The Art of the Yellow Springs

Understanding Chinese Tombs

Wu Hung

THE ART OF THE YELLOW SPRINGS

The Art of the Yellow Springs

Understanding Chinese Tombs

Wu Hung

REAKTION BOOKS

Published by Reaktion Books Ltd
33 Great Sutton Street
London EC1V 0DX, UK

www.reaktionbooks.co.uk

First published 2010

Copyright © Wu Hung 2010

All rights reserved
No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publishers.

Printed and bound in China
by Toppan Printing Co. Ltd

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Wu Hung, 1945–
The art of the yellow springs: understanding Chinese tombs.
1. Art, Chinese – Appreciation.
2. Tombs – China.
3. Grave goods – China.
4. Art objects, Chinese.
I. Title
709.5'1-DC22

ISBN 978 1 86189 624 7

Contents

Introduction 7

1 Spatiality 17

From Casket Grave to Chamber Grave 20

A Tripartite Universe 34

Representing the Soul 63

2 Materiality 85

Spirit Articles 87

Tomb Figurines and the Medium of Representation 99

The Body: Preservation and Transformation 126

3 Temporality 149

Cosmic/Mythic Time 151

'Lived Objects' 163

Historical Narratives 173

Journey 192

Coda: Portraying Chinese Tombs 219

References 234

Works Cited 255

Acknowledgements 263

Index 264

Introduction

In the ancient Chinese mind, the Yellow Springs running deep beneath the ground both nourished life and inspired fear. The first-century writer Ban Gu (32–92 CE) says in a philosophical treatise: 'The *yang* ether rises from the depth of the Yellow Springs and benefits all the living creatures in the universe.'[1] But his contemporary Wang Chong (27–97 CE) complained that 'No one likes to sit alone in a closed chamber facing darkness, not to mention lying inside a hole dug underground beside the Yellow Springs.'[2] Here the 'underground hole' alludes to a tomb, and in this context the Yellow Springs refers to the final destination of all mortal human beings after death. As such the Yellow Springs evoked a different sort of ambivalence, because this was the place where one would be reunited with loved ones as well as enemies. Ancient texts offer examples for both views. In 721 BCE, for instance, Duke Zhuang of the state of Zheng sent his mother into exile after discovering her scheme to usurp his rule. His last words to her were a bitter oath: 'We will never see each other again until we have both reached the Yellow Springs!'[3] Several centuries later, during the Jian'an era of the Eastern Han (196–220 CE), another mother forced her son Jiao Zhongqing, a clerk working in the local government at Lujiang in Jiangxi, to divorce his wife. Her son tried to change his mother's mind with a plea about his unbending love toward the woman: 'We've shared pillow and mat from the time we reached adulthood, and we'll go together to the Yellow Springs hand in hand.'[4] The mother was unmoved, and the story ends with the couple's double suicide.

As these examples suggest, over the course of Chinese history, the Yellow Springs was the imagined location of innumerable graves constructed over several thousands of years. (This term for the netherworld was also adopted in Japanese and Korean.) The word 'innumerable' is surely not an exaggeration: the ancient Chinese (as well as many of their modern and contemporary counterparts) held the conviction that everyone, even a criminal, deserved a burial; otherwise the departed soul would turn into a resentful, pernicious ghost haunting the living. A rudimentary burial for a convict could be little more than a shallow pit. But a 'tomb' or 'grave' (*mu* or *fen mu* in Chinese) for a citizen usually implies a constructed architectural space containing mortuary structures, grave furnishings and above-ground landmarks. The oldest prescription and rationalization of this ritual space appears in two ancient texts. The first, *Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lüshi chunqiu*), was completed in 239 BCE under Lü Buwei. A powerful chancellor of the Qin, Lü hoped that the book would encompass the knowledge and wisdom of all major

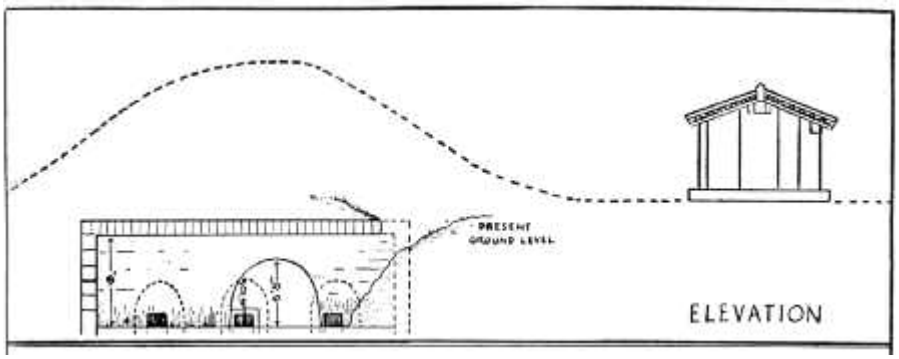
philosophical schools in existence. The second, *The Book of Rites* (*Li ji*), is a Confucian ritual canon put together in the early Han, but many of its chapters were written in the Warring States period, from the fifth to the third centuries BCE. The passage reads:

> Burying means hiding away; and that hiding [of the corpse] is from a wish that men should not see it. Hence there are the clothes sufficient for embellishing the body; the *guan*-coffin all around the clothes; the *guo*-casket all around the *guan*-coffin; the earth all around the *guo*-casket; and a mound further raised over that grave with trees planted on it.[5]

This statement defines two essential characteristics of a traditional Chinese tomb. First, a tomb always consists of two spatial/architectural complexes, one above ground and the other hidden beneath the surface of the earth. It is tempting to think of these as the 'exterior' and 'interior' of a tomb or graveyard. But instead of constituting a continuous architectural programme, the relationship between the above-ground and underground sections of a tomb is characterized by an abrupt spatial and perceptual discontinuity: the two complexes have separate physical environments and architectural designs, as well as different ritual functions and relationships with people (illus. 1). The 'exterior' section of an elite tomb, often including a tumulus, one or more ritual buildings, and statues and steles, is exposed to view as the site of routine ritual performances. The 'interior' section, often more lavishly decorated and furnished, conceals the body of the deceased and is revealed only through robbery or archaeological excavation.

Second, the fundamental purpose in constructing a tomb is to conceal the deceased and tomb furnishings from human eyes. This purpose is realized through a prolonged ritual process. According to traditional ritual prescriptions, after a person died, his or her body would be carefully washed, dressed and ritually fed. Coffins and objects created for a burial would be displayed publicly during the funeral prior to the entombment, and a brief ceremony would sometimes be performed inside tomb chambers to allow the living to bid a final farewell to their deceased kin.[6] But once the grave was sealed no one would explore its secret again.[7]

The moment of entombment thus marks a radical shift in the identity and meaning of the underground chambers and their contents. Before this moment, they belong to this world and are subject to the scrutiny of human eyes; afterwards they become solely



1 Elevation of the tomb and shrine of Zhu Wei. Jinxiang, Shandong. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE.

the domain of the departed soul. Before this moment, the patrons, builders, and artisans collaborate in designing, constructing, and furnishing the tomb chambers; afterwards these spaces and all the images and objects inside them – murals and relief carvings, figurines and architectural models, and other articles made of various materials – would remain unseen forever.

Thus, if people in traditional China created such images and objects (which are often of extraordinary quality) as emotional and artistic expressions, they also voluntarily withdrew them from circulation by burying them with the dead. It is for this reason, as we have read in *Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* and *The Book of Rites*, that a tomb was glossed as *cang* or 'concealment'.[8] This textual definition of a tomb is confirmed by archaeological evidence: an early first-century tomb belonging to a certain Feng Rujiu at Tanghe, Henan, bears an inscription that identifies its central chamber as the 'hidden pavilion' (*cang ge*) of the deceased. Another inscription in the same tomb expresses the wish that this burial 'will not be exposed for a thousand years'.[9] A similar expression is found in a tomb at Cangshan, Shandong province. Completed in 151 CE, the grave contains a long inscription describing the pictorial programme of its relief carvings. The inscription ends with a prayer (italics added):

> (All the figures and animals depicted in this tomb,) when you eat and drink,
> May you eat in the Great Granary,
> And may you drink from the rivers and seas.
> You who devote yourselves to learning,
> May you be promoted to high rank and be awarded official seals and symbols.
> You who devote yourselves to managing your livelihoods,
> May your wealth increase 10,000-thousand fold in a single day.
> (But you, the deceased,) have entered the dark world,
> Completely separated from the living.
> *After the tomb is sealed,*
> *It will never be opened again*.[10]

A tomb can thus be studied in two different ways. The researcher may focus on the process of a tomb's preparation and construction, and especially the series of mortuary rites from the moment of death to that of entombment. During these rites, the body of the deceased was dressed and coffined, offerings were made, funerary paraphernalia were displayed, and the site of ritual performance moved gradually from the home of the deceased to the graveyard. A reconstruction of this temporal process would testify to the transformation of the deceased into an ancestral deity, reveal the complex social relationships involved in mortuary rites, and demonstrate how a funeral worked as a visual spectacle in people's daily life. Alternatively, the researcher may focus on the burial as a spatial construct. The primary goal of his research would be to uncover the underlying logic of a tomb's design, decoration and furnishing, and to interpret a tomb as an embodiment of social relations, history and memory, cosmology and religious beliefs.

As indicated by the title *Art of the Yellow Springs*, this book adopts the second approach to study the underground section of a tomb. Several factors have contributed

to this decision. First, most freestanding structures in ancient graveyards (which were often timber-framed) no longer exist, and archaeological investigations of Chinese tombs have predominantly dealt with underground chambers and their contents.[11] Second, some recent scholarly works, including my own, have undertaken temporal analyses of funerary art, reconstructing mortuary rites based on ritual prescriptions and actual examples from Eastern Zhou and Han tombs.[12] Third and most important, through conducting a focused study on the tomb itself we can gain a deeper understanding of an important concept and mechanism in traditional Chinese art and visual culture. This is because the concept of *cang* or 'concealment' remained a fundamental principle in Chinese funerary practices throughout its development. We can trace this concept all the way back to prehistoric times. In fact, no other civilization in the premodern world was more obsessed in concealing images and objects than China, where, for at least five thousand years from the fourth millennium BCE to the early twentieth century CE, people devoted an excessive amount of wealth and labour to constructing underground burial structures and furnishing them with exquisite objects. Sustained by a family-based social structure and the moral teaching of filial piety, the hope of providing the dead with an eternal home stimulated seemingly inexhaustible artistic creativity and technological innovation. Indeed, instead of defining a tomb in a purely architectural sense, it is more appropriate to consider it a persistent site of art production as well as a comprehensive ensemble of various art forms. Elite tombs were never mass-produced. Their designs and construction always resulted from prolonged decision-making and involved complex negotiations between various social sectors. Many objects in these tombs were 'spirit articles' made specifically for the afterlife; special paintings and sculptures were also created for the silent needs of the dead, either to protect a grave or to enliven it with sensual pleasures.

Because of their practical function and 'inauspicious' connotation, tombs were not treated as aesthetic objects in traditional China. Ancient writers uniformly avoided talking about underground graves, and as a result, these spaces were 'hidden' both in reality and in literature. This situation changed dramatically after modern archaeology began in China in the early twentieth century. Since then, the discoveries of numerous ancient tombs have developed into arguably the largest subfield in Chinese archaeology. Called 'archaeology of burials' (*muzang kaogu*), it has three primary goals in collecting, organizing and analysing archaeological data for further research. Data collecting focuses on excavation and recording, with the steadfast purpose of preserving archaeological information as comprehensively as possible. Data organization aims to arrange excavated materials into discrete types and classes, which then become the basic descriptive units in an excavation report. Data analyses enable archaeologists to determine regional characteristics and period styles – knowledge which further allows them to develop larger historical narratives of ancient Chinese tombs. A recent publication by Dong Xinlin provides a succinct summary of the impressive scholarship in these three areas.[13]

Archaeological excavations and analyses of ancient tombs have also generated a huge amount of scholarship in other diverse fields, including history, anthropology, philology, history of religion and history of science. In art history, ancient tombs have mainly been appreciated as 'treasure troves' of exciting and often previously unknown

works of art; the finding of these works has allowed art historians to constantly enrich and even rewrite histories of individual art forms such as bronze, jade, painting, sculpture, ceramics and calligraphy.

A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the roles that ancient tombs have played in writing and rewriting art history. For example, until some twenty years ago, Liangzhu jade carvings had often been dated to the Zhou or Han, and their functions and contexts were entirely unknown. This situation changed dramatically in the mid-1980s, when a series of spectacular excavations revealed the wide existence of Liangzhu-style 'jade-furnished burials' (*yulianzang*) in the lower Yangzi River region and affirmed the Neolithic origin of these carvings (illus. 2).[14] The findings have stimulated lively discussion about the typology, nomenclature, material, technique and symbolism of Liangzhu jades, making the Neolithic jades the most active subject in the study of jade carvings.

2 A 'jade-furnished burial' at Wujin, Jiangsu. Liangzhu culture. Neolithic, c. 3rd millennium BCE.

The discovery of Fu Hao's tomb in 1976 at Anyang, Henan, likewise altered people's understanding of Shang art. For the first time, archaeologists faced an intact Shang royal burial and were astonished by the quantity and quality of its furnishings: the deceased Shang queen brought with her, among other items, 200 bronze vessels (some are 'monumental' in size) (illus. 3), over 750 elaborate jade carvings, 500 bone and ivory carvings and 200 bronze weapons.[15] Studies of these objects have depicted a much more complex picture of late Shang art. For one thing, we now know that this art simultaneously produced symbolic and naturalistic images in representing a world inhabited both by spirits and real creatures. The tomb also provided evidence for the beginning of art collecting: among the precious objects found in the burial, a group of prehistoric jades from different regions suggests that Fu Hao may have been the first known antique collector in Chinese history.[16]

Also in 1976, the excavation of the mausoleum of the First Emperor formally began. Since then, thousands of life-sized terracotta figurines have been unearthed near the emperor's burial chamber; their acute naturalism has stimulated art historians not only to rewrite the history of Chinese sculpture but also to reassess the general characteristics of traditional Chinese art and aesthetics (illus. 4).[17]

In all these cases, however, the strong attention paid to individual objects attests to the influences of traditional art history, which has grown since the nineteenth century into

3 A bronze *gong* vessel in the shape of an imaginary animal from Fu Hao's tomb at Anyang, Henan. Late Shang, *c.* 1300 BCE.

a conglomeration of semi-independent fields based on art media. Each field has developed its own research method and historical narrative, and is sustained by specialized collections, exhibitions and publications. Observed in this light, art historical studies of ancient Chinese tombs over the past century have mainly served to articulate medium-specific histories, which have been the building blocks of general narratives of Chinese art history.

Ancient tombs have served this role in art history, however, at the expense of being fragmented in both preservation and analysis: the integrity of a tomb is obscured when it dissolves into medium-oriented classification and research. This type of scholarship based on decontextualization especially characterizes the studies of Chinese art in the West, which were founded initially on collections of individual objects derived from various sources, including plundered tombs. Even today, European and American museums rarely display Chinese funerary art in its ritual and architectural context, but habitually funnel this art into discrete jade, bronze, sculpture and painting sections. Once funerary art is integrated into this system of presentation and intermingled with works created for non-funerary purposes, it ceases to pose questions about specific concerns in its design and making. As a result, few publications on funerary objects in Western collections have tried to explain their material, colour, size, proportion, style or typology in terms of their original function and symbolism. It is ironic that while a decontextualized art collection tends to inspire formalist research, it nevertheless prevents a genuine understanding of forms as cultural and artistic expressions.

New trends in Chinese art history are now challenging this way of studying funerary art. More specifically, two changes have contributed to a growing awareness of ancient tombs as important architectural and artistic creations in their own right. One change concerns the preservation and exhibition of archaeological finds in China and other East Asian countries, where many 'ancient tomb museums' have appeared in recent years and begun to generate new scholarship. Located at the sites of important tombs, these museums display the excavated artefacts alongside the underground structures, and provide detailed information about the tombs' historical background. Elaborate digital and architectonic reconstructions further allow visitors to visualize the tombs' original plan and furnishing.[18] This type of display has even begun to influence the manner of exhibition in general art museums. For example, the newly opened Hebei Provincial Museum in China devotes nearly a quarter of its main exhibition space to two spectacular royal cemeteries discovered in the province, combining architectural models, unearthed treasures and photographic records to generate a vivid sense of the original tombs.[19]

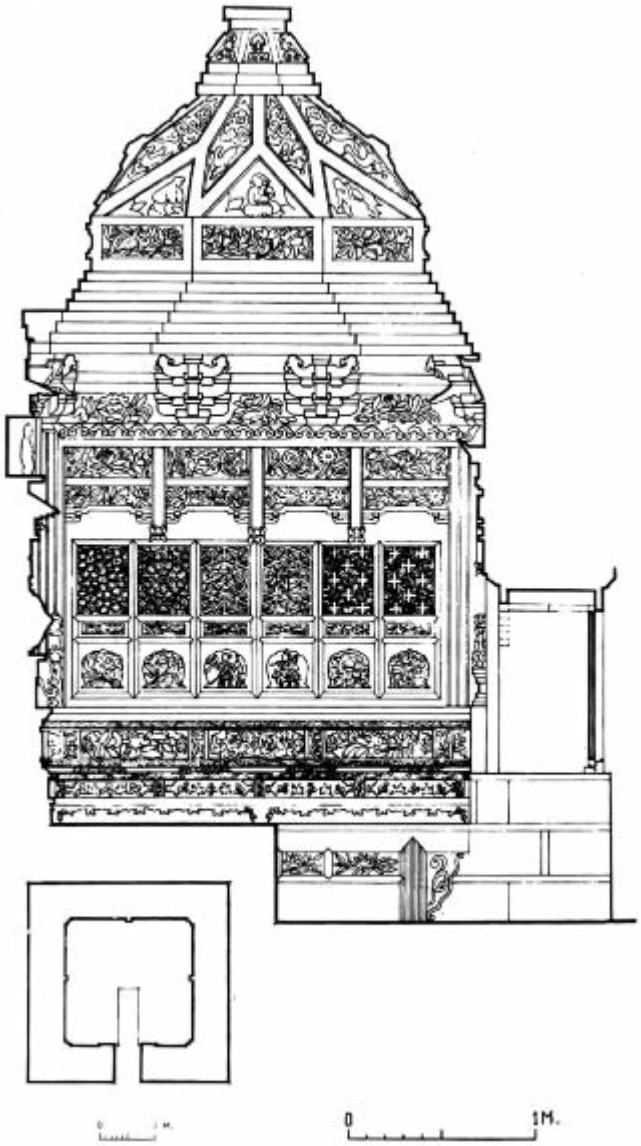
4 A Section of the 'Underground Army' in the Lishan Mausoleum of the First Emperor. Lintong, Shaanxi. Qin dynasty, late 3rd century BCE.

The second change is taking place in art historical scholarship. Initially articulated in the studies of Western art, various types of contextual research have shifted historians'

attention from works of art per se to their production, perception and consumption in specific historical circumstances. The far-reaching interest in visual and material culture in recent years has further blurred the boundaries of art history, opening the discipline to broader issues related to visual presentation and representation. It is not difficult to imagine how this research turn, along with the emergence of 'tomb museums' in East Asia, would encourage art historians to make an entire tomb the subject of historical research and interpretation. Starting from the early 1980s, an increasing number of research projects, including several PhD dissertations, have exemplified this new trend in studying funerary art.[20] Each focusing on a tomb or cemetery, these projects share a basic methodological premise: a tomb was designed, constructed and decorated as a whole and so should be studied as such. Other synthetic studies focus on period trends and regional styles in the development of funerary art.[21] Although these synthetic studies focus primarily on the relationship between murals and tomb structure and rarely consider other components of a tomb such as grave furnishings, the fundamental tactic of their authors has shifted to keep an entire burial – rather than any of its individual components – at the centre of both observation and interpretation.

The present study intends to push this type of scholarship to the next level by making interpretative methods the direct subject of consideration.[22] As mentioned earlier, funerary art has mainly been studied in separate fields in Chinese art history as displaced images and objects; the research methods used are often based on later notions of works of art as aesthetic objects created to please or intrigue the eye. Are these notions appropriate for understanding spaces and objects created for the dead? Has their unexamined adoption actually distracted us from recognizing the uniqueness of funerary spaces and objects? Such general reflections lead to more specific questions. For example, we employ standard architectural terminology to describe and analyse tombs, often forgetting that an underground grave chamber frequently 'reverses' an above-ground model through transforming exterior surfaces into an interior space (illus. 5).[23] We use the concepts of 'viewing' and the 'gaze' uncritically in discussing tomb murals and figurines, but these concepts must be redefined when we realize that the principal viewer of these images was probably not a living spectator; the persistent use of miniatures in tombs also raises questions about the identity of the supposed audience. We assume that tombs, like other kinds of art, could have 'influenced' one another in architectural structure and decorative programme, without acknowledging that these were actually sealed spaces which builders and artists could not visit and copy from. As for the objects found in graves, we still tend to group them together with those created in different social, religious and artistic contexts, and to use the entire assemblage to illustrate general shifts in style, iconography and taste. But ancient writers asserted repeatedly that 'spirit articles' for the dead should be different from those made for the living in terms of material, size, colour, function and technique.

All these questions suggest that in order to achieve a genuine understanding of the art and architecture of Chinese tombs, we need to start from a basic level, reconsidering the nature and fundamental purposes of this particular human creation. This is why I base my analytical framework on the three most essential aspects of any manufactured work – spatiality, materiality, and temporality. Chapter One discusses various symbolic



5 Cross-section and plan of Dong Ming's Tomb at Houma, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1210 CE.

environments constructed inside a tomb and a particular 'subject space' created for the disembodied soul. The next chapter on materiality considers how and why certain materials, mediums, sizes, shapes and colours were selected for tomb architecture and furnishing, and how particular means were developed to transform the physical body of the dead. 'Time' is the topic of the last chapter: building on the preceding chapters, it shows how spaces, objects and images work together to evoke various temporalities such as past, future or eternity, and to generate a sense of movement inside a sealed space. The final Coda brings these separate threads together in portraying three important tombs from different periods. This book thus does not follow a chronological order to reconstruct a coherent development of Chinese funerary art; neither does it provide a

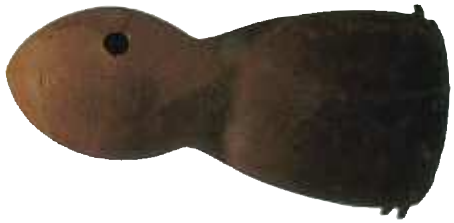
comprehensive survey of different tomb types and heterogeneous, regional burial practices within the geographical boundaries of the present-day People's Republic of China.[24] I do describe and analyse many individual examples from different times and places, but these descriptions and analyses all respond to my initial question – What factors define an art and architectural tradition we call Chinese tombs? – while demonstrating the amazing richness of arguably the longest and most persistent tradition in the entirety of Chinese art.

1 Spatiality

> In the remote past, people buried the dead in the open field under thick brushwood, without constructing tumuli or planting trees. The period of mourning was also not regulated. The later sages then replaced this ancient custom with inner and outer coffins.
> *The Book of Changes*[1]

Any tomb is created first as a vacuum – it starts out as a pit dug in the earth, rocks or wood piled up to make a hole, or a cave carved in a hillside. The construction of a permanent architectonic space for the dead was a later practice, however. Before then, the vacuum in a grave was typically filled with dirt or rubble around the corpse. Zhao Zi of the second century CE thus considered the invention of the coffin the single most important event in the history of tombs; all later developments of the burial structure only elaborated upon the notion and form of the coffin, which, in a rudimentary but highly conceptual manner, first materialized and stabilized a special space for the dead.[2] Zhao attributed the invention of the coffin to the Yellow Emperor, a legendary ruler in antiquity who is also described in Han texts as the inventor of ritual and statecraft.[3] Following the Yellow Emperor's steps, according to Zhao, the royal house of the Western Zhou multiplied the layers of coffins and embellished them with surface decoration, and the powerful warlords of the Eastern Zhou constructed large, luxurious mausoleums for themselves, 'squandering a handsome sum from state coffers in the realm of the Three Springs [i.e., the Yellow Springs].'[4] Modern archaeology has basically confirmed the historical development outlined by Zhao Zi. Based on scientific excavations, we now know that stone and pottery coffins had appeared in China by at least the mid-Neolithic period, about 6,000 years ago (illus. 6),[5] that burial structures in elite Western Zhou graves indeed bore ornate images,[6] and that large mausoleums became fashionable among the Eastern Zhou warlords during the fourth and third centuries BCE (illus. 7).[7]

One of these Eastern Zhou warlords finally unified China and bestowed upon himself the imperial title Shi Huang Di – the First Sovereign Emperor of a (supposedly) everlasting dynasty. Not coincidentally, his tomb, called the Lishan Mausoleum, reached a new, astonishing level in both scale and conception. We will return to this tomb many times in this volume. For the moment, it is important to note that the First

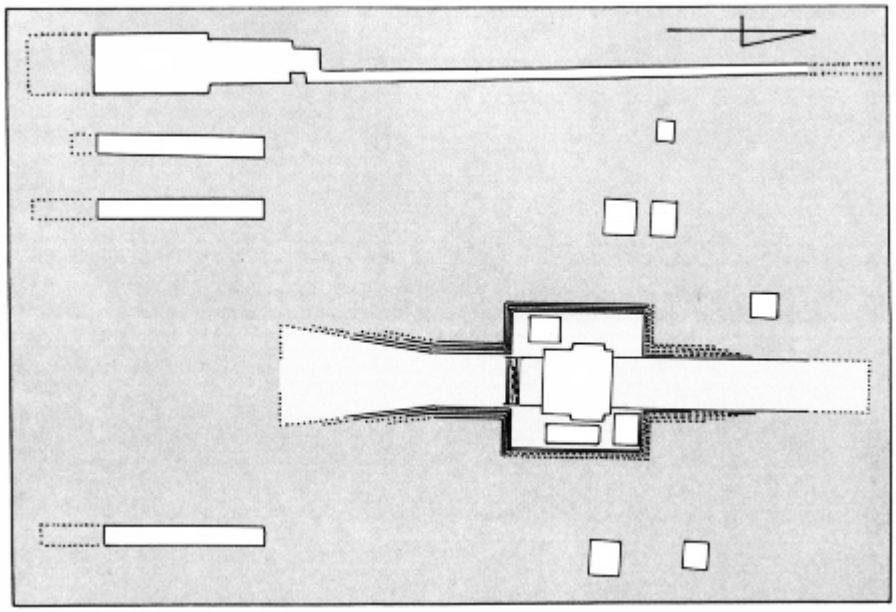


6 Pottery coffin for a child, Yangshao culture. Neolithic, *c.* 3500 BCE. Excavated in 1978 at Yancun, Henan.

Emperor's undertaking also inspired the first description of an underground grave chamber in China. (The earlier quotations from *The Book of Rites* and *Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* are not a description of an actual burial, but only prescribe certain general principles of tomb construction.) This famous passage comes from *Shi ji*, or *Historical Records*, by Sima Qian (*c.* 145–*c.* 90 BCE). In his biography of the First Emperor, this Grand Historian of the Western Han (who wrote nearly a century after the First Emperor's death) recalls how the emperor assembled 700,000 workers from all over the country to build his tomb:

> They dug through the Three Springs, stopped their flow, and built the burial chamber there. They carried in [models of?] palaces, pavilions, and the hundred officials, and strange objects and valuables to fill up the tomb. . . . With mercury they made the myriad rivers and the ocean with a mechanism that made them flow about. Above were all the heavens and below all the earth.[8]

This amazing space was not to be entered by mortal men, for the emperor ordered crossbows and arrows set up there, rigged so that they would shoot anyone attempting to break in. Even visions and memories of the underground site had to be erased: all the builders and craftsmen who had worked in the tomb were locked inside when 'the inner gate was closed off and the outer gate lowered', so the secret they knew would be forever kept within the tomb.[9]



7 Plan of the Mausoleum of King Cuo of the Zhongshan kingdom at Pingshan, Hebei. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE.

The First Emperor's burial chamber is not yet excavated and we still cannot verify Sima Qian's report.[10] In fact, no excavated pre-Han tomb is decorated with images of 'heaven above and those of earth below'. The earliest known examples painted with such images date from the first century BCE, over a century after the First Emperor's death but close to Sima Qian's own lifetime (illus. 8).[11] An inquisitive reader of *Shi ji* may also question how Sima Qian knew the tomb's interior if those who had seen it were all murdered and no one was allowed to enter the space afterwards. Of course, one can always argue that *somehow* the tomb's secret leaked out despite all the precautions taken by the emperor and his heir (who was instrumental in locking up the workers inside the tomb). But one can also make an equally strong argument that the mystery surrounding this unseen space would stimulate fantasy, and that later writers

8 Painted ceiling of Shaogou Tomb 61 at Luoyang, Henan. Late Western Han, 1st century BCE.

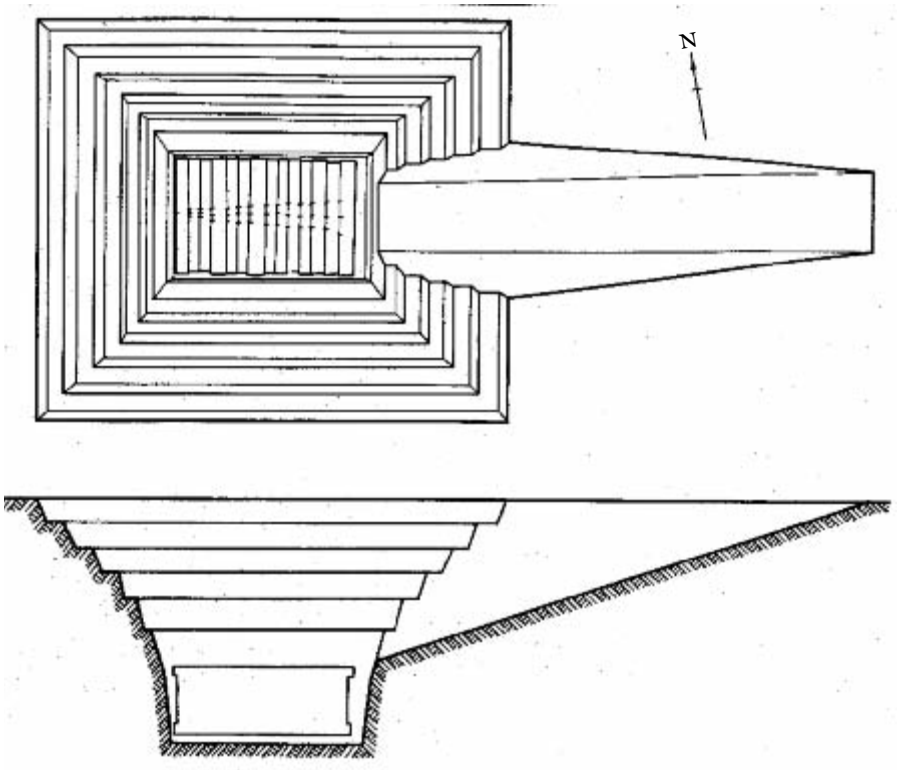
and artists (not just Sima Qian but also modern historians, novelists and especially film directors) would give free reign to their imagination, trying to envision this most amazing tomb created in ancient China.

Before the First Emperor's grave is eventually opened, it would be unwise to determine which of these two scenarios might have given rise to Sima Qian's report. What we can say with confidence is that his description combines two basic models of tomb construction and decoration, both responding to the desire to transform a tomb's interior into a symbolic, illusionary space. In the first model, a tomb is arranged to simulate a microcosm of the universe, with its essential components – heaven and earth being the most important – represented in different positions according to the prevailing cosmology. In the second model, a tomb provides the deceased with a posthumous home by transporting his worldly possessions – in the First Emperor's case, his palaces, subjects and valuables – to an underground space. These two models are not antithetical, and can exist either independently or in various composite forms. They can be integrated because a replicated living environment can be presented as an intrinsic feature of a model universe, whereas a model universe can be conceptualized as the 'cosmic dwelling' of the departed soul. But more fundamentally, these two spaces can supplement each other because both are constructed for the dead, who alone fulfil the ritual and symbolic significance of these spaces by inhabiting them.

Thus even though we cannot take Sima Qian's description for the actual burial chamber of the First Emperor, we learn from his words some basic notions and impulses in constructing, decorating and furnishing a tomb in ancient China. Taking the passage as its starting point, this chapter explores various manifestations of these notions and impulses. If the invention of the coffin forged an insulated architectonic space for the dead, the next crucial development was to elaborate this space into an underground household or microcosm. In the history of Chinese tombs, this development was achieved through replacing a *casket grave* with a *chamber grave*.

