹⁰¹ So, Introduction, 66, notes the way in which Chu tombs show that southerners had moved away from complexes of bronzes primarily for ritual use towards vessels that were also for more mundane functions. See also the development of lacquer in Chu and elsewhere, Alain Thote, “Innovations techniques et diversification des commandes: l’artisanat du laque en Chine aux V^e-IV^e siècles avant J.-C.,” *Arts Asiatiques* 45 (1990), 76–89.

¹⁰² For a comment on changes indicated by wording in inscriptions, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Sources of Taoism: Reflections on Archaeological Indicators of Religious Change in Eastern Zhou China,” *Taoist Resources* 5 (1994), 1–12.

In fact, long before the third century B.C., and probably no later than the sixth century or even the seventh century B.C., new vessels were routinely made and buried. Various braziers, sometimes rectangular but also circular, often with chain handles, are among the earliest and most conspicuous pieces and may have come from Chu or from the borderlands.¹⁰³ The contents of a fifth-century B.C. Jin State tomb at Taiyuan include some of the other new types, among them are the braziers on chains accompanied by shovels, small beaker-shaped vessels on a high foot, a cauldron with loop handles and an eared cup and mirrors (fig. 14). We do not know how these items were used, or whether or not they were employed to accompany the ritual vessels. A most unusual piece is some sort of steamer, and it too seems to indicate a practice outside the normal run of things (fig. 15).¹⁰⁴ A late third-century B.C. tomb of the Qi state at Shangwang, Linzi, in Shandong province, which contained a flask with a long neck, many small pouring vessels, and ear cups both in silver and in bronze, and lamps of several kinds (fig. 16), shows how the repertory had grown.

It seems that several of these vessel types had distinct connections with the borderlands. The most obvious of these are the small beaker-like containers on a high stem foot (fig. 14). While it is possible that Chinese *dou* were the ultimate sources of the form, the fact that the vessel type is found both within the central regions and beyond is evidence of an exchange of vessel types across the borders.¹⁰⁵ For similar bronzes were found on the periphery of the Chinese states and were also known in Siberia, as at the Altai tombs of Pazyryk.¹⁰⁶ Some unusual vessels were clearly brought into China. In the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., these include various flasks, often flattened, carried by chain handles.¹⁰⁷

Other pieces may also have had some northwestern sources. For a piece from Shangwang, Linzi, appears to have a small jar with lobes sitting at the top of a slender neck (fig. 17b). This lobed surface resembles the repoussé patterns of silver bowls from Western Asia of the Achaemenid and Parthian periods. The very unusual flask may be a possible prototype for garlic-headed *hu*, usually linked with the Qin state.¹⁰⁸ These were often used with, or accompanied by, a small, round-bottomed cauldrons with two ring handles, known today as a *mou*. This, too, seems likely to have been based on a western or northwestern vessel, perhaps from Sichuan. The cauldron may have sat on a ring, supported on three legs, over a fire or some other source of heat. Examples of both categories are found in the tomb of the King of Nan Yue, in the far south, for example.¹⁰⁹ In the tomb, at Guangzhou, was also a silver box with repoussé lobes and a wreath-pattern around the lip; related pieces have been found as far apart as Yunnan and the Qi state in Shandong. All these items are relatively close copies of Parthian

¹⁰³ So, 21, fig. 14, illustrates a large brazier from Xinzheng. In form, but not function, such rectangular pieces seem to have a precursor in such bronzes as the Guo Ji Zi pan. See Ma Chengyuan, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes* (Hong Kong/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 142–43.

¹⁰⁴ Steamers were regular components of Han tombs, see the bronzes from Liu Sheng's tomb (fig. 1).

¹⁰⁵ See Jenny F. So and Emma C. Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier* (Seattle and London: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, University of Washington Press, 1995), 108–09 for a discussion of this category of vessel. The authors place the origin of the type in China, but it may even in its earliest form have been a vessel category more typical of the borders. Indeed, during the Western Zhou exchanges took place in both directions, many items and motifs that became common in the steppe areas having originated in China. As the early Zhou had had strong contacts with the periphery, such exchanges may have been fairly easy.

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of cauldron types in Central Asia and Mongolia, see Miklos Erdy, "Hun and Xiongnu Type Cauldron Finds Throughout Eurasia," *Eurasian Studies Yearbook* 67 (1995), 5–94.

¹⁰⁷ *Kaogu xuebao* 1991.4, 449–95, pl. 15:5.

¹⁰⁸ For Qin tombs, see *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1981.1, 12–35; *Wenwu* 1980.9, 15–24.

¹⁰⁹ See *Kaogu* 1992.3, 280–82, pl. 3:5; Nan Yue Wang report, vol. 1, 280, fig. 194, 292, fig. 205; the latter shows the iron stands on which such cauldrons may have been placed over fire. These tripod supports are very reminiscent of similar items in the Greek and Roman areas. The cauldrons may have developed in Sichuan, see *Wenwu* 1985.5 17–22, fig. 21; 23–40, fig. 21.

silverwork, and a jade rhyton was similarly copied from a piece in metal or hard-stone from Western Asia.¹¹⁰

We should not view such items simply as exotic treasures. They seem to belong to a new set of practices, and imply new objectives. The silver box may have held medicine.¹¹¹ Lobed flasks, ladles and even boxes may possibly have been for drugs, narcotics, or special kinds of intoxicating drinks, perhaps introduced from the peoples of the northern borders. The excavations at Pazyryk showed that the inhabitants of the Altai used hemp seeds, perhaps scattered on hot stones in their cauldrons, to produce intoxicating clouds of steam. Also discovered were rods which may have been covered by a felt, under which the Altai peoples may have crouched to inhale the steam, as described by Herodotus with reference to the Scyths.¹¹² As mentioned, cauldrons appear in China at least as early as the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. (fig. 14). In the Jin tombs, as already mentioned, and in the Zhongshan tombs at Pingshan, circular fittings with hooks may have been part of circular canopies over radiating ropes (fig. 18).¹¹³ Thus, peoples in both areas may have taken over some elements of the apparatus required for inhaling incense or drugs.

Angular sections of bronze that could have supported a canopy of textile on a rectangular framework, found in the tomb of Liu Sheng, suggest that members of the Han Imperial family may also have sat in tents or under canopies for ceremonies.¹¹⁴ Screens may, similarly, have been part of such paraphernalia. An early one (fig. 8c) from the Zhongshan tombs had the fine inlaid bronze support in the shape of a tiger attacking a deer (fig. 8b).¹¹⁵ It was accompanied by a pair of winged felines (fig. 8a). A later screen in the distant southern tomb of the King of Nan Yue at Guangzhou was also embellished by extraordinary, perhaps supernatural, creatures in bronze.¹¹⁶ While it is possible that these two object categories, the canopy and the screen, may have been in use during the Zhou period, they may have been elaborated as a result of contact with the borderlands. Both were suitable for people who moved in carts or on horseback.

During the fourth century B.C. lamps, previously unseen among Chinese metalwork, suddenly became popular. Here too we have an object category that seems to have had strong links with the steppe regions, Siberia and areas much further to the West. Especially fine examples have come from the Zhongshan. One of these shows a small figure holding various sorts of snake, suggesting that the

¹¹⁰ See Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "Pour une archéologie des échanges. Apports étrangers en Chine – transmission, réception, assimilation," *Arts Asiatiques* 49, 1994, 21–23, for a discussion of the box. The finds at Shangwang (Shangwang report, figs. 15–16) show that lobed items had entered the Chinese region, perhaps from the north. They may have been linked to drinking or medicaments.

¹¹¹ Some of the items in Liu Sheng's tomb may have been intended for medicine, see Mancheng report, vol. 1, figs. 51, 81.

¹¹² S.I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia. The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen*, M.W. Thompson, trans., (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1970), 284, gives a description of the inhaling rituals from the account in Herodotus.

¹¹³ See Jinguo report, 134, fig. 71, for a bronze fitting that may have been part of a tent. A similar fitting occurs in the tombs at Zhongshan, see Zhongshan report, 282, fig. 127.

¹¹⁴ For the contents of the Mancheng tombs, see Mancheng report, vol. 2, color pls. 21–22, 24, pls. 17–18, 29–30, 177–78. All the Liu family tombs and their predecessors in Shandong contained many ladles, suggesting that ladling of fine beverages, perhaps intoxicating ones, was a major practice of court life. The very high quality of wine flasks indicates the particular importance of drinking. Mirrors came ultimately from Siberia and were used both in central northern states, such as the state of Jin, but also were very popular in Chu. It is likely that these mirrors were used in some rite, rather than being used solely as toilet items. For the fine inlaid mirror from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue, see Nan Yue Wang report, vol. 2, color pl. 22. This mirror resembles one found in Shandong, see *Wenwu* 1972.5, color pl. 1.

¹¹⁵ See Zhongshan report, 279, fig. 125.

¹¹⁶ A lacquer screen from Mawangdui was decorated with a dragon and a *bi* disc threaded with cords, both auspicious or even magical things. See Mawangdui report, vol. 1, 94.

individual was in some way supernatural.¹¹⁷ Wangshan in the Chu kingdom has produced another interesting lamp, with a figure riding on a camel, a creature associated with the borderlands, but certainly not with Chu.¹¹⁸ The camel later occurs as part of the series of the animals of the directions on a few Han pieces, including a hill censer from the tomb of Dou Wan.¹¹⁹ When the camel was inserted in a sequence with three animals of the directions, taking the place of the fourth, the northern one of the tortoise and the snake, it seems as if the camel has acquired some association with the spirit world. Thus, the earlier lamp employing a camel as a support may have been seen, not as an exotic item, but as one with supernatural connotations. Such images, again, suggest a context in which the spirits and the supernatural belonged to the border areas.

Spirits were also signified by some later ceramic lamps with their tree-like shapes on which perched figures of immortals.¹²⁰ These ceramic lamps seem to have had rare bronze prototypes. Other lamps are crowned by the bird of the sun and sometimes also depict the toad and hare of the moon (fig. 19). The two characters for sun and moon together make the character *ming*, bright: bright light was also associated with intercourse with the spirits.¹²¹ Mirrors too were sources of light and radiance. Here we see the beginnings of an explicit preoccupation with brightness as a necessity in the afterlife.¹²² While the notion of brightness, *ming* or *shenming*, had a long history in ancient China, mirrors had been used only intermittently. The earliest mirrors seem to be based upon items from the borderland and they would seem to have become a popular object category from the sixth century B.C. or so, again through copies of Siberian examples. Mirrors, like gold, were distributed both through northern central China and down the tributaries of the Yangzi River to Hubei and Hunan. Such mirrors, most especially those with the TLV design, seem to have been seen to have a strong link with the spirit world.¹²³

While the ancient Chinese seem to have adopted certain foreign object categories, such as mirrors, lobed boxes and lamps, they accommodated them within their own context, giving them Chinese functions and associations. We see another way in which the Chinese attributed local meanings to foreign items when we consider widely-used animal motifs borrowed from Western Asia. The lion, a much favored Western Asian subject, acquired several slightly different interpretations in China. We have already seen an example of this process in the use of the Western Asian animals-in-combat subject illustrated by a tiger devouring a deer, made as inlaid bronze fitting, possibly for a screen, from the Zhongshan tombs (fig. 8b). Here the East Asian craftsman has replaced with a tiger the lion that would have been much more common in Mesopotamian bronze castings, stone sculpture, engraved seals and many other items. Lions were also common on artefacts from Iran and south Siberia.¹²⁴ In China, because lions were unknown, Western Asian motifs were often reworked as tigers or as bears.

¹¹⁷ Jessica Rawson, *Mysteries of Ancient China, New Discoveries from the Early Dynasties* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), no. 74.

¹¹⁸ Wangshan report, color pl. 5.

¹¹⁹ Mancheng report, vol. 2, color pl. 22.

¹²⁰ Rawson, *Mysteries*, no. 97; see also Smith, 91, for use of lamps in Han and later rites.

¹²¹ See Sun Ji, *Handai wuzhi wenhua ziliao tushuo* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 351–57; Sun Ji, *Zhongguo shenghuo. Zhongguo guwenwu yu Dong-Xi wenhua jiaoliuzhongde ruogan wenti* (Liaoning: Liaoning Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996).

¹²² E. Brashier, "Longevity Like Metal and Stone: The Role of the Mirror In Han Burials," *T'oung Pao* 81, (1995), 201–29. Inscriptions on mirrors refer to brightness and to aspects of the spirit world.

¹²³ The study of mirrors is a very broad subject. See especially Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, Chapter 3.

¹²⁴ Among stone sculptures, many of the tiger or winged feline beasts were based upon the Western Asian lion, see Wang Luyu, ed., pls. 50–60.

I suggest that lions may have been models for some bear motifs because a ruff figures on depictions of both lions and bears. Figure 20 illustrates an Assyrian ivory carving of a lion's head with a drawing of the bear's head on the plaques in Figure 21. Both creatures have small rounded ears, a conspicuous ruff, and open jaws. But although the shape of the bear's head seems to have come from beyond the borders, bears had acquired local associations, being linked with the Yellow Emperor.¹²⁵ Bears in other materials, most especially gilt bronze, occur frequently as the feet of vessels, such as those in the tomb of Liu Sheng (fig. 1).¹²⁶ They are also depicted in many scenes of miraculous landscapes, some of which are illustrated below in the last section of the paper (fig. 34). In these new forms, the lion transformed not only metalworking designs, but also, unexpectedly, jade carving; discussed in the next section (fig. 32).

Fierce felines, bear and deer appear on fine belt ornaments based upon prototypes from the steppe area in Inner Mongolia or from South Siberia.¹²⁷ The Chu king buried at Shizishan, Xuzhou, had a particularly gorgeous pair of gold belt-clasps imitating, in some respects, the carved wooden ornaments of the nomadic peoples buried at Pazyryk (fig. 21).¹²⁸ Here a deer-like creature (with horns tipped by birds' heads)¹²⁹ is being attacked by a wolf and a bear, already illustrated.¹³⁰ The main creature with long horns tipped with birds heads, appears in many forms in areas of Mongolia and Siberia bordering on China. A horse frontlet from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue is a dramatic example of a similar creature, but without the horns (fig. 22).¹³¹ An enlarged head dominates the top of the frontlet while elongated and twisted limbs fill the lower part. The gold belt-plaque and the frontlet both reproduce the deep carved striations of wooden carvings. When gilded, these angular surfaces reflected the light strongly, adding glitter to the pieces. These fine belt-plaques and harness fittings were adopted by many of the Imperial princes and by the King of Nan Yue, a clear example of the effects of a unified empire creating a common demand for luxury goods across the whole region. In earlier Warring States times, such items were much more frequently restricted to one region, for example the Kingdom of Zhongshan, where exceptionally beautiful inlaid fittings with Western Asian subjects seem to have been confined to this one area (figs 8a–c). As we shall now see, like the belt-plaques, Chu practices seem to have been widely disseminated in the same way across a large area as a consequence of centralized power over a vast region.

THE SOUTH AND THE STATE OF CHU

If the Han Imperial family chose mountain sites with horizontal access for their tombs on account of contacts with the north, their practices of creating tombs with many rooms, each for separate functions, came from Chu. From at least the late fifth century B.C., if not earlier, major tombs in the

¹²⁵ See Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, 190–91.

¹²⁶ Compare also discs and handles with bear motifs, Mancheng report, vol. 1, fig. 62:1, 4 and Nan Yue Wang report, vol. 1, fig. 66:11, 12.

¹²⁷ See Sun Ji, "Xian Qin, Han, Jin yaodai yong jin yin daikou," *Wenwu* 1994.1, 50–64.

¹²⁸ Gold plaques and appliques from the area of present-day Xinjiang province provide intermediaries between the wooden carvings from Pazyryk and the gold belt-buckles described. See *Wenwu* 1981.1, 18–22, pl. 8.