From Casket Grave to Chamber Grave

A 'casket grave' (*guo mu*) is a tomb with a box-like timber structure buried at the bottom of a vertical shaft (illus. 9). This burial type is therefore also known as a 'vertical-pit grave' (*shuxue mu*).[12] The traditional Chinese term for the timber structure is *guo*, an 'outer coffin' that encloses one or more 'inner coffins' which are called *guan* (illus. 10). Although eventually assembled into a nested set of caskets, *guan* and *guo* are distinguished by a number of crucial features. During the Eastern Zhou and Han, for example, a *guan* was made before the funeral and even long before a person died; a *guo* was constructed inside the grave pit right before the entombment. A *guan* was a single rectangular container with a flat or curved lid; a *guo* often consisted of multiple compartments to store coffins and grave goods. A *guan* was frequently painted with elaborate patterns (see illus. 178); most *guo* bore little embellishment. A *guan* was displayed during the funerary ceremony before the burial; a *guo* served no role in such exhibition. On the day of the burial, after workers built the *guo* inside the grave pit, they lowered the *guan* and burial goods into it, and then sealed the *guo* with a heavy

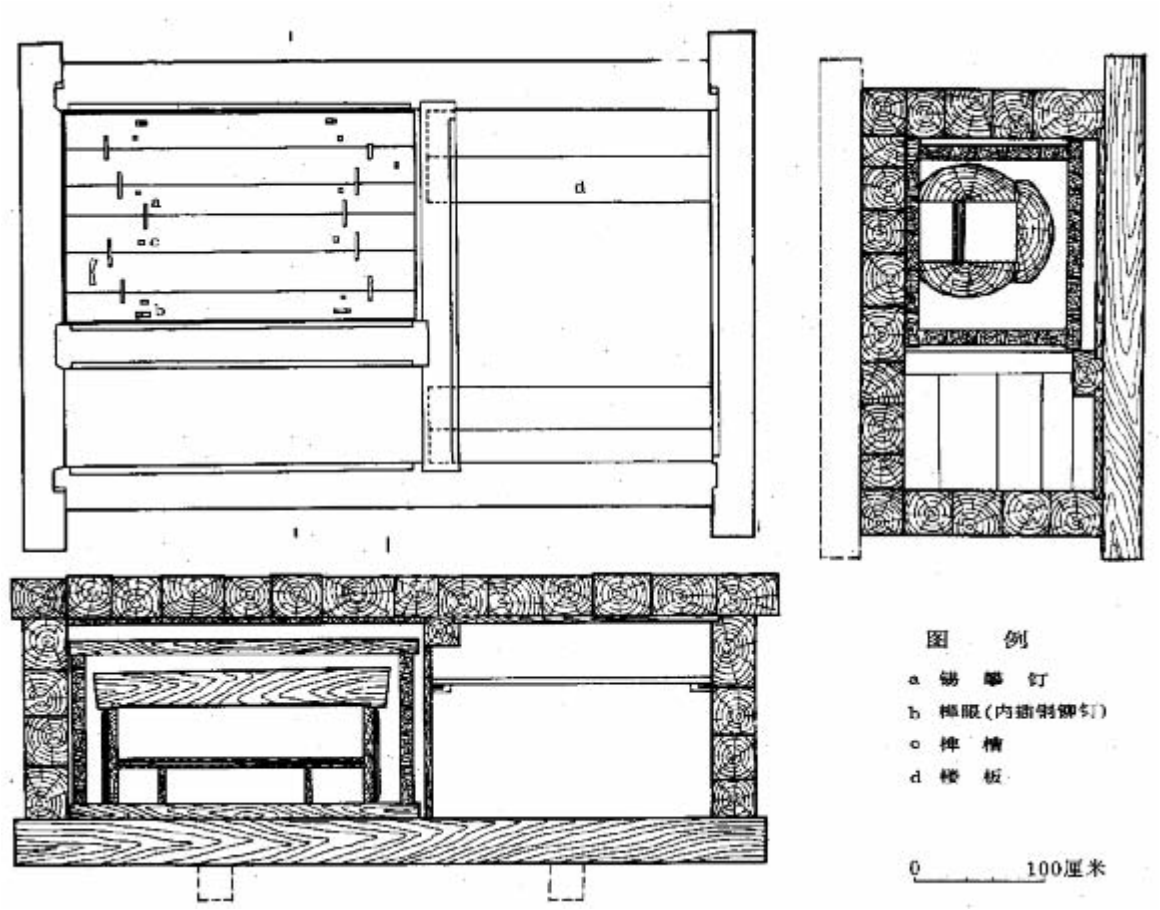


9 Cross-section and plan of Wangshan Tomb 1 at Jiangling, Hubei. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE.

lid. The pit was then filled with dirt; and a mound was erected on top to mark the location.[13] Most important for a casket grave, the timber structure inside it was intended as a self-contained unit, without a side-entrance connecting its interior with the outside. If there was a ramp attached to the vertical pit, it only reached the upper edge of the casket to facilitate the entombment (see illus. 9).

Scholars have traced the origin of the casket grave to the single-coffin tombs of Yangshao culture, a large cultural complex which flourished in the mid- and upper Yellow River regions from the fifth to the third millennia BCE.[14] A timber frame was later constructed around the coffin in some elite tombs belonging to Dawenkou and Liangzhu cultures, two east coastal cultures dating from the fourth and third millennium BCE (illus. 11).[15] Mature casket graves finally appeared in the Longshan culture in the Shandong Peninsula during the third millennium BCE. In Tomb 1 at Xizhufeng near Linqu, for example, two *guo*-structures made of wooden planks not only enclosed a coffin but also contained boxes of grave furnishings (illus. 12).[16]

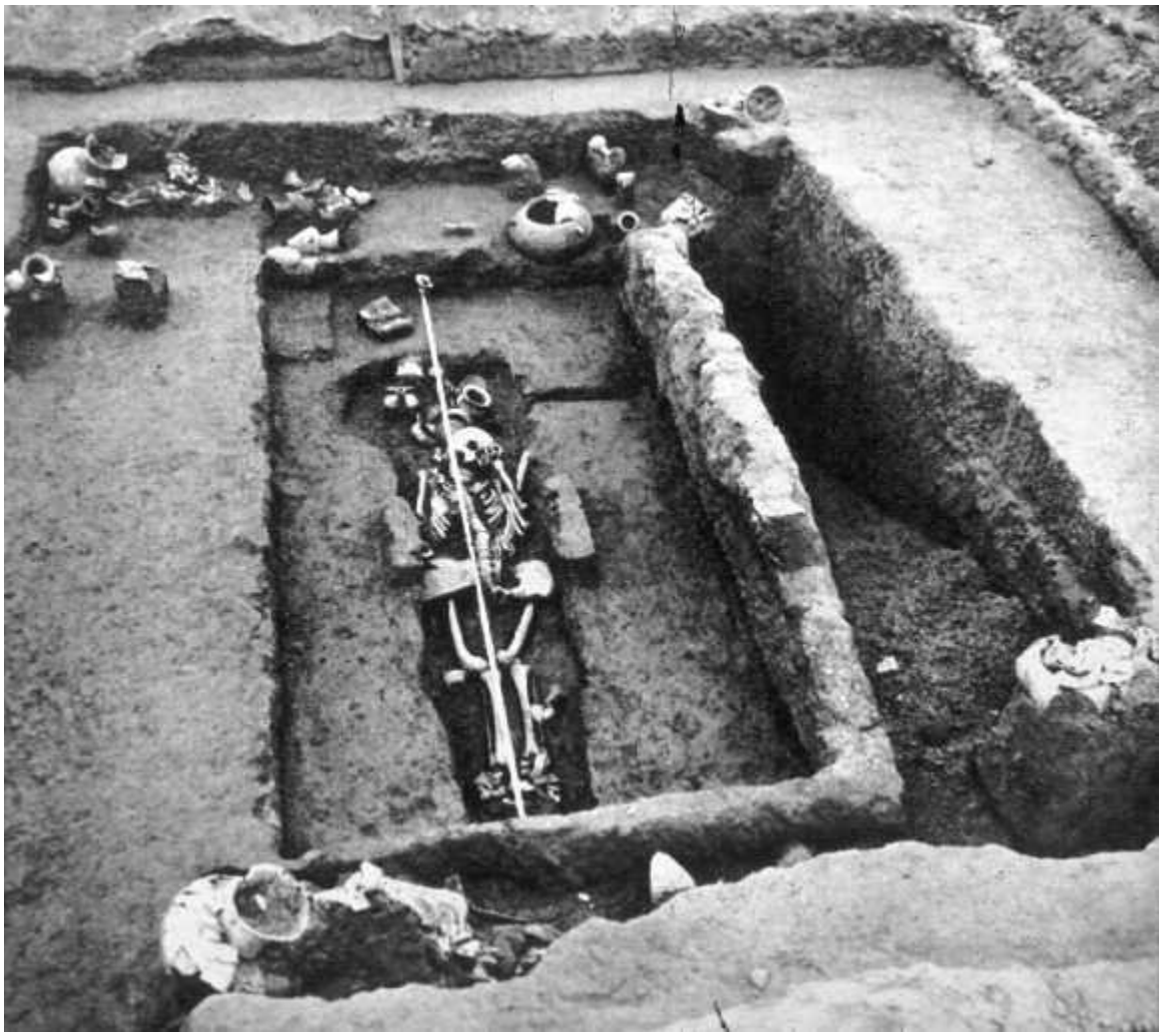
Once the casket grave appeared, this burial type enjoyed impressive longevity. It became the dominant tomb type for the next two thousand years from the Shang to early Han, although the size of an elite tomb continued to grow, and the *guan/guo* assemblage became increasingly complex. In Houjiazhuang Tomb 1004, one of the largest Shang royal tombs at Anyang, Henan, the earthen pit was 17.9m long, 15.9m wide and 12m deep; the timber structure installed at the bottom of the pit was about 9m long and 8.5m wide. The sloping ramp reached the rim of the structure from each side of the grave, allowing people to construct and furnish the casket assemblage

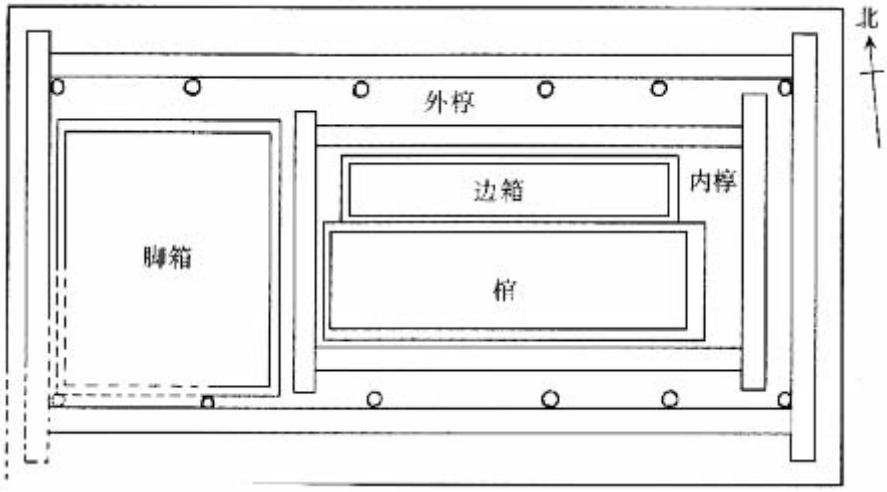


10 Cross-section and plan of the burial casket in Wangshan Tomb 1.

(illus. 13).[17] Different regional styles of this tomb type flourished during the Eastern Zhou, from the eighth to third centuries BCE.[18] In the Chu area in the mid-Yangzi River region, the *guan/guo* structure became the special focus of architectural and artistic innovation. The multiple compartments inside a *guo* were often connected by miniature doors and windows; layers of coffins further provided Chu painters with prepared surfaces to execute fantastic images and intricate decorative patterns. This development reached its apex in the early Han, as demonstrated by Mawangdui Tomb 1 near Changsha in Hunan.

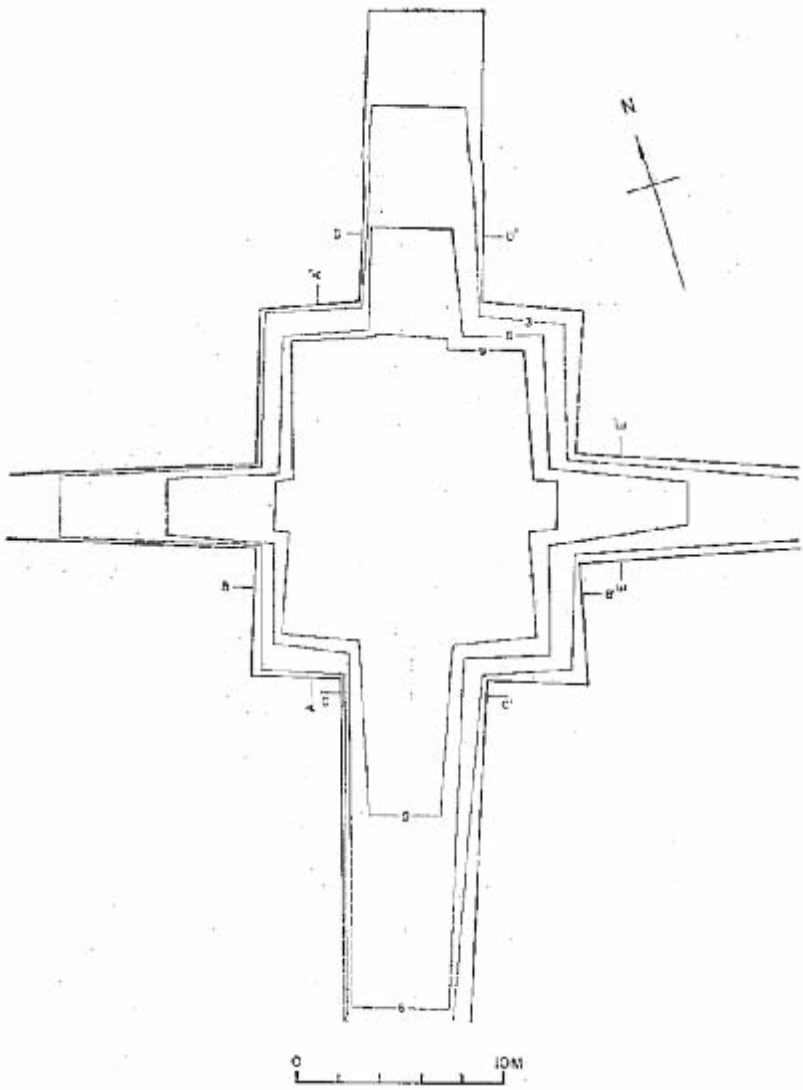
Belonging to Lady Dai, the wife of a local governor, this tomb was constructed some time before 168 BCE, not long after the establishment of the Han in 206 BCE. Inside the grave, at the bottom of a vertical shaft as much as 16m deep, the timber *guan/guo* structure standing on struts was completely sealed by a 40-centimetre layer of charcoal followed by a layer of white clay over a metre thick (illus. 14). Such painstaking effort to insulate the tomb must have contributed to the miraculous preservation of its contents, including a series of exquisitely painted coffins, a two-metre-long silk painting, over a hundred figurines, more than a thousand household articles, musical instruments and fine textiles, and even the corpse of the dead woman. I will discuss the tomb's spatial structure and furnishings later. For now, it is essential to note the





11 Tomb 10 at Dawenkou, Shandong. Dawenkou culture, 4th–3rd millennium BCE.

12 Tomb 1 at Xizhufeng near Linqu, Shandong. Longshan culture, 2nd half of the 3rd millennium BCE.



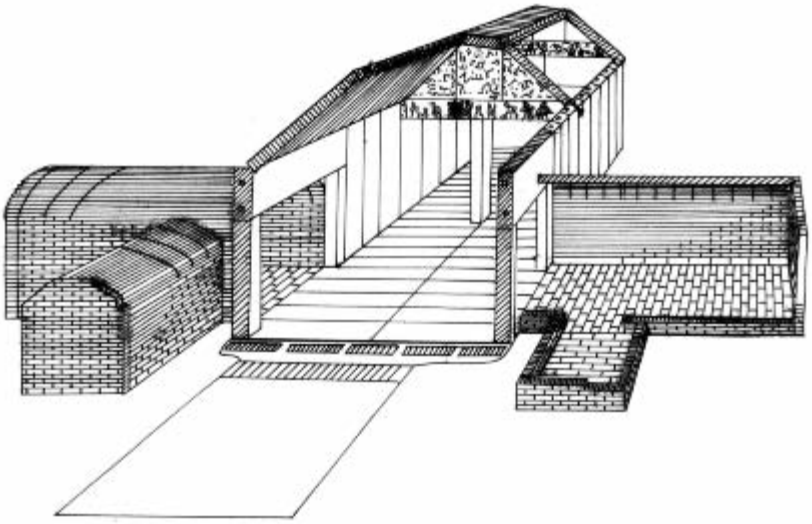
13 Plan of Houjiazhuang Tomb 1004. Anyang, Henan. Late Shang, c. 13th–12th centuries BCE.

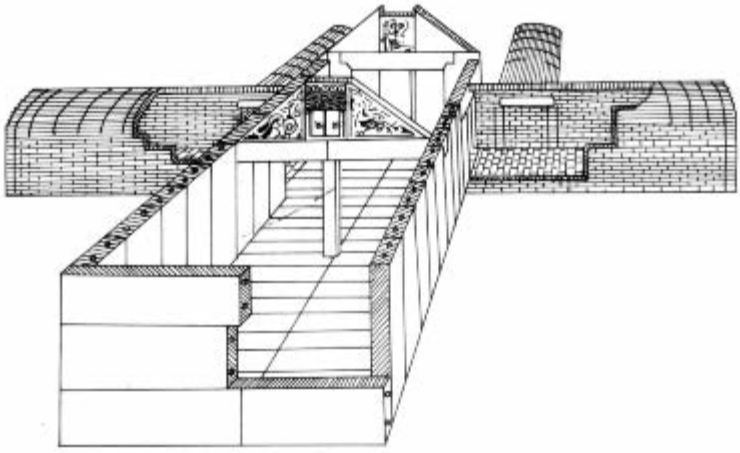
remarkable persistence of the tradition of the casket grave several thousand years after its invention. Most important, the tomb was still designed as an insulated unit for the benefit of the dead. Although the coffins and grave goods must have been displayed during the funerary ceremony before the entombment, once they were buried they constituted a symbolic, self-sustained environment in the land of the Yellow Springs.[19] The repeated layers of *guan* and *guo* structures, sealed by charcoal and white clay, aimed to protect the deceased's body, not to facilitate her soul's communication with the human world.

While the Mawangdui Tomb demonstrates the continued refinement of the casket grave in the second century BCE, the same century also witnessed the emergence of the second major form of Chinese tomb: the chamber grave (*shi mu*). Unlike a casket grave that concealed a box-like structure in a vertical pit, a chamber grave was

constructed laterally and resembled a house. It has thus acquired the alternative name of 'horizontal-pit grave' (*hengxue mu*) in archaeological literature. The most important features of a chamber grave include ample interior space for exhibiting grave goods and architectural decoration, a flat, arched or domed roof over the tomb chamber(s) and a side entrance equipped with a door and connected with an entryway (illus. 15). The coffin and grave goods were no longer lowered in from above, but were carried in through the side entrance, much as when people move into a new residence. As in the case of a casket grave, a chamber grave was sealed after the entombment. But we know from textual and archaeological evidence that the deceased's kin could hold the final funerary rite inside

14 Reconstruction of Mawangdui Tomb 1 of Lady Dai at Changsha, Hunan. Early Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.





15 Infrastructural sections of Shaogou Tomb 61 at Luoyang, Henan. Western Han, 1st century BCE.

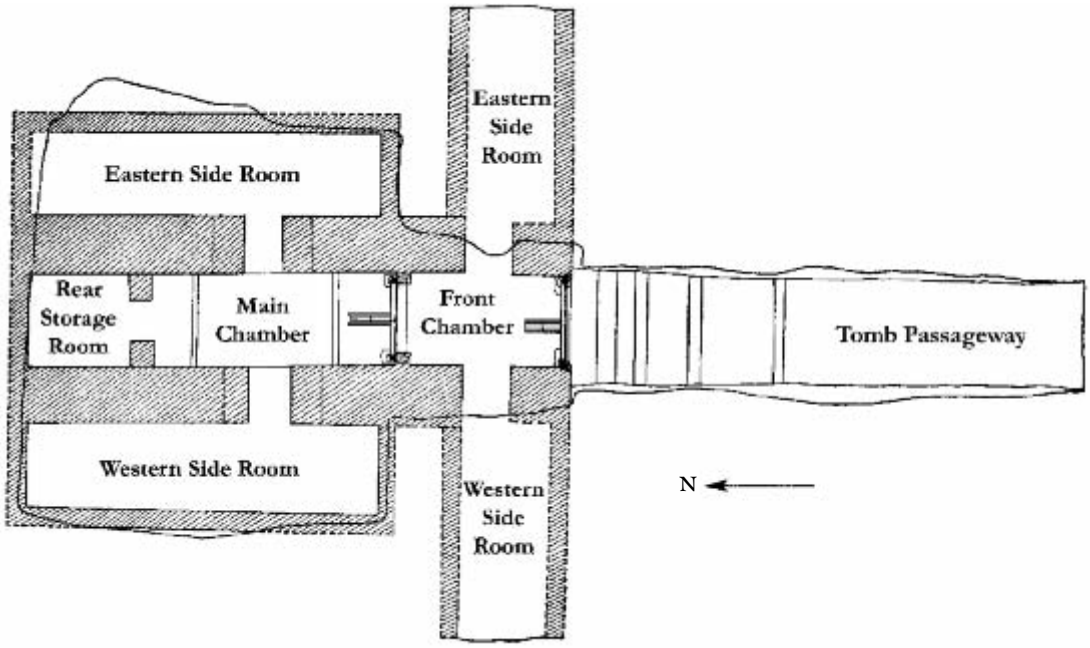
the grave chamber before it was closed forever; even mourners were sometimes invited to see the murals in a tomb. In a newly discovered second-century CE tomb at Baizicun, Shaanxi, for example, an inscription next to the entrance reads: 'Those who intend to view (the tomb) must take off their shoes to enter.'[20] The *History of the Later Han* (*Hou Han shu*) also records that after the burial of a former emperor, the new ruler was supposed to pay final respects to his forebear inside the tomb by walking through the tomb tunnel and weeping before the coffin. Similar ritual codes were issued by later dynasties.[21]

A chamber tomb thus implies a new concept about the land of the Yellow Springs: this underground place was no longer completely cut off from the living. Even once the tomb chamber was closed and concealed from view after the entombment, the door and passageway remained and could be reopened to admit additional deceased family members. Such potential accessibility of the chamber tomb inspired a new kind of imagination, as stories about certain underground adventures began to circulate, telling how a traveller accidentally entered an ancient tomb and met historical figures of the remote past. One of these tales, written down during the Tang (618–907), describes how a young gentleman named Cui Wei accidentally fell into a cave, which turned into a tunnel 'several dozens of miles' long.[22] Journeying through the tunnel he saw murals portraying ancient noblemen in ceremonial attire. Finally he reached a stone gate with a pair of gold knockers in the shape of animal masks.

> He entered the door, but all he saw was a broad, empty chamber, perhaps more than a hundred paces long, with the walls of a cave, all hollowed out to make rooms. Several of these chambers in the middle section had beautifully embroidered curtains, hung with gold and painted purple, ornamented with emeralds and pearls which sparkled like clusters of bright stars. In front of each curtain was a gold incense burner. On the incense burners were flood dragons, *luan*-and *feng*-phoenixes, turtles, snakes, swallows and peacocks; out of all their mouths came the lush, sweet-smelling smoke of incense. To one side was a small pool, walled with gold and holding silver water, with wild ducks, seagulls, and other such creatures floating within, all carved of fine jasper and jade. Against the four walls stood couches, all decorated with the tusks of elephants and rhinoceri.[23]

There, Cui Wei was welcomed by four beautiful ladies wearing ancient costumes and hairstyles, but the master of this underground mansion, whom the ladies referred to as the 'emperor', was absent. After Cui finally returned home, he learned that the place he had visited was actually the tomb of Zhao Tuo, who had founded the Nanyue kingdom in 208 BCE.

Zhao Tuo's tomb has not yet been found. But the grave of his grandson, the second Nanyue king Zhao Mo (r. 137–122 BCE), was discovered in 1983 in the midst of the city of Guangzhou. Built inside Elephant Hill, the tomb consists of seven stone chambers grouped into two horizontal sections, front and back (illus. 16). Entering the massive stone gate in the tomb's facade, a visitor to the tomb (which has been turned

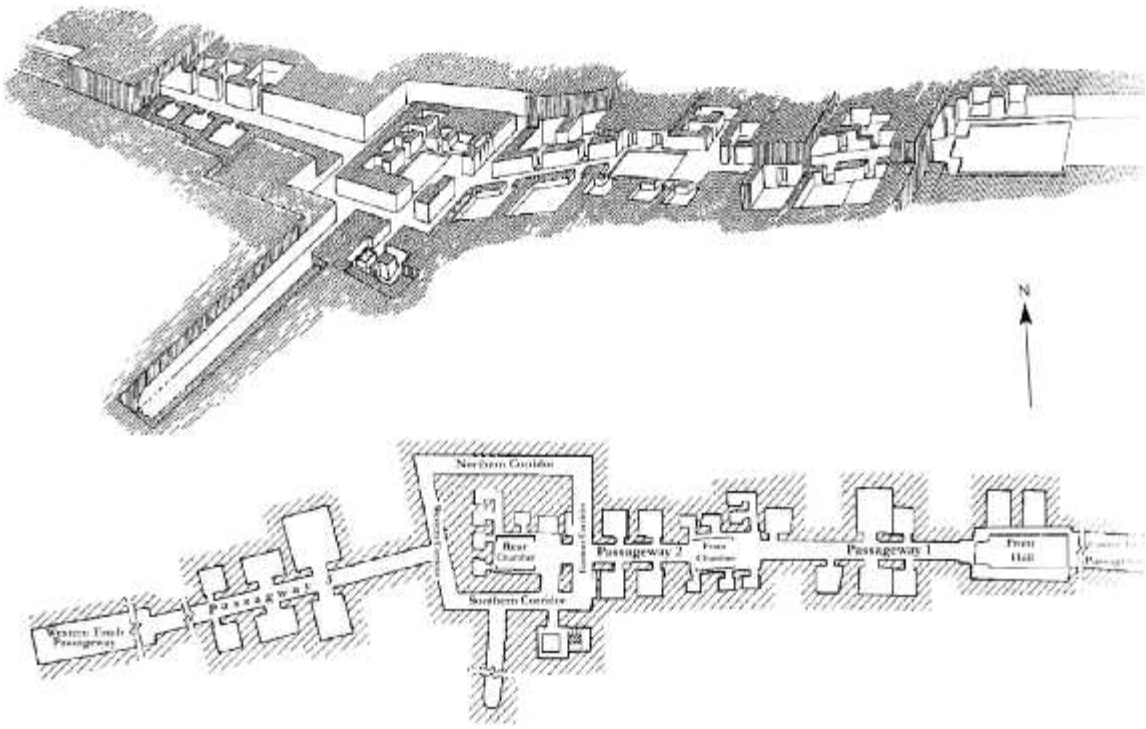


16 Plan of Zhao Mo's tomb at Guangzhou, Guangdong. Western Han, 122 BCE.

into a museum) faces an antechamber flanked by two side rooms. Originally furnished with ritual vessels and musical instruments, this part of the tomb mirrored the reception quarter in the king's palace. Behind the antechamber is the rear section centered on a lavishly furnished coffin chamber, in which Zhao Mo was buried in a jade suit (see illus. 128). The room to the right belonged to Zhao's consorts, whose bodily remains were mingled with personal ornaments. The seven people buried in the left room were probably palace servants. These and other chambers yielded numerous objects, made of all sorts of valuable materials including ivory, gold, silver, bronze, glass, jade and lacquer.

It is almost uncanny to find so many parallels between this tomb and the one described in the Tang tale: the tunnel, the stone gate, the opulent inner chambers, the exquisite objects, the palace ladies and their servants. Although as a product of the literary genre of 'recording the strange' (*zhi guai*), the tale naturally parades the interest in the supernatural and fantastic, the author's imagination seems to have nevertheless been stirred up by empirical knowledge of an actual second-century BCE chamber grave. Most amazingly, at the end of the story Cui Wei learns the identities of the four ladies who greeted him in the tomb: 'Two were given (to the Nanyue king) by King Yao of the Ouyue, and two were entered into service by King Wuzhu of the Minyue. All of them were buried alive with the king.'[24] After examining the remains of palace ladies buried next to Zhao Mo's coffin chamber, the excavators of the Guangzhou tomb reported that these remains belonged to four royal consorts who had followed Zhao Mo on to death.[25]

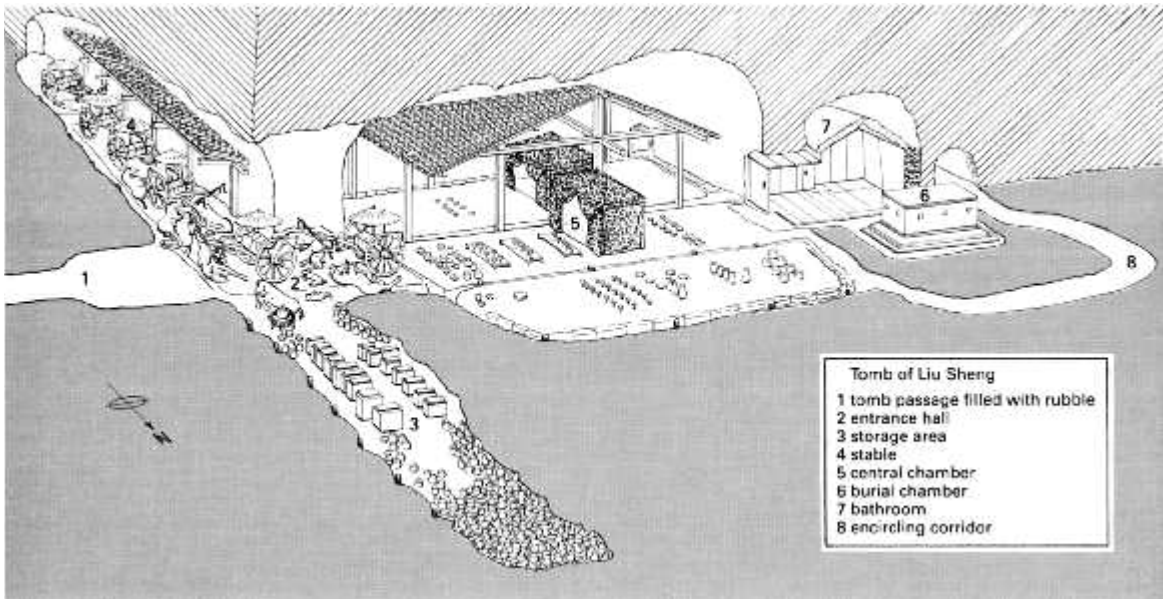
Constructed inside a natural hill, Zhao Mo's tomb is akin to a 'cliff tomb' (*ya mu*) – a variation of the early chamber grave that enjoyed considerable popularity among members of the Western Han royal family during the second and first centuries BCE.



17 Plan and infrastructural sections of Baoanshan Tomb 2 at Yongcheng, Henan. Western Han, c. 123 BCE.

More than a dozen such tombs, all constructed of stone and located in a hillside, have been found in Henan, Shandong and Jiangsu. Because of their impressive size and complex layout, Chinese archaeologists often describe them as 'underground palaces' (*dixia gongdian*); and indeed some of these tombs have massive, maze-like structures that mirror real palaces. Baoanshan Tomb 2 at Yongcheng, Henan, is one such example. Built for a powerful queen mother of the Liang principality who died in 123 BCE, this 210.5-metre-long tomb has 36 chambers attached to a tunnel which penetrates the full width of a rocky hill (illus. 17). Inscriptions inside the tomb identify some of the chambers as 'Eastern Palace' (*Dong gong*), 'Western Palace' (*Xi gong*), 'Eastern Carriage House' (*Dong che*) and 'Western Carriage House' (*Xi che*), erasing any doubt about the tomb's significance as a posthumous palace.[26]

Among these cliff tombs, earlier examples show greater divergence in layout, attesting to a period of experimentation in designing a chamber burial.[27] Toward the end of the second century BCE, a more concise and uniform layout emerged, exemplified by Zhao Mo's tomb in Guangzhou and Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2 in Hebei. (The occupants of the two Mancheng tombs were Liu Sheng and Dou Wan, a royal couple of the Zhongshan principality.) Located thousands of miles apart, these two groups of princely burials have an identical design characterized by structural symmetry and a pronounced central axis. A hidden tunnel (20.63m long in Mancheng Tomb 1) leads to the entrance of each of these tombs. Inside a tomb, a pair of side chambers flanks a vestibule, behind which stand the antechamber and coffin chamber (illus. 8; also see illus. 18). Instead of imitating an actual palace, this structure 'condenses' the basic



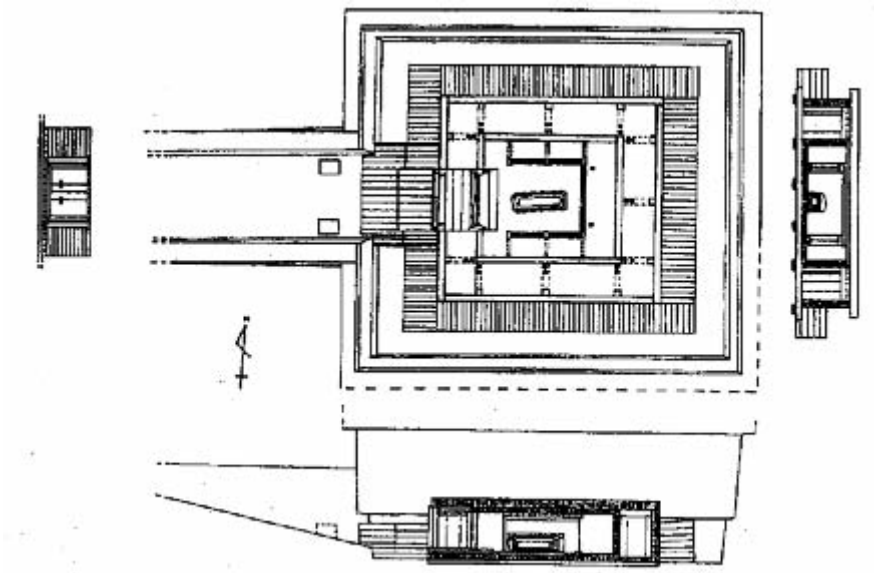
18 Reconstruction of Mancheng Tomb 1 of Prince Liu Sheng at Mancheng, Hebei. Western Han, 113 BCE.

components of a palace (such as the audience hall, the bedroom, the carriage house and the storage room) into a symbolic form. Once this succinct layout appeared, it provided a blueprint for constructing various kinds of chamber graves in the first century BCE (see illus. 15).