¹²⁹ In this connection, note an antler decorated with birds found at Teng xian in Shandong province. See *Kaogu xuebao* 1991.4, 449–95, pl. 5:6. Compare a three-dimensional figure in gold (*Wenwu* 1983.12, 23–24, pl. 4:1). It is possible that this interest in antlers came from the border areas and infiltrated many areas of China, being most popular in Chu. See also footnote 100.

¹³⁰ For other objects decorated with bears, see Nan Yue Wang report, vol. 2, pl. 52; Mancheng report, vol. 2, pl. 50:1.

¹³¹ Related pieces, as yet unpublished, have been retrieved from the tombs at Yongcheng, see also *Wenwu* 1998.8, 37–43.

south had comprised several rooms, each one dedicated to a separate function or with a different emphasis. The famous, late fifth-century B.C. tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng had four rooms: one for ceremonies; a private room for personal entertainment, with his inner coffin as his own chamber; a room for his attendants; and a room for weapons and chariot parts. Rather smaller and more compressed versions of these multi-chambered tombs for lower ranking members of Chu élite have been found in Hubei and Hunan.¹³² The Han, and perhaps the Qin before them, seem to have taken from Chu this conception of a tomb as a sequence of individual rooms with separate and distinct functions.

The officials responsible for supplying these tombs also followed Chu customs. While tombs in the Yellow River area had been filled with bronzes and jades for ritual and war, in Chu objects for daily life had been preferred. Lacquer eating and drinking vessels, boxes and furniture were particularly prominent, and were taken over by the Qin and the Han. Many of the Chu categories of containers and furnishings were now made in a variety of materials ranging from fine silver to common ceramics. Ceramic types were often decorated with lacquer patterns (fig. 1d).¹³³ Several vessel types, most especially circular vessels originally made of lacquer, known as *zun* and *zhi*, were clearly borrowed from Chu.¹³⁴ Like the cauldrons and flasks from the west or the north, these circular vessels lay outside the traditional ritual vessel categories. In Han tombs, they often occurred in gilt bronze versions and occasionally in jade.

From the south, also, may have come an emphasis on music and dance in life and the afterlife.¹³⁵ The fifth-century B.C. tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng contained an extraordinary number of musical instruments, including a renowned set of sixty-five bells.¹³⁶ Lesser Chu tombs were also supplied with many musical instruments. In their turn, the great Han tombs at Xuzhou held pottery models of musicians (and perhaps also many actual instruments now lost).¹³⁷ The musical instruments stored in the tombs of Liu Sheng and the King of Nan Yue included sets of bells and stringed instruments, or *qin*, decorated with gilded knobs in the shapes of mountains on which prowled wild animals. We should not see dancing and music in isolation, for they probably accompanied the feasting and drinking in which the vessels just described were used (fig. 6). As already mentioned, such dancing may also have been intended to summon the spirits to join the festivities.

Essential both to the banquets and to the practices to summon the spirits were servants and attendants of every kind. Chu seems to have contributed a conviction that inert models of figures could become suitable servants in the afterlife, and thus, perhaps, stimulated production of tomb models of all types.¹³⁸ Well before unification, some parts of the Yellow River area had employed models and figures in clay. For instance, the Qin had made ceramic granaries, while in Shandong

¹³² See, for example, the tomb at Tianxingguan, Jiangling, in Hubei. *Kaogu xuebao* 1982.1, 71–116.

¹³³ For later examples of ceramic imitations of lacquer, see Sturman, "Celestial Journey." Lacquer vessels found in the southern tombs, see *Wenwu* 1978.8, 12–31, were often replaced by painted ceramic in more northerly tombs, as in Liu Sheng's tomb at Mancheng. See Mancheng report, vol. 1, 129–33.

¹³⁴ Discussed in Jessica Rawson, "Chu Influences on the Development of Han Bronze Vessels," *Arts Asiatiques* 44 (1989), 84–99; compare also Suning Sun-Bailey, "Gained in Translation," *Orientalism* 22, no. 7 (July 1991), 25–27.

¹³⁵ Loewe, "Changes in Qin and Han China."

¹³⁶ So, 19, has pointed out that this interest in music appears at an earlier date in the east, as at Liujiadianzi in Yishui, Shandong province. See *Wenwu* 1984.9, 1–13.

¹³⁷ *China – Verborgene Schätze. Grabfunde der Han-Dynastie* (Leoben: Kunsthalle Leoben, 1998), 63–65.

¹³⁸ For a tomb at Changzhi, where, in the pre-Han period, wooden models and human figures were used concurrently, see *Kaogu xuebao* 1984.4, 503–29, fig. 10. An antler discovered in this tomb suggests that the practice may have been borrowed from Chu or from eastern China.

small figures of musicians occur in a very few late Warring States tombs.¹³⁹ But these few examples have none of the elegance or elaborate detail of the wooden figures of the fourth- to third-century B.C. Chu tombs at Xinyang, Baoshan and Mashan.¹⁴⁰ The Chu figures were of wood and sometimes wore clothes in textile, while sometimes their dress was painted. A few even had articulated, moveable limbs, suggesting that the powers of the figures to move and so to attend to their owners' needs were important. Figures in a single tomb were often ranked by size, according to the importance of their roles. Their dress and ornaments, such as pendants, further defined status among them. Such ranking seems to have been followed by the hierarchical treatment of figures by size and material under the Han.¹⁴¹

This same attention to rank and function, defined by details of dress and weapons, seems to characterize the terracotta army of the Qin and the later, smaller Han ceramic armies.¹⁴² In particular, Qin and Han figures of soldiers reproduce the correct dress and gestures appropriate for each category of warrior (fig. 23). Those of the Chu kingdom tombs at Xuzhou, Guishan and Beidongshan, have carefully painted clothes, and neatly differentiated hairstyles. They resemble figures in wood in their overall form and in the care with which their dress was painted.¹⁴³ In addition, many Qin and Han clay figures of servants have contemporary wooden counterparts, which they seem to copy.¹⁴⁴

In the case of models of soldiers massed to defend the tomb of the First Emperor and those of later Han emperors and princes, a further contribution from Chu must be considered. That is the matter of fear, mentioned above in connection with Sofukawa Hiroshi's views on the role of the terracotta warriors. We can infer that the peoples of the south feared spirits, demons and evil influences from the strange, armed figures painted on the innermost coffin of the Marquis Yi of Zeng. These creatures carry the kinds of halberds that warriors of the day would have used. Such images were, I presume, intended to defend the tomb owner.¹⁴⁵ In slightly later Chu tombs wooden carvings crowned by antlers seem to have acted as guardians.¹⁴⁶ Thus it would seem, from the south may have come notions of creating figures, especially of supernatural creatures, as a way of enlisting them to ward off attacks by evil, demonic forces. In the Yellow River area, ceramic armies answered some of the need for defense. More traditional Chu practices continued in the south. On the outermost of the inner coffins

¹³⁹ Discussed more fully in Jessica Rawson, "Commanding the Spirits. Control through Bronze and Jade." *Orientalions* 29, no. 2 (February 1998), 33–45. The musician figures found in Shandong may, perhaps, have borrowed a Chu practice, as there is some evidence that there was knowledge of the wooden tomb figures of Chu at an even earlier date. See *Wenwu* 1993.3, 1–6, color pl.

¹⁴⁰ See *Xinyang Chu mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986), figs. 39–40, 79; Baoshan report, vol. 1, figs. 169–70; and *Jiangling Mashan yihao Chumu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), fig. 66. The role of figures in Chu tombs was discussed by Alain Thote in an unpublished paper at a conference at the British Museum in December 1996. For concerns with function, see Jessica Rawson, "Thinking in Pictures. Tomb Figures in the Chinese View of the Afterlife," a paper given to the Oriental Ceramic Society on April 22 1997, forthcoming in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 61; Patricia Berger, "Body Doubles: Sculpture for the Afterlife." *Orientalions* 29, no. 2 (February 1998), 46–53.

¹⁴¹ *The Quest for Eternity, Chinese Ceramic Sculptures from the People's Republic of China* (Los Angeles and London: Los Angeles County Museum, Chronicle Books, Thames and Hudson, 1987), 15, note 9, discusses sayings attributed to Confucius. Hitherto Confucius' references to figurines have not been fully understood, as it was not recognized that the range of figures in burial could and did include humans. See Rawson, "Thinking in Pictures."

¹⁴² See Rawson, "Thinking in Pictures," for a discussion of the contributions of Chu to the use of tomb figures in the Qin and Han periods.

¹⁴³ Compare the clay figures from Beidongshan, Xuzhou (*Wenwu* 1988.2, 2–18, 68, color pl.) with the wooden figures from Fenghuangshan, Jiangling in Hubei province (*Kaogu xuebao* 1993.4, 455–512, figs. 30–31).

¹⁴⁴ Compare wooden figures from Shandong (*Wenwu* 1980.12, 7–16, fig. 20) with a ceramic figure from Shaanxi (*Wenwu* 1981.11, 24–29, fig. 7).

¹⁴⁵ Zeng Hou Yi report, vol. 1, 36, fig. 21, 39, fig. 22.

¹⁴⁶ Sofukawa, "Lingmu zhidu."

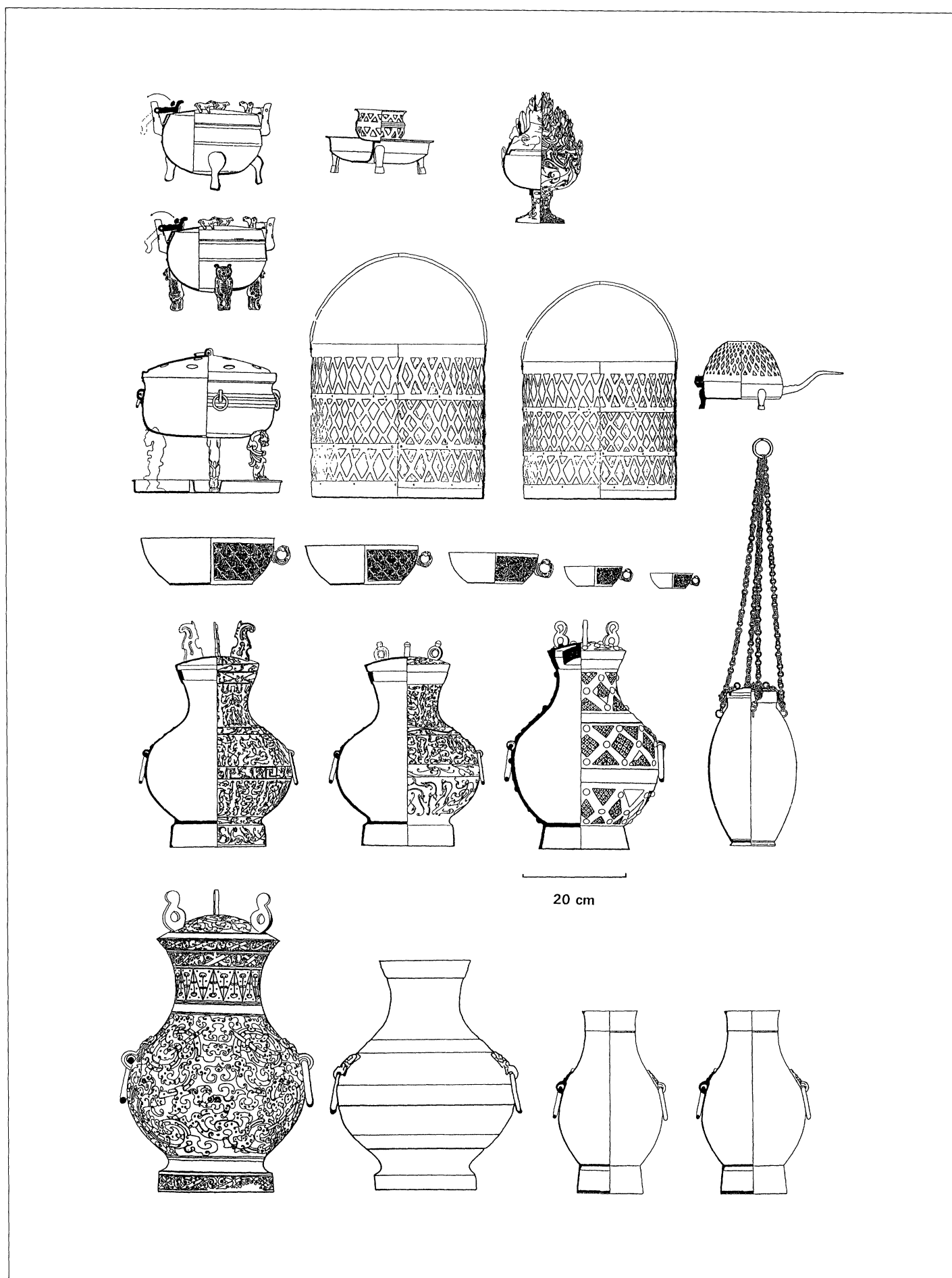


Fig. 1a. Drawings of fine bronze *hu* vessels, braziers and incense burners from the tomb of Liu Sheng, King of Zhongshan, buried at Mancheng, Hebei province. Western Han period, ca. 113 B.C. After *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, vol. I, figs. 22–23, 26, 29, 31, 32:1–2, 34–36, 41, 44, 46.

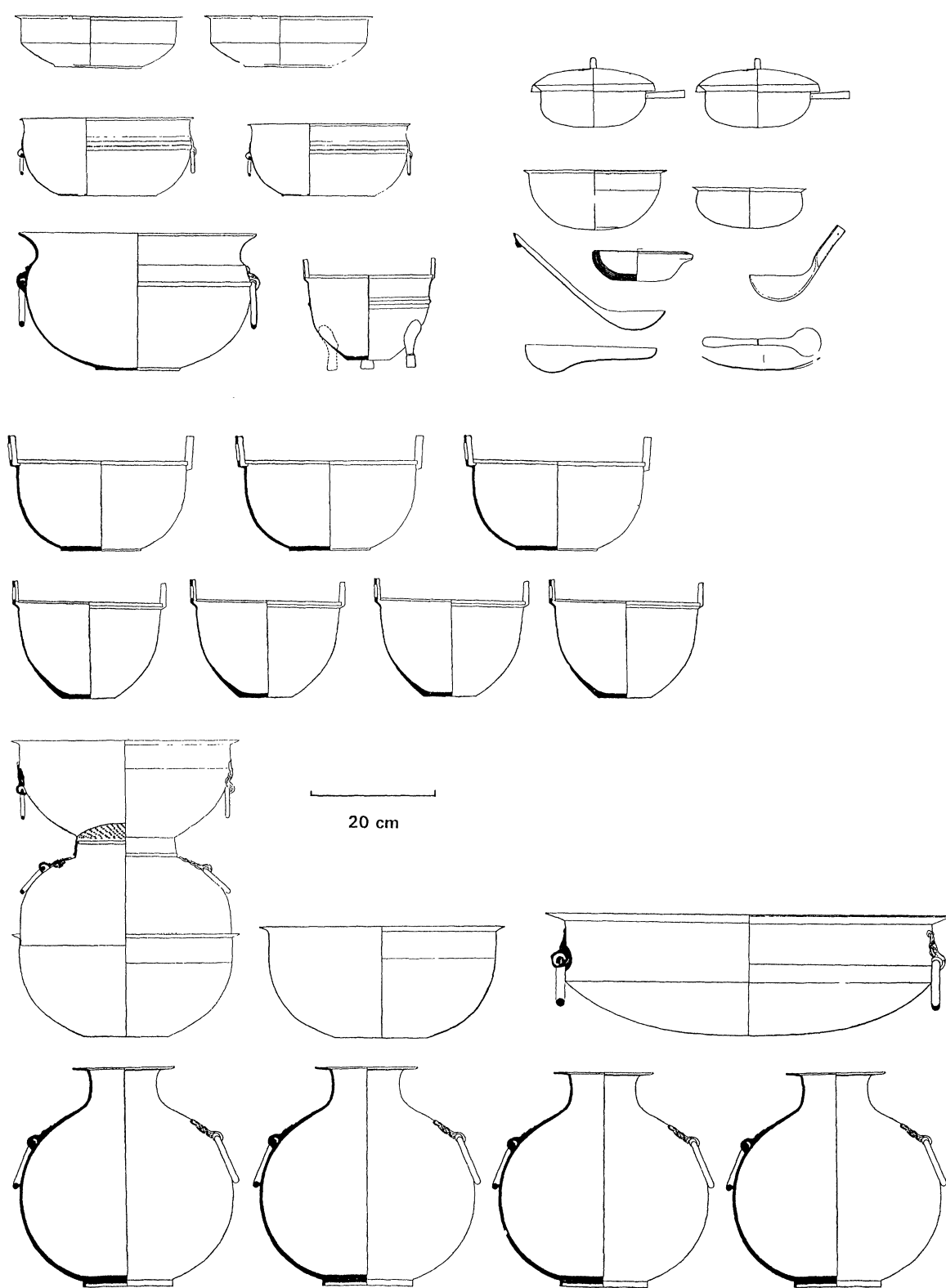


Fig. 1c. Drawings of plain bronze *hu*, braziers, steamers, pouring vessels and ladles from the tomb of Liu Sheng. Western Han period, ca. 113 B.C. After *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, vol. I, figs. 32:3–4, 35, 37, 39, 42–45.

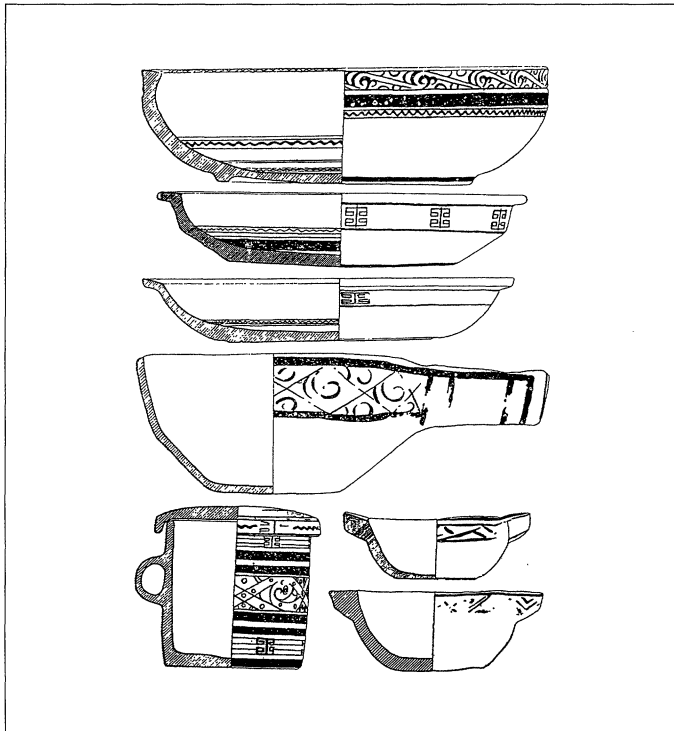


Fig. 1d. Drawings of ceramic vessels decorated with lacquer patterns from the tomb of Liu Sheng. Western Han period, ca. 113 B.C. After Mancheng report, vol. 1, fig. 87. These categories of vessels seem to have been used for offerings from at least the Han period.

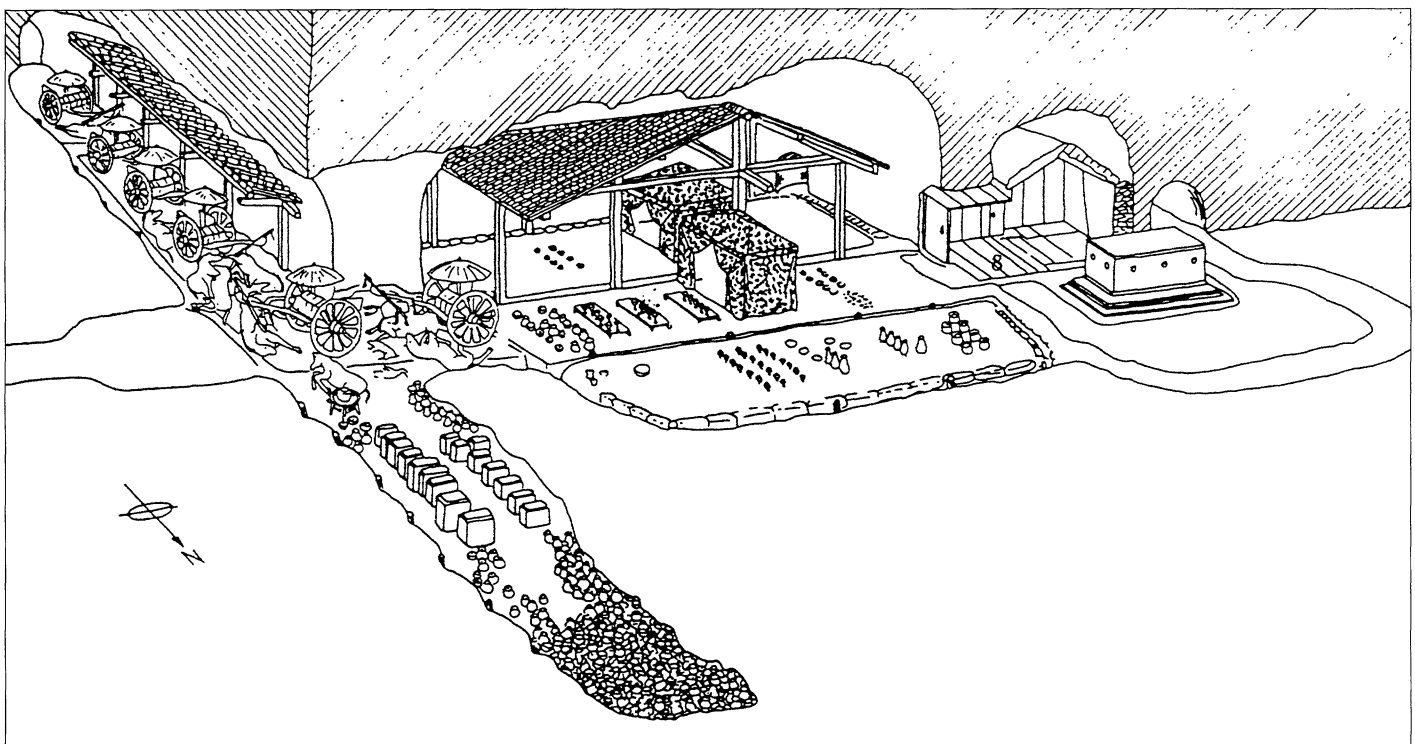


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the tomb of Liu Sheng at Mancheng, Hebei province. After Wen Fong, ed., *The Great Bronze Age of China. An Exhibition from the People's Republic of China*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 326, fig. 112.

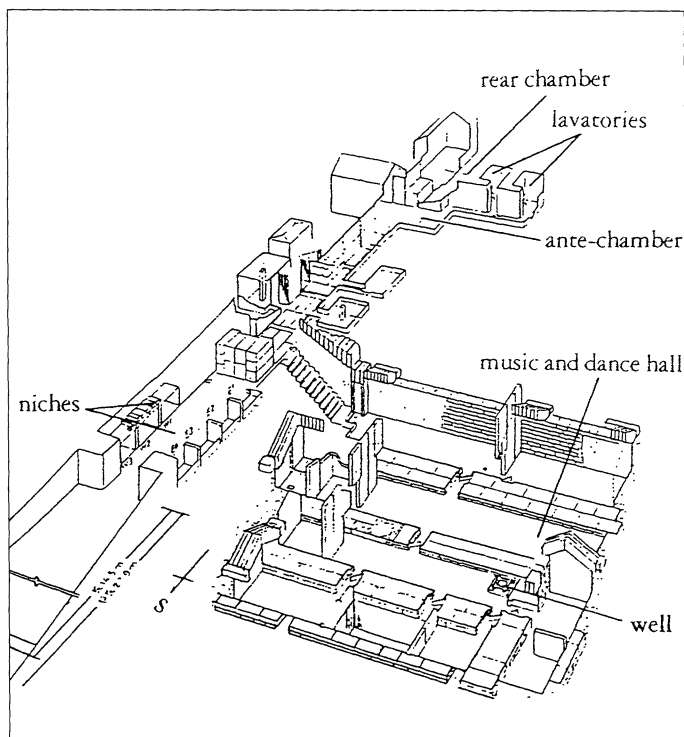


Fig. 3a. Plan of rock-carved cave tomb at Beidongshan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han period. After Li Yinde, "The 'Underground Palace' of a Chu Prince at Beidongshan," *Orientalism* 21, no. 10 (October 1990), 57, fig. 1.

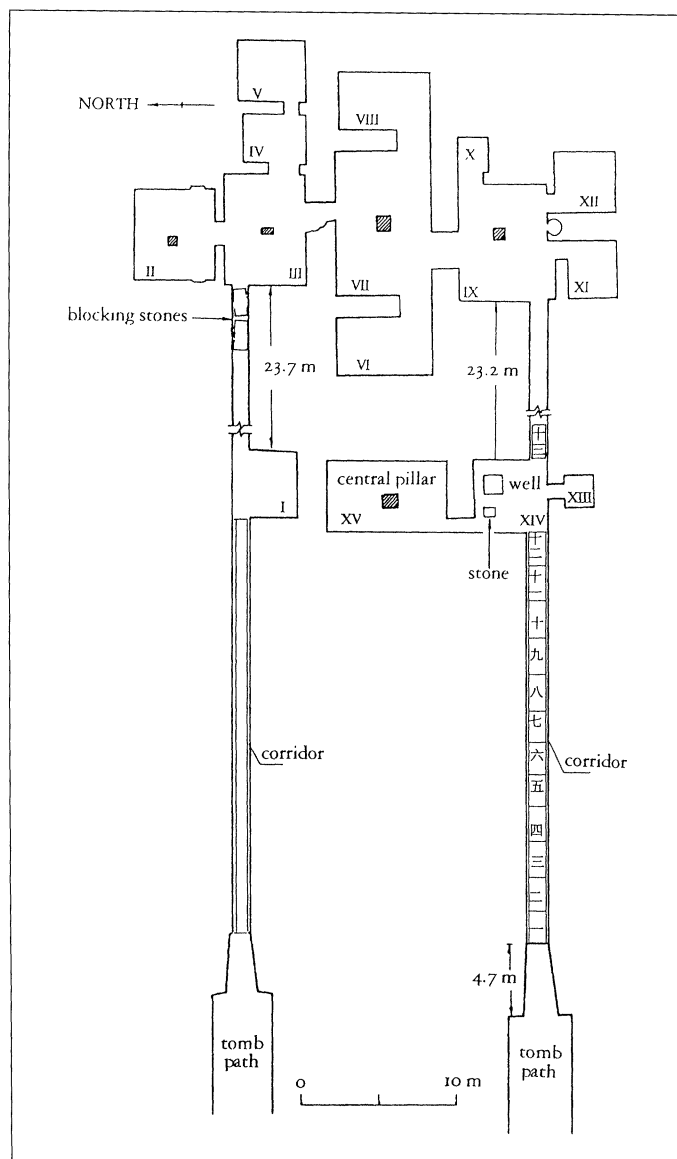


Fig. 3b. Plan of rock-carved cave tomb at Guishan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province. After *Kaogu* 1997.2, 133, fig. 1.

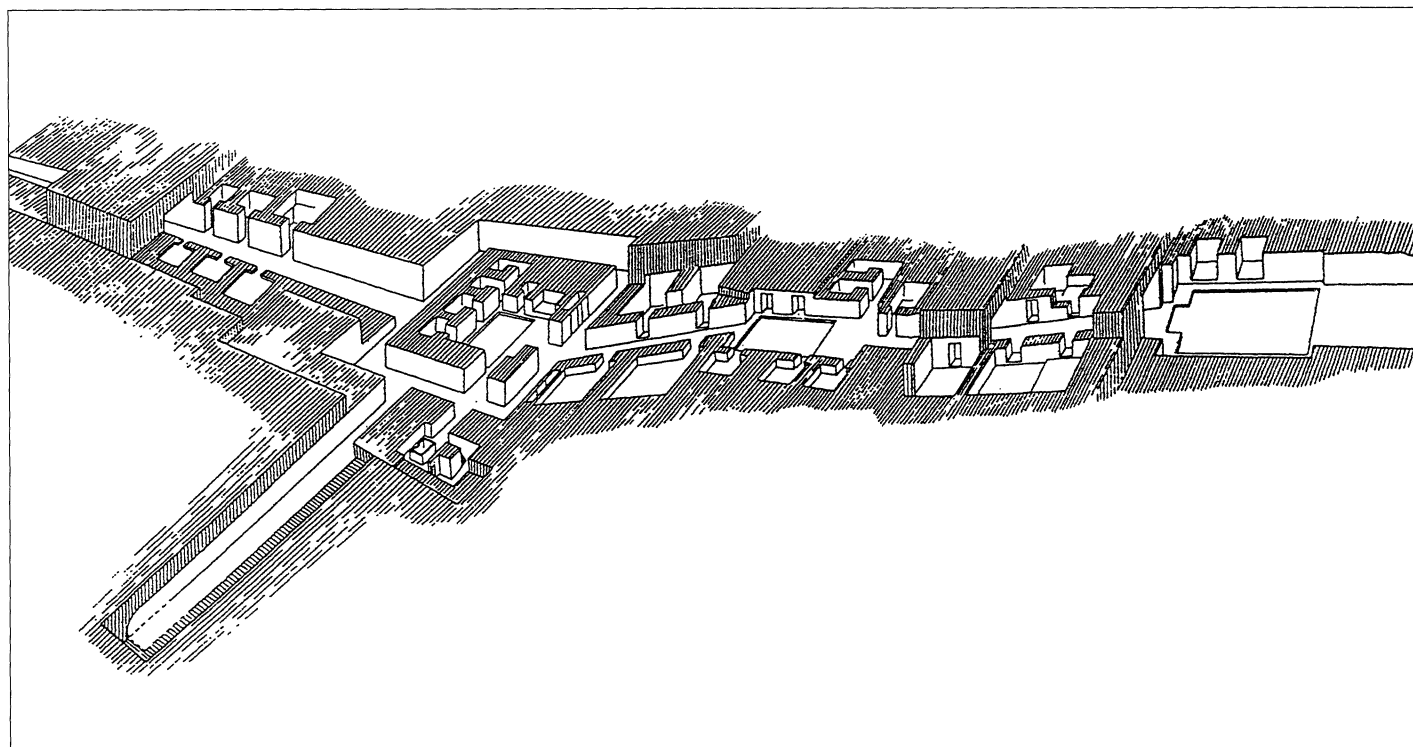


Fig. 3c. Plan of a tomb of the Western Han period Liang kingdom at Yongcheng, Henan province. After *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan*, fig. 65.



Fig. 4a. View of the interior of a late Western Han tomb at Baicun, near Xuzhou. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 4b. A column supported on the back of a ram from a late Western Han tomb at Baicun, near Xuzhou. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 5. Stone servant figures from the inner chamber of Liu Sheng's tomb. Western Han period, ca. 113 B.C. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 6. Rubbing of carved stone slabs depicting a dragon and fish parade, from Yi'nan, Shandong province. Eastern Han period, late 2nd century B.C. After *Yi'nan gu huaxiangshi mu fajue baogao* (Nanjing: Nanjing Bowuyuan, 1956), rubbing no. 34.