Still containing the traditional *guan/guo* assemblage as the immediate encasement of the corpse, this type of chamber grave provided a burial with an additional, house-like architectural framework. Another type of Western Han chamber grave, however, evolved from the *guan/guo* structure itself. Typically made of wood, this type of tomb remained box-like and multi-layered. But the original compartments of the *guo* were enlarged to become a series of 'chambers,' and openings were created on the front walls along the central axis (illus. 19). Despite their distinct origins, these two types of chamber tomb were roughly contemporary and had interchangeable features, demonstrating a common current underlying the development of tomb structures during the mid- to late Western Han.[28]

Once the chamber grave was invented, it was welcomed by people of different social classes and soon became the dominant burial type across the country. The wide use of bricks also provided a more economical and efficient means to construct house-like grave chambers in various configurations with arched or domed ceilings. These and other architectural innovations also stimulated new art forms and techniques, such as murals, stamped bricks and stone carvings, which replaced traditional wall hangings to become a major branch of tomb decoration. Because these developments continued after the Western Han, the chamber grave came to dominate the history of Chinese tombs over the next two thousand years, although the casket grave never disappeared and was constantly invoked by Confucian ritualists as a more 'authentic' type of ancient burial.

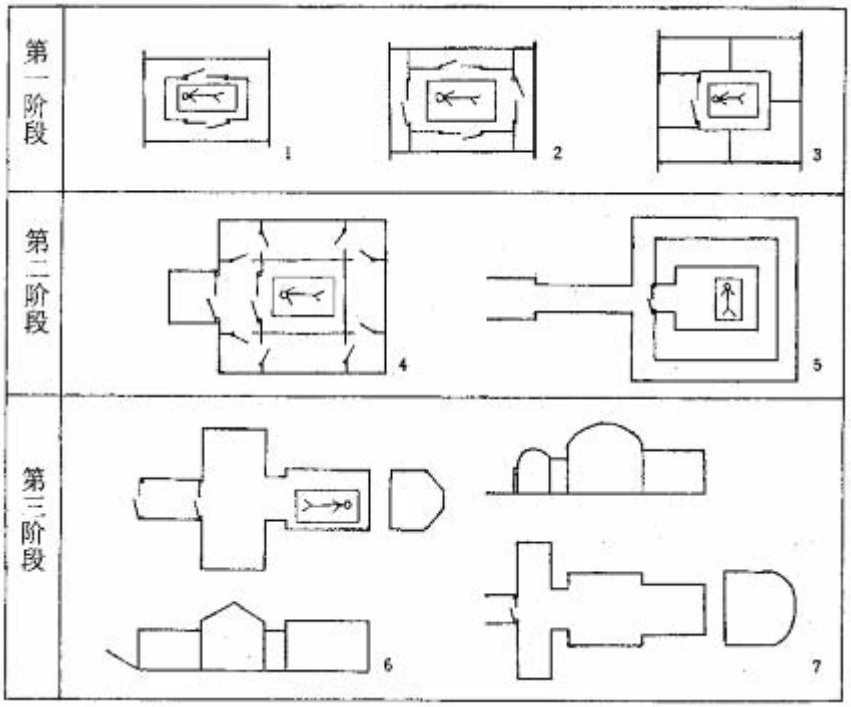
Because the change from the casket grave to the chamber grave played such a profound role in altering the orientation of tomb construction and decoration, many



19 Plan of Xiangbizui Tomb 1 at Changsha, Henan. Early Western Han, *c.* 156 BCE.

scholars have attempted to reconstruct the process of this development and explore its causes. Various theories have been proposed. Some archaeologists have traced the origin of the chamber tomb to a variation of the casket grave that had a horizontal burial chamber attached to the vertical shaft.[29] Others have linked the appearance of chamber graves with the use of brick in some third-century BCE casket tombs.[30] A more complex reconstruction, recently advanced by Huang Xiaofen, focuses on the development of 'passages' in tombs and hypothesizes that the chamber grave emerged in three stages: (1) doors and windows were opened on partition walls inside a *guo*-structure to connect adjacent compartments; (2) an entrance was created on the front side of the *guo* to connect a tomb's interior with the exterior; and (3) multi-chambered tombs of various materials (wood, brick or stone) were built to house a burial space and a sacrificial space (illus. 20).[31]

Although still a typological study, Huang's reconstruction leads us to think about the changing *meaning* of a tomb and its components. Why did passages appear inside a *guo* and develop into a side entrance? If for over several thousand years the ancient Chinese had built tombs as completely insulated spaces, why in the early Han did they abandon or modify this time-honoured tradition? Why did the new chamber grave assume a pronounced architectural form? And why did it typically contain a sacrificial space alongside a burial space? These questions prompt us to seek explanations for the transformation from casket grave to chamber grave beyond a simple evolutionary pattern of burial types. My starting premise is unambiguous: because the construction of a tomb was by definition a form of ancestral worship, and because the design of a tomb necessarily reflected people's notion of life and death, the transformation from casket grave to chamber grave must have owed a great deal to changes in ritual practice and religious thinking at the time. Broadly speaking, the invention and popularity of the chamber grave was associated with four crucial changes from the late Eastern Zhou to the Han regarding (1) the ritual of ancestral worship; (2) the



20 Developmental sequence from casket grave to chamber grave proposed by Huang Xiaofen.

concept of the soul; (3) the idea of the afterlife; and (4) the formation of an underworld bureaucracy.[32]

First, during this period, the main site of ancestral worship shifted from the temples of elite lineages to tombs of individuals and nuclear families. Although temple and tomb coexisted as twin locations of ancestral worship during the Western Zhou (11th–8th century BCE) and probably even earlier, traditional texts and archaeological excavations demonstrate the overwhelming importance of temple rituals over grave sacrifices for the social elite. This situation began to change during the Eastern Zhou. Several new developments, including the compilation of detailed codes of mortuary rites, the increased grandeur of mortuary structures and the growing numbers and varieties of objects made specifically for the tomb, reveal the heightening attention paid to funerary rites. The founder of the Han and his generals arose from commoners who had never had the privilege of holding temple sacrifices; graveyards were the places for them to conduct ancestral worship. Emperors of the Eastern Han further transported temple rituals into royal cemeteries, and even abolished the collective ancestral temple altogether. The shift of the centre for ancestral worship from temple to tomb led to a major change in a tomb's ritual function and architectural design. If the main role of a pre-Han tomb was to conceal the corpse and tomb furnishings – a role best realized by the casket grave[33] – a Han tomb, as Huang Xiaofen and other scholars have pointed out, often included a sacrificial space in addition to the *guan-guo* assemblage. In my opinion, this feature resulted from transferring symbolism and architectural components of the ancestral temple to the tomb. During the Eastern Han, not only were many ancestral rites conducted in a cemetery, but the enlarged grave chamber also enabled

mourners to bid farewell to the departed soul underground. After a tomb was closed, the offerings they had placed before the coffin and the 'spirit seat' (*ling zuo*) would continue to express their reverence for the dead.

Second, also during this period, the concept of the posthumous soul underwent an important transformation. A traditional theory about death is based on the dualism between the two souls of a person called *hun* and *po*: *hun*, the 'heavenly soul', flies away when death occurs, while *po*, the 'earthly soul', stays with the body in the tomb.[34] This bipartite division of the soul was closely related to the temple/tomb dualism in traditional ancestral worship.[35] A very significant passage in *The Book of Rites* records a conversation between Confucius and his student Zai Wo. In answering Zai Wo's question about the nature of spirits and ghosts, Confucius explains that 'ghost' means the *po* that remains underground after death, but the spirit, or *hun*, flies on high to become a divine being. 'Once this opposition is established,' the Master continued, 'two kinds of rituals are framed in accordance and (different) sacrifices are regulated.'[36] Whereas temple sacrifices are offered to the heavenly existence of ancestors, grave sacrifices serve as a tribute to their earthly existence. Such distinctions between the two souls and related ritual services became obsolete during the Han, or existed only in theory. Following the decline and obsolescence of the collective lineage temple, *hun* and *po* were reunited in the graveyard. Numerous Han texts, including inscriptions in tombs and on funerary shrines, reveal a new concept of the posthumous soul. As Ken Brashier has shown, in most Han sources, *hun* and *po* form a compound that simply means the soul, and the tomb is imagined as its dwelling place.[37] Consequently, the tomb underwent a process of 'architecturalization' and incorporated elements not only from the traditional ancestral temple but also from contemporary homes.

Third, the pre-Han idea of *xian* or immortality dwelled upon the hope of escaping death. Starting from the Han, however, a new belief in 'postmortem immortality' prevailed.[38] Images of immortal lands increasingly decorated tombs. Miraculous tales circulated, describing how ancient sages such as the Yellow Emperor ascended to heaven after having been buried in a grave. A certain *Canon of Immortality* (*Xian jing*) further classifies immortals into different ranks: while those of the higher ranks have the ability to defy death, those of the lowest rank 'cannot avoid death and have to shed their physical shells like a cicada'.[39] According to this new belief, instead of preventing eternal happiness, death actually offers an alternative route to achieve it. This idea soon attracted millions of people of different classes, mainly because it finally *guaranteed* the possibility of immortality without demanding additional effort. No external proof was required to demonstrate the magical transformation taking place in the tomb. Alternatively, such proof could be produced through artistic means by transforming a tomb into a place of rebirth and a fantastic immortal paradise.

Fourth, before the Eastern Zhou, the Chinese religious pantheon almost completely lacked deities in charge of the underground world. This situation is demonstrated by Chen Mengjia's reconstruction of the Shang pantheon based on divinatory records from Anyang. According to Chen, the Shang royal house worshipped three kinds of supernatural beings, including celestial deities (*tian shen*), terrestrial deities (*di zhi*) and ancestral spirits (*ren gui*). Among them, the terrestrial deities consist of the Land

God (She), the Four Realms (Si fang), and gods of mountains and rivers. These are all natural deities, not those of the netherworld.[40] A similar classification of the supernatural world also exists in *The Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li*).[41] This situation began to change in the Eastern Zhou. Divinatory and sacrificial texts unearthed from Baoshan Tomb 2 have enabled scholars like Li Ling and Chen Wei to reconstruct the Warring States pantheon.[42] It is worth noting that while this new pantheon retains the traditional Land God, it enriches the category of 'terrestrial deities' with a group of possibly 'subterranean' deities: Houtu Dizhu (Lord of the Earth), Dizhu (Master of the Place), and Xing (God of Posthumous Journey).[43] Related to this phenomenon, this pantheon also includes God of Life-Mandate (Siming) and deities in charge of dangerous ghosts resulting from unnatural death. This development finally led to the formation of an underground bureaucracy during the Han: in their newly published monumental work *Archaeology of Chinese Taoism* (Zhongguo Daojiao kaogu), Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin collect 91 inscriptions from Han tombs which record nearly twenty kinds of subterranean officials who govern the netherworld in general and tombs specifically.[44]

The impact of these new ideas on tomb decoration and furnishing was far-reaching and will be demonstrated throughout this book. For now, it is important to note that these ideas all encouraged people to envision and construct an underground tomb as a house-like, three-dimensional space. Indeed, we may conceptualize the transition from casket grave to chamber grave as a shift in tomb planning from an 'object-oriented' to a 'space-oriented' design.[45] Although there are some noticeable exceptions,[46] generally speaking, in a typical casket grave things filled most of the compartments inside the *guan/guo* structure. In a chamber grave architecture provided a three-dimensional space for the posthumous soul. This fundamental difference between the two burial types implies different methods of investigation and interpretation. Generally speaking, in studying a casket grave, it is necessary to focus on issues related to the tomb furnishings, including their production and usage during the funerary rites before the entombment, their relationship with the corpse and their arrangement inside the *guan-guo* structure. When studying a chamber grave, however, architecture becomes the primary focus and frame of interpretation, and the interpreter is compelled to explain how murals, bas-reliefs, figurines and objects help construct symbolic spaces.

Some pre-Han writers had already developed a symbolic language conceptualizing the tomb as the otherworldly residence of the dead. For example, Xunzi wrote in his essay 'Discoursing on Rites' (*Li lun*):

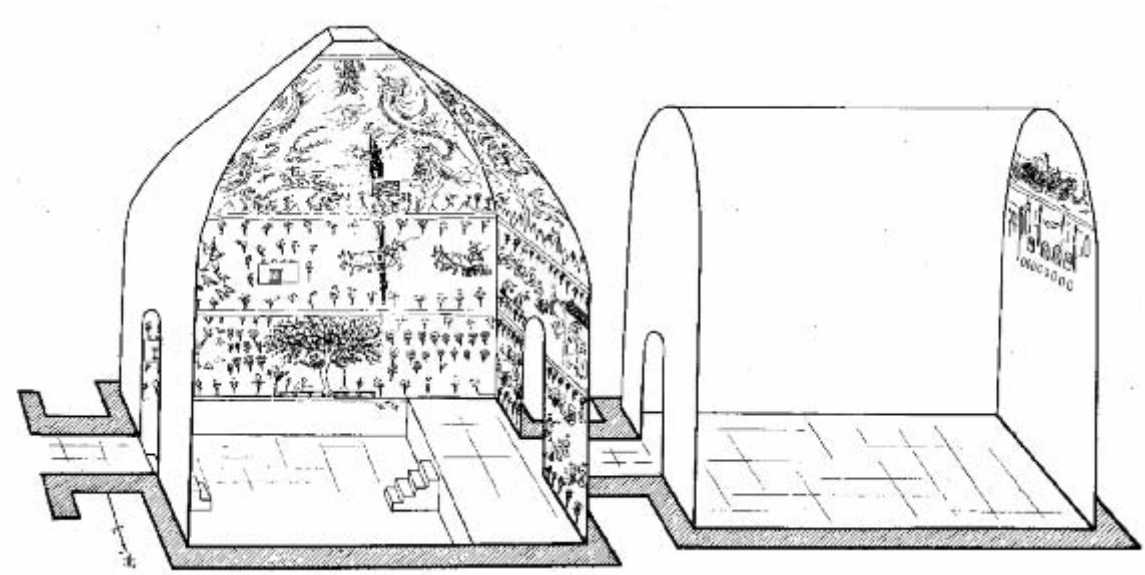
> The grave and grave mound in form represent a house; the inner and outer coffin in form represent the sideboards, top, and front and back boards of a carriage; the coffin covers and decorations and the cover of the funeral carriage in form represent the curtains and hangings of a door or room; the wooden lining and framework of the grave pit in form represent railings and roof.[47]

Because tombs at Xunzi's time remained the casket kind which neither resembled nor imitated the actual appearance of a house,[48] this passage does not mean that a tomb

represented a house literally. In fact, the term Xunzi used for 'represent' – *xiang* – can also be translated as 'to symbolize' or 'to allude to'. Two centuries later, however, a late Western Han reader of the passage could very well understand it in a literal sense, because by this time the house-like chamber tomb had become the dominant burial type.

A Tripartite Universe

A richly painted tomb near Jiuquan in Gansu province (Dingjiazha Tomb 5) offers a good starting point from which to investigate the symbolic space created inside a chamber grave. Constructed in the fourth or early fifth century, its murals synthesize various motifs developed during the previous centuries into a single pictorial programme. The images in the barrel-shaped rear chamber only depict some scattered grave furnishings on the back wall, but the front chamber is covered with colourful murals in large, continuous compositions (illus. 21). Three kinds of images – heavenly phenomena, auspicious omens and immortals – comprise the celestial realm on the four-sided dome, which rises from the square chamber to a flat apex decorated with a lotus flower. The King Father of the East and the Queen Mother of the West – two principal immortals in Chinese mythology – accompany the sun and the moon on the east and west slopes (illus. 22–25); two auspicious animals – a flying horse and a galloping deer – dominate the north and south sides of the ceiling. A mountain range separates this heavenly realm from an earthly abode illustrated on the four walls. Here, a middle-aged male – a portrait of the deceased – is seated on a dais while watching a performance of dance and music (illus. 26). Surrounding him, farmers are working in the fields and servants are preparing food in a kitchen. Buildings, chariots, carriages and livestock – properties of the deceased in the afterlife – are displayed on each wall. A large tree growing on a raised platform has been identified as the 'tree of the land god' (*she shu*) worshipped by the local people, clinching the argument that the wall murals represent earthly scenes.[49]



21 Infrastructural section of Dingjiazha Tomb 5 at Jiuquan, Gansu. Sixteen Kingdoms Period, 4th–5th centuries.

Organized into a seemingly coherent and harmonious pictorial programme, these murals also imply two fundamental paradoxes in Chinese funerary art. First, the richness of the murals was accomplished by multiplying the thematic subjects of representation without establishing logical connections between them. The result is an essentially 'polycentric' tomb. In addition to the few images in the rear chamber which accompanied the dead, three different realms are depicted in the front chamber and include a cosmic environment, the immortal paradise and a 'happy home' on earth. The relationship between these realms is by no means clear. It is even difficult to determine the position of the deceased: in which realm was he expected to abide? It seems that in their eagerness to express their filial piety and to please the dead, the tomb builders provided all the answers they knew to questions about the afterlife.

But are these really everything they knew about the afterlife? This question leads us to discover a second paradox in Chinese tomb art: the seemingly encyclopaedic images in a tomb did not aim to reflect the painter's true 'knowledge' of the universe because he willingly omitted some essential aspects of the universe in contemporary thinking. One missing aspect is none other than the land of the Yellow Springs itself. Historians of Chinese religion have proved that the notion of a netherworld bureaucracy had emerged at least by the fourth century BCE and became increasingly elaborate throughout the Han. 'Grave contracts' from the second century CE recorded more than twenty kinds of officials who governed the subterranean world in various capacities.[50] The arrival of Buddhism finally transformed the vague indigenous notion of *di yu* ('earth prisons') into gory hells ruled by the Ten Kings and their demonic assistants. Pictures and stories about dangerous journeys in the underworld gained wide currency, frightening their audience with vivid descriptions of retribution, expiation and the concomitant sadistic fantasies of torture.[51] No such scenes decorated contemporary tombs for an obvious reason: as the residence of the departed soul, a tomb aimed to provide comfort and security. If underworld deities were summoned during the funeral, they only served to protect the dead, not to judge and punish him. A tomb was thus necessarily created as a fantasy world by denying possible danger and harm.

Instead of illuminating contemporary beliefs about the underworld, therefore, the pictorial programme in the Jiuquan tomb guides us to trace the construction of a particular *pictorial universe* inserted into the land of the Yellow Springs. We will see that the three realms that constitute this universe actually signify three large systems of visual representation. Although each system had its independent origin and development, they constantly intermingled to generate new schemes. The murals in the Jiuquan tomb resulted from a particular synthesis; other tombs reflected different interests and strategies. Unlike Buddhist or Taoist art, Chinese funerary art never developed a standard iconography. The reason may be simple: tombs belonged to individuals and embodied individual desires. But because tomb decoration was bound to convention and utilized common motifs, it also never became a form of individual expression as did literati painting and calligraphy.

Painted ceiling of Dingjiazha Tomb 5. (22) west, (23) east, (24) north, (25) south.

22

24

23

25

26 Mural on the west wall of Dingjiazha Tomb 5, depicting the deceased enjoying music and a dance performance.

Constructing a Posthumous 'Happy Home'

According to the *Protocols of Ceremonies* (*Yi li*), after the Tomb Man (Zhong ren) had prepared a grave pit, the descendant of the dead would arrive at the burial site to hold a brief ceremony. Standing south of the grave and facing north he would make a vow: 'I, the sorrowful son named Such and Such, now divine a residence (*zhai*) for my father Such a One. I am speaking of my wish to build an underground home for him, and that from the time [he enters this home], he shall never suffer any hardship.'[52] After a diviner granted his wish, he would inspect grave goods, mainly household articles and food, that would be placed inside the tomb.

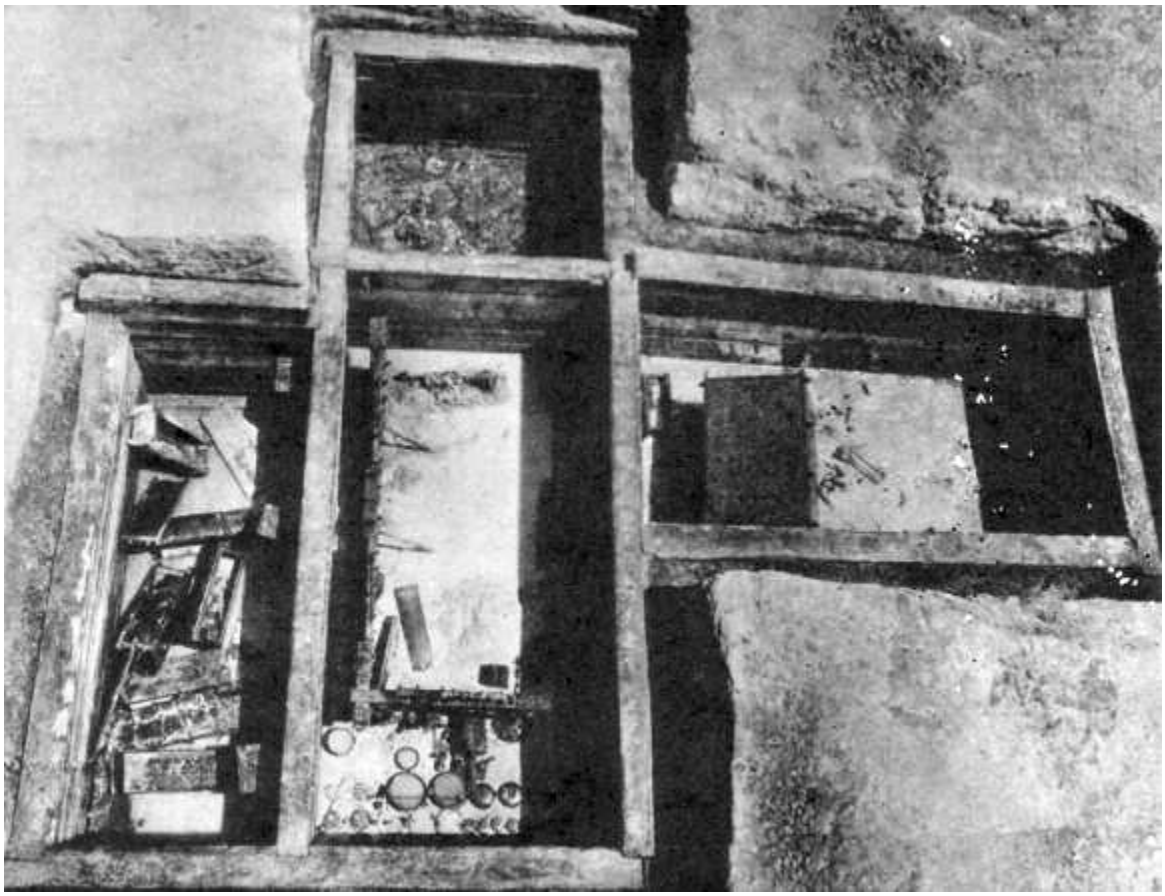
The idea of an 'underground home' unmistakably underlay the design and furnishing of Leigudun Tomb 1 at Suixian in Hubei – the burial of Marquis Yi of Zeng who died in the late fifth century BCE.[53] Thirteen metres below ground level, the enormous tomb was built with large timbers and sealed by a fill of charcoal and then by a layer of clay. Unlike most contemporary box-like casket tombs, it had an irregular floor plan, with four sections conceived as adjacent 'rooms' (illus. 28). Over three metres high, these sections were tall enough for an adult to enter (but, unlike a later 'chamber grave', it was located at the bottom of a vertical shaft and completely insulated from the outside). Rows of hooks fixed on the walls suggest that fabric hangings originally decorated

these sections. The symbolism of each section is indicated by the objects it contained. The central section, 4.75m wide by 9.75m long, mirrored the formal audience hall in the marquis' residence. The largest chamber of the four, it contained most of the ritual bronzes in the tomb, as well as a huge set of bronze bells and an accompanying set of chimestones, two musical instruments which were essential for a ritual orchestra (illus. 27).[54] The north chamber was an armoury, storing most of the 4,500 items of weaponry, shields and armour, as well as horse and chariot fittings. The west chamber supplied an underground harem, concealing the bodies of thirteen young women in their respective lacquer coffins. Eight more women and a dog were found in coffins in the east room, the main burial chamber which also housed Marquis Yi's inner coffin (see illus. 178). The musical instruments buried here include five large zithers (*se*) (illus. 29), two small zithers (*qin*), two mouth organs (*xiao*) and a flat drum. Unlike the ritual orchestra in the central chamber, these 'melodical' instruments found inside the marquis' private quarter may have been used in informal performances which probably involved singing.[55]

Whereas these four sections reflect the internal divisions of a residence, they do not imitate their worldly counterparts. Likewise, small openings at the base of the interior walls do not represent doorways, but only symbolize them. There must have

27 Excavating the bell set from Leigudun Tomb 1.

28 Burial of Marquis Yi of the State of Zeng (Leigudun Tomb 1) at Suixian, Hubei. Warring States Period, late 5th Century BCE.



29 *Se*-lute from the east chamber of Leigudun Tomb 1.

been a conscious decision to use such openings to link individual spaces in the tomb: not only do they penetrate all the partition walls between the four rooms, but the marquis' outer coffin also bears a rectangular hole, 34 x 25cm, and his inner coffin is painted with doors and windows with lattice patterns. Similar 'openings' have been found in at least a dozen other Chu tombs in either architectural or painted form.[56] This peculiar design was possibly related to the belief in the autonomous soul after death. According to an Eastern Zhou theory of the soul, when a person dies, his *hun*-soul would fly away but his *po*-soul would be attached to the corpse to be buried underground.[57] The series of doorways in Leigudun Tomb 1 seems to indicate the mobility of the *po* within the tomb's physical confines.

For the majority of Eastern Zhou and Han casket graves, their symbolism as the posthumous 'home' of the dead was substantiated more strictly by grave furnishings, not by architecture.[58] A good example of this situation is Baoshan Tomb 2 at Jiangling, Hubei. A typical box-like casket grave, it was built for Shao Tuo, a minister of the state of Chu who died in 316 BCE.[59] Twenty-seven bamboo slips found in the tomb register grave goods. Instead of forming a single continuous text, they were divided into separate lists and stored in different compartments of the *guo* casket around the coffin. The document found in the east room identifies this place as the 'food chamber' (*shishi*, meaning an 'offering' or 'sacrificial' chamber) and then lists 'bronze vessels' and 'food' in this chamber. The inventory found in the west room begins with the sentence: 'Objects in this rear [compartment] of the casket are used in travelling'; and indeed it was in this room and the adjacent north chamber that the excavators found various intimate objects that one would take on a journey, including a folding bed, several mats, two bamboo fans, a cap and a pair of shoes and two lamps. A third list from the south chamber registers chariots, probably those displayed in the funerary procession. What we find here is that although the *guo*-compartments are identical in shape and construction method, they acquired different identifies and functions from the objects and the inventory lists they contained.[60]

Mawangdui Tomb 1 of the second century BCE continued this tradition: as I will describe in the Coda of the book, its unadorned *guo*-chambers contained more than 1,000 household articles divided in carefully managed groups.[61] Obviously, the family hoped that a tomb furnished with such goods would ensure that deceased kin never suffered any hardship in the realm of the Yellow Springs. A document from Mawangdui Tomb 3, which belonged to a son of Lady Dai, states that a retainer from the family informs the underworld Assistant Administrator of the Tomb (Zhucang Langzhong)

that he herewith sends the latter a list of the possessions of the dead and requests its transmission to the Lord Administrator of the Tomb (Zhucang Jun).[62] The family must have believed that by taking this legal/ritual procedure, it could secure the transaction of the goods from the human world to the land of the Yellow Springs.

The invention of the chamber grave opened up a new vista for constructing a posthumous home for the dead. No longer represented by objects alone, a posthumous residence could now be rendered architecturally. This is not to say that a chamber tomb literally transported an above-ground architectural structure underground. As mentioned earlier, even in its early phases this burial type already demonstrated a tendency to forge succinct, symbolic architectural systems, indexing essential components and functions of a worldly home. The increasingly sophisticated use of two-dimensional images in tomb decoration further strengthened this tendency: a tomb's interior – not only the chambers but also its corridors and ceiling – provided 'exhibition spaces' for displaying paintings and carvings, allowing people to create a posthumous home for the dead unrestricted by a tomb's architectural scale. The earliest panoramic landscape representation in Chinese art, for example, was found in a tiny first-century CE tomb at Pinglu, Shanxi, measuring only 4.65m long and 2.5m wide. The painting transformed the narrow interior space into a sweeping view (illus. 30): layers of rolling hills, with gentle contours and lush vegetation, overlap toward the horizon. The hills and the adjacent fields provide an environment for human activities such as farming and raising livestock. Like the Jiuquan tomb discussed earlier, this mural ensured the deceased's ownership of a large piece of farmland in the netherworld.

30 Tomb mural representing landscape and architecture. Pinglu, Shanxi. Eastern Han, 1st century CE.

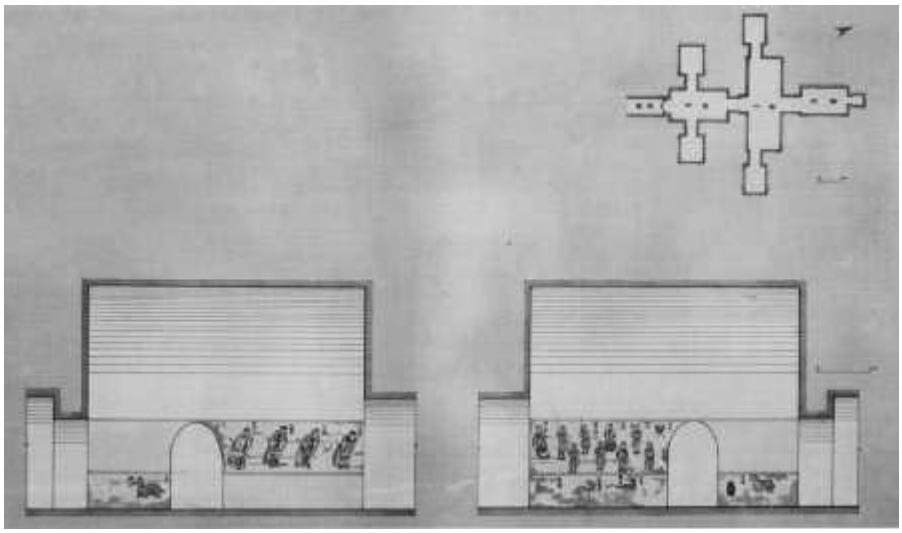
More ambitious pictorial renderings of a posthumous 'happy home' emerged in the second half of the second century. Murals and carvings in some large, multi-chambered burials demonstrate a great proliferation of pictorial images and styles. These burials belonged to high officials and wealthy landlords. The occupant of Dahuting Tomb 2 at Mixian in Henan, for example, was probably related to the district's magistrate Zhang Boya. Among its murals, a huge banquet scene in the central chamber, over 7m wide, depicts male guests at a large party watching a colourful acrobatic performance.[63]

31 Line engraving representing daily life scenes. Dahuting Tomb 2 at Mixian, Henan. Eastern Han, mid-2nd century CE.

Line-engravings of daily life scenes and images of women and servants further decorate side chambers (illus. 31).