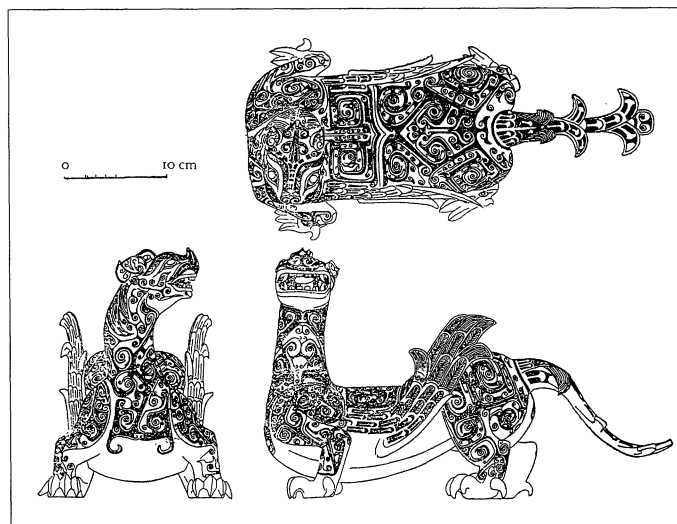


Fig. 8a. Drawing of a winged beast in inlaid bronze from the tomb of King Cuo at Zhongshan, Pingshan, Hebei province. Late 4th century B.C. After *Cuomu Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu*, fig. 51.

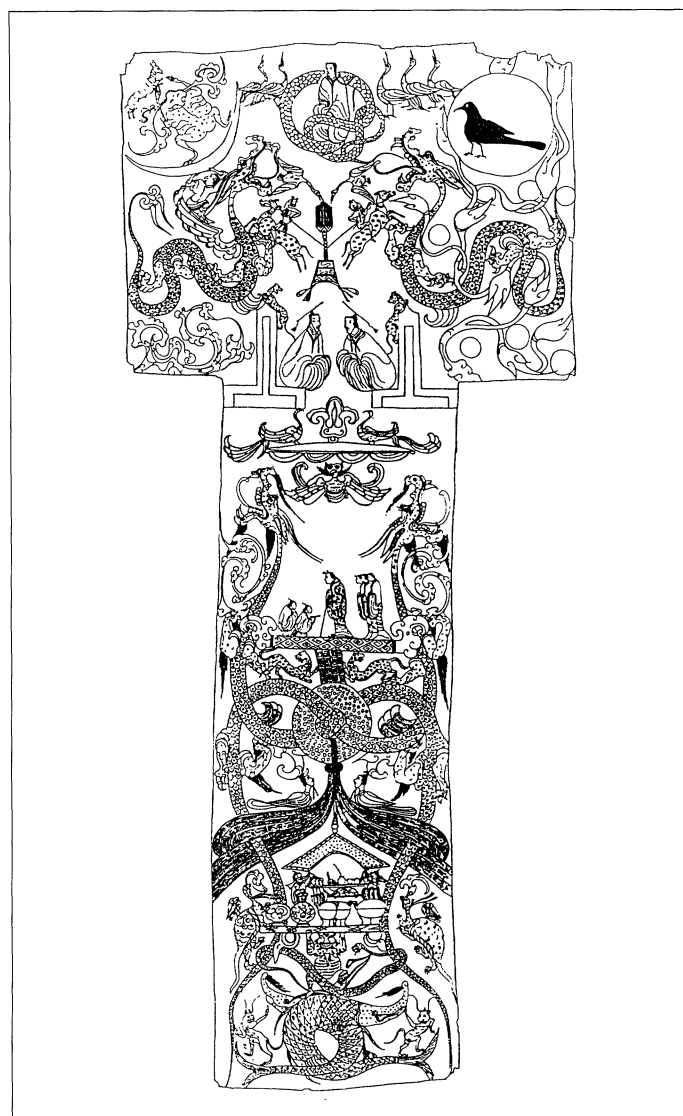


Fig. 7. Drawing of the banner found in tomb M1 at Mawangdui, Changsha, in Hunan province. Han dynasty, second century B.C. After *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu*, vol. I, 40, fig. 38.

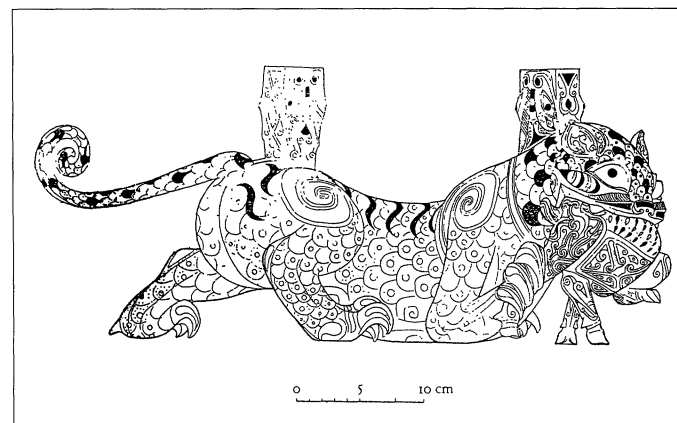


Fig. 8b. Drawing of a tiger devouring a deer in inlaid bronze. After *Cuomu Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu*, fig. 112.

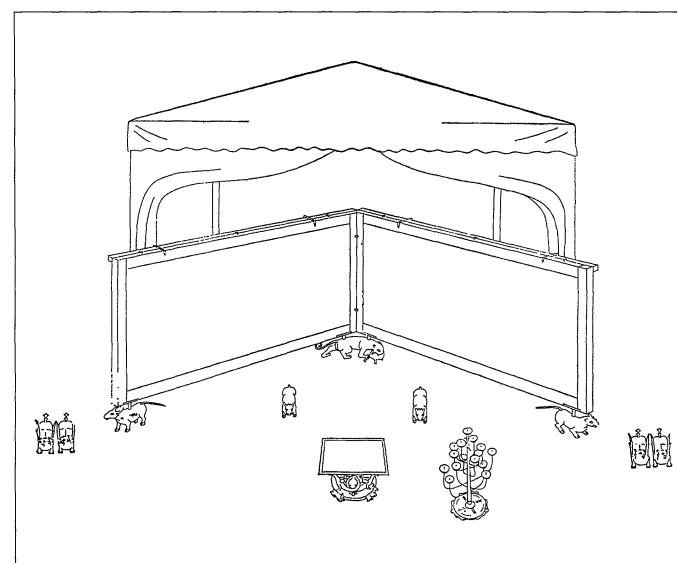


Fig. 8c. Drawing of a reconstruction of a screen and canopy from the Zhongshan tomb showing the various fine bronzes. After *Cuomu Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu*, fig. 125.

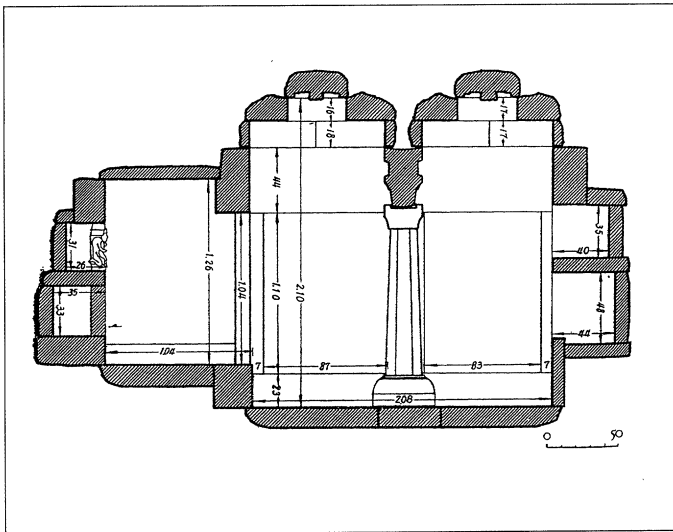


Fig. 9. Tomb of stone slabs, with a steep vaulted roof and a faceted column at Changli, Jiangsu province. Han dynasty. After *Wenwu* 1957.12, 36.

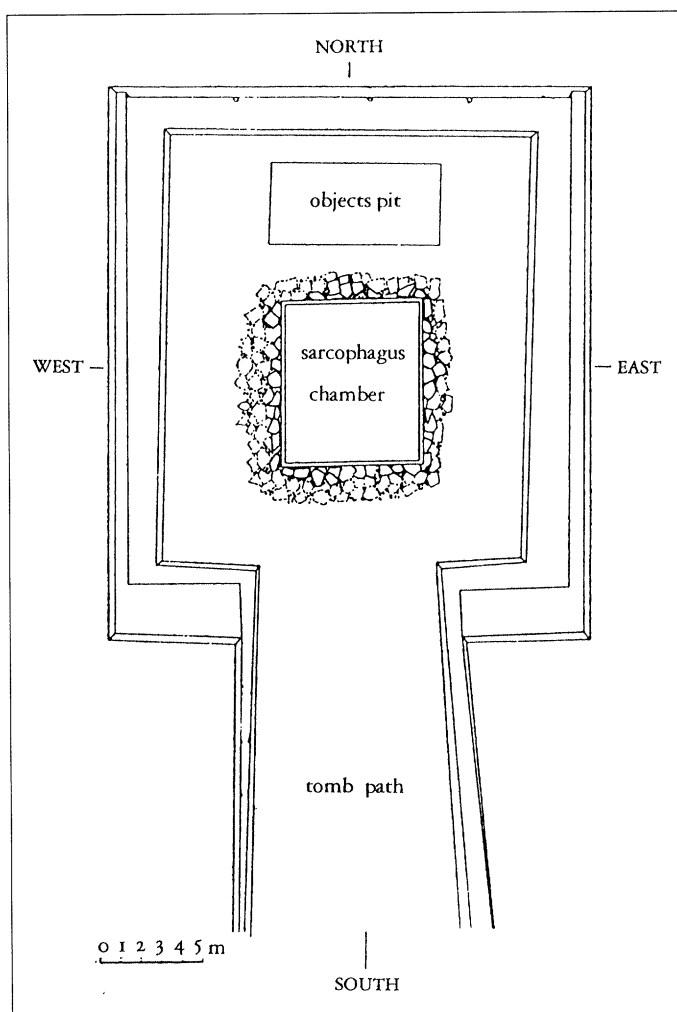


Fig. 10. Plan of the tomb attributed to Jing Gong of the Qi state (547–489 B.C.) at Heyaitou, Linzi, Shandong province. After *Wenwu* 1984.9, 14, fig. 2.

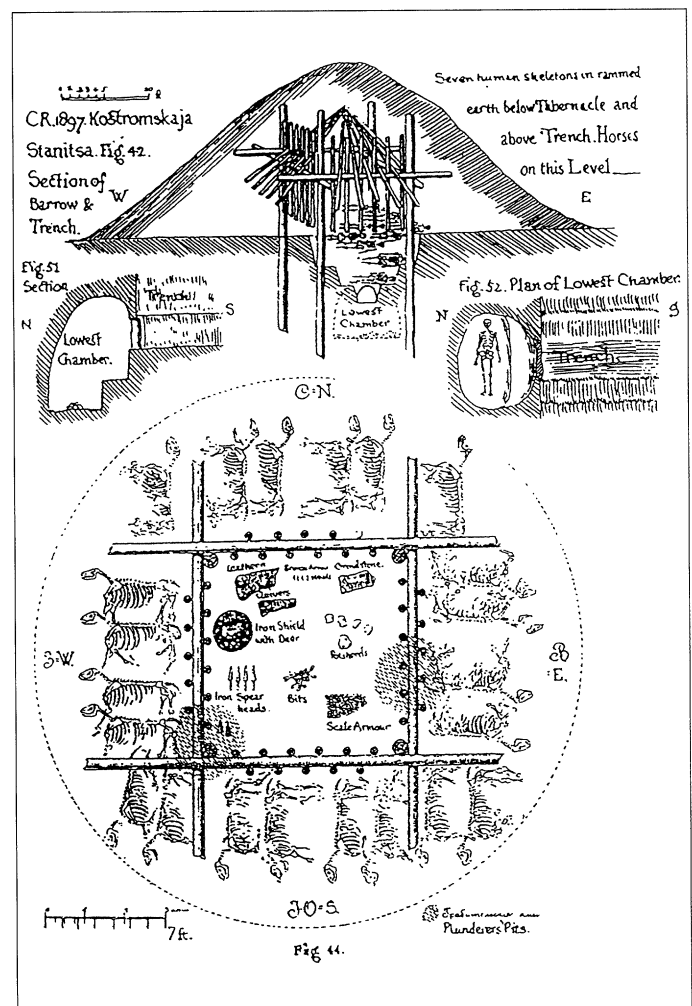


Fig. 11. Plan and section of the Scythian tomb at Kostromskaja in the Caucasus. After *Sythians and Greeks*, 29, fig. 128.

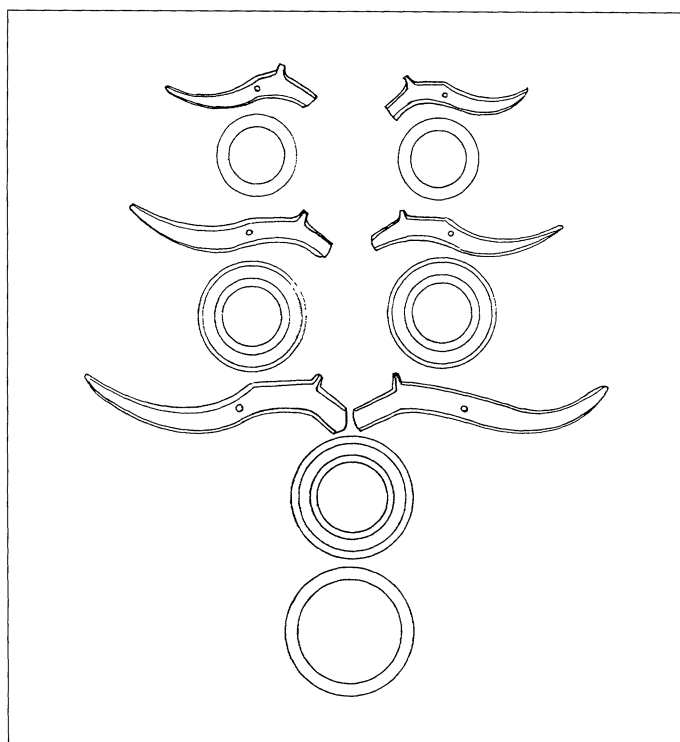


Fig. 12. Pendants in the form of horns and rings of crystal from Langjiazhuang, Zibo, Shandong province. 6th–5th century B.C. After *Kaogu xuebao* 1977.1, pl.15.



Fig. 13. Rubbings of pendants from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue. Left: The two lower elements are derived from horn-shaped items, seen first in crystal in 5th- and 4th-century B.C. tombs in Shandong province. Length: 11.2 cm. Right: A pendant in the form of a flattened thumb ring. Length: 11.6 cm. Han period, 2nd century B.C. After *Xi Han Nan Yue Wang mu*, 247, fig. 168; 245, fig. 166:4.

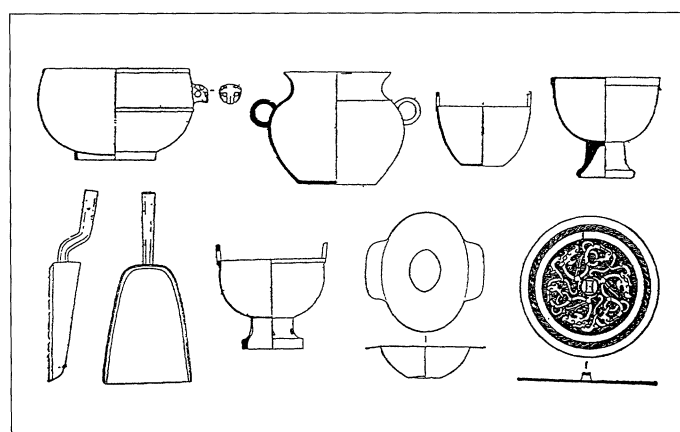


Fig. 14a. Drawings of a group of miscellaneous bronze vessels and other items from a tomb of the Jin State at Taiyuan, Shanxi province. 5th century B.C. After *Taiyuan Jinguo Zhao qing mu*, fig. 65.

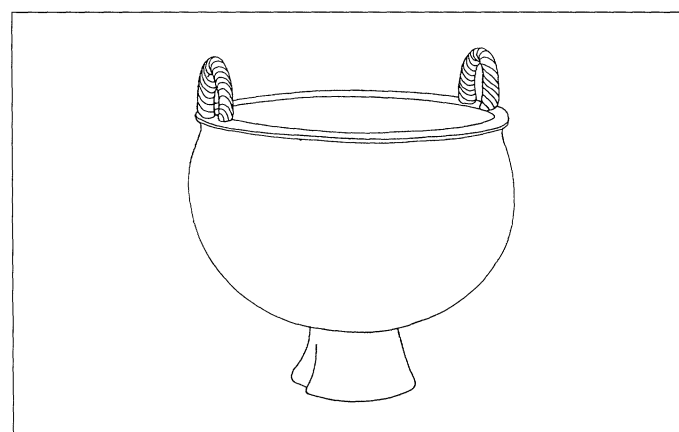


Fig. 14b. Bronze *fu* from Jundushan, Yanqing, Beijing. 7th –6th century B.C. After *Traders and Raiders*, fig. 22.1.

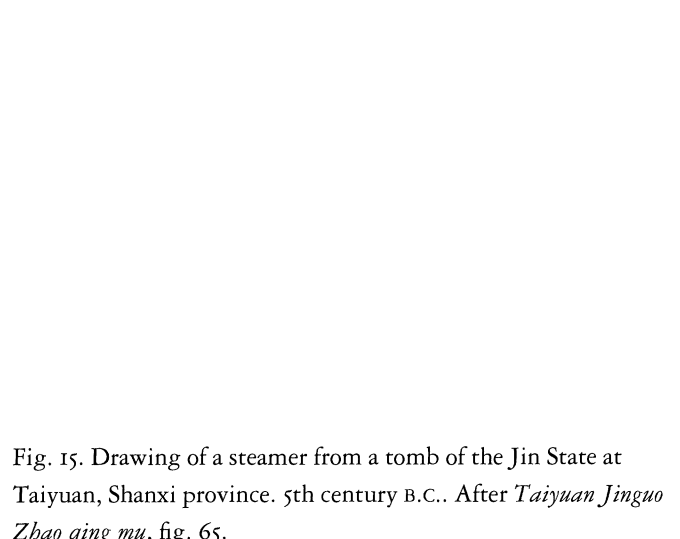
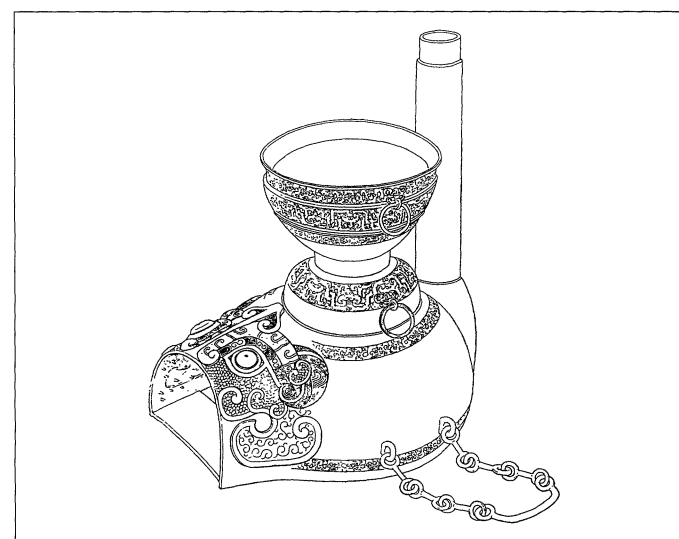


Fig. 15. Drawing of a steamer from a tomb of the Jin State at Taiyuan, Shanxi province. 5th century B.C.. After *Taiyuan Jinguo Zhao qing mu*, fig. 65.



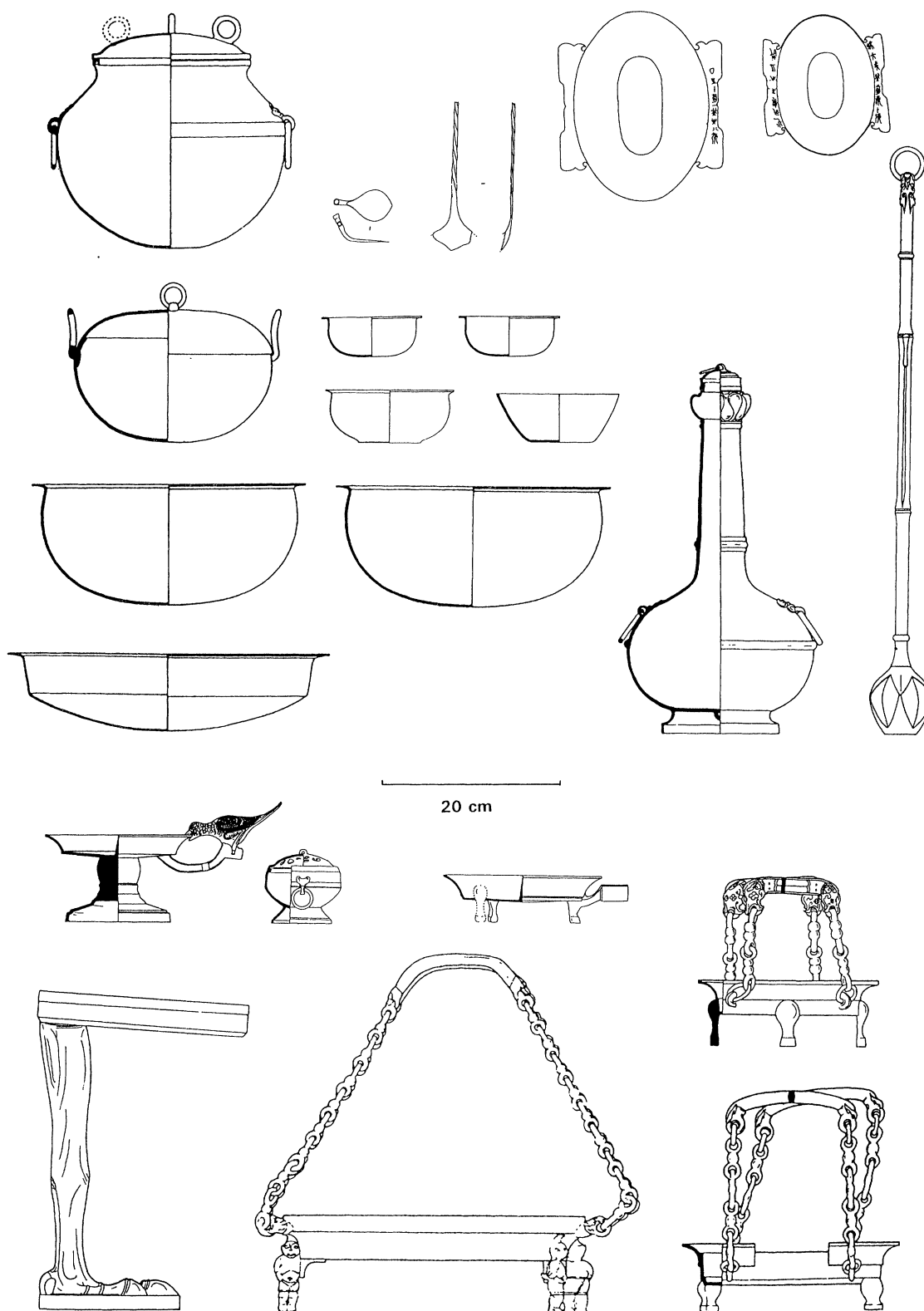


Fig. 16b. Drawings of vessels from Shangwang at Linzi, Shandong province. 3rd century B.C. After *Linzi Shangwang mudì*, figs. 14–18, 22–26.

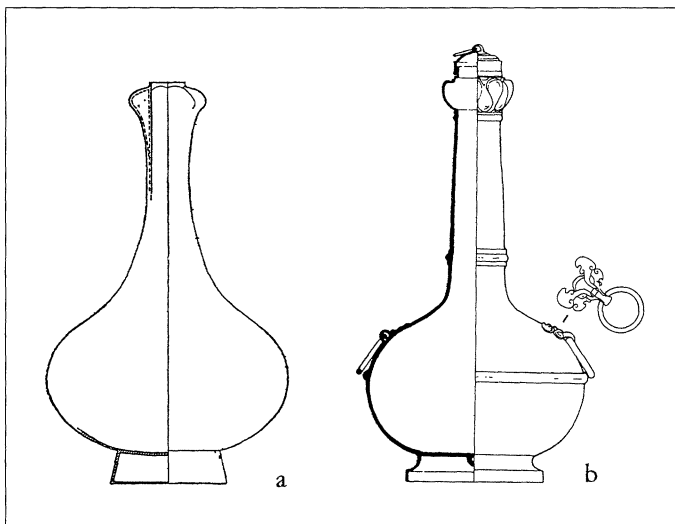


Fig. 17. Comparison of a garlic-headed *bu*, from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue, with a flask and with a lidded jar at the mouth, from a Qi state tomb at Shangwang, Linzi, in Shandong province. After *Xi Han Nan Yue Wang mu*, 288, fig. 201:2; *Linzi Shangwang mudu*, 26, fig. 16.

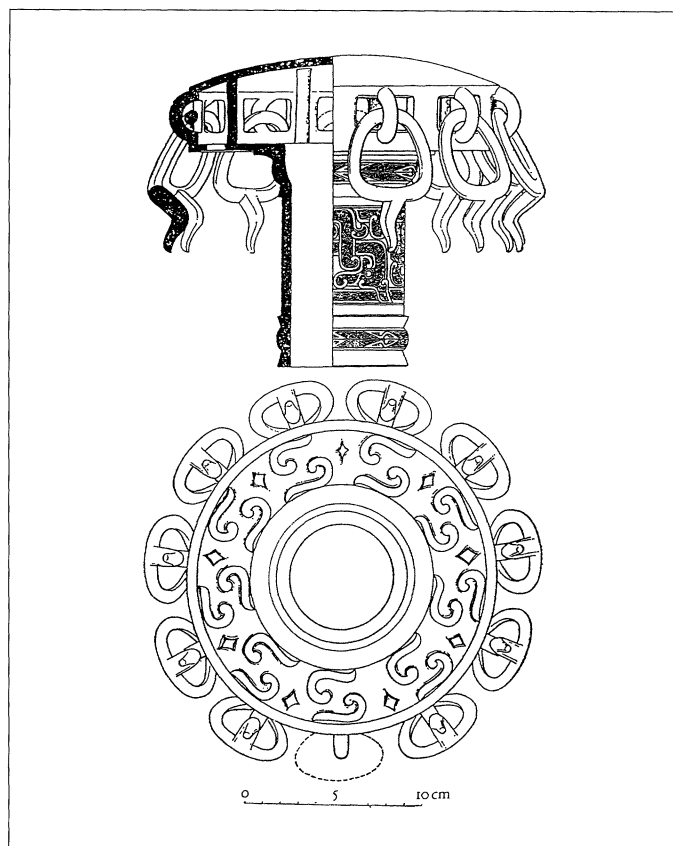


Fig. 18. Drawing of a bronze fitting possible for a tent. From a tomb of the Jin State at Taiyuan, Shanxi province. 5th century B.C.. After *Taiyuan Jingguo Zhao qing mu*, fig. 71.



Fig. 19. Ceramic model of a lamp in the shape of a bird supported on a column on which sits a hare; the column stands on the back of toad. While the bird is associated with the sun, the hare and the toad refer to the moon. Together the characters for sun and moon form that for bright, *ming*. From Jiyuan, Henan province. Han period. Height: 27.8 cm. After *The Empress Palace, Treasures from the Han* (Singapore: Landmark Books PTE, Ltd., 1980), 72.

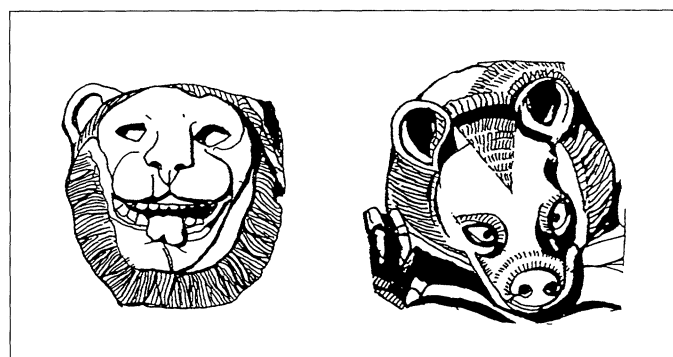


Fig. 20a. Drawing of a lion's head in ivory from Nimrud in Iraq. 9th–8th century B.C. After J. E. Curtis and J. E. Reade, *Art and Empire, Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), no. 96. 20b. Detail of the bear's head also shown in fig. 21, top. Drawing by Melanie Steiner.



Fig. 21. Top, a drawing of the design on a gold belt plaque from a Western Han tomb at Shizishan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province. Length: 13.4 cm. After *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), no. 87. The creatures shown on this belt ornament comprise an elongated horned beast resembling that in the carving shown below. It is attacked by a bear and a wolf. Below, a drawing of a carved animal design in wood from Pazyryk in South Siberia. After *Frozen Tombs of Siberia. The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen*, pl. 140A. Drawings by Melanie Steiner.

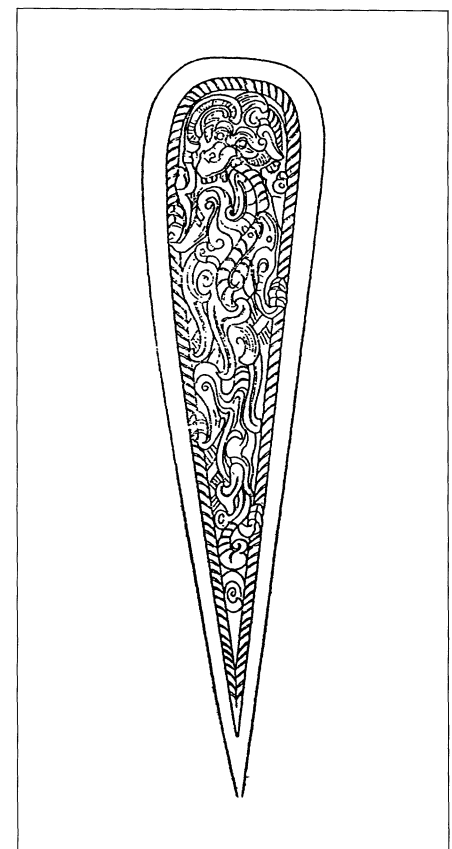


Fig. 22. Drawing of a gilt-bronze horse frontlet depicting an animal. From the tomb of the King of Nan Yue. After *Xi Han Nan Yue Wang mu*, 96, fig. 64:4.

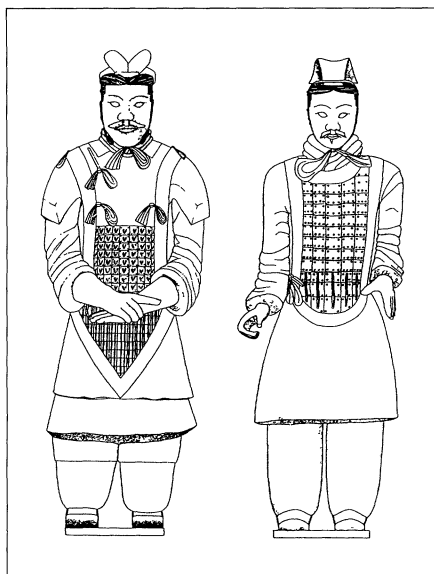


Fig. 23. Drawings of two warriors from pits east of the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi at Lintong near Xi'an. Late 3rd century B.C. After Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Qin Shihuangling bingmayong keng*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), figs. 24–25.