Whereas the images in the Dahuting tomb focus on private life and entertainment, murals in other contemporary tombs emphasize the dead person's public image and social status. In Wangdu Tomb 1 in Hebei, for example, painted officials of various ranks are bowing toward the entrance of the burial chamber, as if paying homage to their deceased master (illus. 32).[64] A nearby tomb at Anping shares this emphasis but employs a different pictorial programme.[65] An inscription in this tomb dates it to 176 CE; the surname Zhao written near the entrance further identifies the deceased as a member of the most powerful family in the region.[66] The tomb's impressive scale confirms this identification: ten chambers connect to form an underground structure more than 22m long. Murals appear in the three chambers near the entrance. In the central chamber, a large procession, consisting of no fewer than a hundred cavalrymen and foot soldiers and 72 chariots, runs in four registers across the walls. During the Han dynasty, the number of chariots used by an official was strictly regulated according to his rank; this composition thus testifies to the lofty status of the dead (or the desire to be portrayed as such). A door opening on the south wall of this chamber leads to a smaller room, where one finds the portrait of the deceased (illus. 33). Seated on a dais under a canopy, he appears as a man of strong physique and dignified manner, staring steadily at the void before him and ignoring the homage-paying officials illustrated to his right. An architectural complex painted on the opposite wall probably represents his former residence (illus. 34). Surrounded by tall walls and overlooked by a watchtower, it is more like a military fortress than an ordinary dwelling. Entering the third room through another door, one finds portraits of civil officials painted

32 Cross-section and plan of Wangdu Tomb 1 at Wangdu, Hebei. Eastern Han, mid-2nd century CE.



33 Portrait of the deceased in a tomb at Anping, Hebei. Eastern Han, 176 CE.

34 Mural representing a township in an Eastern Han tomb at Anping, Hebei.

on all four walls. Subordinates of the deceased, they are seated on mats while conversing with one another.

These examples prove that in the second century, an ideal posthumous home could be conceptualized and depicted either as a rich household, a large manor or the headquarters of an official. Such Han and post-Han illustrations of a posthumous 'happy home' provided later representations with two basic thematic modes. The first, as exemplified by the Dahuting, Wangdu and Anping tombs, is to accentuate a particular aspect of an ideal afterlife, either the social status or private entertainment of the dead. The second mode, as exemplified by the Jiuquan tomb, is to combine various aspects of human life into a synthetic representation. This second mode was given a particular visual form in Sichuan funerary art during the second century: large pictorial compositions were condensed into small, concentrated 'vignettes', each representing a dance or acrobatic performance, an official collecting tax, farming and hunting, or salt mining in mountains. Cast on bricks, these individual images together furnished a tomb. This style of decoration continued in northwest China in post-Han times. A group of third-century brick burials in Gansu at the western limit of the Great Wall, for example, has numerous scenes embellishing individual bricks. The bricks were first covered with a thin wash of white plaster and were then painted with a multitude of images – domestic animals, farming and hunting, and military lives – with

35, 36 Painted bricks from Foyemiaowan Tomb 39 at Dunhuang, Gansu. 3rd century CE.

bright colours and sweeping brush lines (illus. 35, 36). Viewing these pictures in succession is almost like looking at a series of cartoon frames (illus. 37).[67]

Tomb murals after the second and third centuries constantly updated the posthumous construction of a 'happy home' with contemporary images and references. For example, vivid illustrations of court life appeared in Tang aristocratic tombs (illus. 38), whereas lively domestic activities became the main subjects of Song, Liao and Jin tomb decoration (illus. 39). But these new images all developed and strengthened the two basic pictorial modes found in Han tombs, one concentrating on a particular

37 East wall of Jiayuguan Tomb 7 at Jiayuguan, Gansu. Western Jin, 3rd–4th century CE.

38 Mural in Prince Zhanghuai's tomb at Qian County, Shaanxi, depicting Chinese officials receiving foreign visitors. Tang dynasty, 706 CE.

39 Mural in Shizhuang Tomb 6 at Jingxing, Hebei, depicting women making silk. Jin dynasty, 12th century CE.

aspect of the afterlife, the other synthesizing different aspects. In fact, taken as general compositional principles, these two models are not limited to the representations of an ideal afterlife, but also govern the relationship between such representations and images of heaven and the immortal paradise. In other words, if we broaden the scope of our observation, we often find that a tomb's decoration either focuses on a particular aspect of a tripartite universe – heaven, earth or the immortal land – or combines these aspects into a synthetic cosmic representation. Having reviewed some 'earthly' images of a posthumous happy home, we now turn to the other two subjects.

Picturing Heaven

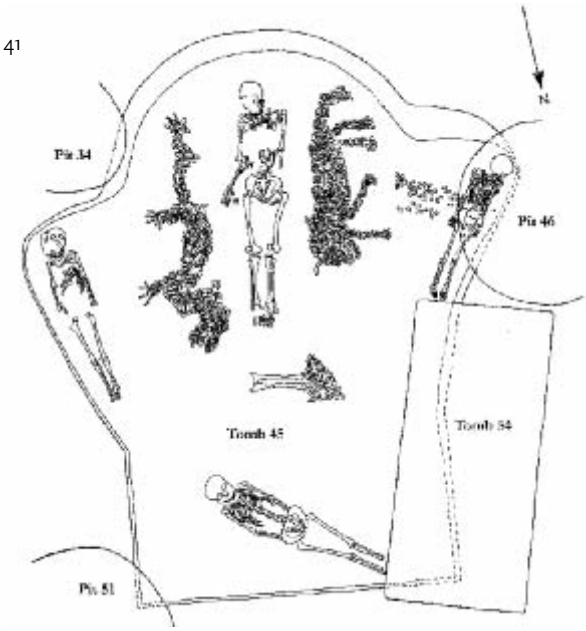
When did the ancient Chinese begin to transform a tomb into a microcosm of the universe? An old assumption, that such practice must have appeared *later* than mimicking real life in graves, was challenged by an unexpected archaeological find: a 6,000-year old Neolithic burial in central China that already contained a sophisticated symbolic representation of heaven, even though most contemporary graves were only furnished

Xishuipo Tomb 45 at Puyang, Henan. Yangshao culture, 5th millennium BCE. (40) excavation view, (41) plan.

40

with utensils and nourishment. Discovered in 1987, this tomb at Puyang, Henan, surprised the excavators with three large images made of shells, surrounding a deceased male in a semicircle (illus. 40, 41). Different theories have been proposed to explain this arrangement; but all agree that the deceased, lying on his back with his head oriented to the south, was flanked by a dragon to his right and a tiger to his left. The animals' directional associations are consistent with later Chinese cosmology, in which dragon and tiger symbolize East and West. Some scholars have further identified the third image placed below the feet of the deceased – and thus to the north–as a symbolic representation of the Big Dipper. Together with the two animals (which they interpret as representing the Blue Dragon and White Tiger Constellations in ancient Chinese astronomy), it transformed the tomb into a mirror image of the sky.[68]

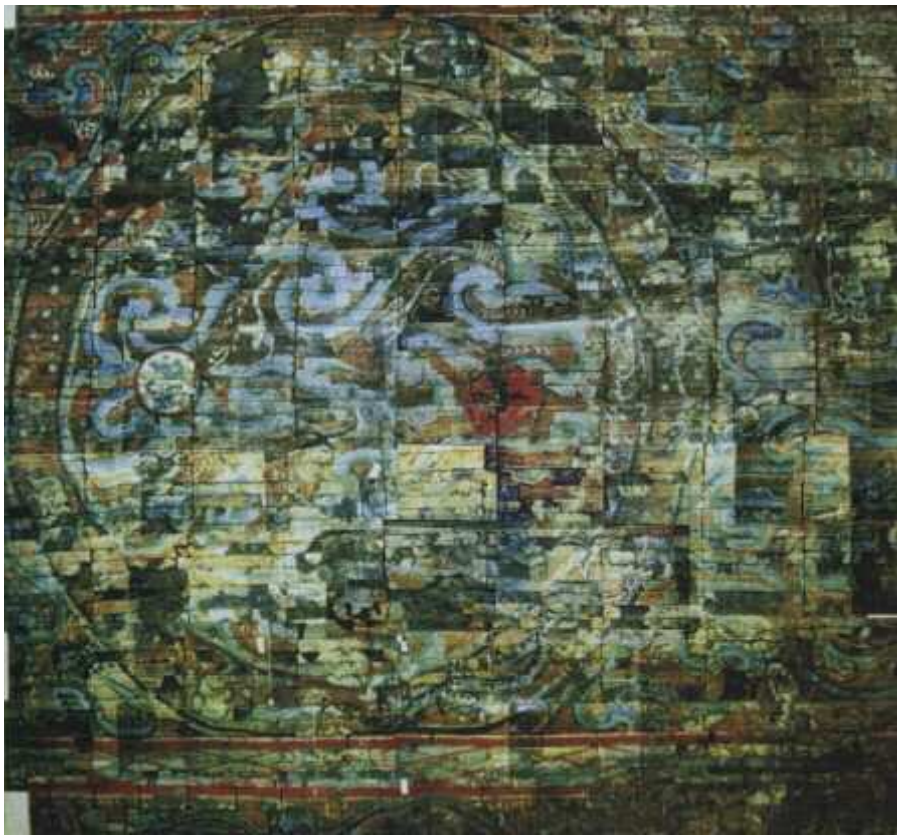
41



It is a flat sky, however. The three celestial symbols appear as simple silhouettes arranged on the bottom of the grave; no discernable attempt was made to allude to a three-dimensional cosmic space. Sima Qian's account of the First Emperor's burial

chamber thus documents a later model of the universe. Summarizing the chamber's architectural/decorative programme as 'above were all the heavens and below all the Earth', this Western Han historian clearly envisioned the celestial images in the tomb as integral components of a three-dimensional cosmic structure. As mentioned earlier, archaeological evidence shows that stars and constellations began to decorate a tomb's ceiling from the first century BCE onward (see illus. 8).[69] It may in fact be argued that such tomb decoration was intimately linked with the invention of the chamber grave – the only burial type that could be convincingly transformed into a cosmic space with heaven above and earth below. This argument challenges a commonly held assumption that the chamber grave emerged to imitate the former dwelling of the deceased. Since the earliest found painted chamber tombs *all* bear celestial images on the ceiling, it seems that this burial type was also – if not predominantly – stimulated by the desire to create a cosmological space inside a tomb.

Dating from the late first century BCE to the early first century CE, these early painted tombs are found near Chang'an and Luoyang, the two most important political and cultural centres in Han China. The celestial images on their ceilings thus testify to their popularity in metropolitan funerary art.[70] In some Luoyang tombs, images of heavenly bodies are framed in a long, linear space along the 'spine' of a pitched roof (see illus. 8). A grave in Chang'an, however, has a circular sky-map depicted on the vaulted roof of the burial chamber (illus. 42).[71] The overall pictorial programme of this grave

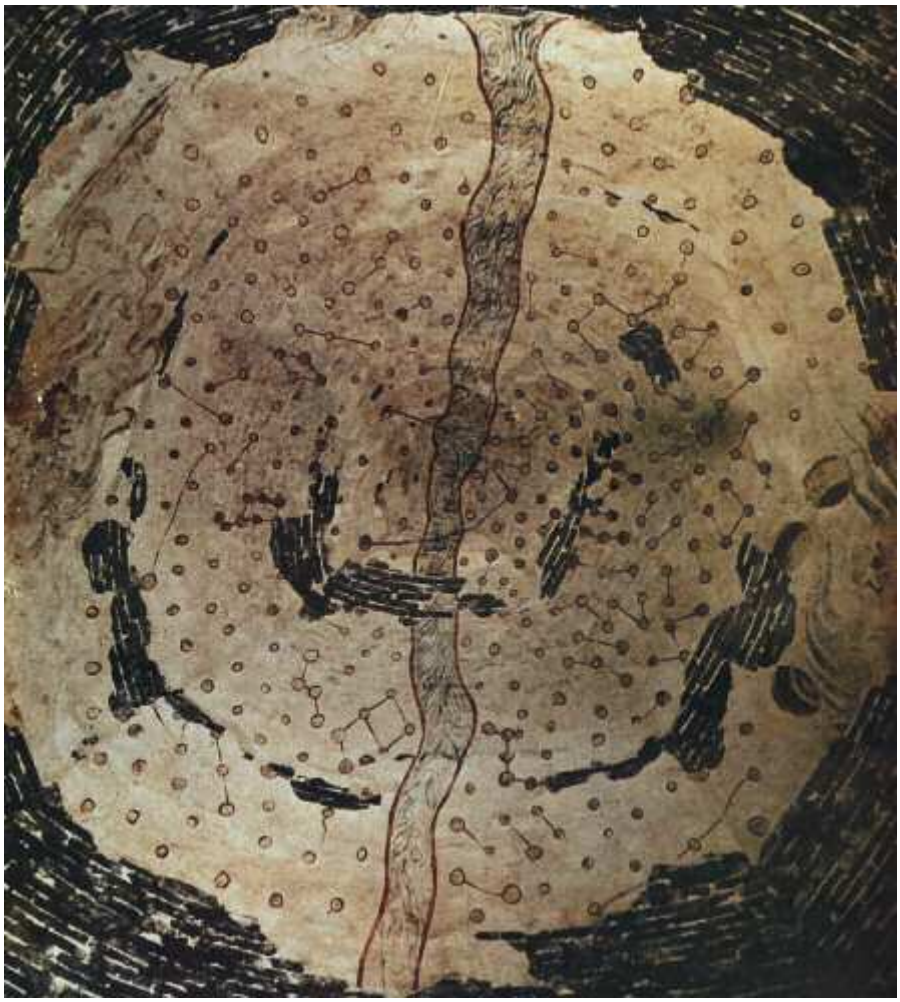


42 A celestial map painted on the ceiling of a Western Han tomb at Xi'an Transportation University, Shaanxi. Late Western Han, 1st century BCE.

closely resembles Sima Qian's vision of a three-dimensional cosmological representation: colourful murals, skilfully drawn, transform the ceiling and the walls into the correlative realms of heaven and earth. The images on the walls are damaged, but still show broad, undulating mountain ranges dotted with animals and human figures. The painting on the arched ceiling is largely intact, exhibiting a detailed sky map consisting of two concentric circles (illus. 144). The inner circle is dominated by the sun and the moon amidst swirling clouds. The twenty-eight constellations (called *xu* or lunar lodges in Chinese) occupy the space between the two circles; their quadrennial divisions in the sky are highlighted by the images of the Four Animal Spirits (Si shen) – Green Dragon in the east, Vermilion Bird in the south, White Tiger in the west and Black Warrior in the north. Most notably, a large image of the Green Dragon incorporates six of the seven east constellations in its serpentine body. Stretching its head, it walks toward the southern pole of the celestial sphere.

This late Western Han or early Eastern Han mural introduced many circular 'celestial charts' (*tian tu*) painted on the ceilings of tomb chambers in China, Korea and Japan. Especially after the domed ceiling became a major feature of the chamber grave, this architectural form was perfectly combined with a star map to represent a 'canopy heaven' (*gai tian*) – a particular perception of the celestial sphere in ancient Chinese astronomy. Earlier I noted that post-Han tomb designs developed towards architectural simplicity. This development reached a critical point in the sixth century, when single-chamber burial with an elongated passageway became the norm of aristocratic tombs. Favoured by the non-Chinese rulers of the Northern Dynasties, a tomb of this kind typically featured a domed ceiling painted with numerous stars. An early example of this architectural/pictorial programme is seen in the grave of the Northern Wei statesman Yuan Yi (486–526).[72] Located in the north suburbs of Luoyang, the tomb has a 9.5-metre-high domed roof rising from a square chamber 7.5m deep and 7m wide. An enormous celestial chart dotted with more than 300 stars covers the entire ceiling, and a river filled with blue whirls – an image of the Milky Way – runs across the starry sky (illus. 43).

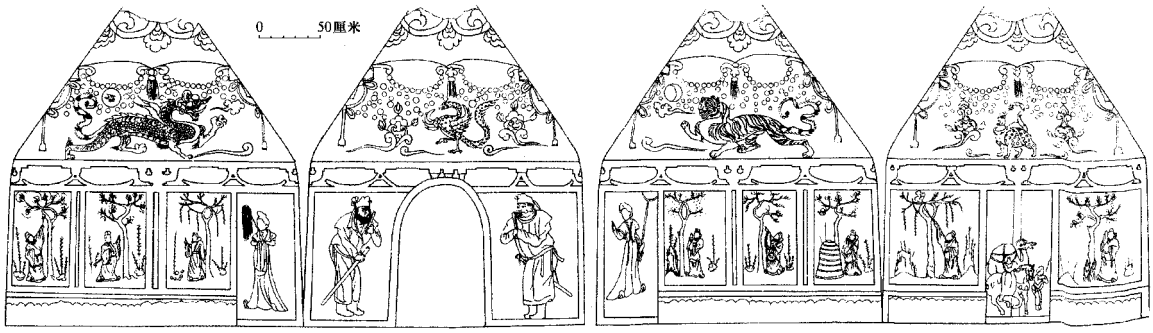
Like the celestial chart in the Han tomb at Chang'an, this Northern Wei mural derived its diagram-like visual mode from an ancient 'scientific' tradition in representing the sky, in which stars are depicted as dots or circles; some of them are further linked by straight lines to form constellations. Either carefully or crudely drawn, such images became ubiquitous in elite tombs of the following ages. This mode of representation was often combined with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic symbols. One particularly important symbolic system, that of the Four Animal Spirits, is closely associated with the theory of the Five Elements (wood, fire, water, metal and earth).[73] Pictorial representations of the Four Animal Spirits became prevalent on ceremonial buildings and bronze mirrors from the late Western Han on. Around the same time, such images also entered funerary art and were integrated into the celestial sphere in the Xi'an tomb (see illus. 42). In some later burials, the Four Animal Spirits constituted an independent pictorial programme. Prominently painted on the corresponding walls, their large, energetic images symbolized extensions of the universe, transforming a tomb chamber of limited size into an infinite space (illus. 44).



43 A celestial map painted on the ceiling of Yuan Yi's tomb at Luoyang, Henan. Northern Wei, 526 CE.

Other anthropomorphic and zoomorphic celestial symbols originated from well-known legends, such as that of the Weaving Maid (the star Vega in the constellation Lyra) and the Oxherd (the star Altair in the constellation Aquilla). It is said that the Weaving Maid, a fairy whose task was to weave the clouds across the sky, fell in love with a mortal man, the Oxherd. She married him and bore him two children. But tragedy befell the family when she was snatched back by her father, the Jade Emperor. Distraught, the Oxherd carried their children after her. He finally reached heaven, but could only gaze at his wife across the Heavenly River (that is, the Milky Way). Once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, numerous magpies would fly over, constructing a bridge over the river with their wings, so the couple could spend one night together.

The kernel of this legend appeared as early as in *The Book of Odes* (*Shi jing*).[74] During the Han, the couple's love and tragic fate inspired folk ballads as well as pictorial images.[75] One song, probably written in the second century, relates:



44 Murals in a Tang tomb at Jiaohuachang, Taiyuan, Shanxi. Tang dynasty, 8th century. Drawing.

Far away twinkles the Oxherd star;
Brightly shines the Lady of the Han River [the Milky Way].
Slender, slender she plies her white fingers;
Click, click go the wheels of her spinning loom.
Her bitter tears fall like streaming rain.
The Han River runs shallow and clear.
Set between them, how short a space;
But the river water will not let them pass,
Gazing at each other but never able to speak.[76]

The story acquires a pictorial form on the lid of a stone sarcophagus from Pixian, Sichuan (illus. 45). In the relief carving, the Weaving Maid on the right holds what appears to be a spinning loom in one hand and waves a piece of silk in the other. On her left the Oxherd pulls his ox toward the maid, as befits an impetuous young lover. A large empty space stretches between them, intended perhaps to evoke the Milky Way, described in the poem as linking, yet mercilessly separating, the two lovers. The literary description has been beautifully transformed into an emblematic visual expression.

Finally, heaven may also be symbolized by omens – a tradition of celestial representation rooted in the Confucian theory of the 'heavenly mandate' (*tian ming*). According to this theory, heaven possesses purpose, will and intelligence. It responds to human activities and guides them, blessing the virtuous and benevolent and warning against the evil and corrupt.[77] Unlike god in many other religious traditions, however, this Confucian heaven is not a theistic deity. Omnipresent but formless, it manifests its presence and good will through concrete phenomena – unusual animals, birds, plants and objects. This is why auspicious omens became an exceedingly important subject of pictorial art in ancient China, and why many illustrated 'omen

45 The Weaving Maid and the Oxherd. Carving on a stone sarcophagus from Pixian, Sichuan. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE. Rubbing.

catalogues' (*rui tu*) were compiled and distributed throughout the country.[78] While auspicious omens were sometimes painted alongside a portrait of a deceased official to indicate his worldly achievement,[79] they more frequently appeared on the ceiling of a tomb as integral elements of a painted sky, as exemplified by the flying horse and deer in the Jiuquan tomb (see illus. 22–25). This tradition persisted till the end of China's dynastic history: a group of late Qing dynasty tombs at Dali, Shaanxi, is decorated with abundant auspicious symbols. Created nearly two thousand years after the Han, however, these images had lost their specific political significance and become generic tokens of good fortune.

Imaging Paradise

Death inspires fear. The recognition that life has its end prompts the desire to postpone it and eventually to escape it. As mentioned earlier, the incessant pursuit for longevity by pre-Han philosophers, necromancers and princes aimed not at overcoming death but at infinitely prolonging life – if their efforts were successful death would be avoided altogether for them. This goal, which may be called 'achieving immortality during one's lifetime', might be pursued by internal or external means – longevity might be realized either by transforming oneself into an immortal or by transporting oneself to an immortal land. As early as the late Zhou, people began to think that through certain physical practices, such as purification, starvation and breathing exercises, the practitioner could gradually eliminate his material substance, letting only the 'essence of life' remain. On the other hand, there simultaneously emerged the belief in the lands of deathlessness, the two most prominent being the Penglai Islands in the east and the Kunlun Mountains in the west.[80] It was thought that by discovering and reaching such a place, one's biological clock would automatically stop ticking and death would never occur.

Once we understand this tradition, we can correct a confusion in modern scholarship on early Chinese religion and art, which often equates 'immortality' and 'afterlife' without explanation. In fact, whereas the pre-Han idea of immortality firmly dwelled upon the hope of escaping death, the notion of the afterlife was based on an alternative belief that as a predestined event, death marked the beginning of one's continuous existence in the other world. Both beliefs in immortality and the afterlife were inherited and developed by the Han: while the search for Penglai and Kunlun continued, funerary art also flourished to an unprecedented degree. As time went on, these two beliefs drew increasingly close until they finally merged, resulting in the idea of 'postmortem immortality' and images of immortal paradise in funerary art.

In pre-Han times, the afterlife in its most ideal form was essentially a mirror image of life itself – the tomb of an aristocrat usually contained all sorts of food, drink and luxury goods necessary for a comfortable life. This posthumous 'happy home' of the dead was further protected by tomb guardians, first by buried soldiers (illus. 46) and then by sculptured and painted underground deities. The tomb of the First Emperor in Sima Qian's account was still based on this traditional approach, because it contained the emperor's possessions and because its architectural/decorative

46 A group of soldiers equipped with weapons buried in Houjiazhuang Tomb 1001, possibly the grave of King Wu Ding. Shang dynasty, *c.* 1300 BCE.

47

48

Second coffin in Mawangdui Tomb 1 at Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE. (47) full view, (48) line drawing of the decoration on the front side, showing an old lady entering a mysterious universe.

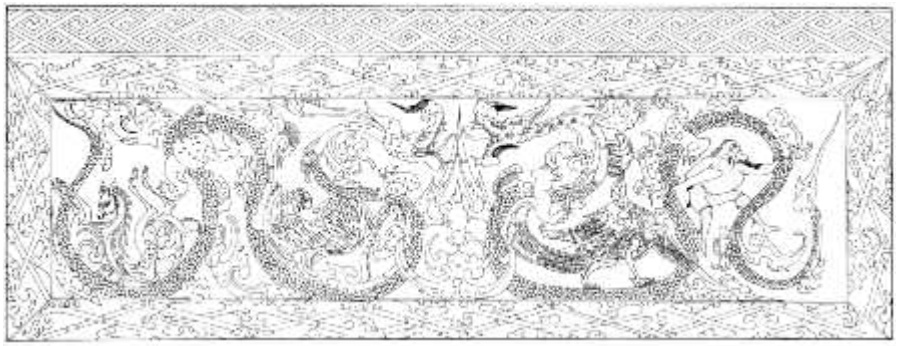
programme mirrored the universe. This universe cannot be simply identified as a 'paradise' (as some writers have done), since all its components – rivers, oceans and other heavenly and earthly phenomena – were elements of nature, not symbols of immortality. None of the archaeological excavations conducted in the First Emperor's mausoleum over the past thirty years have yielded images of an immortal land – such images became a legitimate part of tomb decoration only from the early Han, as we find in Mawangdui Tomb 1 of the early second century BCE.

Among the four coffins tightly nested in the central chamber of this tomb, the outermost one is painted entirely black – the colour of death and the underground. The second coffin also has a black background, but additional images depict otherworldly beings and miraculous creatures roaming amidst winding clouds in a vast, empty universe, and a tiny figure – Lady Dai or her soul – at the lower centre of the front side. With only her upper body shown, she is about to enter this mysterious world (see illus. 47, 48). The third coffin exhibits a different colour scheme and iconography (see illus. 49, 50): it is shining red, and the painting on its surface exhibits divine animals and a winged immortal flanking the three-peaked Mt Kunlun – a prime symbol of immortality at the time. The fourth and innermost coffin bears no pictorial images. Instead, its geometric decoration made of kingfisher feathers resembles the embroidered patterns on the clothes that the deceased lady wore.

In this early Han tomb, therefore, the representation of immortality is framed within a progression from death to rebirth. Symbolizing the soul's attainment of eternal happiness, Mt Kunlun is depicted twice on the third coffin, whose bright vermilion colour pertains to *yang*, south, sunshine, life and deathlessness. Indeed, in Han thinking this colour is an essential feature of the immortal land, as we read in the *Classic of Mountain and Seas* (*Shanhai jing*): 'Looking at the vapour (*qi*) of Mt Kunlun from a distance, it is like bright red flames.'[81] Painted on a coffin in a dark grave, the Kunlun images in Mawangdui Tomb 1 signify the emergence of a new kind of immortality: no longer synonymous with longevity and deathlessness, it could now be attained inside a tomb. Consequently, the notion of the afterlife also changed: rather than passively mirroring the world of living, it could now be 'superior' to mortal life because it offered the hope of achieving a postmortem eternity.

The significance of the Kunlun image in the Mawangdui tomb also lies in its allusion to an imaginary *place*. Although little more than a silhouette of triadic peaks, this rudimentary form had the potential to absorb other pictorial motifs of figures, animals

49



Third coffin in Mawangdui Tomb 1. (49) full view, (50) line drawing of the decoration on a side, showing Mt Kunlun flanked by auspicious animals and an immortal. Changsha, Hunan.

50

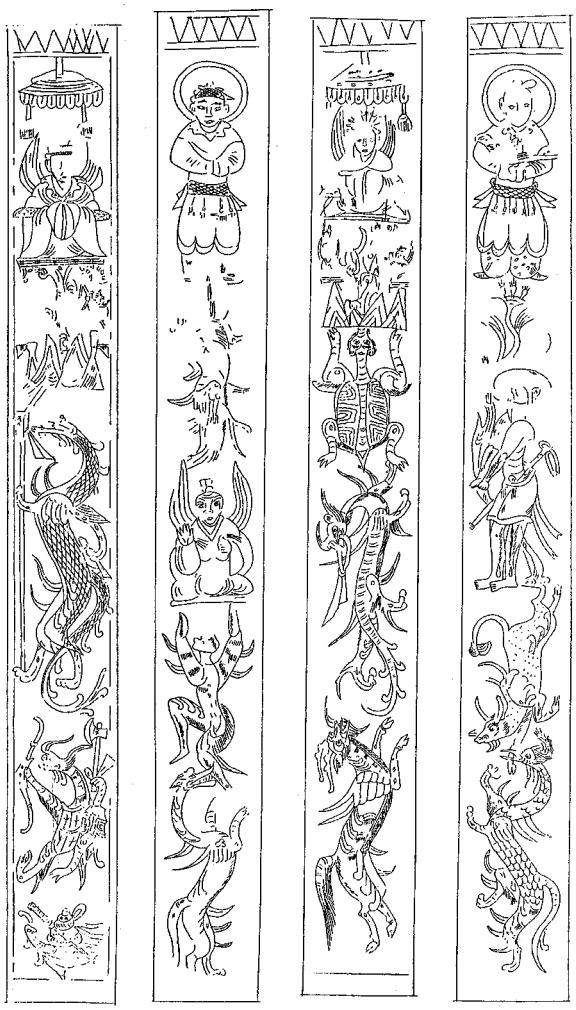
51 Queen Mother of the West in her paradise. Stamped brick from a tomb at Chengdu, Sichuan. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE.

and plants to gradually forge a representation of paradise. The process of such enrichment was facilitated by the successive invention of a set of organizing principles including hierarchy, symmetry and perspective, which helped transform individual motifs into internal features of a paradise image. The development of this image thus combined two parallel processes, the constant proliferation of iconographic features and steady improvement of the compositional design. A breakthrough in this development took place in the first and second centuries: the Queen Mother of the West appeared in tomb decoration, providing a representation of paradise with a visual centre and hierarchy.[82] Sitting on the summit of Kunlun or on a dragon-tiger throne, she is portrayed frontally as a solemn image of majesty, ignoring the surrounding crowds and staring at the viewer beyond the picture (illus. 51; also see illus. 22). The viewer's sight is guided to her image in the centre, to be confronted directly by the goddess. The composition is not self-contained, as its significance relies on the existence of a viewer or worshipper outside it. In fact, even in a dark tomb this image assumes the existence of a viewer/worshipper and a direct relationship between the icon and the viewer/worshipper.

Once the Queen Mother appeared in tombs, this precedent paved the way for assimilating other religious figures into funerary art. Among these figures was the Buddha, whom the people of the Han considered a 'western immortal' able to fly, transform and bring good fortune.[83] In a late second-century tomb at Yi'nan, Shandong, Buddha-like figures are accompanied by the Queen Mother of the West and the King Father of the East to embellish an octagonal pillar at the center of the tomb (illus. 52). Lydia Thompson has proposed that because of its focal position and iconic decoration,

this pillar embodies the concept of *axis mundi* connecting earth with heaven.[84] A passage from the *Canon of Spirits and Oddities* (*Shenyi jing*) seems to support this interpretation: 'On Kunlun there is a copper pillar which reaches heaven and so it is called the Pillar of Heaven. It is three thousand *li* wide and its winds around like crooked knife. Below there is the domain of the immortals.'[85] Now erected inside a tomb, the Yi'nan pillar would enable the tomb occupant, or his soul, to reach the immortal abode after his demise.

Other images originating in Buddhist art, including the white elephant with six tusks, the *sheli* relics, and the stupa, have been found in Han and post-Han tombs.[86] But generally speaking, these images only enriched indigenous representations of immortal paradise and never developed into an independent 'Buddhist' programme in funerary art.[87] Likewise, when religious Taoism began to invent a pantheon during the second century, images of Taoist gods and symbols entered tombs but never constituted a distinct 'Taoist' system of tomb decoration. In 1988 archaeologists in Henan province found an unusual carving on the ceiling of an Eastern Han tomb at Qilin'gang near Nanyang, Henan.[88] The composition, 365 cm long and 153 cm wide, consists of nine stone slabs, on which relief images represent seven figures and two groups of constellations against curvilinear cloud patterns (illus. 53). At the centre of the composition is a prominent figure, seated frontally and wearing a cap with a three-pointed ornament on top. Scholars have identified him as Taiyi or the Supreme One. This identification is supported by the images that surround him, first the Four Animal Spirits and then Fuxi and Nüwa. With human bodies but tigers' legs and serpentine tails, Fuxi and Nüwa appear as hybrid figures holding the sun and the moon. Finally, two groups of stars, the Big Dipper and Small Dipper, define the outer boundary of the composition.



52 Drawing of relief carvings on a stone column in a Eastern Han tomb at Yi'nan, Shandong, depicting Queen Mother of the West, King Father of the East, and Buddha-like deities. Late 2nd–early 3rd century CE.

Significantly, it was around this time, in the mid- to late second century, that Taiyi became a principal god of emerging religious Taoism.[89] *Taiping jing*, a major early Taoist canon, teaches that in order to achieve the Tao one should 'follow the [guidance of] celestial Taiyi, worshipping this deity who dwells at the centre of heaven.'[90] Anna Seidel and other historians of early Taoism have further pointed out that the worship of Taiyi was also incorporated into funerary rituals, as many 'grave-securing writs' (*zhenmu wen*) from this period evoked this deity to protect the dead in the underworld.[91] Considering this historical context, it is possible that the designer of the

53 Carved ceiling in an Eastern Han tomb at Qilin'gang near Nanyang, Henan, depicting cosmic deities and symbols. Mid-Eastern Han, 1st–2nd centuries CE.

Qilin'gang tomb depicted this prominent Taoist deity on the tomb's ceiling to express the desire for security and immortality in the afterlife.[92] But he also decorated the tomb with many other images, including auspicious omens and entertainment scenes. The Taiyi image thus only enriched a conventional decorative programme, rather than signifying the appearance of a Taoist tradition in funerary art.

An intriguing phenomenon in Chinese funerary art after the Han was the decrease of Buddhist influence: except for a Koguryo tomb in Jilin (Changchuan Tomb 1), tombs in China proper only integrated limited Buddhist motifs in their decoration. In sharp contrast, Taoist influence increased rapidly in funerary art after the fifth century. Large images of a dragon and a tiger – two primary Taoist symbols – decorated many tombs and sarcophagi of both the northern and southern nobility, and often show the two divine beasts transporting a deceased couple to the land of immortality (illus. 54). Taoist influence reached a new level in funerary art during the Tang, whose founders traced their lineage to Laozi, the legendary patriarch of the religion. Instead of portraying Laozi and other religious icons, however, Taoist images in Tang funerary art emphasized the idea of 'ascension to immortality' (*sheng xian*). The principal symbol of this concept in tomb decoration – a white crane flying amidst floating clouds – was closely associated with a legend about Wang Ziqiao (also known as Wang Zijin), a Zhou dynasty prince who abandoned worldly glory for religious transcendence. According to Wang's biography, compiled by Liu Xiang in the first century BCE, even when Wang was a young man he was skilled in playing windpipes, attracting phoenixes to dance with his music. After spending thirty years with a Taoist recluse on Mt Song, he finally told his family members to meet him on Mt Houshi near Luoyang. When they arrived they saw him riding on a white crane on the summit of the mountain. Raising his arms to bid farewell to his relatives, he flew away on his crane and vanished in the sky.[93]

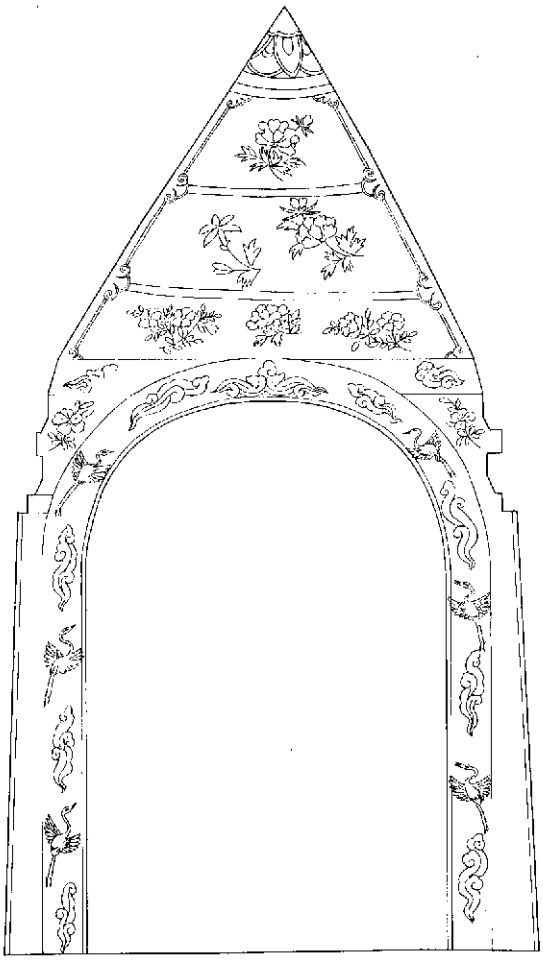
This story became widespread during the Tang. In particular, when the powerful Empress Wu Zetian (625–705) was about to reach the end of her long and strenuous life, she was increasingly attracted to Taoism and decided to erect a monumental 'Stele

54 Two side panels of a sarcophagus, depicting figures riding on a dragon and a tiger. Limestone with traces of pigment and gilding. Northern Wei, early 6th century.

of the Crown Prince Who Has Ascended to Immortality' (Shengxian Taizi Bei) for Wang Ziqiao on Mt Houshi. In the inscription she wrote for the stele, she imagines how, like Wang, she arrives at the immortal Jade Capital in a chariot pulled by *luan* and *feng* birds, escaping the Dark City of death. Ironically, the stele was only established in 706, a year after Wu Zetian's death.

In the same year, several members of the Tang royal house persecuted by Wu Zetian were honoured with magnificent mausoleums by the next emperor, Zhongzong after he regained the throne (r. 684, 705–710). At least two of these tombs – those of Crown Prince Yide and Princess Yongtai – bore beautiful crane images in the corridor immediately outside the coffin chamber (illus. 55). Painted in this position, the immortal birds seem to have just emerged from the realm of death and are flying toward the exterior. We can relate these images to a miracle that took place after Sima Chengzhen's (675–736) death. Sima was a well-known Taoist of his day. At the invitation

55 Ceiling mural in the rear passageway of the tomb of Princess Yongtai. Qianxian, Shanxi. Drawing. Tang dynasty, 705 CE.



56 Decoration around the door of Zhang Kuangzheng's tomb (Tomb 10) at Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

of the emperor, he spent fifteen years at court to discourse on the art of immortality. Afterwards he retired to Mt Wangwu, where he built a Taoist temple and decorated it with his own painting and calligraphy. When he finally passed away, the Tang art historian Zhang Yanyuan recorded in his *Records of Famous Paintings of All the Dynasties* (*Lidai minghua ji*), 'His corpse dissolved (*shi jie*). White clouds flew out of his chamber. Two cranes circled around an altar and then ascended to the sky.'[94]

Invested with such meaning, the white crane became a persistent motif in tomb murals throughout the Tang and Five Dynasties, adorning not only passageways but also the main tomb chamber.[95] An interesting development in this decorative tradition occurred around the thirteenth century, when the image of white cranes amidst white clouds appeared on the arched door frames in a tomb (illus. 56).[96] This seemingly minor change in placement had an important implication: the image now identified the space inside the door as a Taoist 'grotto-heaven' (*dong tian*), a mysterious gateway to the spirit world. It was believed that numerous such gateways, including 'ten major grotto-heavens, thirty-six minor grotto-heavens, and seventy-two blessed sanctuaries', were hidden inside mountains and beneath the earth, waiting to be explored by dedicated practitioners of the Taoist religion. Upon entering such a spiritual space, a person would meet immortals and achieve longevity. It is not difficult to imagine how the idea of grotto-heavens could be easily linked with tombs – literally 'hidden caverns' beneath the earth. More profoundly, a grotto-heaven and a tomb were connected by a shared imagination: both places were located in this world but were governed by specific temporal and spatial orders that distinguished them from the surrounding environment of this world.

Two among a group of Liao dynasty tombs in a Zhang family cemetery at Xuanhua, Hebei, used the images of white cranes and clouds to frame the tomb gate (M9) or the door of the burial chamber (M10). In her discussion of the pictorial programme and furnishing of a Xuanhua tomb, Hsüeh-man Shen compares its burial chamber with a Taoist *jingshi* – 'a tranquil room built for meditation'.[97] She also presents evidence for the Taoist (as well as Buddhist) practice of the Zhang family members buried in the cemetery: the burial of Zhang Shiqing (the man responsible for building M10) has a Taoist sutra represented in a wall mural, and his epitaph begins with a quotation from a Taoist text entitled *Summary from Scriptures of Supreme Clarity Immortals* (*Taiqing shenxian zhong jing yaolüe*).[98]

57 Mural representing a landscape scene in Feng Daozhen's tomb at Datong, Shanxi. Yuan dynasty, 1265 CE.

It is from Feng Daozhen's burial near Datong in northern Shanxi, however, that we find the most convincing evidence to connect a tomb with the Taoist vision of a grotto-heaven.[99] According to the inscription on a stone stele found in the tomb, Feng lived in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) and was an ordained Taoist priest. He first practised in the Jade Dragon Grotto (Yulong dong) in the Seven-Peak Mountains (Qifeng shan) near Datong, and later became the founder and abbot of a major Taoist temple in the region called the Flying Dragon and Longevity Palace (Longxiang Wanshou Gong). He died in 1265 when he was 77 – the inscription uses the word 'ascension' (*sheng*) to describe his death. Constructed by his disciples, his tomb provides us with a rare opportunity to comprehend a Taoist vision of the afterlife. Large murals on three walls encircled the coffin at the rear section of the tomb chamber. The painting to the right depicts a man relaxing in nature; the subject of the left mural is a Taoist master instructing a visitor. The third and largest mural, which covers the entire wall behind the coffin bed, shows a panoramic landscape, probably the Seven-Peak Mountain, painted in a monochromic style (illus. 57). Images of white cranes are everywhere. Flanking the entrance, decorating the coffin cover, and embellishing the ceiling directly above the coffin, this auspicious bird helps transform the dark tomb into a tranquil Taoist paradise.

How were images of these three aspects of an idealized afterlife – a posthumous 'happy home', a celestial environment and an immortal paradise – composed into a dynamic whole in a grave? Tomb builders of different periods responded to this question differently; but a 'modular approach', defined by Lothar Ledderose as a production system that 'create(s) an extensive variety of units from a limited repertoire of components',[100] underlay the various answers. An early example of this approach is again Mawangdui Tomb 1, arguably the first known Chinese tomb to integrate all three aspects in a single burial context. Here, the idea of a posthumous 'happy home' is realized mainly through the furnishing of the *guo*-casket (see illus. 59); images on the third coffin depict an immortal realm centred on Mt Kunlun (see illus. 49, 50); and the silk painting found on the innermost coffin illustrates, among other subjects, a celestial domain

encompassing the sun, the moon and heavenly beings (see illus. 124, 125). The designer of the tomb conceptualized the afterlife as an assemblage of discrete units, representing them with different images and objects in various sections of the burial. The relationship between these realms/units is by no means certain; nor is it clear in which particular realm the deceased would reside. It seems that in his eagerness to please the dead, the tomb designer provided all the answers he knew to the implied question of the world beyond death.

One may assume that such ambiguities and inconsistencies in the notion of the afterlife would have anticipated a more systematical theological interpretation. But for better or worse, no systematic interpretation was reached in Chinese funerary art. For the next two thousand years tomb builders adopted a more practical or formalistic approach: since each of the realms in the afterlife – heaven, immortality or a posthumous 'happy home' – could offer something special and valuable to the dead, the important matter became how to represent these realms in a more unified manner, rather than whether to sacrifice any of them for the sake of a consistent theory. Thus, while a serious inquiry into the ontological status of the afterlife remained absent in philosophical and religious texts, the scheme of tomb decoration did constantly change. An early effort to synthesize divergent realms into a single pictorial programme is seen in the decoration of stone sarcophagi, a type of mortuary equipment which first flourished in Shandong and Jiangsu in the first century BCE, and enjoyed greater popularity in Sichuan through the second and third centuries CE.[101]

One such sarcophagus from Guitoushan, Sichuan, is a far cry from the Mawangdui tomb: instead of representing various aspects of the afterlife in a layered, diachronic sequence, the tomb decorator synthesized images in a synchronic structure on the surface of the sarcophagus (illus. 58).[102] A pillar-gate is identified by an inscription as 'the Gate of Heaven' (*tian men*) – the entrance of the departed soul into the afterlife. Other images, including Fuxi and Nüwa, the sun and moon and the Four Animal Spirits, transform the stone box into a microcosm of the universe. The third group of pictorial motifs are symbols of immortality – two winged fairies are playing chess (labeled '*xianren bo*') and another immortal is riding on a horse (labeled *'xianren qi*'). Still, a fourth category of images symbolizes wealth and prosperity: a raised two-storied building is the 'Grand Granary' (*taicang*), which would supply the dead (as well as all the figures and animals engraved on the sarcophagus) with inexhaustible food, whereas a 'white pheasant' (*baizhi*), a 'cassia-coin-tree' (*guizhu*), and a beast called a *lili* typify three basic kinds of auspicious omens from the animal, bird and plant kingdoms. In an almost graphic manner, these carvings express the concept of the ideal afterlife: in the land of darkness the sun and moon will still shine; *yin*

58 Carvings on a sarcophagus from Guitoushan, Jianyang, Sichuan. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE. Rubbing.

and *yang* will operate in full harmony; the departed soul will never suffer from hunger; and, most importantly, having crossed the dangerous boundary of death, the deceased will enjoy eternal happiness.

Though simple and crude, this example indicates the general synthetic tendency of later tomb decoration. When we return to the Dingjiazha tomb introduced at the beginning of the 'A Tripartite Universe' section, we find that its decorative scheme follows exactly the same approach (see illus. 21). The difference, however, is that in this fourth- or fifth-century tomb decoration is fully married with the tomb's architectural structure to create an interior space. An inscription on an Eastern Han mortuary shrine at Songshan, Shandong, provides a description of this space. Like Sima Qian's account of the First Emperor's burial chamber, the anonymous author of this text first surveys individual motifs that decorate the shrine's interior, and then summarizes the whole decorative programme into two sections, 'above' and 'below':

> There are interlocking dragons and winding serpents; fierce tigers stretch forward their heads, gazing into the distance; black apes ascend heights; lions and bears roar, strewn everywhere like clouds. There are towers and pavilions of unequal heights; great processions of chariots set forth. *Above are clouds and immortals; below, figures of filial piety, excellent virtue, and benevolence* [italics added].

A main purpose of this and other descriptions, therefore, is to articulate the spatial framework underlying the decorative program of a funerary structure. As such, these texts always imply an unspoken subject between 'above' and 'below.' This realization leads us to investigate the representations of the dead, whose spirit would inhabit the pictorial universe constructed in a tomb.[103]

Representing the Soul

When the third-century poet Lu Ji (261–303) wrote a series of three 'Mourner's Songs,' he was working within an established literary genre while elaborating on it. The first two songs in the sequence describe a funerary procession, escorting the 'soul carriage' of the dead and moving silently from his old home to his otherworldly abode. In the third song, the deceased, now buried inside his tomb, has regained his senses and is seeing, hearing and speaking in the first person:

> The piled-up hill, how it towers!
> My dark hut is hidden inside it.
> Wide stand the Four Limits;
> High-arched spread the azure skies.
> By my side I hear the hidden river's flow;
> On my back, I gaze at the sky roof suspended.
> How lonely is the wide firmament![104]

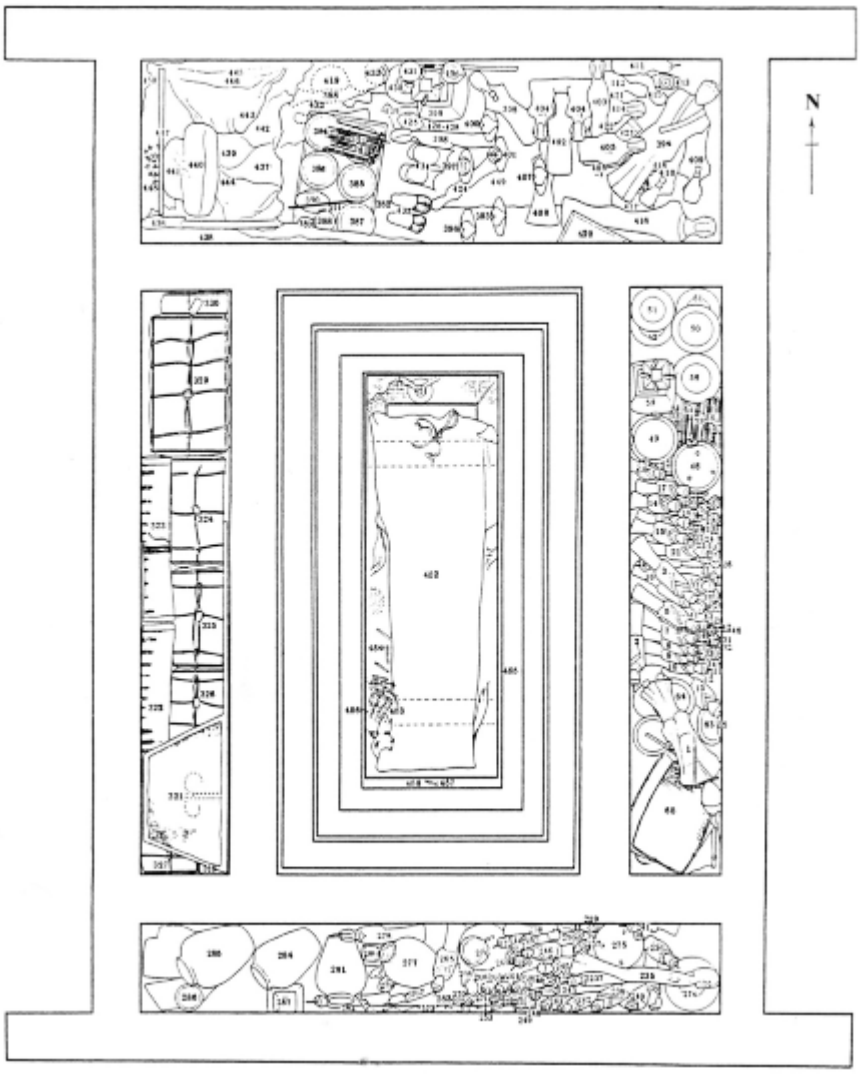
Imagining what he would feel in a burial chamber under an earthen mound (that is, in a 'dark hut' inside a 'piled-up hill'), the poet describes the tomb's interior space as a symbolic universe, with the sky above, earth below and the Four Limits around. While a similar vision characterizes Sima Qian's report of the First Emperor's grave, Lu Ji supplied his description with a point of view: he identifies himself with the soul of the dead, which retains consciousness in the realm of the Yellow Springs. In other words, Lu Ji's poem reveals two different but complementary impulses in imagining and constructing a tomb. One impulse is to create a metaphysical 'environment' – a microcosmic representation of the universe – for the occupant of a tomb; the other is to give the dead a place and voice in the centre of this environment. So far my discussion has focused on the first impulse. This section turns to the second impulse to investigate architectural and pictorial representations of the posthumous soul. We will find that special spaces and images were created to stand for the dead – to reconstruct his vision, to preserve his likeness, to display his social rank and official status and to glorify his moral and spiritual achievement. The focus of these spaces and images was the 'spirit seat' prepared for the departed soul.

The Spirit Seat

According to the *Old Ceremonies of the Han* (*Han jiu yi*), the Eastern Han royal temple in Luoyang housed an empty seat in its centre, which represented Emperor Gaozu, the main subject of worship in the temple. Covered by an embroidered tent, the seat was also furnished with a *ji*-table and gold-inlaid vessels. During important sacrifices, food and wine were offered to the seat, and the living emperor, leading a hundred officials, kneeled in front of it, paying respect to the founder of the Han dynasty.[105]

This ritual building has long disappeared; similar seats can only be observed in Han tombs. But these seats are rarely, if at all, mentioned in archaeological literature, mainly because many of them were constructed by assemblages of artifacts, which are dismantled during excavations and described only in separate 'material categories' (such as metal, wood or textile) in excavation reports. I would suggest, however, that an empty seat had an overwhelming importance in a tomb because, called the 'spirit seat' (*ling zuo* or *shen wei*) in ancient texts, it stood for the invisible soul of the tomb occupant.[106] To identify this space, we need to 'reassemble' it based on the fragmented information in an archaeological report.

Such space already existed in some casket graves. Mawangdui Tomb 1 once again provides us with the best example of this device. I have mentioned that in this tomb the coffin chamber in the centre of the *guo*-casket was surrounded by four other chambers (see illus. 14). The three chambers to the east, west and south were filled with grave goods, but the north chamber at the head of the deceased was relatively empty and arranged as a stage (illus. 59). Silk curtains were hung on the walls and a bamboo mat covered the floor. Elaborate lacquer vessels were displayed in front of an empty couch furnished with thick cushions and backed by a painted screen – a seat prepared for an invisible subject (illus. 60, 61). We realize the identity of this subject from the things placed around the seat: in front of the couch were two pairs of silk shoes, and next to



59 Plan of Mawangdui Tomb 1 at Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

the couch were a cane and two toilet boxes containing cosmetics and a wig – all intimate personal belongings of the deceased woman. (Scholars have noted that Lady Dai's portrait found on top of the innermost coffin depicts her as an aged woman leaning on a cane, which seems to be related to the cane found next to the couch.) Joining these objects to frame the spirit seat for the woman's soul were several groups of figurines, including eight singers and dancers performing their arts in the company of five musicians. This performance was staged at the east end of the chamber, opposite to the couch at the west end. We can well imagine that the invisible Lady Dai, while enjoying food and drink, was watching the performance from the empty couch.

What the design of this tomb shows, therefore, is a 'double existence' of the deceased woman: whereas the coffin contained her carefully preserved body, the empty spirit seat indicated the presence of her invisible soul. This dual representation of the dead in a tomb can be explained, once again, by the profound changes in ancestral

60 Lacquer utensils placed in front the empty seat in the north chamber of Mawangdui Tomb 1. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

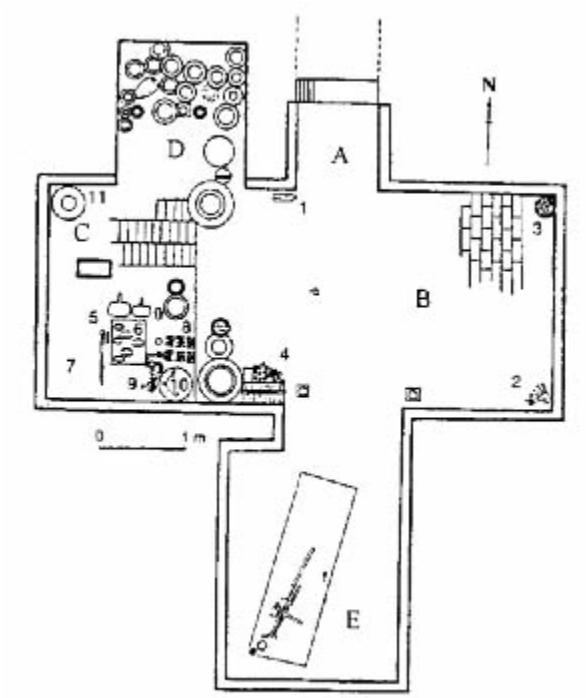
61 Painted screen placed behind the empty seat in the north chamber of Mawangdui Tomb 1. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

worship at the time. As mentioned earlier, during the Han, the center of ancestral worship finally shifted from lineage temples to tombs of individuals. A new concept of the posthumous soul prevailed, claiming that after a person dies, the legitimate place for his two souls – the light, spiritual *hun* and the heavier, physical *po* – would be his tomb. Many components of temple architecture and ritual were transferred into the graveyard; and the *hun* no longer flew away to receive offerings in ancestral temples, but found its resting place underground. These new ritual conventions and religious concepts were given concrete expression in Lady Dai's tomb.

With the invention of the chamber grave in the second and first centuries BCE, the spirit seat of the deceased was given an even more prominent position, often occupying the front chamber in a tomb to define the centre of a 'sacrificial area'. A good example of this layout is Mancheng Tomb 1 of Prince Liu Sheng, whose 'jade suit' has become world famous (see illus. 129). Constructed before 113 BCE, the year of Liu's demise, this tomb in present-day Hebei was situated inside a rocky hill and centred on a large room arranged as a sacrificial hall (see illus. 18). Inside the hall were two empty seats, originally covered by silk tents on metal frames. Vessels and figurines were lined up in rows in front of, as well as beside, the central seat, mimicking the situation of a ritual offering. Because no such seat was found in the nearby burial of Liu Sheng's consort, Dou Wan (Mancheng Tomb 2), I have contended that the two seats in Liu Sheng's tomb may have been prepared for the souls of the royal couple.[107] In other words, although Dou Wan enjoyed an individual tomb, her posthumous soul received 'subordinate offerings' (*pei ji*) next to her husband. The couple's unequal relationship is further indicated by the positions of the two seats, one located on the central axis, the other placed to the side and slightly behind. The relationship between these two seats recalls a famous episode in the life of Emperor Wu (156–87 BCE), a half brother of Liu Sheng. The emperor longed for his favorite concubine, Lady Li, after her untimely death. The necromancer Shao Weng promised the emperor that he could summon Li's soul back for him. According to *The History of the Western Han* (*Han shu*),

> Shao Weng set up lanterns at night, arranged a curtained seat, and displayed food and wine. He also asked the emperor to stay in another curtained seat. From there, Emperor Wu saw a beautiful woman who looked like Lady Li. She first took the seat inside the tent and then walked out. Unable to bring himself to look at her closely, the emperor missed her even more intensely and became sadder then ever. He composed a poem and ordered the singers in the royal music department to perform it: 'Is it she or not? Standing on my feet I gaze at her. But why is she so slow to come?'[108]

The same emperor also wrote a long rhapsody to express his sorrow. Preserved in the *History of the Western Han*, the rhapsody ends with these lines: 'She has gone forever to the world of darkness, never to return. / She has descended to her new (underground) palace, and will never reside in her former home again. / Alas! So much do I long for her departed soul!'[109]



62 Plan of a brick tomb at Qilihe near Luoyang, Henan. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE.

We can relate this historical episode to the Mancheng tomb, in which two covered seats indicated the existence of the posthumous souls of a royal couple. Additional archaeological evidence reveals that the practice of setting up seats and sacrificial places in tombs was not monopolized by aristocrats, but was shared by low officials and even commoners during Han and post-Han times. In many small and mid-sized graves from this period, a special platform or 'altar' was constructed in the front chamber; sacrificial vessels and pottery models placed on it framed an empty space as the spirit seat of the tomb occupant. In a second-century brick tomb at Qilihe near Luoyang, for example, the west section of the front chamber was occupied by a raised platform (area C in illus. 62), on which trays, dishes, *erbei*-cups and chopsticks were set up on a low table before an empty space. Beyond the table, pottery figurines of dancers and acrobats were performing for an invisible subject. This arrangement has led Lukas Nichel to conclude that 'almost certainly this empty space was where the occupant was expected to sit'.[110] A similar altar covered with a bamboo mat exists in a third-century tomb at Foyemiaowan near Dunhuang.[111] Two additional features separate this spirit seat from the one at Qilihe, however: first, the altar nests inside a niche attached to the main chamber, and second, the niche is painted with a tent on the back wall (illus. 63). Whereas vessels and a lantern were placed in front of the tent, no image was inside it. The empty space was, once again, a poignant signifier of the invisible soul.

Posthumous Portraiture

One should not confuse this method of representing the soul with an 'anionic' approach in religious art. In fact, by the early Eastern Han, an alternative method had been developed to reinforce a spirit seat with a portrait of the deceased, sometimes painted on the wall behind a low altar.[112] I call it an 'alternative method' because it never replaced the more traditional method of representing the dead as an invisible being. Rather, a person or family could choose either method to represent the dead in a tomb. The patron of Dahuting Tomb 1 in Henan, for example, followed the traditional way of having an empty stone platform built at the right end of the main chamber (that is, if we assume the position of the dead as facing the tomb's entrance). Carved with decorative patterns on the front side, the platform originally supported low tables under a tent.[113] This mid-second-century tomb was contemporaneous with the Anping Tomb in Hebei. The two tombs also had similar architectural layouts and belonged to people of comparable social ranks. But in the Anping Tomb the deceased is actually

63 A spirit seat in Tomb 133 at Foyemiaowan near Dunhuang, Gansu. Western Jin, 3rd century.

portrayed in a room to the right of the main chamber (see illus. 33). Subsidiary officials are painted alongside this portrait, paying homage to the deceased master. We have seen similar images of officials in Wangdu Tomb 1, but in this tomb they all bow to an empty space in the centre (see illus. 32).

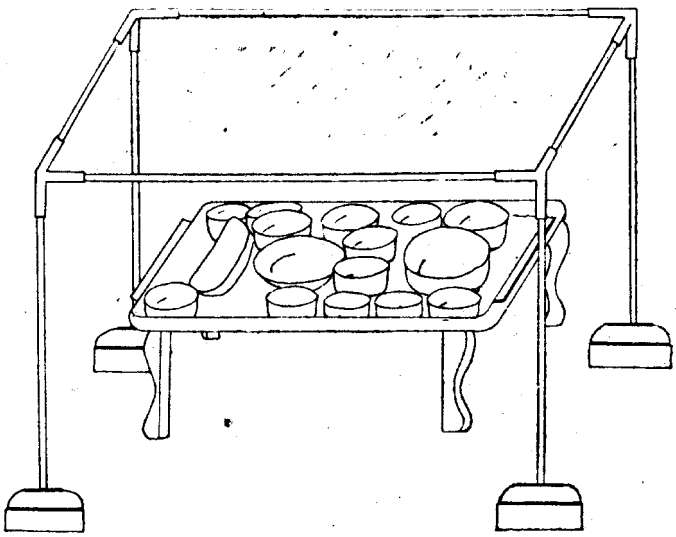
Once these two methods – figurative and non-figurative representations of the spirit seat – became two basic *norms* in representing the posthumous soul, their alternative uses signified not only individual preferences but also broad regional traditions and period styles in funerary art. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that

the figurative mode enjoyed special popularity in three regions during three periods after the Han. These are: 1) a northern zone stretching from Gansu in the northwest to Liaoyang and North Korea in the northeast from the late second to the early fifth centuries; 2) north China during the Northern Qi and Sui in the sixth century; and 3) central, northwest and southwest China during the Liao, Song and Jin dynasties from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

Within the first group, we have seen one of these portraits in Dingjiazha Tomb 5 in Gansu (see illus. 26). In the Liaoning Peninsula, in addition to several Han and post-Han graves at Liaoyang that contained portraits of the deceased,[114] a painted tomb at Yuantaizi, Chaoyang, has been dated to the first half of the fourth century.[115] Like the Foyemiaowan Tomb discussed above (see illus. 63), a niche was created in the front section of this tomb as a particular space for worship. Instead of framing this space with an empty tent, however, here a portrait of the deceased was painted inside the niche (illus. 64). The significance of the space as a spirit seat for the posthumous soul is further indicated by a lacquer table set in front of it: shielded by a miniature tent about 80cm tall, it originally displayed food and drink in lacquer vessels (illus. 65).

Scholars have pointed out the striking similarities between this portrait and those found in Koguryo burials in present-day northeast China and north Korea, and

64 Painted mural and grave objects in a tomb at Yuantaizi, Chaoyang, Liaoning. Eastern Jin, first half of the 4th century. (64) portrait of the deceased, (65) ritual offerings placed in front of the portrait.



65

66 Portrait of Dong Shou in Anak Tomb 3 at Oguk, Anak, North Korea. 357 CE.

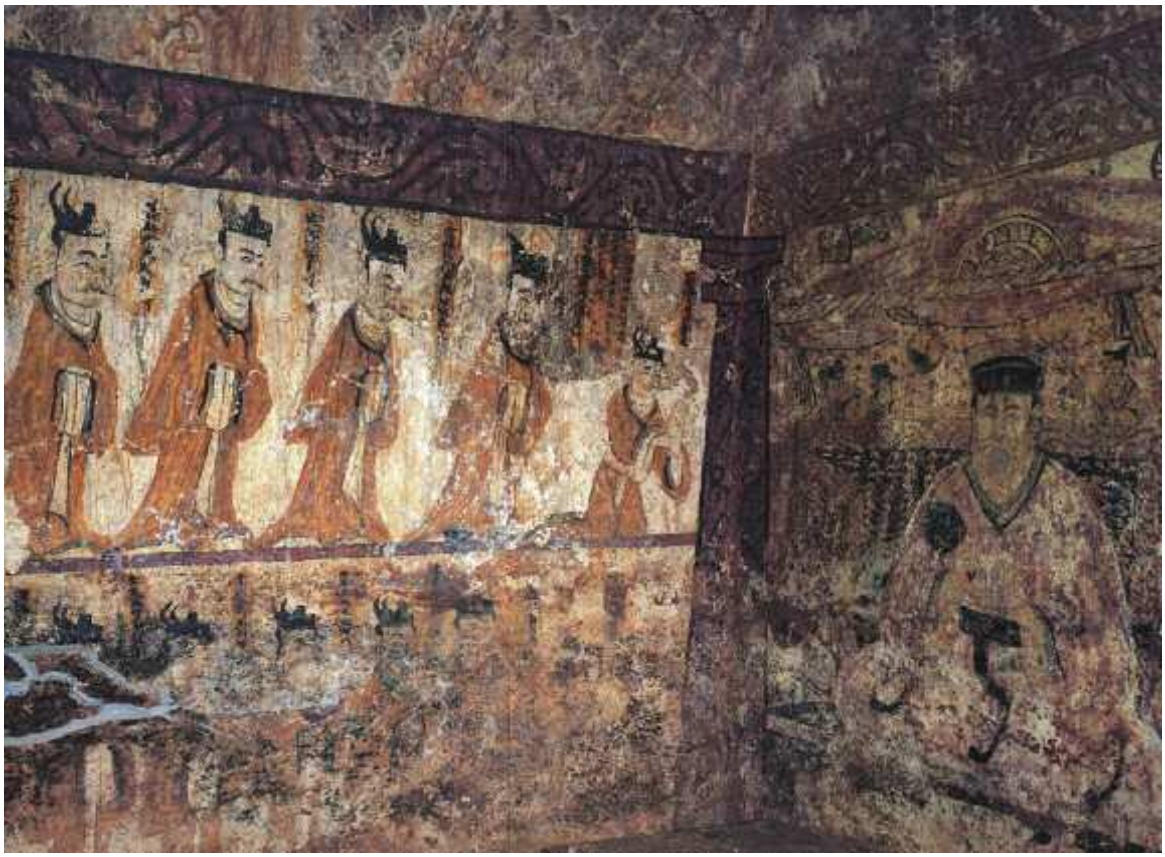
have argued that their resemblance must indicate a shared pictorial model.[116] Audrey Spiro, for one, considers a portrait in Dong Shou's tomb (illus. 66) 'virtually identical' and 'wholly interchangeable' with the posthumous portrait in the Yuantaizi tomb (illus. 64): 'Both men are frontally seated, cross-legged, on a platform surmounted by a canopy and backed by a screen. The faces of both are long ovals that show thick dark eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, a long nose, and so forth. . . . Robe lapels are wide, sleeves are broad. Each man grasps in his right hand an object identified in the reports as a fly whisk, held upright in front of the right shoulder.'[117] In addition, both men are bearded and wear identical hats. Spiro's explanation for such similarities is that all these 'portraits' represent an idealized official, whom the incumbents of the tombs aspired to be. Without ruling out such a possibility, the lack of individuality in these images can also be understood in terms of their fundamental ritual function: concealed in dark tomb chambers, these images were intended to mark the spirit seat of the departed souls, not to evoke lived memories about the deceased individuals.