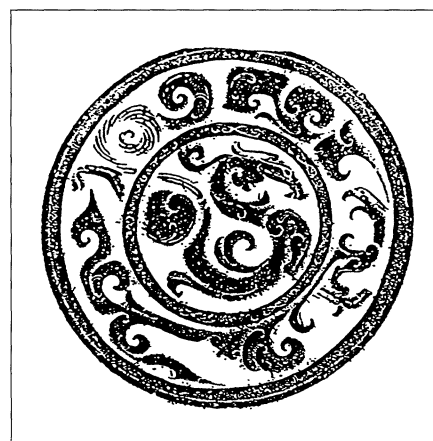


Fig. 24. Rubbing of a jade disc showing in openwork a feline dragon or tiger confronting a bird. From the tomb of the Nan Yue Wang at Guangzhou, Guangdong province. Han dynasty, 2nd century B.C. After *Xi Han Nan Yue Wang mu*, fig. 134.

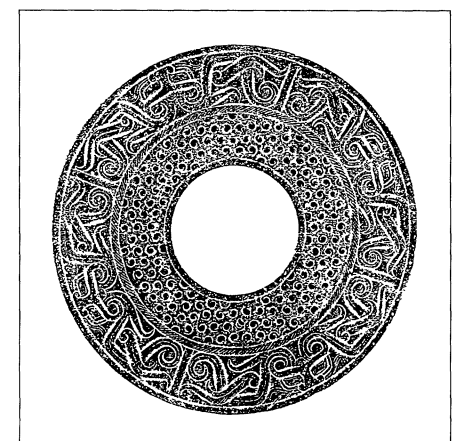


Fig. 25. Rubbings of a jade disc decorated with a border of feline-like heads. From Qufu, Shandong province. Late Warring States period. Diameter 19.9 cm. After *Qufu Luguo gucheng*, fig. 116.



Fig. 26a. A lion's head from Persepolis, Iran. Achaemenid period, 5th century B.C. Photograph by the author.

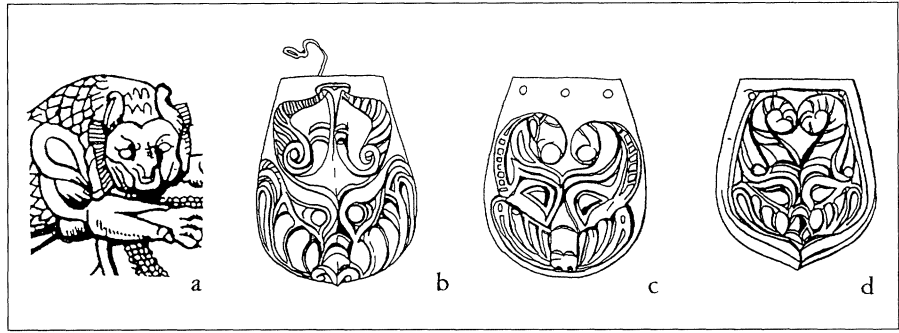


Fig. 26b. Drawings of a group of carvings from Pazyryk in the Altai mountains, Siberia, that illustrate the ways in which the folded ears of the Achaemenid lion were transformed into extended scrolls behind the head. Drawings by Melanie Steiner.

- a) lion's head from a carving at Persepolis.
- b) a carving with long slanted eyes, large furrows around its mouth and large ears folded on themselves.
- c) carving of a head with inward turned folded ears.
- d) carving of a head on which the ears have become two separate features, a long spiral and a narrow blade or ear separate from the scroll.

After *Frozen Tombs of Siberia. The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen*, 267, fig. 135, pls. 116E, 104F, 115D.

Fig. 27. Drawings of fantastic heads incised on jades from the Di tombs at Zhongshan and the Lu tombs at Qufu. Warring States period, 4th–3rd century B.C.

- a) plaque on which the head has been given two views of its body as a new way of reading the scrolls of 26 (d). From Zhongshan.
- b) arc on which the same head appears with its divided body appearing either side, to fit the surface of the arc. Small wing-like extensions are also shown.
- c) arc on which a similar head appears with a more regular undulating body.
- d–e) sections of the borders of two *bi* from Qufu, showing the ways in which the same feline head with the two views of its body have been extended either side of the head, providing an interlacing pattern.

After *Cuomu Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu*, 234, fig. 101:16, 226, fig. 98:2, 224, fig. 96:3; *Qufu Luguo gucheng*, 168, fig. 116, 162, fig. 109.

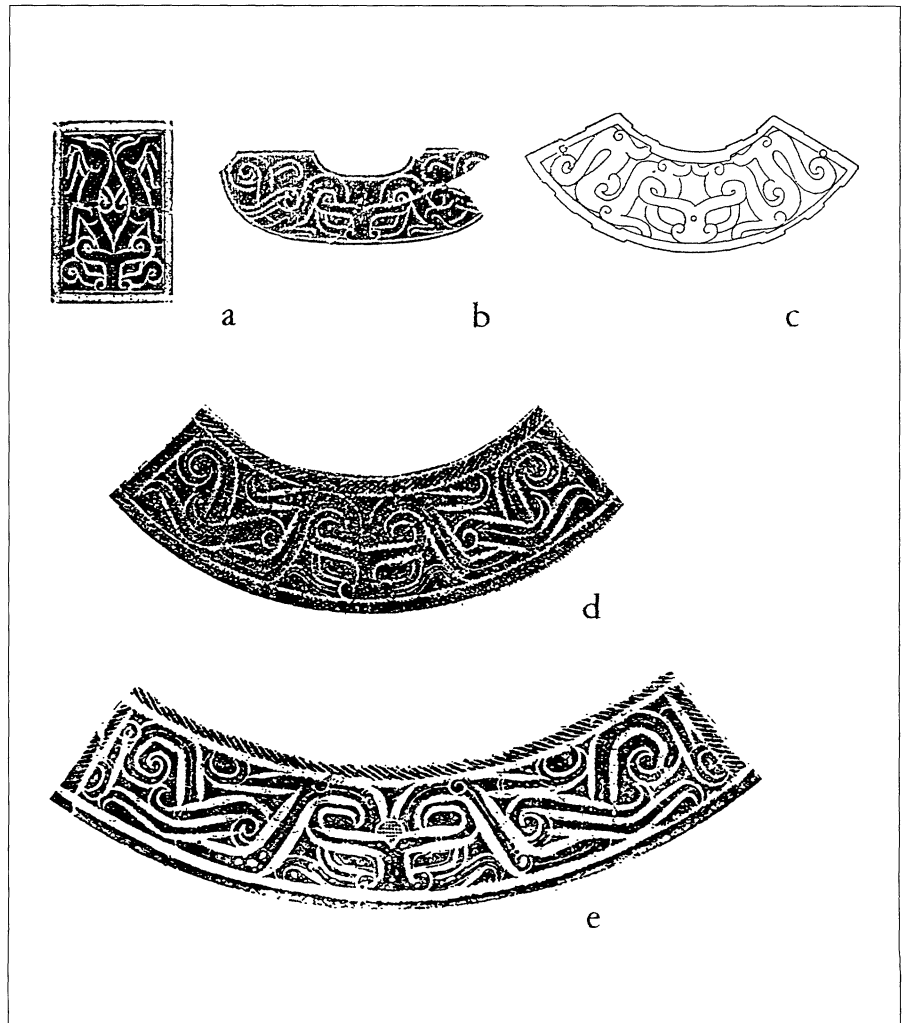




Fig. 28. Drawing of a trapezoidal-shaped ornament with a feline dragon, possibly following the shape of a scabbard ornament. From the tomb of a Chu king at Shizishan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province. Han period, 2nd century B.C. Length: 21 cm. After *Connoisseur* (Autumn 1995), 35. Drawing by Melanie Steiner.



Fig. 29a. Drawing of carving in stone of a feline. From the tomb at Shizishan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province. Western Han period. Length: 23.5 cm. Drawing by Melanie Steiner.

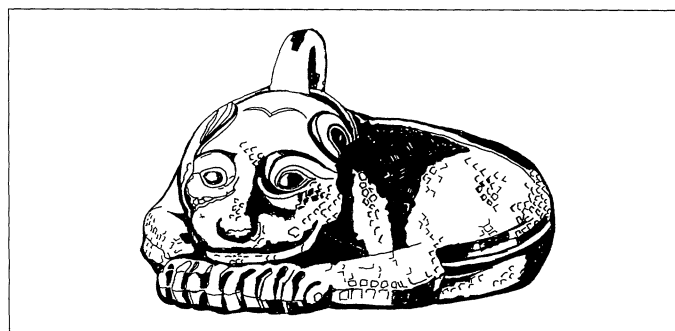


Fig. 29b. Drawing of a gold weight in the shape of a crouching feline. After *Treasures, 300 Best Excavated Antiques from China* (Beijing: New World Press, 1992), no. 269. Inscribed with the number 6, indicating that it was one of a series. Both felines lie on flat bases and have loops behind their heads, sharing the distinctive features of the Achaemenid weight in Figure 30. Drawings by Melanie Steiner.



Fig. 30. Bronze weight in the shape of a lion in the shape of a crouching lion on a flat base. Height: 30 cm. Iran, Achaemenid period, 6th–5th century B.C. From Susa. Courtesy of the Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 31. Drawing of an ivory scabbard decorated with a lion clutching or grappling a deer. From Tachti Sangin on the Oxus. 6th–5th century B.C. Height: 27.7 cm. After *Oxus. 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus Fluss in Mittelasien Neue Funde aus der Sowjetrepublik Tadschikistan*, no. 5.

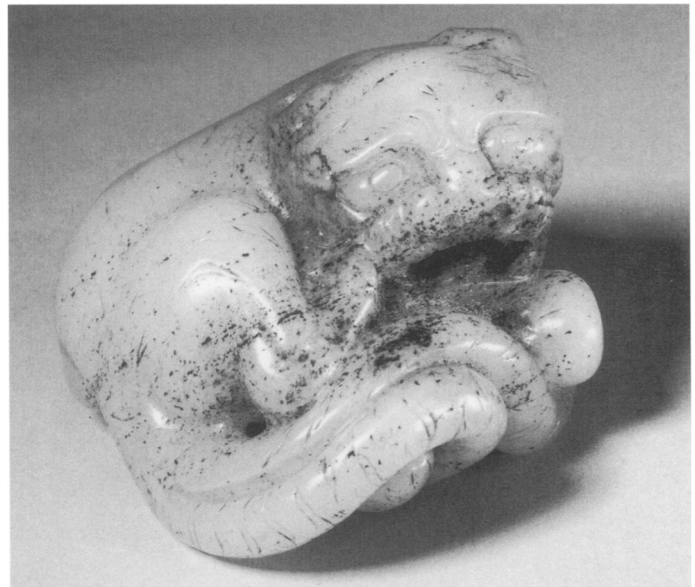


Fig. 32. Carving in jade of a tiger. Western Han period. Width: 5 cm. Private collection.

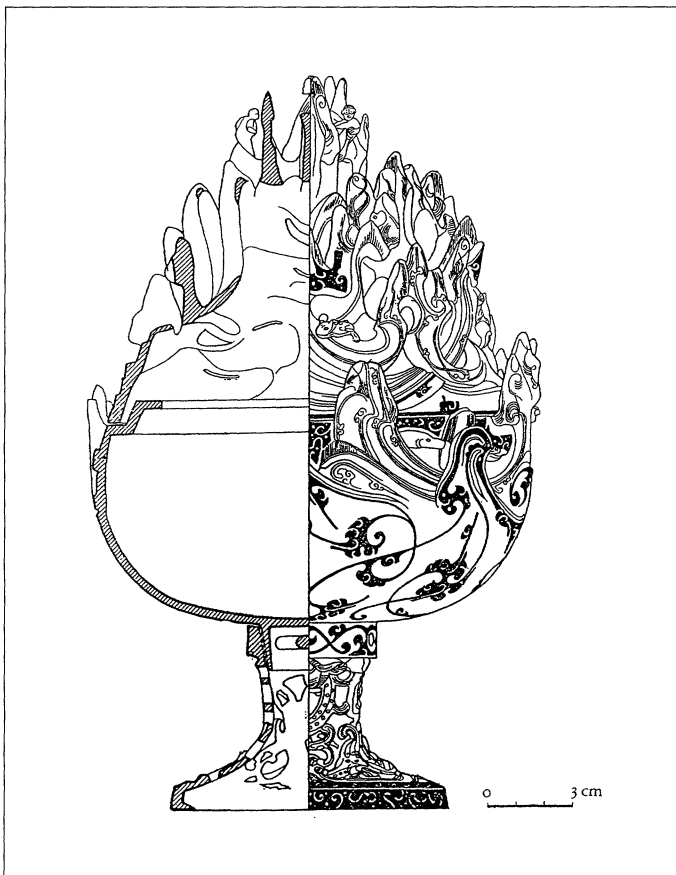


Fig. 33. Drawing of an inlaid bronze hill censor from the tomb of Liu Sheng. Ca. 113 B.C. After *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, vol. 1, 64,

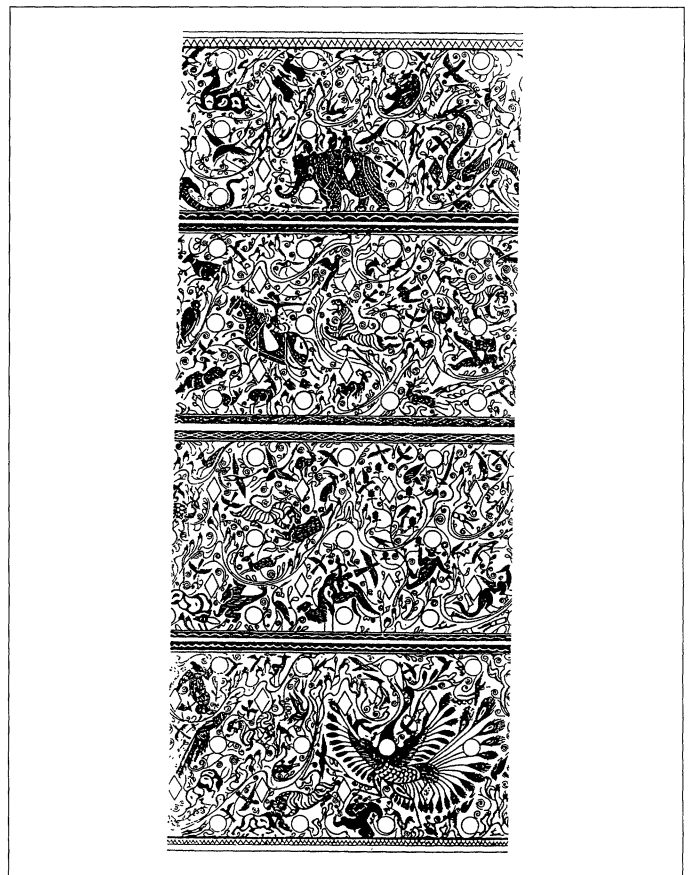


Fig. 34. Drawing of the designs on a tubular bronze fitting inlaid with gold and silver and semi-precious stones. From tomb M122 at Ding Xian, Hebei province. Height: 26.6 cm. Western Han dynasty, 1st century B.C. After *A Selection of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China* (Beijing: Wenwu press, 1976), no. 66.

of the wife of the Marquis of Dai, at Mawangdui in Hunan, whole galaxies of strange creatures were painted devouring snakes.¹⁴⁷

From the south, also, came depictions of benign spirits, such as the creatures that were to become the animals of the four directions, seen first on a clothes box from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng, and characters in myths, such as that of the Archer Yi who shot down nine suns.¹⁴⁸ As noted above, the descendants of such images are the painted and carved depictions in Han tombs of the animals of the four directions and the deities, for instance, the Queen Mother of the West, and other creatures whose sighting was thought to be a good omen. Fine birds, shown as perching on the roofs of buildings, may have been *xiangrui*.¹⁴⁹ However, as I argue below, many of these creatures should be seen as presenting a whole cosmology. The notion of describing and illustrating the whole universe, be it in poetry or images, seems to have been one of the most wide-ranging and fundamental Chu contributions, although the east also had a major contribution to make. I shall resume the subject of animal-filled landscapes at the end of the paper.