Like Dong Shou's image, another important portrait in this group is located beyond the present-day boundary of China, in a tomb at Tokhungri near Pyongyang in North Korea (illus. 67). A lengthy inscription next to the image identifies it as the likeness of Chin, a prominent Koguryo official who died in 408; but the image itself shows all the stereotypical features that Spiro has found in the Yuantaizi and Dong Shou portraits. Chin's portrait differs from the other two examples, however, in the

Murals in the front chamber of the Tokhungri tomb, near Pyongyang, North Korea. (67) portrait of Chin; (68) officials paying respect to Chin. Koguryo, 408 CE.

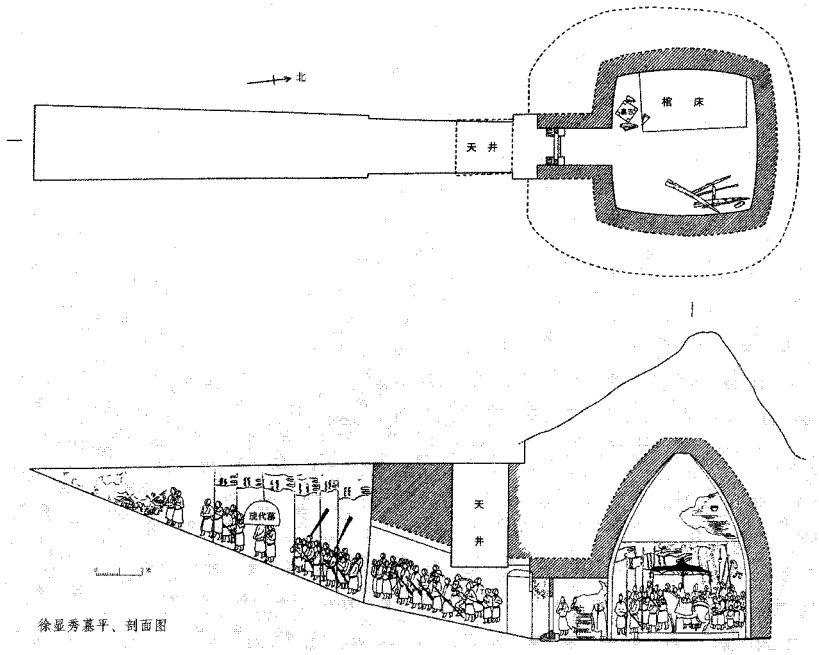
67

form of the spirit seat it helps construct. Instead of confining itself to a niche or side chamber, it is painted above a low platform next to the corridor leading to the rear burial chamber. In this position, the image faces the open space of the front chamber and is in dialogue with other images in the room. In particular, on the adjacent west wall, officials in two rows are paying respect to Chin. Guided by ceremonial ushers, they bow to him in a dignified manner (illus. 68). A series of cartouches identify them as the magistrates of the thirteen counties under the jurisdiction of the Yuju commandery of which Chin was governor.[118] Following a uniform formula, the cartouches read either as 'The moment when this magistrate of such-and-such a county came to greet (Chin)' or as 'The moment when this magistrate of such-and-such a county came to report to



(Chin).' These images and words remind us of an imperial funerary ritual established by Emperor Ming at the beginning of the Eastern Han (r. 57–75 CE). Upon transferring the most important court ceremony, the Yuanhuiyi, to the royal graveyard, he ordered officials from all over the country to report to the 'spirit seat' (*shenzuo*) of his deceased father and the founder of the dynasty, Emperor Guangwu.[119] 68

As Jeehee Hong has pointed out, three elements – the iconic portrait, the homage scene and the stone altar – constitute a particular worshipping space for Chin in the front chamber of the Tokhungri Tomb.[120] Unique among the burials in this group, however, this tomb is painted with a second portrait of Chin on the back wall of the rear burial chamber.[121] I will discuss the positional significance of this second portrait in chapter Three. For the present discussion, it is important to note that this image – both its location and pictorial context – is related to a later group of posthumous portraits found in single-chamber burials with elongated passageways – a new type of grave that prevailed in north China in the sixth century (illus. 69). Most of these tombs belonged to non-Chinese aristocrats of the late Northern Dynasties (386–581), especially the Northern Qi (552–77).[122] Painted on the back wall of the tomb chamber, the deceased – either a male, a female or a couple – is sitting frontally to face the entrance. Surmounted by an elaborate canopy and surrounded by a screen, he or she is enjoying food and drink while being served by attendants (illus. 70).



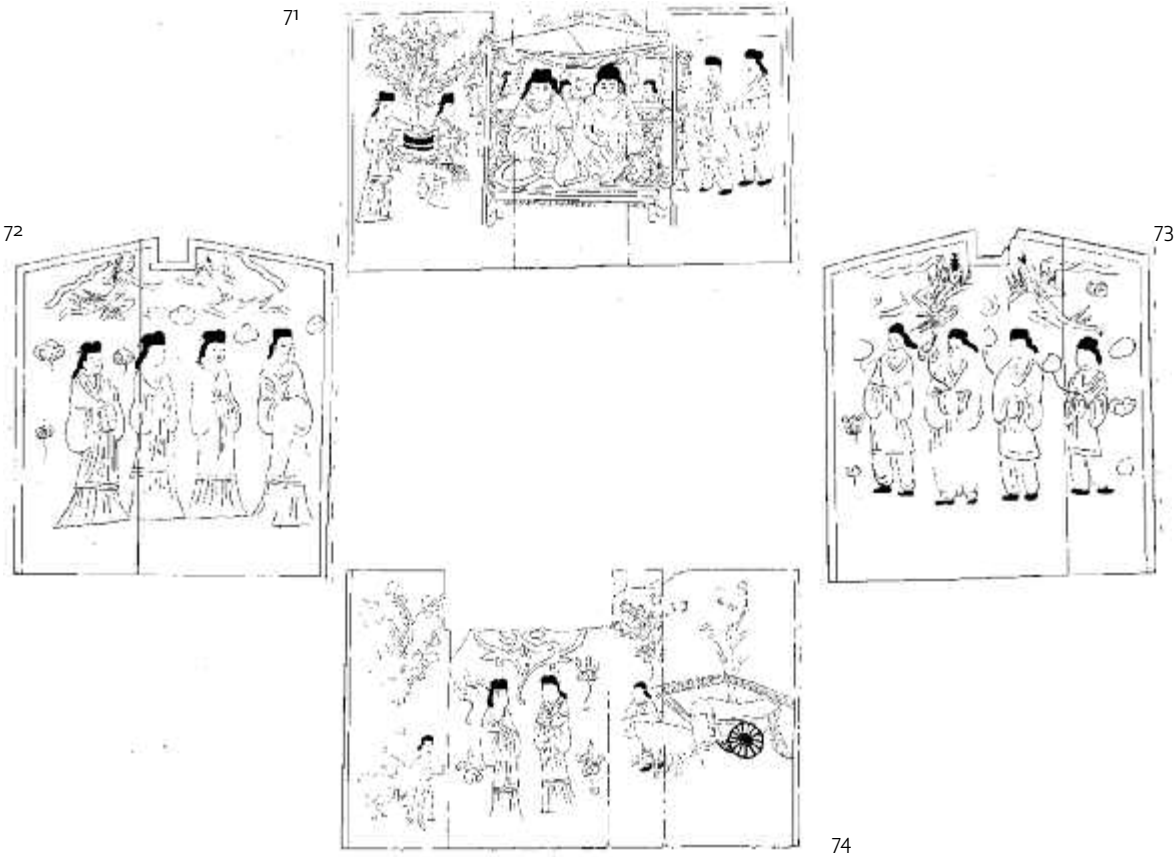
69 Plan of Xu Xianxiu's tomb at Datong, Shanxi. Northern Qi, 571 CE.

In terms of pictorial style, these sixth-century representations of the dead clearly owed their pictorial style to the fourth-century posthumous portraits in Liaoning and North Korea, and further back to the second-century Anping Tomb in Hebei (see illus. 33, 64, 66, 67, 70). The largely identical features of the central figures, as Zheng Yan has argued, once again demonstrate that these are idealized 'mortuary icons', not realistic portrayals of living individuals.[123] Four factors, however, distinguish these images from earlier funerary portraits and connect them into a homogeneous group. First, they all occupy the back wall of the tomb chamber next to the coffin bed, while previous portraits appear mostly in front chambers, separated from the corpse. The new arrangement thus signified a gradual 'collapse' of the dual existence of the dead – a development which would continue into the following Tang and Song dynasties. Second, most tombs in this group had the coffin placed on a raised platform against the west wall;[124] the portrait on the back wall thus defined the absolute centre of the ritual structure. Third, some of these portraits display unconventional features that imply a degree of individualization. The male figure in the newly discovered Xu Xianxiu Tomb near Taiyuan, for example, wears a fur coat not seen in other funerary portraits; meat piled up in a large plate between him and his wife seems to belong to a non-Chinese cuisine (see illus. 70). Finally, portraits in this group had been integrated into larger pictorial programmes, often flanked by images of an ox-drawn carriage on one side and a riderless horse on the other. As I will discuss in chapter Three, a portrait in this pictorial programme serves the additional function of initiating a posthumous journey toward immortality (see illus. 202).

The portrait in the burial chamber of the Tokhungri tomb anticipated this type of image: painted one and a half centuries before the Northern Qi examples, it already occupied the back wall and was flanked by an ox-carriage and a riderless horse. It is very

likely that the Xianbei, a branch of Turks that originated in Manchuria and established the Northern Wei dynasty between 386 and 534, helped spread this image to north China in the fifth century. A stone chamber tomb recently discovered at Zhijiabao, a village south of the Northern Wei capital at Datong, provides a crucial link in establishing this historical connection.[125] Based on a comparison between the tomb's floral decoration and those in the nearby Yungang Caves, the excavators have dated the tomb to the early 480s, exactly halfway between the Tokhunri tomb and the Northern Qi tombs. Modest in size and without a long passageway, it is nevertheless covered with painting on all four walls. A couple dressed in Xianbei costume is portrayed at the centre of the back wall, facing the entrance (illus. 71). They are seated on a canopied couch, while male and female attendants stand on either side as well as behind the couch. The two side walls bear further images of attendants, again divided into two groups by gender (illus. 72, 73). Above them are flying immortals holding long banners. Flanking the opening of the tomb chamber, an ox-drawn carriage and a riderless horse appear on the inner sides of vertical slabs, whereas lotus flowers decorate the door and ceiling (illus. 74). The lower sections of the interior are undecorated (even the vertical vermilion lines that frame the back wall stop about 30cm from the base), indicating the formal existence of a now decayed wood platform. All these features – the frontal portraits behind a coffin platform, images of an ox-drawn carriage and a riderless horse, the gendered groupings of

70 Mural on the back wall of Xu Xianxiu's tomb, depicting Xu and his wife in a tent. Northern Qi, 571 CE.



Murals in a stone tomb at Zhijiaobao near Datong, Shanxi. Northern Wei, late 5th century CE. Drawing. (71) back wall, (72) east wall. (73) west wall, (74) inside of the front wall and the door.

attendants and the lotus pattern – can be found in the back chamber of the Tokhungri tomb. This, in turn, indicates the transitional nature of the Tokhungri tomb: whereas Chin's portrait in the front chamber continued a Han tradition in representing the dead, the portrait in the back chamber initiated a new tradition that finally prevailed in north China in the sixth century.

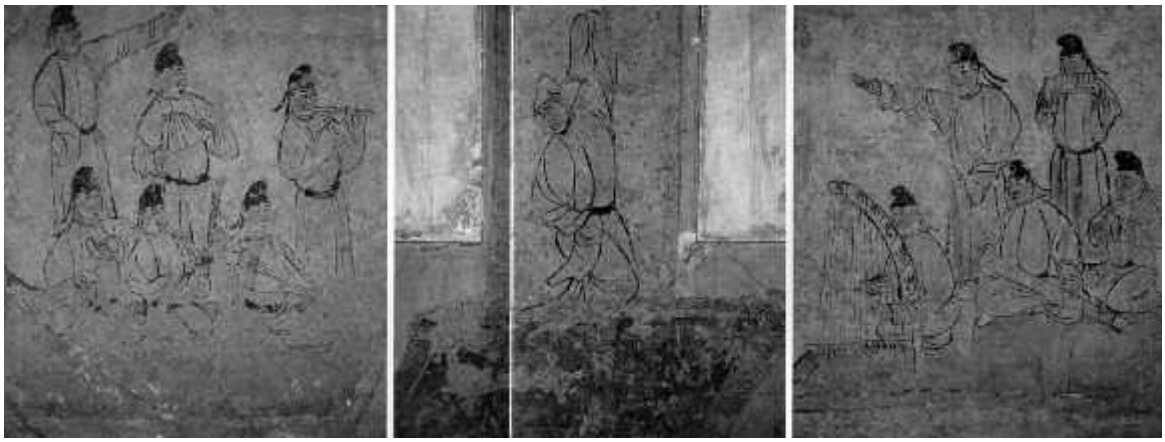
This northern tradition was not adopted by the contemporary Chinese rulers of the Southern Dynasties, who continued to favour the traditional, non-figurative approach and never painted portraits in tombs. When the Tang empire united the North and the South in the early seventh century, it inherited the structure of northern tombs but abolished the figurative representation of the dead. Formal funerary portraiture disappeared almost entirely from Tang aristocratic tombs.[126] What became popular were images of multi-panel *screens*, painted in a tomb's burial chamber to define the subject of ancestral worship.

From ancient times, the screen served a particular role in China to define a 'host position' (*zhu wei*): in the palace it surrounded the throne; in a household it set off the reception quarter; and in a bedroom it maintained privacy.[127] Indeed, this furniture was already indispensable to funerary portraits from the time this type of image was first invented. Accompanying the dead and enhancing his centrality, the screen became a standard feature of funerary portraiture from the Eastern Han to the Northern Qi

(see illus. 33, 64, 66, 67, 70, 71). What the Tang did, however, was to omit the figure(s) in front of a screen image and to reposition the screen image to surround a coffin bed.[128] Among many such examples, Su Sixu's tomb near Xi'an is especially revealing.[129] A courtier who died in 745, Su was buried the same year in a single-chamber tomb. His coffin, now decayed, was originally placed on a brick platform against the west wall. A six-panel screen was painted behind the platform to defined the 'host position' (*zhu wei*) in the room; the painting on the opposite wall represents a dance and music performance (illus. 75). We are not unfamiliar with this juxtaposition: the designer of Mawangdui Tomb 1 had staged a similar performance nearly a thousand years earlier (see illus. 59). But there is a crucial difference between these two cases: while singers and dancers performed in front of the invisible soul of Lady Dai, the performance in the Tang tomb was presented directly to Su Sizhu's coffined corpse.

This change indicated a new concept of the posthumous soul: no longer detached from the physical body of the dead, it also no longer demanded an independent worshipping place in a tomb. We have seen the beginning of this trend during the Northern Wei and Northern Qi, when a portrait of the tomb occupant appeared on the back wall of the burial chamber, next to the coffin bed built against the west wall (see illus. 69, 70). It is possible that the non-Chinese owners of these tombs found the idea of two souls puzzling and the dual representations of the dead unnecessary. The Tang inherited this mentality, finally collapsing the body and soul of the dead – and hence the coffin and the screen – into a single unit in a tomb.

This new convention, however, lost its dominance after the fall of the Tang. Excavated tombs belonging to the subsequent Five Dynasties period (907–60) displayed different layouts and interior arrangements, but the larger ones all resumed the multi-chamber model. A parallel change is the reestablishment of the dual representations of the dead in some of these tombs. For example, among painted tombs from this period, the most elaborate one belonged to Wang Chuzhi, a powerful warlord who died in 923.[130] Located in northern Hebei and excavated in 1995, it consists of a sealed burial chamber at the rear and an 'audience hall' with two side-chambers in front. A large landscape screen occupies the back wall of the audience hall to define the 'host position' (illus. 76). Other images in this hall include a detailed star chart on the ceiling and



75 Mural in Su Sixu's tomb near Xi'an, Shaanxi. Tang dynasty, 745 CE.

76 Main chamber of Wang Chuzhi's tomb at Quyang, Hebei. Five Dynasties, 924 CE.

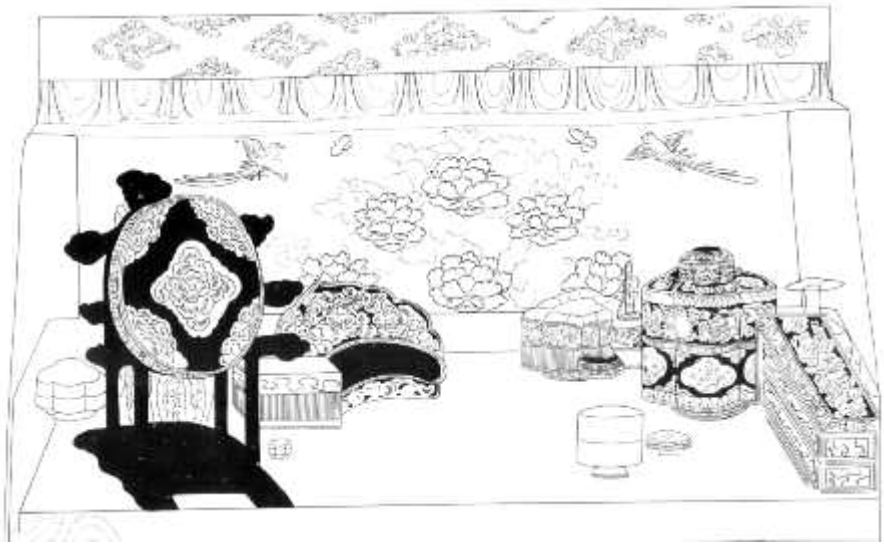
servants standing in attendance along the walls. Most impressively, two large marble relief carvings set into the side walls, each 136cm long and 82cm high, represent a female orchestra and a procession of court ladies arriving with food, drink and articles of daily uses (illus. 77). Skilfully sculpted and painted, these graceful figures bore Wang Chuzhi's posthumous gaze. While we can trace two principal features of the tomb – the separation of the burial chamber and the worshipping space and the juxtaposition between the spirit seat of the posthumous soul and a performance – all the way to Mancheng Tomb 1 and Mawangdui Tomb 1 of the second century BCE (see illus. 18, 59), this tenth-century burial exhibits a new component: the two small side chambers balance each other to symbolize Wang Chuzhi and his wife. Again, no portraits are found in these two spaces; the couple's presence is revealed by two groups of objects painted in the rooms. Here, two screens, one decorated with a landscape, the other with flowers and birds, are grouped with different hats and mirrors used by men and women (illus. 78, 79). In addition to the worshipping space in the main chamber, therefore, a second place devoted to Wang Chuzhi's spirit situates him in a gendered domestic relationship.

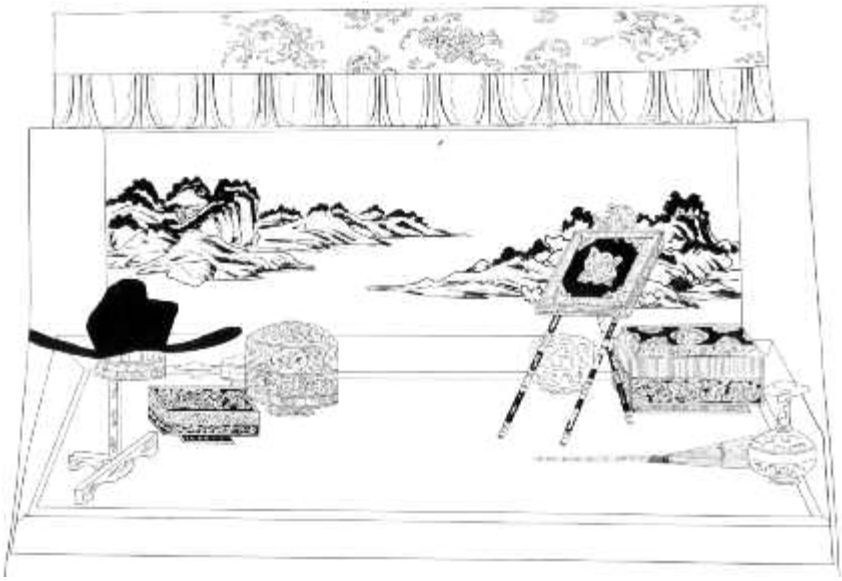
The two models – the Tang-style single-chamber tomb and the double-chamber tomb with dual representations of the dead – coexisted during the Liao (907–1125),

77 Painted marble relief carvings in Wang Chuzhi's tomb. Five Dynasties, 924 CE.

Northern Song (960–1127), Jin (1115–1234) and Southern Song (1127–1279).[131] A significant phenomenon, however, was the revival of funerary portraiture. A group of Northern Song burials at Baisha, Henan, included both types of burial. Tomb 1, the largest in the group, is a double-chamber structure dated to 1099 by a stone 'land-purchasing contract' found inside its hexagonal back chamber, which originally contained coffins on a raised platform (illus. 80). Behind the coffins, in the centre of the back wall, is a fake door left ajar; a sculpted woman seems to be opening the door in order to enter the room (illus. 81). On other walls of the room, fake windows are intersected with murals depicting daily life scenes. The rectangular front chamber serves as an 'image hall' (*ying tang*), with the deceased couple portrayed on the west wall, backed by a pair of screens (illus. 82). Sitting across a small table with their hands concealed in their sleeves, their appearance is formal and mutually respectful. Instead of conversing with each other, they direct their attention to the scene on the opposite wall, in which a male dancer performs in the company of ten male and female musicians. According to Su Bai, these two pictures together represent a type of domestic entertainment called 'Kai fang yan' (literally, 'staging a fragrant banquet'). Performed in private homes and featuring dance and music, it was taken as a sign of harmonious relationship between husband and wife.[132]

Slightly later in date, the other two Baisha tombs (Tombs 2 and 3) condense the two chambers in Tomb 1 into a single architectural/pictorial space. Duplicating the hexagonal burial chamber of the earlier Tomb 1, this space also displays a portrait of the deceased couple on the southwest wall. This one-chamber structure became a dominant model after 1127, when Jurchens drove the Song to the south and expanded the territory of their state, the Jin, to include the entirety of north China. Some thirty excavated tombs in southern Shanxi constructed during this period, for example, are mainly single-

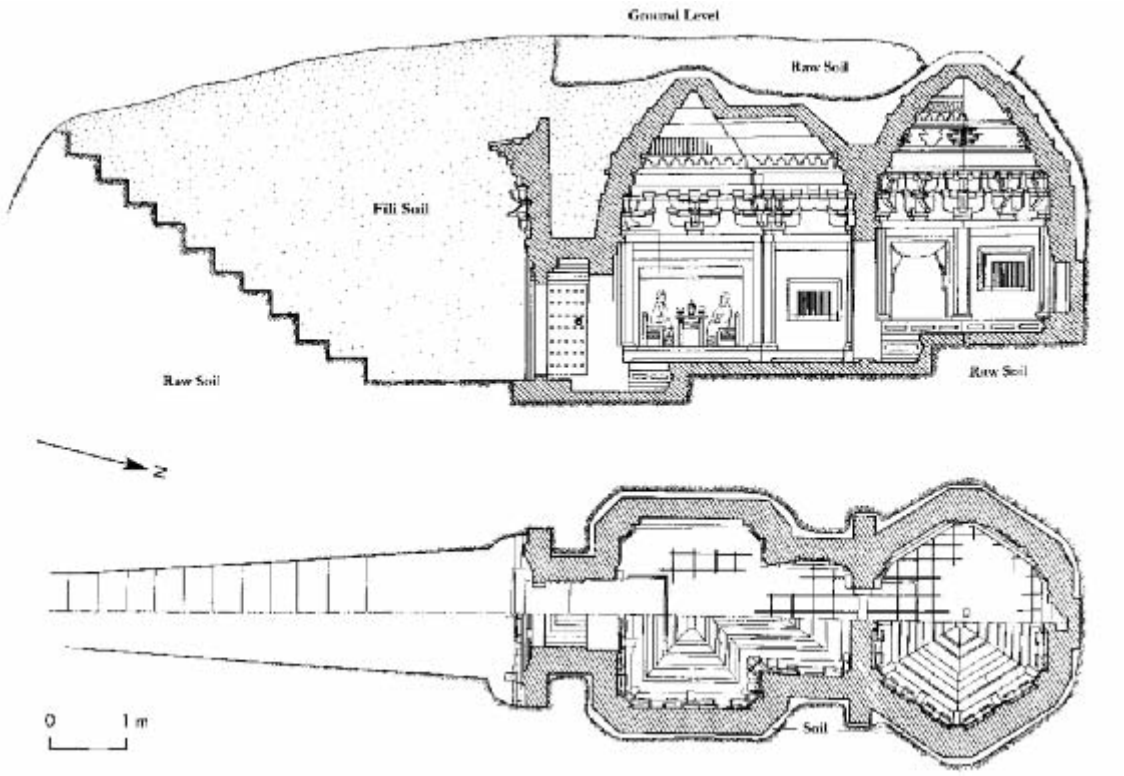




78, 79 Murals in two side chambers of Wang Chuzhi's tomb. Drawings.

chamber burials, with colourful murals that feature images of a deceased couple and theatrical performances (illus. 83).[133] These two pictorial motifs derived from Song funerary art, however, were now combined with increasingly diverse pictorial images of domestic activities, historical stories, moral tales, furniture and utensils, flowers and plants and abundant architectural details. As a result, a tiny tomb chamber acquired infinite potential for imagining the afterlife (see illus. 5). This was indeed the last 'golden age' of Chinese tomb decoration, characterized by both thematic richness and a heightened illusionism in depicting architectural details and pictorial images.

It is still unclear why posthumous portraiture was revived in these Song and Jin tombs. But clues can be found in writings by some influential Song Confucian scholars.



80 Plan of Baisha Tomb 1 at Yuxian, Henan. Northern Song, 1099 CE.

81 Lower part of the north wall on Baisha Tomb 1. Northern Song, 1099 CE.

82 Portraits of a deceased couple in Baisha Tomb 1 at Yuxian, Henan. Northern Song, 1099 CE.

Sima Guang (1019–1086) and Zhu Xi (1130–1200), for example, both denounced this type of representation as an unorthodox ritual practice favoured by 'common folk' of the age. In his *Writing on Rituals* (*Shu yi*), Sima Guang emphasizes that in honouring the dead, the subject of worship should be symbolized by a 'spirit seat' (*ling zuo*) comprised of empty furniture and a white 'cloth of the soul' (*hun bo*). In his view, only uneducated people would prefer portraits or other figurative forms:

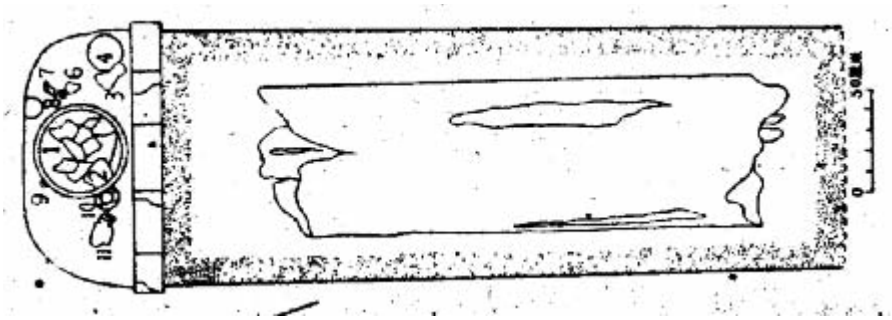
> [In representing the dead,] common folk make manikins with actual caps, clothes, and shoes. This is an exceedingly vulgar method, and one should definitely reject it. Another popular method, again practiced by commoners, is to paint an ancestral portrait and hangs it behind a *hun bo* . . . This also violates correct ritual codes and should not be followed.[134]

The implication of this and similar statements by Song Confucian scholars is clear: the popularity of posthumous portraiture was related to the visual culture of a people whom they deemed as uneducated 'common folk'. Interestingly, archaeological evidence supports this interpretation. To date, a majority of excavated Song tombs containing portraits of the dead belonged to local landlords and merchants, whose

identities are revealed in the 'land-purchasing contrasts' and other texts found in the tombs. In contrast, contemporary graves of scholar-officials (whose career and education are recorded in stone epitaphs) usually did not contain such portraits and were often of moderate size and simpler structure.[135] One such tomb belonged to Xu De, who died in 1045 and was buried at Jiangning in Jiangsu (illus. 84). Merely 3.22m long and 0.88m wide, the grave pit is just large enough to fit the coffin.[136] A niche at one end of the pit contained a few pottery and ceramic wares, two lead 'spirit articles' and an ink stone in a lacquer box. The most important object from the tomb is a stone epitaph of 1800 characters, recording in detail Xu's official career and public achievement. This kind of tomb qualifies as the kind of 'frugal burial' recommended by Sima Guang and Zhu Xi. Significantly, in rejecting those 'vulgar', opulent tombs of landlords and merchants, Xu De and his fellow Confucians returned to the old tradition of the casket grave. This 'archaic turn' was again endorsed by Sima Guang: 'The first method (in making a tomb) is to dig vertically into the ground to make a grave pit, and to fill it with earth after lowering the coffin.'[137]

83 A miniature stage with five actors in Dong Ming's tomb at Houma, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1210 CE.

Xu De's tomb reminds us that the development from casket grave to chamber grave was not an irreversible evolution. In fact, simple vertical burials never disappeared in traditional China and were constantly revived. Ironically, the final development of the Chinese tomb was characterized by one such revival movement: as Song Confucians' interpretations of domestic rituals were codified into official policies during the Ming and Qing dynasties, their advocacy for 'frugal burials' came to influence general ritual custom and social psychology. It seems that the history of tombs came a full circle: the age of elaborate chamber graves passed, and casket graves resumed their dominance as the most popular burial type. Although emperors and princes constructed



84 Plan of Xu De's tomb at Jiangning, Jiangsu. Northern Song, 1045 CE.

85 Spirit seats in the Ding Mausoleum (*Ding ling*) of Emperor Wanli near Beijing. Ming dynasty, late 16th century CE.

large chamber-style graves for themselves, they could never recapture the kind of creative energy in earlier funerary art, and their tombs no longer contained posthumous portraits. Thus when Chinese archaeologists opened a Ming imperial tomb near Beijing, they found a series of stone chambers furnished with a row of empty marble thrones dedicated to a deceased emperor and his consorts (illus. 85).[138] While the tomb's scale is impressive and its construction impeccable, the plain walls and echoing chambers evoke no imagination of a tantalizing afterlife.

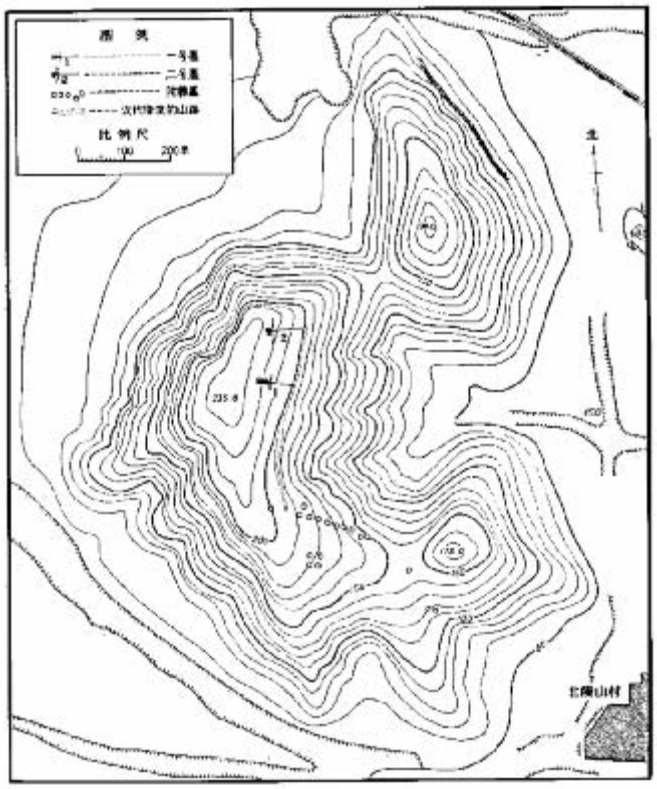
2 Materiality

> Oh! Using stone from the Northern Mountains to make my outer coffin,
> securing it with linen cloth and then gluing the cloth with lacquer,
> how could the coffin still be shaken!
> Liu Heng, Emperor Wen of the Western Han[1]

This chapter examines why certain materials, mediums, sizes, shapes and colours were selected for a tomb, and how these physical and visual elements were manipulated, transformed and combined to serve various religious and artistic purposes in funerary art. In other words, having considered tombs as constructed spaces, I will now focus on the material existence of these spaces, including the 'things' or tomb furnishings in these spaces. In contrast to traditional art connoisseurship, my investigation of objects does not appraise their historical and aesthetic value in isolation. Rather, I intend to show that the materiality of mortuary goods was inseparable from mortuary architecture and decoration, and that all these elements interacted and supplemented each other to complete the function and symbolism of a tomb.

A brief exploration into a single tomb – Mancheng Tomb 1 in north China – will help identify the kind of problem I want to address in this chapter. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this rock-cut burial built before 113 BCE for Prince Liu Sheng was one of the earliest chamber graves to have emerged in China. The ritual road to the tomb was well marked out: the topographic map in illus. 86 shows two small hills in front of Lingshan, the Mausoleum Hill where the tomb is located, forming a natural gate to define an east–west 'spirit path' (*shen dao*). This path, which defines the central axis of the burial site, extended into a 20-metre-long tunnel that led to a series of interconnected chambers of Mancheng Tomb 1, in which some free-standing structures originally stood. At the end of the tunnel, two side-chambers stretch out from a vestibule like two long arms (illus. 87; also see illus. 18). The chamber on the right was filled with numerous pottery jars and large cases, containing all sorts of goods necessary to a royal household. The left chamber originally held a wooden-framed building; remains of four chariots and eleven horses were found inside. Apparently this building imitated a royal carriage house, the right chamber, a storage room.

Two horse-drawn chariots occupied the vestibule. Behind them, a grand cave originally contained another timber structure with a tiled roof. Inside this building, as



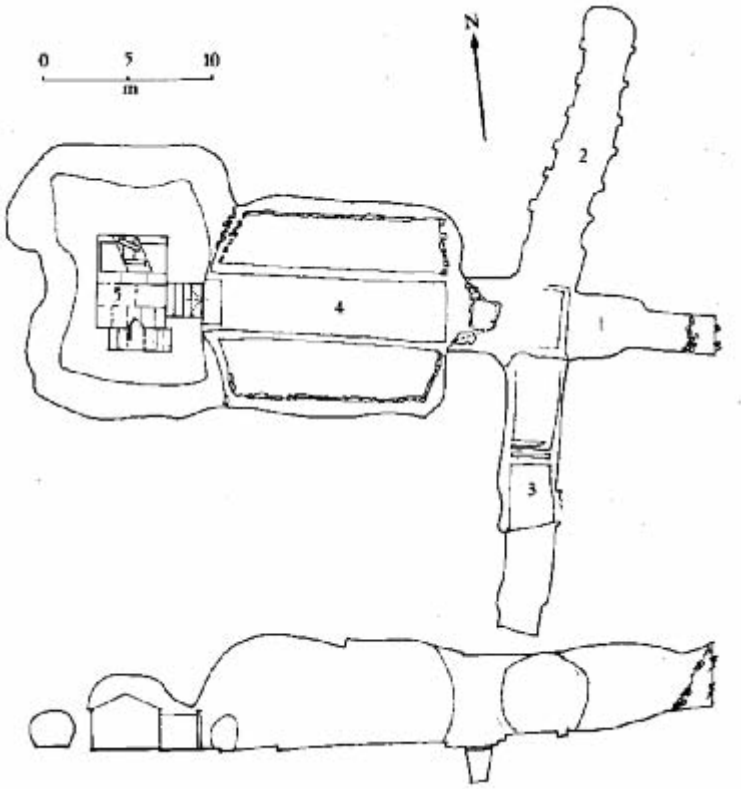
86 Site map of Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2 at Mancheng, Hebei. Western Han, late 2nd century BCE.

mentioned in chapter One, two empty seats stood under silk tents. Vessels, lamps, incense burners and figurines were displayed in front of and next to the central seat, framing it as the spirit seat of Liu Sheng's soul. Behind this seat was a group of miniature vessels and a model chariot, which connected the seat with the burial chamber behind a closed stone gate.

This stone gate indicated an abrupt change in the tomb's building material. Not surprisingly, the burial chamber itself and an attached 'toilet' were also constructed of pure stone. The rear section of the tomb thus opposed the carriage house and the 'sacrificial hall' in the front section, which were both made of wood and clay tile. This opposition could not be accidental: most figurines in the wooden-framed 'sacrificial hall' were clay sculptures, but four stone figurines guarded the stone burial chamber.

Liu Sheng's lacquered coffin was placed to the right (or north) in the burial chamber. Inside the coffin were many jade objects – not only the famous 'jade suit' but also body plugs, *bi*-disks and a figurine carved from a piece of precious white jade (see illus. 135). (The coffin of his wife Dou Wan in Mancheng Tomb 2, moreover, bore twenty-six jade discs on the exterior and an incredible jade lining in the interior.) The great concentration of jade artefacts around the body of the deceased royal couple signals another transformation in the materiality of the tomb – a shift from stone to jade.

This survey of the Mancheng tomb raises three sets of questions crucial to my discussion in this chapter. First, why did this tomb contain timber structures in the front and a stone building in the rear chamber? Why were figurines associated with



87 Plan of Mancheng Tomb 1 of Prince Liu Sheng. Western Han, 113 BCE.

these structures made of different materials? What kind of beliefs connected the divergent building materials with the symbolic functions of the two sections? Second, why were jades used specifically to furnish the body? Were they simply personal ornaments or did they serve additional ritual purposes? Third, why were real, functional vessels and chariots displayed before the central seat, while miniature, 'surrogate' objects and a model chariot were placed behind this seat to connect it with the burial chamber?

These questions lead me to examine three aspects of the materiality of a tomb, concerning (1) objects or tomb furnishing; (2) figurines and the medium of representation; and (3) the treatment of the body of the deceased.

Spirit Articles

The English term 'spirit article' is a translation of the Chinese word *mingqi* – a key concept in studying tomb furnishings. Generally speaking, *mingqi* are portable tomb furnishings, mainly objects and figurines, that are specifically designed and produced for the dead. The practice of making such works started thousands of years ago in prehistoric times, but a philosophical discourse on the nature of *mingqi* only appeared much later. Checking textual sources, we find that a conscious effort emerged during the mid- and late Eastern Zhou, around the fifth to third centuries BCE, to define *mingqi* as an independent category of objects within a larger assemblage of tomb furnishings; the other two categories are *shengqi* (lived objects) and *jiqi* (sacrificial vessels), both of

which were goods that had originally belonged to a tomb occupant.[2] The philosopher Xunzi (*c.* 310–237 BCE), for example, used the terms *mingqi* and *shengqi* to designate two types of burial goods.[3] The same distinction also underlay the funerary ceremony for a low-ranking officer prescribed in the *Protocols of Ceremony*. According to this ritual canon, grave goods displayed in such a ceremony would include *mingqi* as well as *shengqi*; the latter would further include vessels of everyday use (*yongqi*), musical instruments for entertainment (*yanyue qi*), weapons and armour (*yiqi*) and intimate possessions of the dead, such as his cap, cane and bamboo mat (*yanqi*).[4] Zheng Xuan (127–200 CE), an authoritative early commentator on the text, added that a deceased high official was entitled to bring with him not only *mingqi* and *shengqi*, but also sacrificial vessels (*jiqi*), previously used in communal ritual affairs.[5] Since such sacrificial vessels originally furnished lineage temples and helped define the centres of social life,[6] *The Book of Rites* calls them *renqi* or 'human vessels', as opposed to *mingqi* or 'ghost vessels' (*guiqi*).[7]

But how could a 'ghost vessel' be distinguished from practical utensils and sacrificial vessels? Answers to this question were also sought by Eastern Zhou philosophers and ritual specialists. Among them, Confucius reportedly gave this lecture to his disciples:

> In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of intelligence, and should

88 A *dou*-container from the tomb of Marquis Yi of the state of Zeng at Suixian, Hubei. Warring States Period, late 5th century BCE.

> not be done. On this account the bamboo artifacts (made for the dead) should not be suited for actual use; those of earthenware should not be able to contain water; those of wood should not be finely carved; the zithers should be strung, but not evenly; the mouth organs should be prepared, but not in tune; the bells and chime stones should be there but have no stands. These objects are called 'spirit articles' because they are created to honor the spirit of the dead.[8]

The general principle underlying this teaching was summarized by Xunzi in a single sentence: 'The spirit articles should resemble (real objects) but not be usable.'[9] In other words, *mingqi* should retain the *form* of practical objects but negate their usefulness. In the realm of visual representation, this negation was realized through manipulating a work's shape, material, colour and decoration.

This traditional discourse on manufactured objects has a twofold significance for this study of ancient tombs. First, the definition of *mingqi* as a specific category of objects leads us to identify such objects among archaeological finds, to examine their material and visual properties and to trace their regional variations and historical development. Many research projects can be conducted along this line of inquiry. Think, for example: why do many pottery and bronze vessels from ancient tombs have distinct forms and manufacturing standards? Why are most lacquer wares from Eastern Zhou and Han tombs painted black and red, which are also the colours of coffins? Why do some of these vessels, such as a well-known stemmed *dou*-container from the tomb of Marquis Yi of the state of Zeng (illus. 88), have an extremely ornate exterior but a shallow, unpolished interior? How can we explain the high percentage of tin in bronze weapons found in many Eastern Zhou tombs, which renders these weapons unusable in real battles? Why do many Tang three-coloured tomb figurines have uncoloured heads (illus. 89) – a

89 A three-coloured tomb figurine with an uncoloured head. Unearthed from Wangjiafencun Tomb 90 at Xi'an, Shaanxi. Tang dynasty, early 8th century CE.

90 Images of court ladies in the front chamber of the tomb of Prince Yide at Xi'an, Shaanxi. Tang dynasty, 706 CE.

phenomenon also found in some contemporary tomb murals (illus. 90)? Why does an amazing ceramic 'pillow' from a Song tomb feature an elaborate 'theatre' underneath (illus. 91)? Such questions, usually disregarded when we study these objects as individual works of art, loom large when we think about their specific creative impulses in relation to their mortuary functions.

91 Porcelain pillow with a sculpted 'theatre' underneath. Song dynasty, c. 11th century.

Second, as stated in ancient texts, the distinctive form and meaning of spirit articles can be recognized only in comparison with other types of objects in a tomb. In particular, the *Protocols of Ceremonies* and its commentaries specify that *mingqi* are distinguished from utensils on the one hand and from temple vessels on the other; all three kinds of objects can be used to furnish a high-level tomb. Such ritual prescriptions lead us to discern the classification of grave furnishings and their interrelationships. Take

Mancheng Tomb 1, for example, previous studies have often focused on individual objects from this tomb, usually those of extraordinary value (such as the 'jade suit' or an exquisite censer). Without negating their contribution to our knowledge of Han art, the research strategy advocated here is to study *all* the objects in this tomb together. The reason, as proposed earlier, is that only in doing so can we understand the different materials, shapes, decoration, placement and ritual functions of these objects.

Both types of investigation encourage case studies, not generalizations. On the other hand, a short section like this cannot cover even a tiny portion of the numerous funerary objects created in different regions in China over several thousand years. In recognition of this dilemma, this section will focus on an early period in Chinese history when spirit vessels were first invented and the discourse on such objects was developed. Moving from textual references to archaeological evidence, the following discussion examines the foundation and origin of this discourse in actual ritual practice.

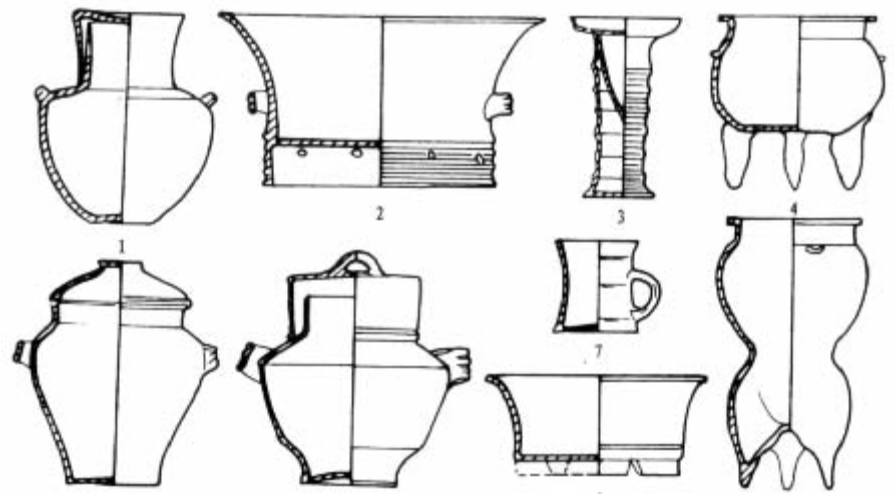
Pottery *Mingqi*

The earliest spirit articles in China were special earthenware made for the dead, including some of the finest vessels from prehistoric times. During the late Neolithic period, such objects reached amazing sophistication in two successive cultures in the Shandong peninsula on the east coast. Starting from the fourth millennium BCE, large graves of the Dawenkou culture began to include pottery vessels that were labour-intensive and exhibited a set of distinct aesthetic qualities. Monochromic and with minimum surface decoration, a vessel of this kind is frequently elevated on a ring-foot or a stem, or on vertical legs. The design reflects an intense interest in a vessel's complex silhouette and a deliberate rejection of its functional aspects and sense of volume. A stemmed cup from Yanzhou, for example, is slender and angular, with an extremely elongated foot (illus. 92). The bowl of the cup becomes relatively insignificant – it is disproportionally small and shallow. One wonders how someone could drink from its much attenuated and flaring mouth without the liquid pouring out, or whether the vessel could stand firmly when it was full.

The impression of delicacy and fragility was further emphasized by reducing a vessel's thickness. A white pottery *gui* from Linyi, whose shape is the most complicated among all discovered Dawenkou wares, has three sharply pointed legs, an arched handle and a superfluous complex built above the mouth. With such a complex shape and an extreme thinness, the vessel resembles a paper construction rather than a clay product.[10] This particular tradition of pottery making culminated in the succeeding Shangdong Longshan culture from the third to second millennium BCE: the wall of a cup or jar was reduced to a critical point, 2 to 3 millimetres in thickness (and has thus earned the nickname 'egg-shell' pottery); the subtle curves of the contour were meticulously calculated; and the monochromic colour exaggerates the sharpness of its silhouette.

92 Pottery cup, excavated from Yaoguanzhuang, Weifang, Shangdong, Longshang culture. 3rd millennium BCE.

To the modern Chinese scholar Wu Ruzuo, these highly sophisticated vessels represent 'the pinnacle of pottery-making' in prehistoric China, and can be identified

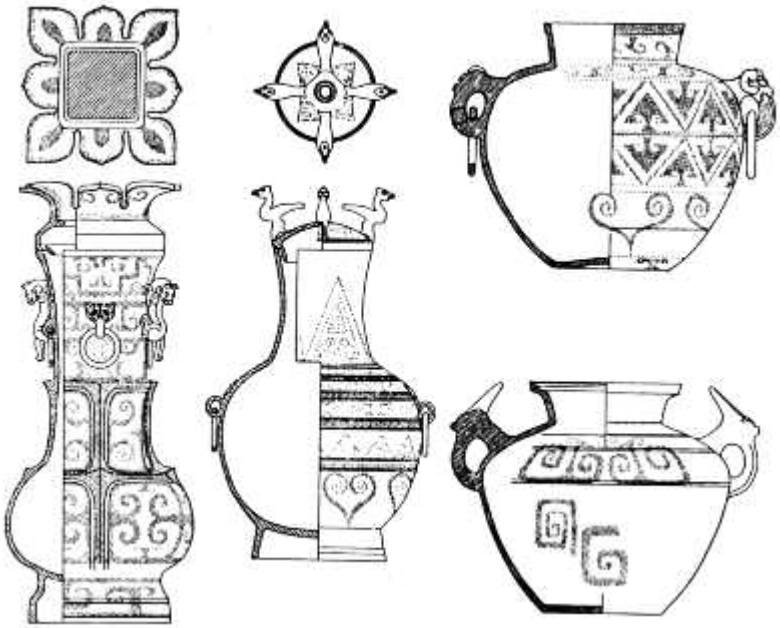


93 Typical ritual vessels from late Neolithic tombs in Shandong. Longshan culture, 3rd millennium BCE.

as prestigious ritual vessels based on a set of contextual evidence (illus. 93): (1) they have been found only in tombs, not in residential sites; (2) they only furnished the largest and richest tombs, not small- or even medium-sized burials; (3) in these large tombs they were separated from ordinary pottery vessels but were grouped together with other status symbols and ceremonial insignia, such as jade axes and ivory objects; and (4) they could not have been used in daily life due to their peculiar shape and extreme thinness.[11] His conclusion is supported by other archaeologists, among whom Yu Haiguang and Anne Underhill have discovered new evidence and identified other types of vessels from Neolithic graves as early examples of *mingqi*. Yu, for instance, has noticed that some Shandong 'egg-shell' potteries are miniatures that could fulfill little utilitarian function.[12] Underhill's studies of prehistoric graves in the region have led her to discover 'a great variation in the size, quality, and features of vessels made for the dead at Longshan sites'.[13]

A type of *mingqi* identified by Underhill – low-fired, coarsely made pottery wares – differs entirely from those elegant, hard 'egg-shell' vessels. A conventional opinion is that these were cheap tomb furnishings for the poor. But the real situation must have been more complex, because low-fired *mingqi* appeared not only in small burials, and because the production of such objects continued throughout the Shang and Western Zhou period, suggesting a persistent ritual tradition. Especially during the middle and late Eastern Zhou, tombs of the highest rank began to contain large groups of pottery vessels made of soft, low-fired clay. One of these graves is Tomb 16 at Wuyang, one of thirteen royal burials found in the Lower Capital of the state of Yan in present-day north Hebei. The lofty status of this burial is indicated by its location within the city walls, the unusually tall tumulus and the double ramps.[14] Displayed on the platform surrounding the wooden casket, however, were not precious bronze vessels, but a group of 135 low-fired pottery surrogates with painted surface patterns, which substituted for an entire array of ritual bronzes, including a complete set of bells (illus. 94).[15]

Similar grave furnishings have been found in other Yan tombs at Changping near Beijing and at Luanhezhen in Hebei.[16] Moreover, scholars have noted that around



94 Painted pottery funerary vessels from Tomb 16 at Wuyang, Lower Capital of the state of Yan in present-day Yixian, Hebei. Early Warring States period, 5th century BCE.

this time, from the fifth to third centuries BCE, the great bulk of pottery vessels buried in graves of all sizes were generally soft and low-fired, differing markedly from the utilitarian vessels found in habitation sites. Pottery wares from graves and habitation sites also differ in visual appearance: instead of adopting established ceramic types, mortuary pottery often imitated ritual bronzes and ceremonial musical instruments.[17] But again, it would be misleading to view these surrogates simply as 'cheap' replacements for more expensive and functional objects. Some excavated pottery *mingqi*, like those from Tomb 16 at Wuyang, have complex shapes and beautiful decoration that must have required considerable labour and special skills to produce. On other occasions, pottery and bronze *mingqi* constituted 'parallel sets' to furnish a single tomb.

The production of pottery and ceramic spirit vessels continued into later periods. A major change, however, took place from the Eastern Zhou to Han, when such vessels were replaced or supplemented by sculptural forms representing human figures, animals, architectural structures and objects. Called *yong* or 'tomb figurines', this new type of *mingqi* differed from spirit vessels in their representational functions, and will be discussed later in a separate section in this chapter.

Bronze *Mingqi*

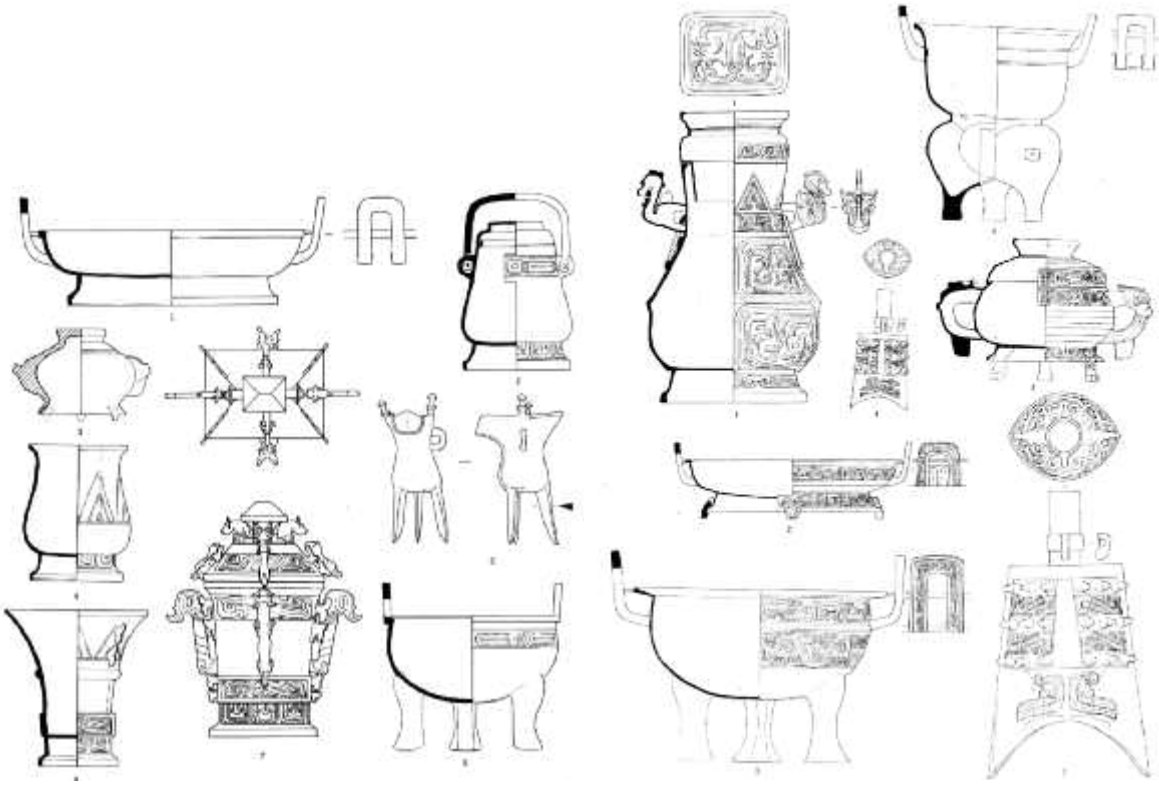
The subsequent rise of sculptural figurines makes us recognize more acutely the dominance of *vessels* over the visual culture of the Three Dynasties, both in ritual art generally and in funerary art specifically. As I will explain in chapter Three, not all bronze vessels found in tombs were *mingqi* made specifically for funerary purposes – many of them were used by the deceased when he or she was alive. Nevertheless, spirit vessels constituted a major category of ritual bronzes during the period, especially

from the Western Zhou onward.[18] In designing such vessels, the makers faced the same question that had challenged the prehistoric potters: How could a spirit vessel convey a distinct 'ghostly' quality? Like the potters, they found answers in visual presentation and material production. To my knowledge, no Shang and Zhou bronzes bear inscriptions identifying themselves as *mingqi*. But archaeological evidence reveals at least six typical methods of manipulating the form and decoration of this type of object. Exploring changes in religious thinking and behaviour during the Eastern Zhou, Lothar von Falkenhausen has suggested that spirit vessels 'emphasize the difference and discontinuity between the living and the dead'.[19] Considering that both *shengqi* (lived objects) and *jiqi* (sacrificial vessels) are related to the world of living, the various methods invented during the Eastern Zhou to make bronze spirit vessels may indeed reflect this emphasis.

The first method is miniaturization. I mentioned earlier that some Neolithic Longshan graves were already furnished with miniature pottery vessels. This tradition continued in early historical periods, with the addition of miniature bronze *mingqi* made for aristocratic tombs. Sets of such bronzes have been found in the royal burials of the state of Jin, located at Tianma and Qucun in Shanxi province.[20] Similar bronze objects have also been excavated from the cemetery of the state of Guo at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia, Henan. But there they only appeared in the largest tombs, including M2001, M2006 and M2009. Small burials, which amount to more than half of the total number of the burials in the cemetery, were furnished with their pottery equivalents.[21] Additional archaeological excavations have enabled scholars to reconstruct a continuous process of miniaturization of *mingqi*. For example, Okamura Hidenori and Lothar van Falkenhausen have noted that in the state of Qin, during the period from the sixth to fourth centuries BCE, bronze spirit vessels gradually 'shrank' to about one third of their original size while maintaining their basic typology.[22]

The second method is to distort the form and mechanism of a standard bronze vessel, thereby rendering it unusable. Some bronze *mingqi* from the Jin cemetery at Tianma-Qucun, for example, have their lids cast onto the body; other vessels from the same site contain pottery moulds inside their bodies.[23] We should not consider these mistakes because similar phenomena were repeated in other places: some pre-dynastic Qin tombs were furnished with not only these two kinds of 'dysfunctional' bronzes, but also vessels without bottoms.

The third way to realize a vessel's *mingqi* identity is to deliberately lower its manufacturing standards; the result resembles an unfinished product or a rough prototype. Such coarse, rudimentary objects had already appeared in mid-Western Zhou tombs. Vessels from a tenth-century BCE grave at Yuanshi in Hebei, for example, had uniformly unpolished surfaces and traces left from casting.[24] Many objects from Eastern Zhou tombs exhibit similar features. Among the 59 bronze ritual vessels from Baoshan Tomb 2, for example, 'a majority can be identified as *mingqi* made specifically for burial, and only a few are practical objects. The characteristics of the first group include: untreated casting traces, unpolished surfaces and air bubbles, holes left on the bottom, and clay molds remaining in a vessel's rim and ring foot.'[25] Chinese archaeologists have also noticed that although some bronzes from early and mid Eastern Zhou elite tombs are



95 Bronze vessels, from Tomb 93 at Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi. Western Zhou, 8th century BCE.

large and sturdy, and have thus been labelled as 'practical utensils' (*shiyong qi*) in excavation reports, they seem to deliberately display traces of imperfection and differ conspicuously from highly polished temple vessels with dedicatory inscriptions.[26] It is possible that these vessels were made for burials.

A spirit vessel can also be distinguished by omitting or drastically reducing decoration, leaving a vessel's surface largely plain. Significantly, tombs that yielded such bronzes sometimes contained their decorated counterparts, thereby creating an inter-referential relationship between two groups of grave furnishing. One such tomb is M93 in the Jin cemetery at Tianma-Qucun, which yielded two sets of bronzes of similar shapes but contrasting visual effects, one bearing dense spiral decoration, the other largely unornamented (illus. 95). One can also recognize special styles of tomb vessels by comparing them with those made for the living. A Jin cemetery at Shangma in Shaanxi, for example, is adjacent to the famous Houma foundry site. While the numerous finds from Houma demonstrate the wide availability of advanced casting techniques and elaborate decorative motifs at the time, vessels from the contemporary Shangma cemetery seem to reject parading contemporary technological and artistic achievement. Instead, their thin walls, coarse surfaces and incised decorative patterns constituted a 'counter' – and hence otherworldly – aesthetic.

The fifth method to signify the identity of bronze *mingqi* is to pair such objects with regular vessels in a tomb, as we have seen in M93 at Tianma-Qucun. This practice finally led to furnishing an elite tomb with 'parallel sets' of vessels of contrasting formal

characteristics. A good example of this arrangement is again Baoshan Tomb 2. According to the excavation report, this burial contained two sets of bronze tripods, each consisting of seven items with similar shapes and all covered with lids.[27] In each set, six tripods form three pairs of descending sizes, plus the smallest one with ring handles. While the formal resemblance of the two sets is obvious, they differ in manufacture and function. The tripods in one set are thick and heavy, blackened on the bottom from cooking. Those in the other set are thin and light, poorly cast and without traces of use. The correspondence between the two sets demonstrates an unmistakable effort to furnish this tomb with objects of two complementary but distinct classes.

Finally, starting from the late Western Zhou and early Eastern Zhou, spirit articles often imitated or alluded to vessel types which were no longer in circulation. Many examples discussed above reflect this 'archaistic' tendency (see illus. 95). The eight miniature bronzes from M93 at Tianma-Qucun, for example, represent seven vessel types (*ding*, *gui*, *zun*, *jue*, *zhi*, *pan* and *fangyi*), which had largely gone out of fashion after the early Western Zhou. The primitive style of these bronzes is shared by spirit vessels from other sites, such as the Guo cemetery at Sanmenxia and Chu tombs at Baoshan.[28] This tendency becomes especially apparent in the context of the 'parallel sets' from a single tomb, which often showcase two contrasting styles that Chinese archaeologists have termed *gu shi* (ancient style) and *jin shi* (current style). It should be emphasized, however, that an 'ancient style' vessel in this juxtaposition is never a faithful copy of an old bronze, but rather reflects creative reinterpretation of an earlier form. This reinterpretation often led to formal abstraction: with its drastically simplified shape and decoration, a spirit vessel of this kind appears to reduce a standard vessel type to its 'essence'. This abstract, primitive style is enhanced by other features, such as formal distortion, imperfection, miniaturization and plainness.

Many features of bronze spirit vessels are shared by contemporary pottery *mingqi*. Moreover, although I have discussed these two kinds of objects separately, they sometimes formed a large group to furnish high-level tombs.[29] Examples of such *mingqi* assemblages of 'mixed mediums' include those from two fourth-century BCE burials at Wangshan, Hubei, which yielded one set of spirit vessels made of bronze and another set made of clay.[30] In such parallel sets, the pottery and bronze types never completely overlap. Wangshan Tomb 1, for example, contained fourteen pottery tripods and nine bronze tripods. Each of the nine bronze tripods has a typological counterpart among the pottery set. But the latter also includes additional types, such as an elaborate *sheng ding* tripod with a flat bottom and handles attached to the side (illus. 96). It is also worth noting that people could chose to bury either bronze or pottery objects in tombs. Baoshan Tomb 2, for example, contained only bronze vessels; but in the nearly Baoshan Tomb 1, all the ritual vessels are pottery surrogates.[31]

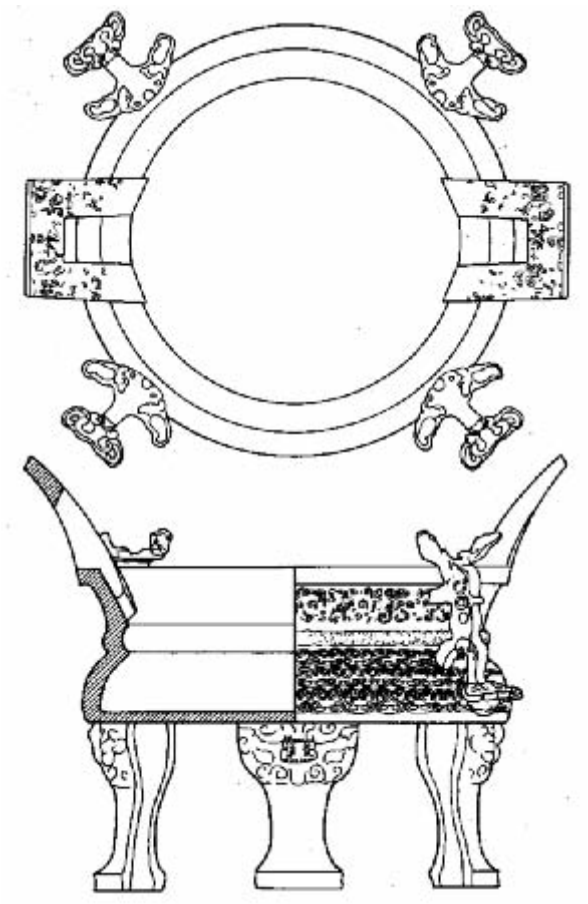
Without any textual evidence, we are still unable to fully explain the intentions and regulations behind such arrangements. But the above discussion of the formal characteristics of Eastern Zhou pottery and bronze spirit vessels does reveal two basic orientations or impulses in creating what may be called 'visual symbols of death'. One orientation is to redefine the significance of a vessel through severing its conventional

associations with the living, including its usefulness in daily life and its religious function in temple sacrifices. We can call this tendency 'iconoclastic' because it realized its purpose through denial, distortion and erasure. The other orientation turned this negative attitude into a positive recreation of visual forms and art styles, bestowing spirit vessels with independent aesthetic values. This second direction is best exemplified by the 'archaistic' tendency in designing and decorating spirit vessels.

I will return to this archaistic tendency in chapter Three on the 'temporality' of funerary art. For now, it is significant to note that this tendency was associated with a new development in the discourse on *mingqi*: a new effort during the late Eastern Zhou to 'historicize' mortuary rites and grave goods. *The Book of Rites* contains many passages claiming that different dynasties invented different funerary rituals, as well as different materials, colours and types of tomb furnishing. Here are some examples:

> [In the time of Shun] of Yu they used earthenware coffins; under the sovereigns of Xia, they surrounded these with an enclosure of bricks. The people of Yin [i.e., Shang dynasty] used wooden coffins, the outer and inner. The people of Zhou added the surrounding curtains and feathery ornaments.[32]

> Under the sovereigns of Xia, the body was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east . . . The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between two pillars . . . The people of Zhou performed it at the top of the steps on the west . . .[33]



96 A pottery *sheng ding* tripod excavated from Wangshan Tomb 1 at Wangshan, Jiangling. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE. Drawing.