THE STATE OF QI AND THE EASTERN INTEREST IN JADE

While it is generally assumed that the relatives of the emperors established states in eastern China in order to control a politically volatile area, the kings of the Liu family may have favored the east because here were mountains whence one might hope to make contact with spirits and because here too were good supplies of jade. The peoples of Liangzhu culture in Zhejiang and Jiangsu, in the period 3500–2500 B.C., had buried large numbers of discs and other jades in their tombs. It is possible that the Han stumbled upon these by accident. Had they done so they would, almost certainly, have regarded such a discovery as a good omen, as they did the recovery of ancient bronzes from the earth.¹⁵⁰ Neolithic jades were deployed in Han tombs (for example a jade *cong* is part of Liu Sheng's jade suit), and show that the Han kings had, by some means as this, become owners of ancient pieces. Many of their finest jades may even have been recarved from neolithic pieces. However, a fashion for piling jades above and below the body had started well before the Han. Third-century B.C. Chu tombs at Yanggong, Changfeng, in Anhui province, Qi tombs at Shangwang, Linzi, in Shandong province, as well as the Lu state burials at Qufu, in Shandong province, all contained a profusion of jade discs.¹⁵¹ The choice of jade for parts of the tomb probably added the qualities of this precious material – especially eternal endurance – to the picture, or pattern, of the created universe.¹⁵² It is also possible that fear of demons and spirits encouraged the use of jade in some sort of protective role.

Jade was used almost obsessively near the bodies of the Liu princes. Some of their coffins, for instance that of Dou Wan at Mancheng, were ornamented with discs, and lined with jade tiles.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Mawangdui report, vol. 1, fig. 17.

¹⁴⁸ Zeng Hou Yi report, vol. 2, pls. 121, 123.

¹⁴⁹ See *Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi* (Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyu chubanshe, 1995), 10, 16, 26, 73, 89.

¹⁵⁰ Noel Barnard, "Records of Discoveries of Bronze Vessels in Literary Sources and Some Pertinent Remarks on Aspects of Chinese Historiography," *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 6, no. 2 (1973), 455–546.

¹⁵¹ For tombs in which a layer or layers of jade discs were employed, see *Kaoguxue jikan* 2 (1982), 47–59; *Qufu Luguo gucheng* (Ji'nan: Ji Lu Shushe, 1982), 129, fig. 80; and Shangwang report, 12, fig. 7.

¹⁵² For a brief discussion of the ways in which meaning or association accrues to objects, see Rawson, *Chinese Jade*, 13–20.

¹⁵³ From the practice of using layers of jades, which in the case of Liu Sheng at Mancheng and the Nan Yue Wang at Guangzhou were tied with silken cords, developed two further practices, the representation of discs with stretched diagonal cords and the creation of discs carved with openwork dragons and the depiction, as at Mawangdui, of dragons winding through discs (fig. 7).

Scattered examples of such tiles have been recovered from the looted tombs at Xuzhou. Jade suits with densely fitting plaques were the most extraordinary evidence of the fears and concerns of the Han. Such suits must have been costly in material and very time-consuming to make. Yet it is likely that more than a hundred, and possibly many more, were made for members of the Imperial family. As already mentioned this uniformity in an expensive burial garment is testimony to the highly organized and centralized empire. The suits were tight-fitting around the body, like a garment. The appearance and functions of such suits seem quite different from the array of pendants, plaques and beads of jade and agate used at previous periods. The ancient Chinese seem to have thought that disease and corruption came about because an individual was attacked by demons and other malevolent forces. The tight-fitting plaques perhaps, therefore, implied protection, as they were of an enduring material difficult to penetrate, even for a demon.

If the suits of plaques were for protection against evil forces, so too seem to have been the jade halberd heads, which have been found in tombs at Xuzhou and Yongcheng.¹⁵⁴ All jade weapons, jade-mounted swords as well as halberds, were equivalent to, but different from, the weapons of the living. As Pascal Boyer has discussed, notions concerned with religion or the supernatural are often attention-attracting by combining the real with the counterintuitive and in this manner suggesting their powers.¹⁵⁵ Although the jade suit has the form of a protective garment, even of armor and the jade weapons appear to be for defense, attacks with the normal iron or bronze blades would have shattered them. Nevertheless, they may have been perfectly fitted for battles with demons and spirits in the afterlife. Equally impressive are the fine vessels in jade, often in alien shapes – such as the rhyton from Western Asia, or lacquer forms from Chu. Here, too, it seems the qualities of the material are added to the value of the pieces.

The animal motifs, which came, in part, from regions in the northwest, also had a profound effect on jade design. A striking and rare example is an openwork disc, from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue at Guangzhou, that shows a large feline-like dragon confronting a much smaller bird, perhaps a phoenix (fig. 24). The feline-like dragon, or perhaps tiger, seems to be a jade carver's rendering of the felines employed in East Asia derived ultimately from lions. Here the feline appears to take the role of one of the directional beasts, confronting a phoenix, representing another. There is no mistaking the mutual hostility, a hostility that normally is never seen in the creatures of the directions. This is, indeed, a Chinese rendering of the animal-in-combat theme imported from Western Asia.¹⁵⁶ In a new context, these aggressive creatures must have acquired a local meaning, being assimilated with the animals of the directions. It is possible that such fierce encounters were seen as the cosmic counterparts of the staged animal combats at the Warring States and Han courts, described by Mark Lewis.¹⁵⁷ The scrolls and flourishes of the carving were a product or a transfer of the fluent lines of southern lacquers into jade.¹⁵⁸ But this is an unusual case.

¹⁵⁴ *Chinese Jade, Selected Articles from Orientations 1983–1996* (Hong Kong: Orientations Magazine Ltd, 1997), front cover; *Zhongguo yuqi quanji* (Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1993), no. 190.

¹⁵⁵ Pascal Boyer, *The Naturalness of Religious Ideas. A Cognitive Theory of Religion* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1994).

¹⁵⁶ Related examples occur on the middle inner coffin of the wife of the Marquis of Dai buried at Changsha in Hunan province. This example has been noted by several writers (see note 163). For Central Asian sources of the feline-dragon, see *Wenwu* 1981.1, 18–22, pl. 18:3.

¹⁵⁷ See Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, Chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁵⁸ Compare also the tiger and dragon attacking each other on the top of the Mawangdui coffin, see Mawangdui report, vol. 1, fig. 22.

Western Asian designs introduced by way of south Siberia and Inner Mongolia also had a more general impact on jade design, seen more regularly on jade discs, bordered with animal heads, in the Liu tombs and earlier in east-coast tombs of the late Warring States period (fig. 25). In the tombs of Liu Sheng and of the King of Nan Yue these discs were placed close to the bodies of the kings as part of the construction of their jade suits and seem, therefore, to have been thought to be especially potent.

The animal heads that border the discs were derived from a lion's head motif. A possible prototype is seen in the sculptures of Persepolis, Iran (fig. 26a). This creature's head has four distinctive features that reappear on artefacts in China as attributes of tigers' heads: large eyes ringed by folds of skin; lines on the muzzle, a fringe or ruff around the head, and ears folded back. As early as the sixth century B.C., these features of the lion's head appear as those of a tiger's head in some decorated portions of model and mould fragments from the foundry site at Houma. Many of these mould fragments carry small tiger-like stripes.¹⁵⁹ The same head was employed in Siberia, where it appears in various forms on wooden plaques from the burials at Pazyryk in the Altai mountains (fig. 26b).

Concurrently the same lion or tiger face was incorporated in Chinese jade carvings. The form borrowed was a version in which the folded ears of the original lion design were greatly extended into scrolls, as in Figure 26d. Jades from the Warring States Kingdom of Zhongshan show this head on different categories of plaque. It appears with two views of its body on rectangular plaques (fig. 27a). Where the face was adapted for an arc, the face overwhelms the much slighter bodies either side of the head (fig. 27b). These are intertwined with what appear to be wings. From this time onwards, the motifs were adapted for borders of *bi* discs. Early versions appear in Lu tombs at Qufu and in Qi tombs at Shangwang, and later ones in the Liu family tombs (figs. 27d–e). The ways in which designs from the liminal regions were appropriated and incorporated in some of the most spiritually precious items for the afterlife indicates the value placed on these essentially “foreign” motifs.

Ornaments from Siberia or Mongolia made a further contribution. The complex plaques in gold or gilt bronze, illustrated above (fig. 21), seem to have stimulated designs in which creatures appear to burrow in and out of the surface of the jade, providing vivid relief effects. Such ornaments were particularly popular as sword fittings and as parts of other weapons. An especially elaborate item is a trapezoidal ornament from a tomb of a Chu King at Shizishan (fig. 28). Here a very fine feline-dragon is the principal motif. It stands almost vertically and, though shown in openwork, it too weaves in and out among abstract decorative elements. The ribbed and striated tail of this and other feline-like dragons, seen on the disc showing two creatures in combat (fig. 24), was perhaps also borrowed by jade craftsmen from the deep ribs on the gold or gilt-bronze plaques (fig. 21).

Small animals in jade are another category of object much influenced by the foreign lion motif. Like other jades, their origins owe something to imports from the borderlands. The tomb of a Chu king at Shizishan, Xuzhou, contained an intriguing stone carving of a feline, a tiger or possibly a leopard (fig. 29a). At first sight unremarkable, the carving has two important features: a flat platform on which it sits and a loop behind its neck. The same features also occur on an equally unusual gold feline from Xuyi in Jiangsu (fig. 29b). Both felines seem to reproduce characteristics of well-known Western Asian bronze weights, illustrated here by an Achaemenid example from Susa (fig. 30). It is quite likely that such weights travelled eastward with merchants. The Iranian or Western Asian lion had simultaneously been adapted and adopted also in Central Asia, where we see a related creature on

¹⁵⁹ Houma report, vol. 1, 192, fig. 97; 253, fig. 140:4.

an ivory scabbard from a site near the Oxus (fig. 31). This lion shares with the beast from Shizishan bands of fine incised striations and incised loops in a tear-drop shape, reproducing the muscles shown in undulating curves on the Achaemenid weight. In due course, the Chinese, removed the felines from their bases (as it were) and carved them as if freely moving creatures. Such jade carvings (fig. 32) were probably made in small sets, like the very fine group from near the tomb of Yuan Di (reigned 48–33 B.C.) in Shaanxi.¹⁶⁰

Stone may have been regarded as a lesser form of jade and, as it was infinitely more available, it could be used for massive items. Moreover, just as jade utensils might be more durable and more potent than lacquer ones, so too stone coffins and tombs might be more potent than wood and lacquer ones. The functions and associations of the tomb were thus set both by the way in which the underground chamber presented a whole universe and by the materials in which that universe was made. Han enthusiasm for jade, both in burials and in description in ritual texts, probably gave this fine translucent material a permanent boost within Chinese cultural values.

SPIRIT LANDSCAPES AND OTHER PICTURES

So far we have considered tombs and their contents as providing literally a whole world for their owners. Within the greater whole of the tomb might be smaller images of the universe. As mentioned the rock-carved tombs were, probably, plastered and painted, for a few such fragments have survived at Yongcheng in Henan province and at the tomb of the King of Nan Yue in Guangzhou. We also have many examples of carved stone or brick tombs with extensive “pictures” in them. This practice of presenting varied images within a tomb seems to have come from Chu, although this impression may simply be a result of the uneven preservation of organic material in other parts of China.¹⁶¹

Some of the most famous depictions of the spirit realms of the universe appear on the coffins of the lady Dai, buried in tomb M1 at Mawangdui in Hunan province. Such designs fall within the lineage of southern coffin painting, also seen in the tomb of the Zeng Hou Yi. As mentioned above, the outer layer of the Mawangdui inner coffins is black and shows strange spirit-like creatures devouring snakes. The middle inner coffin in red displays different scenes of dragons and other creatures that were presumably auspicious. These, as with the jade creatures, combine typically Chu features with “foreign” ones. On the lid, tigers attack dragons and are further examples of the Chinese versions of the animal-in-combat motifs from Siberia or Western Asia. A leaping horse on one of the sides of this middle coffin is contorted in a manner seen particularly at Pazyryk in the Altai, and later exploited on China’s borders in gilt bronze ornaments.¹⁶² It is closely related to the creature of the horse frontlet from the tomb of the King of Nan Yue, mentioned above (fig. 22).¹⁶³ A rectilinear scroll on the other long side of the coffin is what has been identified by present-day archaeologists as a cloud

¹⁶⁰ Rawson, *Chinese Jade*, 351. These pieces are of several dates.

¹⁶¹ This development is anticipated in the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng. See Zeng Hou Yi report, vol. 1, figs. 216–17.

¹⁶² So and Bunker, no. 78.

¹⁶³ Both Jenny So, “The Waning of the Bronze Age: The Western Han Period (206 B.C. – A.D. 8),” in Wen Fong, ed., *The Great Bronze Age of China, An Exhibition from the People's Republic of China* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 323–27; and Tu Cheng-sheng, “Ouya caoyuan dongwu wenshi yu Zhongguo gudai beifang minzu zhi kaocha,” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 64, part 2 (1993), 231–408, have noted the influence of forms from the steppe or Siberian area in the lacquer painting of this coffin.

scroll, or *yunqi*.¹⁶⁴ In this angular form it stands half-way between the straight, almost criss-cross patterns of the third century B.C. used on Chu lacquers, and the much more flowing scroll, typical of many second- to first-century B.C. items in metalwork and ceramic as well as lacquer. Although the motif had started off as typical of Chu, it survived and developed because it was capable of being exploited in new forms.¹⁶⁵ The scroll could be shaped in three-dimensions as mountains on decorative fittings and, more spectacularly, as hill-shaped incense burners. On a very fine incense burner from Liu Sheng's tomb the scrolling lines appear around the sides of the piece as well as being embodied in the towering crags of the lid (fig. 33). The other element, an array of strange and wonderful beasts, came primarily from the borderlands of the north but also from the south. On some incense burners, including that of Dou Wan, the scenes closely resemble the "animal-style" plaques from present-day Inner Mongolia.

The most spectacular examples of these landscapes are inlaid tubes of bronze embellished with gold, silver, and precious stones.¹⁶⁶ An inlaid bronze chariot fitting from an Imperial tomb at Ding Xian in Hebei (fig. 34) has been widely discussed, most especially by Wu Hung, who has identified the animals on it as the *xiangrui*, creatures whose sightings were thought to be good omens.¹⁶⁷ However, although some of the creatures, when seen singly or brought as tribute to the emperors of their day, may have been interpreted as *xiangrui*, a scene such as this, with a whole multitude of creatures, is much closer to the cosmic quality of the poetry genre known as *fu*.¹⁶⁸ Both the *Chuci* and *fu* describe not just local landscapes, but a universe peopled by spirits and wonderful creatures:

...a mountain which winds and twists upward,
 Rearing its lofty crags on high
 Covered with ragged jutting peaks
 That blot out the sun and moon
 And entangle them in their folds; ...
 A mass of hues, glowing and shining,
 Sparkling like the scales of a dragon ...
 Northward rise dense forests and giant trees –
 In their branches live apes, gibbons, and langurs,
 Phoenixes, peacocks, and pheasants,
 Flying lizards and lemurs
 Beneath their shade prowl white tigers and black panthers.¹⁶⁹

While such poems are occasionally treated as courtly rhetorical flourishes, they probably had more in common with ritual or political recitations. It is likely, also, that these represent traces of beliefs that

¹⁶⁴ This fairly stereotyped design should not necessarily be identified with the cloud patterns described in omen texts. See Michael Loewe, "Oracles," in *Divination*, 193–94.

¹⁶⁵ Large numbers of pieces have come from Yangzhou. See in particular *Wenwu* 1980.3, 1–10, color pl.; and *Wenwu* 1988.2, 19–43.

¹⁶⁶ There are two possible precedents for these landscape scenes, neither of them very close. First incised designs of people and creatures shown in a landscape on bronze (*Kaogu xuebao* 1988.2, 189–232) and rather rudimentary landscapes known in the steppe regions (Esther Jacobson, "Mountains and Nomads: A Reconsideration of the Origins of Chinese Landscape Representation," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far East Antiquities* 57, (1985), 133–80.

¹⁶⁷ Wu Hung, "A Sanpan Shan Chariot Ornament and the Xiangrui Design in Western Han Art," *Archives of Asian Art* 37, (1984), 38–59.

¹⁶⁸ Discussed in J. P. Diény, *Aux origines de la poésie classique en Chine étude sur la poésie lyrique à l'époque des Han* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968); and Knechtges, "The Emperor and Literature." See also Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *The Han Civilization of China* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982), 102–06.

¹⁶⁹ Watson, *Records*, vol. 2, 302–04; *Shi ji*, 3004.

dreams and visions, sometimes stimulated by drugs or wine, could create the spirit worlds for those who were engaged by the poems and their visions.¹⁷⁰ The Chinese of this time seem to have regarded the events and figures of dreams, contemplation of spirits and miraculous creatures in trances, as bringing those beings into their lives, for good or evil.

Filling the landscape on the tube are many strange entities, including a winged horse, and at least two examples of tigers attacking another beast. Deer, bears and birds are faithfully rendered. In addition, deliberately prominent are a dragon, a rider shooting behind himself over the rear of a horse, an elephant, a camel, and a plumed bird, possibly a peacock. Many of the creatures either have exotic associations or were adapted from objects that came from further west or south. The animals in combat, deer and flying horses are found in the steppe area, south Siberia and in Iran and Mesopotamia. In Western Asia the archer shooting behind himself is a very rare design, but is seen on fine ivories from the Oxus region of Central Asia.¹⁷¹ Bears, as mentioned, were an unusual innovation of the Han, in which the ruff of the lion's mane became a ruff of fur around the head of a bear.¹⁷²

Hill censers (fig. 33) provide a very explicit presentation of a spirit realm located on craggy islands, for they seem to create the islands of Penglai, which rose out of the sea, but when approached disappeared again.¹⁷³ Immortals on the islands were thought to cultivate herbs that would confer non-death. Both the scenes on the tube and those on the hill censers are examples of the ways in which the Han exploited southern or eastern beliefs and practices and elaborated them with references to the fantastic creatures of the borderlands.

Like the tombs and models of palaces mentioned earlier, the landscapes depicted on Western Han artefacts, and the *fu* that seem to describe them, all convey the impression of a world seen from the point of view of a spirit or immortal journeying through the clouds, as described in such poems as the *Yuan you* in the *Chuci*. It would seem that the unification of the Empire had brought within reach of the court a concern with the full sweep of the universe and all that lay within it.

CONCLUSION

The great tombs and the miniature landscapes had similar purposes; namely to realize the potential of the universe and to make that potential manifest for the benefit of the Liu family kings and their associates. All aspects of this universe, the palaces of the living and the tombs of the dead, belonged to a single continuum. To give these notions of the universe visual, concrete forms, the overseers and craftsmen employed by their courts drew on beliefs, practices, artefacts and motifs from all the lands

¹⁷⁰ See Donald Harper, "Wang Yen-shou's Nightmare Poem," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, (1987), 239–83.

¹⁷¹ *Oxus. 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus – Fluss in Mittelasien. Neue Funde aus der Sowjetrepublik Tadschikistan* (Zurich: Rietberg Museum, 1989), no. 22.

¹⁷² For typical bear-shaped feet, see Shiqiao, Xuzhou, *Wenwu* 1984.11, 22–40, fig. 62: 3–4. DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 1; Introduction, refers to the use of bear-skin as a mask of a *fang shi*; see also Bodde, 77–78.

¹⁷³ For discussions of hill censers see Susan Erickson, "Boshanlu – Mountain Censers of the Western Han Period: A Typological and Iconographic Analysis," *Archives of Asian Art* 45, (1992), 6–28; and Munakata, 1991, 20–34. Both authors, and many others, suggest that the hill censers may represent an *axis mundi*, as a link between the world of humans and that of the spirits. I argue, however, that the complex ways in which these censers are held on narrow stems by strange and miraculous creatures may indicate that the mountains are rising up out of the sea and that they present Penglai.

that they dominated or that were adjacent to them. As a result of the consolidation of the Empire, a vast and rich array was to hand. Indeed, without the unification of the Empire, this vivid depiction of the universe could not have been presented, for the conquests in the south and east and the extensive relationships with the borderlands brought new objects and motifs into metropolitan Han China. These new objects were frequently treated as belonging to the supernatural. But although supernatural perhaps, they belonged not to a foreign outside world or worlds, but were part of the single great universe that the emperors sought to control and exploit.

The Qin and the Han were consolidating a process that had started many centuries earlier, but with the strong Imperial support, new beliefs and new object categories came to occupy a central position in Chinese attitudes to the universe. As a consequence many traditional objects and beliefs were edged out. What is particularly striking is the uniformity of the new sets of objects employed, presumably as new rites and rituals ousted the much more diverse range of possessions of the rulers of the Warring States.

This change has been insufficiently noted because the ancient systems of classifications of ritual vessels and ritual jades constructed by scholars from the Han period onwards were not sensitive to the changes described. Scholars of the Song period, and later, did not fully take note of or adequately describe the many objects considered here, simply because these do not belong to the major object types regarded as part of the ancient inheritance from the Zhou. For this reason, one of the most profound changes in ancient Chinese culture has been almost overlooked. The change was, however, fundamental and provokes further questions. For it should lead us to ask whether fragments of Zhou practice and beliefs could have survived such an upheaval. If this survival is in doubt, we need to reassess also the revival of the traditional rites that preoccupied the Chinese in the later Han period.

Further, despite a return to what was thought to be ancient practices, the attitudes to the spirit world and the afterlife described here were to remain essential elements of Chinese rites and beliefs at all levels of society. While such beliefs are often regarded as belonging to popular religion, it seems likely that this designation is a misnomer. The tombs of the élite from the Han to the Qing show a continuous allegiance to this system of beliefs. Indeed, people at all levels of society seem to have espoused two, somewhat divergent, religious systems: veneration of the ancestors and worship of a wide-range of deities, to whose cult belonged also the complex preparations for the afterlife presented in tombs. Of course, the emphasis on one or other of these systems varied from period to period and place to place. They were also complicated by Buddhism, when introduced, and by the formal elaboration of what is now known as religious Daoism. Notwithstanding many later changes, the developments described in this paper made a fundamental contribution to the plural and parallel systems of practices and beliefs that became an enduring feature of Chinese culture.

GLOSSARY

- Anhui 安徽
 Baicun 百村
 Baoshan 包山
Baoshan Chu mu 包山楚墓
 Beidongshan 北洞山
bi 壁
bixie 避邪
 Cangshan 蒼山
 Changfeng 長豐
 Changjiang 長江
 Changli 昌梨
 Changping 長平
 Changsha 長沙
Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓
 Changzi 長治
 Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤
Ch'in 秦
 Chu 楚
Chu bo shu 楚帛書
Chuci 楚辭
Chüeh-ti 角抵
cong 琮
Cuomu Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu 響墓
 戰國中山國國王之墓
 Dai 軼
 Dan 丹
Di 帝
 Di 狄
 Dian 滇
ding 鼎
 Ding xian 定縣
dou 豆
 Dou Wan 竇紈
 Fangmatan 放馬灘
 “Fangmatan jian zhong de zhiguai gushi” 放馬灘簡
 中的志怪故事
fang shi 方士
Fang-Shih 方士
 Feng and Shan 封禪
 Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山
fu 鍤
fu 賦
 Fuxi 伏羲
 Gansu 甘肅
 Guangdong 廣東
 Guangzhou 廣州
- Guishan 龜山
 Guo Ji Zi bai *pan* 虢季子白盤
 Guo Yinqiang 郭引強
 Han 漢
Han bihuamu 漢壁畫墓
Handai sangzangzhidu 漢代喪葬制度
Handai wuzhi wenhua ziliao tushuo 漢代物質文化
 資料圖說
 “Han huaxiangshi di fenqu yu fenqi yanjiu” 漢畫像
 石的分區與研究
 Han Wudi 漢武帝
 Haoli 蒿里
 Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫
 Henan 河南
 Heyaitou 河崖頭
Houma zhutong yizhi 侯馬鑄銅遺址
hsiang 象
 Hsüan-yuan 軒轅
hu 壺
Huainanzi 淮南子
 Huangdi 黃帝
 Huanglao 黃老
 Huang Minglan 黃明蘭
 Huang Ti 黃帝
 Hubei 湖北
 Huang 黃
huang 璜
hun 魂
 Hunan 湖南
 Huo Qubing 霍去病
 Jiangling 江陵
Jiangling Mashan yihao Chumu 江陵馬山一號楚墓
Jiangling Wangshan Shazhong Chu mu 江陵望山沙
 塚楚墓
 Jiangsu 江蘇
 Jiaotong daxue 交通大學
 Jin 晉
 Ji'nan 濟南
 Jingdi 景帝
 Jing Gong 景公
 Jinguo 晉國
 Jiyuan 濟源
 Jundushan 軍都山
Kaogu 考古
Kaogu leixing xue di lilun yu shiji 考古類型學的理
 論與實際
Kaogu xuebao 考古學報

- Kaoguxue jikan* 考古學輯刊
Kaogu yu wenwu 考古與文物
kuan 觀
kuei men 鬼門
Kunlun 崑崙
Langjiazhuang 郎家庄
Laozi 老子
li 里
Liang 梁
Liang Han wenhua yanjiu 兩漢文化研究
Liangzhu 良渚
Li Ling 李零
Li Rusen 李如森
Li Xueqin 李學勤
Li Yinde 李銀德
“Lingmu zhidu he linghun guan” 陵墓制度和靈魂觀
Lintong 臨潼
Linyi 臨沂
Linyi Fenghuangling Dong Zhou mu 臨沂鳳凰嶺東周墓
Linzi 臨淄
Linzi Shangwang mudi 臨淄商王墓地
Liu Bang 劉邦
Liujiadianzi 劉家店子
Liu Mai 劉買
Liu Sheng 劉勝
Liu Zhu 劉注
Lu 魯
“Lun Zhongguo gudai genqiumudi chansheng yu fazhan” 論中國古代墳丘墓的產生與發展
Luoyang 洛陽
Luoyang Hanmu bishu 洛陽漢墓壁畫
Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋
Ma Chengyuan 馬承源
Maoling 茂陵
Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao 滿城漢墓發掘報告
Mawangdui 馬王堆
ming 明
Miu Ji 繆忌
mou 鋤
Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi shengsi 墓葬與生死: 中國古代宗教之省思
Nan Yue 南越
Nanyue Wang 南越王
Nüwa 女媧
“Ouya caoyuan dongwu wenshi yu Zhongguo gudai beifang minzu zhi kaocha” 歐亞草原動物紋飾與中國古代北方民族之考察
Penglai 蓬萊
Pingshan 平山
po 魄
Pu Muzhou 蒲慕州
qi 氣
Qi 齊
Qin 秦
qin 琴
Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝
Qin Shihuangling bingmayong keng 秦始皇陵兵馬俑坑
Qin Shihuangling yanjiu 秦始皇陵研究
Qing 清
Qufu 曲阜
Qufu Luguo gucheng 曲阜魯國故城
Rong 戎
Sanpan Shan 三盤山
Shaanxi 陝西
Shandong 山東
Shang 商
Shanglin 上林
Shangwang 商王
Shanhaijing 山海經
Shao-weng 少翁
shenming 神明
Shen Shu 神荼
Shi ji 史記
shih ch'ü 時驅
Shiqiao 石橋
Shizishan 獅子山
Shunjū Sengoku jidai seidōki no kenkyū 春秋戰國時代青銅器の研究
shuowen jiezi 說文解字
Yin Shū seidōki sōran san 殷周青銅器綜覽三
Sichuan 四川
Sima Qian 司馬遷
Sima Xiangru 司馬相如
Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寬
Song 宋
Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷
Sun Ji 孫機
Sunzi Bingfa 孫子兵法
Taishan 泰山
Taiyi 太一
Taiyuan 太原
Taiyuan Jinguo Zhao qing mu 太原晉國趙卿墓
Tao 道
taotie 饕餮

Teng xian 滕縣
 Tianxingguan 天星觀
 T'oung Pao 通報
 Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝
 Tu-shuo 度朔
 Wang Bi 王弼
 Wang Chong 王充
 Wang Luyu 王魯豫
 Wang Mang 王莽
 Wangshan 望山
 Wang Xueli 王學理
 Wang Yen-shou 王延壽
 wen 紋
 Wen 文
 Wenbo 文博
 Wenwu 文物
 Wen xuan 文選
 Wu Hung 巫鴻
 Wu Rongzeng 吳榮曾
 Wu Xian 巫咸
 wuxing 五行
 xi 觶
 Xi'an 西安
 "Xian Qin, Han, Jin yaodai yong jin yin daikou" 先秦漢晉腰帶用金銀帶扣
 Xiang 襄
 xiang 象
 xiang 祥
 xiangrui 祥瑞
 Xianyang 咸陽
 Xiao Tong 蕭統
 Xichuan Xiasi Chun Qiu Chu mu 浙川下寺春秋楚墓
 Xi Han Nan Yue Wang mu 西漢南越王墓
 Xinjiang 新疆
 Xin Lixiang 信立祥
 Xinyang Chu mu 信陽楚墓
 Xinzheng 新鄭
 Xiongnu 匈奴
 Xu Shen 許慎
 Xuyi 盱眙
 Xuzhou 徐州
 Yan 燕
 Yang 羊
 Yanggong 楊公
 Yangzhou 揚州
 Yangzi 揚子
 Yanqing 延慶
 Yao 堯
 Yi 乙
 Yi 羿
 Yi Jing 易經
 Yin 陰
 Yi'nan 沂南
 Yi'nan gu huaxiangshi mu fajue baogao 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告
 Yishui 沂水
 Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan 永城西漢梁國王陵與寢園
 Yuan Di 元帝
 Yuan you 遠游
 yue 嶽
 Yu Lu 鬱壘
 yunqi 雲氣
 Yunnan 雲南
 Yu Weichao 俞偉超
 Yü Ying-shih 余英時
 Zeng 曾
 Zeng Hou Yi mu 曾侯乙墓
 Zeng Xiantong 曾憲通
 Zhao Hu 趙胡
 Zhao Hun 招魂
 Zhao qing 趙卿
 Zhejiang 浙江
 Zheng 政
 Zheng Yan 鄭岩
 Zhenmuwen 鎮墓文
 "Zhenmuwen zhong suojiandaode Dong Han daowu guanxi" 鎮墓文中所講到的東漢道巫關係
 zhi 卮
 Zhongguo diaosu shice. Han Jin Nan Beichao mu qian shidiao yishu 中國雕塑史冊。漢晉南北朝墓前石雕藝術
 Zhongguo fang shu kao 中國方術考
 Zhongguo meishu quanji, diaosu bian 中國美術全集 雕塑編
 Zhongguo shenghuo. Zhongguo guwenwu yu Dong-Xi wenhua jiaoliuzhongde ruogan wenti 中國聖火中國古文物與東西文化交流中的若干問題
 Zhongguo wenwu jinghua 中國文物精華
 Zhongguo yuqi quanji 中國玉器全集
 Zhongshan 中山
 Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊
 Zhou 周
 zhu 祝
 Zibo 淄博
 zun 樽
 Zuo Zhuan 左傳