Such historical reconstructions provided late Zhou Confucian ritual specialists with standards and references in conducting ritual affairs.[34] As an example, it is said that after Confucius passed away, one of his disciples, Gongsun Chi, combined ritual paraphernalia from all Three Dynasties in the funeral.[35] New archaeological evidence suggests that this and similar records must not be entirely fictional. It has been noted, for instance, that the pottery *mingqi* from Tomb 16 at Wuyang 'represent vessel types from various periods – Shang, Early Zhou, Late Western Zhou, Late Spring and Autumn, and Early Warring States' (see illus. 94).[36] Another example is the mausoleum of King Cuo of the Zhongshan kingdom, located in Pingshan, Hebei, and dated to the late fourth century BCE. Artefacts from this tomb belong to three large categories with

98

Objects from the tomb of King Cuo of the state of Zhongshan at Pingshan, Hebei. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE. (97) a bronze *ding* tripod bearing a long commemorative inscription; (98) a human-shaped bronze lamp inlaid with gold, silver, and precious stones; (99) a black pottery 'spirit vessel'.

97

99

radically different functions and styles: the first group consists of temple ritual vessels, made of pure bronze and sometimes bearing long commemorative inscriptions (illus. 97). The second group consists of utilitarian objects – lamps, a table and a screen – all brilliantly inlaid and exhibiting naturalistic or fantastic images (illus. 98). Objects in the third group – shining black pottery vessels decorated with incised and scraped patterns – give an opposite, solemn impression (illus. 99). However striking visually, vessels in this last group are actually soft and low-fired wares; their black surface evokes a 'ghostly' quality.[37] The identity of this third group as *mingqi* is further confirmed by the vessels' impractical shapes and modeling: a *he* vessel has a spout shaped like a duck's head, which can hardly pour out water or wine. A plate with a central 'bird' column clearly imitates a type of ritual bronze, which also furnished the tomb. Shiny and black, these vessels attest to a revival of Longshan pottery art. It seems that after a whole millennium, potters in north China rediscovered the Longshan 'spirit vessel' tradition and revitalized it in tomb art.

With such clear categorization and juxtaposition of three different kinds of objects, the furnishing of the Zhongshan tomb seems to have been guided directly by the contemporary theory, that a high-level tomb should be equipped with not only spirit vessels (*mingqi*) and utilitarian objects from the former possession of the dead (*shengqi*), but also sacrificial vessels (*jiqi*) previously housed in his family temples.[38] It is equally important to note that the three groups of objects are characterized by different 'period styles': whereas the black *mingqi* resurrects the tradition of Longshan pottery, the ritual bronzes and luxurious objects derive inspiration, respectively, from Western Zhou temple vessels and exotic objects from non-Chinese cultures.[39] Moreover, when Chinese archaeologists opened King Cuo's mausoleum, they were surprised to find that the tomb's interior had a complex colour scheme: the walls were painted white; red pigment covered the surface of bronze vessels; and the pottery spirit articles were all shining black. Once again, *The Book of Rites* offers a possible reference for this scheme: 'Under the sovereigns of Xia they preferred what was black . . . Under the Yin dynasty they preferred what was white . . . Under the Zhou dynasty they preferred what was red.'[40]

Tomb Figurines and the Medium of Representation

A 'tomb figurine', or *yong* in Chinese, is by definition a funerary object designed to be buried with the dead.[41] Both textual and archaeological evidence dates its invention to mid-Eastern Zhou. Confucius thus spoke of such objects in the sixth century BCE as a relatively recent phenomenon and criticized 'those who first made' them.[42] He denounced *yong* because they imitated human forms and thus implied human sacrifices. To students of art history, this criticism is particularly interesting because it is mainly concerned with a visual problem: Confucius' rejection of tomb figurines has less to do with the practice of burying symbolic figures in tombs than with the form of these figures; he thus recommended the non-figurative 'straw spirit' (*chuling*) instead.[43] Despite his profound influence on traditional Chinese intellectual history and ethics, however, this teaching of Confucius was largely ignored by the majority of Chinese.

The result is the flourishing of a sculptural tradition that produced innumerable human figures, animals, vehicles and architectural models for the next two millennia.

Instead of constituting a self-contained artistic tradition, tomb figurines emerged as substitutes for human sacrifices and in turn stimulated the appearance of tomb murals. Abundant archaeological evidence proves Confucius' claim, that tomb figurines first emerged as substitutes for human sacrifices.[44] For example, a burial of the late Spring and Autumn period – the time of Confucius – contained three human victims along the east and south walls and four figurines near the west and north walls. These seven 'figures' thus together surrounded the deceased lying in the middle.[45] A written 'inventory of grave goods' from a Warring States burial further identifies accompanying wooden figurines as 'dead servants' (*wangtong*) of the tomb occupant.[46] An early Western Han tomb contained a written document stating that the tomb occupant, a widow named Yan, was accompanied by two male slaves and a female servant when she, or her soul, reported to underworld officials. Not coincidentally, two wooden figurines were placed near the head of the coffin.[47]

Later 'records of the strange' (*zhiguai*) reflect the same concept: in a Tang tale, a young gentleman named Dugu Mu fell in love with a beautiful ghost when he traveled to the south. Upon her request he reburied her remains in Luoyang near his family home with a lavish funeral. When she went to meet him that night, he saw that 'her chariots, guards, and servants were all new, much better than before.' The woman thanked him while pointing at the procession: 'These are all from your gift' – the figurines that he had entombed with her.[48] Similar stories about miraculous manifestations of tomb figures fill two sections (*juan*) of the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji*), an imperial encyclopedia of medieval Chinese literature compiled under the direction of Li Fang in 978.[49] Under the category of 'spirits and anomalies' (*jingguai*), these stories tell how figurines turned into animated beings, seducing living young men or rebelling against their netherworld master. The strangest tale of all is told by two figurines named Light Red (Qinghong) and Light White (Qingsu). Created by a skilled craftsman named Xiaozhong, they were buried with the famous aristocratic poet Xie Tiao (464–499) upon his untimely death. After Xie married a certain Madam Le in the land of the Yellow Springs, they became the new wife's personal servants. Their account of their underground experience ends with this report:

> One day when we had just brought warm water to wash Madam Le's feet, we heard the sound of weapons and human voices outside [the tomb's] door. Our mistress was greatly alarmed. Without putting on her shoes she turned into a white mole cricket. In a little while two robbers emerged and took away all the treasures inside the tomb, even forcing off the ornaments Master Xie held and wore. They then directed their light toward us and said: 'These two spirit objects (*mingqi*) are not bad. We can give them to children to play with as toys.' They then took us out as well. That was in 535, the second year of the Tianping era. Since then we have changed owners among several families.[50]

This story is probably inspired by a kind of puppet-like figurine which I will discuss later (see illus. 117, 118). First invented during the Eastern Zhou, such figurines continued to fascinate people of later ages with their imitation of human gestures and movements.

From at least the early Western Han, pictorial images entered tomb art and began to 'substitute' for sculptured figurines. A definite proof for this transformation comes from Mawangdui Tomb 3 of 168 BCE: a record found inside the tomb specifies that 676 'male spirit servants' (*nanzi mingtong*) and 180 'female spirit servants' (*nüzi mingtong*) would serve the tomb occupant in the underworld. Among these, only 104 were represented by figurines; the rest were portrayed in two large silk paintings that covered the walls of the coffin chamber (illus. 100).[51]

Compared to sculptured figurines, painting had the advantage of representing dynamic activities, narrative cycles and landscape scenes in large compositions. Once chamber graves prevailed after the first century BCE, as discussed in the preceding chapter, this new architectural form strongly stimulated the creation of tomb murals and relief carvings, and the subjects of representation expanded to include historical stories, celestial realms, and immortal worlds. Instead of causing the decline of tomb

100 A section of a large silk painting from Mawangdui Tomb 3 at Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

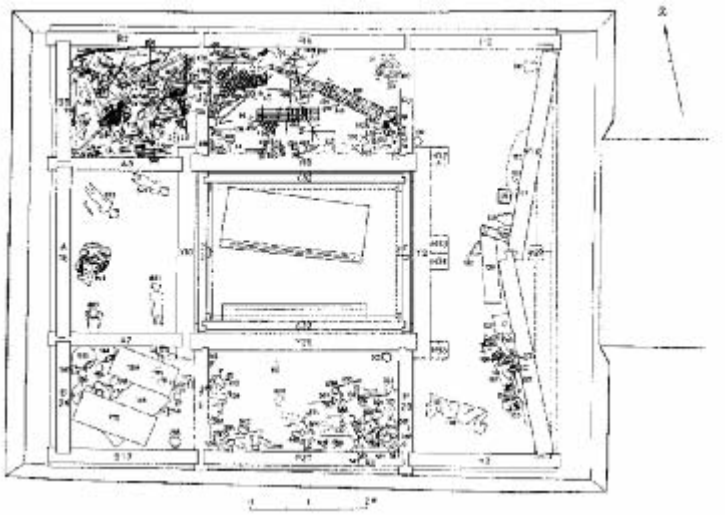
figurines, however, the appearance and development of pictorial forms brought a new dynamic into tomb art. From the first century BCE painting and sculpture, as well as real and surrogate objects, furniture and offerings, complemented one other to furnish a burial space; their interaction and mutual transformation became a central issue in funerary art. The richness and complexity of such interaction and transformation will be explored throughout the rest of this book. This section focuses on the symbolism and representation of tomb figurines in their burial contexts, mainly their role as substitutes for human figures, their groupings as complex 'tableaux', their function in framing subjects and spaces, and their miniature forms and naturalistic styles.

Role

Referring to dramatic art, a *role* means both a character and a part in a play. Used in visual art, the term pertains to the function/representation of a figurative image as well as the image's narrative/symbolic context. Generally speaking, a role can be an individual character or a generic social category. But ancient Chinese tomb figurines rarely, if at all, represented named individuals; what they were made to signify were certain general 'roles' considered essential to an ideal afterlife. This symbolic function of figurines was reinforced by props: furniture, instruments and other paraphernalia – real or surrogate objects which assisted these manufactured figures to fulfill their assigned roles.

An Eastern Zhou burial, Changtaiguan Tomb 1 at Xinyang, Henan, offers a good example to study this aspect of tomb figurines.[52] Built as a large wooden box, the rectangular tomb chamber was divided into seven compartments (illus. 101). Figurines were found in the six compartments surrounding the central one, which contained the body of the deceased in two layers of coffins. The special roles of these figurines are revealed by their physical forms as well as the things accompanying them. The transverse front room, furnished with bronze ritual vessels, musical instruments and an 'attendant' figurine, represented an audience hall for formal ritual performances. The two compartments on either side of the coffin chamber housed a chariot procession to the left and a kitchen to the right. Two figurines of drivers probably belonged to two chariots in the procession. The kitchen had two cook figurines and was equipped with cooking utensils and actual food. The far left compartment behind the 'chariot' room represented a study, furnished with a large couch, a box of writing utensils and bamboo slips. Two exquisite figurines found in this room probably represented secretaries. To the far right, the kitchen was backed by a storage room, in which a servant figurine was guarding large jars.[53]

What we find in this tomb, therefore, is a series of spaces structured around a variety of domestic roles: cook, servant, attendant, driver and secretary. The selection of these particular roles reveals a specific construction of the afterlife for the tomb occupant. But since the afterlife was imagined differently in various regions and by people of different genders, occupations and social classes, tomb figurines were created to assume different roles. An interesting omission among the figurines from Changtaiguan Tomb 1, for example, is musicians and dancers, since such entertainers often constitute the only role type in some contemporary tombs.[54] A pre-dynastic Qin



101 Plan of Changtaiguan Tomb 1 at Xinyang, Henan. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE.

tomb (Tomb 28057) at Xianyang, Shaanxi, demonstrates the beginning of yet another figurine type: it contained the two earliest known images of cavalrymen (illus. 102) – a role which would become extremely important in many later large-scale burials, including the Lishan Mausoleum of the First Emperor (see illus. 4).[55]

The First Qin Emperor made a clear choice of figurines for his own burial. The life-sized or near life-sized terracotta figures so far found in the Lishan Mausoleum represent limited roles: military personnel, civil officials, court musicians and entertainers, and keepers of the emperors' horses and pets. But, as I will describe in greater detail in the next section, it is the thousands of officers and soldiers of the first type that had his utmost attention. His example was followed by several early Han 'underground armies', albeit in miniature forms.[56] One of these groups was found near two large tombs at Yangjiawan at Xi'an, whose occupants have been identified as Zhou Bo and his son Zhou Yafu, both of whom were famous generals in early Han history.[57] The official capacities of the deceased explain the exclusively military content of their tomb figures.

The majority of early Han tomb figurines, however, assumed domestic roles such as attendants, servants, guards, and performers. Encouraged by precedents set by the Han royal house, these roles soon dominated the nation-wide production of tomb figurines. In the South, Mawangdui Tomb 1, constructed before 168 BCE, contained 131 figurines, out of which 126 represent household roles.[58] In the East, a large rock-cut tomb at Beidongshan near Xuzhou consisted of a 55-metre-long passage and nineteen chambers. 422 painted pottery figurines were placed in different sections inside the tomb, including guards stationed in shallow niches along the passage, male and female attendants serving in various tomb chambers, and dancers and musicians performing in a 'music and dance hall'.[59] The intense interest in domestic roles during the Han led to the creation of some especially beautiful image-types as new cultural icons of the period. One such type, found at Beidongshan and other locations, represents a graceful dancer caught in the moment of a formal performance (illus. 103).[60] Her elegant outlines are accentuated by her tightly fitting robe and extremely long sleeves. Slightly bending her upper body, she flings her right sleeve over one shoulder while leisurely

102 A pair of painted pottery cavalrymen excavated from Tomb 2 at the Xianyang Steel Factory at Xianyang, Shaanxi. Late Warring States period, 3rd century BCE.

dangling the left sleeve. It is this kind of 'indoor' role, not the miniature soldiers from Yangjiawan, that best demonstrates the artistic achievement of Han figurines.

The tradition of representing music and dance performances in miniature form continued to develop in later periods and produced many elegant images, especially during the Tang (illus. 104). At the same time, additional types were invented to constitute a new system of figurines. We see early signs of this system in large Northern Wei tombs dating from the late fifth to early sixth centuries: the number and sub-types of figurines have steadily increased, yet the emergence of a 'tripartite' grouping signify a tighter classification. The three essential components of this classification consist of (1) 'apotropaic' figures in both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms; (2) ceremonial pageantry consisting of officials, soldiers and honour guards on foot or horseback; and (3) domestic images including male and female attendants, labourers, musicians, dancers, domesticated animals and architectural models. Moulded and then painted or glazed, Northern Dynasties figurines impress people not with individualized expressions but with their sheer number and comprehensive typology: 1,064 figures accompanied a young princess of the Eastern Wei in her underground dwelling, while a royal Northern Qi tomb at Wanzhang, Hebei, contained more than 1,800 figurines, which the excavators have classified into the following types (the figure in parentheses indicates the number of figurines in each type):[61]

1. Tomb guardians
    (1) Warriors (4)
    (2) Apotropaic beasts (4)
2. Ceremonial pageantry
    (1) Soldiers (914)
        (a) foot soldiers (785)

103 Female dancer. Early Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

(b) cavalry (129)
(2) Ceremonial guards (649)
(a) standing guards (615)
(b) guards on horseback (34)
(3) Ceremonial musicians (134)
(a) standing musicians (95)
(b) musicians on horseback (39)
3. Domestic images
(1) Attendants (78)
(2) Servants (10)
(3) Dancers (16)
(4) Shaman (1)
(5) Architectural models (21)
(6) Musical instruments (54)
(7) Domesticated animals (55)

Figurines in Tang tombs basically maintained this tripartite division, although domestic types gradually outnumbered ceremonial guards, and new kinds of supernatural figures and cosmological symbols proliferated.[62] A special category of figures – one that has aroused considerable excitement among cultural historians – is that of 'foreigners' (*huren*). These images – African grooms, servants wearing baggy Turkish trousers and Sogdian merchants and musicians on horses and camels – frequently furnished elite tombs around the capital from the mid-seventh century onward (see illus. 104). Superbly modelled and coloured, these vivid and playful figures, distinguished by their physiognomy and costumes, must have impressed their metropolitan audience during a funeral. The invention of this new role neatly responded to contemporary reality: this was the time when Chinese military prestige and political control in Central Asia were at a maximum, and Chang'an enjoyed as never before the luxury and social panache offered by international trade and cultural exchange. Enriching a time-honoured indigenous artistic tradition with such foreign elements, Tang tomb figurines represent the pinnacle of this art form in terms of both typological richness and stylistic sensitivity. After the Tang, the only significant addition to the existing roles of tomb figurines were the miniature drama troops found in Song and Jin tombs (illus. 105; also see illus. 83). Performing in conjunction with the images of a deceased couple, tiny actors and actresses helped construct a new kind of interior space and signified a 'domestic turn' in tomb decoration.[63]

Tableau

A *tableau* in a tomb is a group representation of figurines and props, which are arranged in a coherent spatial framework and governed by a unified scale of proportions. According to this definition, although the figurines and objects in each compartment of Changtaiguan Tomb 1 formed a large assemblage, they did not constitute a tableau because this assemblage lacked the consistent scale necessary for a coherent visual

104 Camel with foreign musicians excavated from the tomb of Xianyu Tinghui at Xi'an, Shaanxi. Tang dynasty, 723 CE.

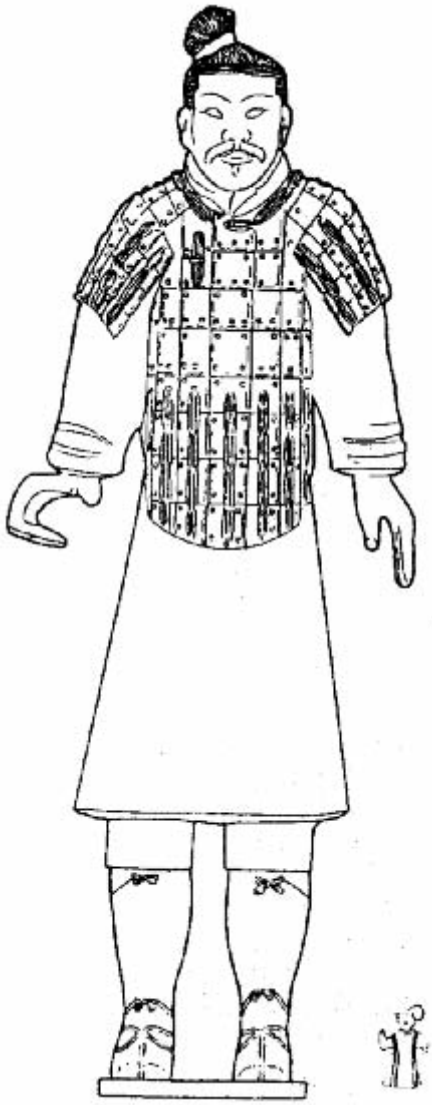
105 Two actor figurines from Dong Ming's tomb at Houma, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1210 CE.

display (see illus. 101). The figurines, about one-third of life-size, were put together with full-size utilitarian objects derived from real life. Moreover, some of these objects were actually metonyms of larger entities: chariot fittings stood for a whole chariot, for example. Other objects, such as the couch in the 'study', were dissassembled for an easier burial.

Two standard strategies to form a tableau, therefore, are (1) reducing props to the scale of miniature figurines and (2) enlarging figurines to human proportions. The first strategy, initially exemplified by figurines made in north China during the Eastern Zhou, eventually became the dominant mode in Chinese funerary art. We know only one example of the second strategy: in the entire course of Chinese history only the First Emperor commissioned tomb figurines of human proportions to constitute tableaux on a giant scale.

Unlike the wooden figurines found in the south, the northern figurines during the Eastern Zhou are handmade from soft clay, either painted bright red, yellow and brown, or entirely black. Many are tiny: the figurines from the Langjiazhuang tomb are about 10cm tall; examples of similar sizes have also been found at Fenshuiling in Shanxi, Huixian and Luoyang in Henan, Fengxiang in Shaanxi and several locations in Shandong.[64] The faces and bodies of these miniature images are rudimentary; what distinguish them are often the large formations they create. The most significant group was discovered in 1990 in a large tomb at Zhangqiu in Shandong. Consisting of twenty-six figures, five musical instruments and eight birds, these images constituted a large assemblage of music and dance performers (illus. 106). There are ten female dancers, whose varying costumes and gestures indicate finer groupings in a dance formation.

106 Miniature figurines representing a group of dancers, musicians and audience. Excavated from Nülangshan, Zhangqiu, Shandong. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE.



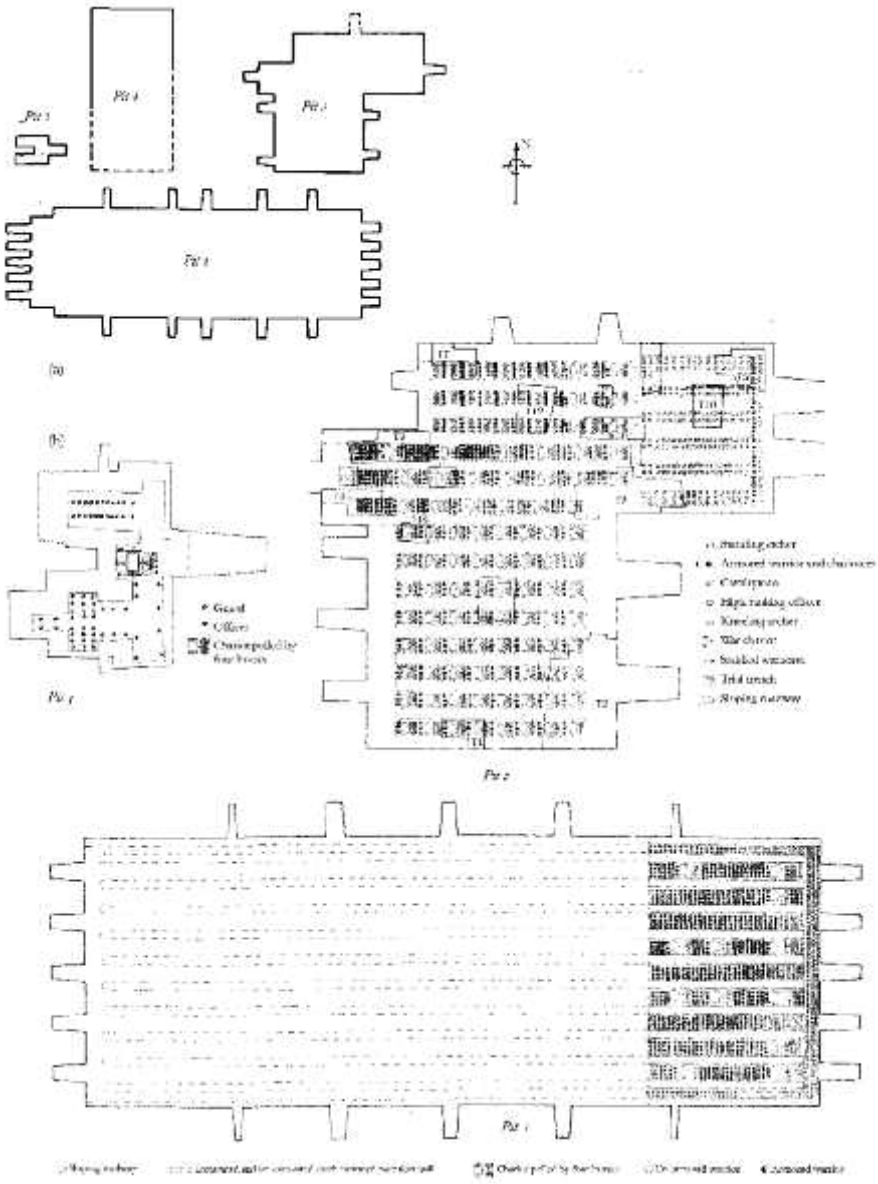
107 Scale drawings of a Qin terracotta soldier and an Eastern Zhou clay figurine (next to the soldier's feet).

Two male musicians are drummers; the other three are playing bells, chimes and a zither. Ten additional figures stand with their hands folded in front of them, a gesture which has led the excavators to identify them as the audience for the dance and music performances.

Contrasted with its miniature predecessors, the First Emperor's underground army signified his desire for the *gigantic* in two senses.[65] The first is comparative: each Qin terracotta soldier is many times bigger than an Eastern Zhou clay figure (illus. 107). The second is contextual: an imaginary observer of the army would find himself enveloped within its dense shadow (see illus. 4).

As an oversized tableau, the army consisted of groups of figurines installed in four subterranean spaces, each forming an independent tableau in its own right. Different theories have been proposed to identify these groups. A dominant opinion is that the four 'pits' together constituted a replica of the Qin Imperial Guard under the emperor's direct command. Pits 1, 2 and the unfinished Pit 4 represented the three regiments of the Guards called the Left, Right and Central Branches; while the smaller but centrally located Pit 3 was the headquarters of the whole army (illus. 108).[66] Containing some 8,000 life-sized statues of men and horses, these are the largest tableaux of sculptures ever realized in human history.

Measuring 210m east to west and 62m north to south, Pit 1 was the largest of the four and was surrounded by a continuous galley on all four sides.[67] Within this enormous rectangle was a series of nine corridors running east to west, containing a terracotta legion of some 6,000 warriors and 160 horses. This predominantly infantry regiment was complemented by the regiment in Pit 2, which was a unit of war chariots and cavalry.[68] Situated about 20 metres north of Pit 1, this roughly L-shaped pit held some 939 pottery warriors and 472 horses divided into four



108 Plans of the four pits of the underground army in the First Emperor's tomb at Lintong, Shaanxi. Qin dynasty, early 3rd century BCE.

groups: a square group of kneeling archers on the eastern side, a square group of war chariots in the southern half, a rectangular group of chariots and foot soldiers at the centre, and a rectangle composed of mounted cavalry in the northern half.

Because the regiment for Pit 4 was never installed, its identification as the Central Branch of the Qin Imperial Guards remains hypothetical. But Pit 3, the smallest of the four, clearly replicated a military command post, where the commander-in-chief of the underground army was stationed.[69] Indeed, his war chariot, yoked to four terracotta horses, dominated the center of this irregularly shaped subterranean chamber (illus. 109). Richly painted with lacquer patterns, this canopied vehicle was originally attended by four unusually tall generals and further flanked by 68 officers.

109 A section of Pit 3 of the underground army at Lintong, Shaanxi. Qin dynasty, early 3rd century BCE.

The figure of the commander-in-chief, however, was missing; in his place in the chariot was an empty space. Some Chinese archaeologists have hypothesized that the commander-in-chief was buried separately in a tomb fifteen metres to the west of this pit. Another more plausible possibility, however, is that this absent commander-in-chief was the First Emperor himself. The idea is that the emperor's likeness was beyond representation, and so his posthumous existence could be indicated only by indirect means. This hypothesis leads us to the next function of tomb figurines in 'framing' specific spaces and subjects in a tomb.

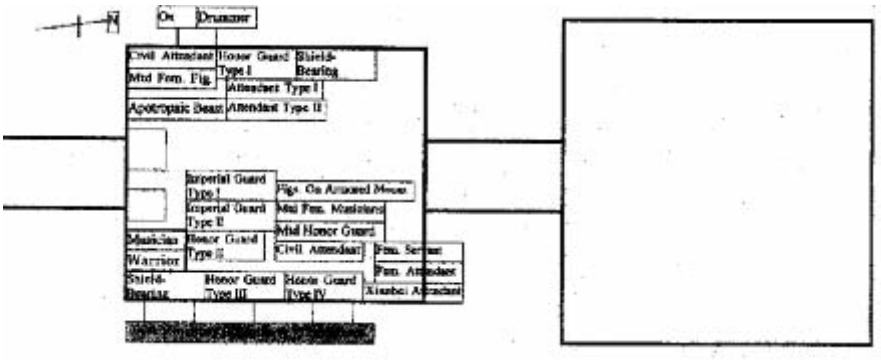
Framing

Two types of framing, which I call *arresting* and *movement*, signify two different states of the posthumous soul. *Arresting* means to identify the soul with a stationary position in a tomb, typically facilitated by the props of an empty seat or couch, a portrait or the coffin. *Movement*, on the other hand, means to create a transient position for the soul,

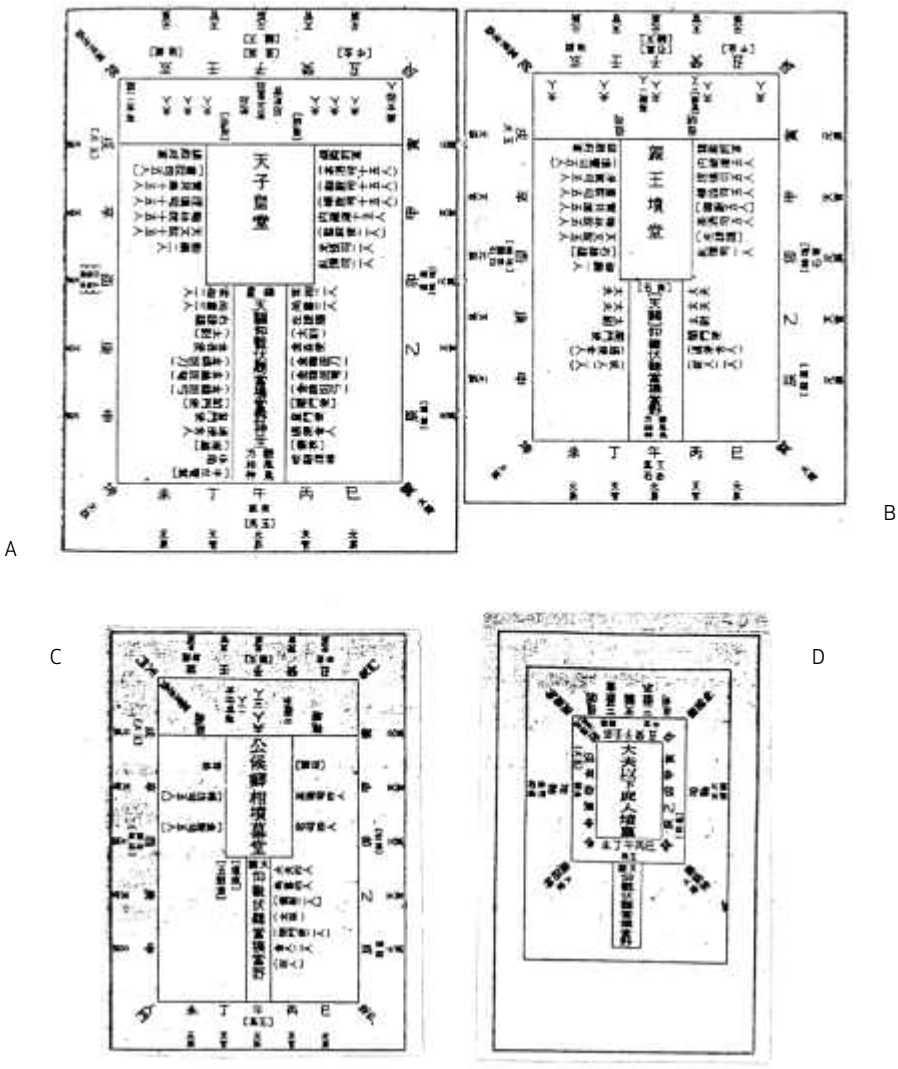
typically with the help of an empty chariot or a riderless horse. I will devote an entire section to 'movement' in chapter Three as part of a discussion on the issue of temporality in tomb art. This section introduces some framing methods that developed from earlier representations of the spirit seat of the deceased.

I have used Mawangdui Tomb 1 to exemplify a typical spirit seat arranged in a Han tomb: in front of and surrounding an empty couch were food, drink and personal belongings, as well as groups of figurines who attend to and perform for an invisible subject (see illus. 59–61). Similar spatial constructs are found in many other Han tombs. But when the joint burial of a married couple became popular after the late Western Han, tomb figurines assumed the additional role of helping to construct 'gendered' spaces. This phenomenon is especially evident in large, richly furnished tombs of post-Han periods. Bonnie Cheng's study of some important fifth- and sixth-century burials in north China offers fresh insights into this aspect of funerary art.[70] Through a detailed analysis of the figurines found in these tombs, she has articulated two organizing principals in their arrangement: 'clusters' hinge on the repeated grouping of a few specific figurative types in different sections of a tomb, whereas a 'display' integrates a variety of types in a single space. The first principle is often associated with representations of domestic activities such as entertainment and banqueting (and is hence associated with the concept of *arresting*); the second principle often indicates a ritual procession in a dynamic, transitional space (and is hence associated with the concept of *movement*). Going one step further, she has explored how these two principles helped construct multiple ritual spaces in a single tomb. In the joint burial of Li Xizong and his wife Lady Cui, for example, a large group of figurines, including various kinds of honour guards, accompanied the husband on the west, 'male' side of the burial chamber (illus. 110). Figurines on the east, 'female' side were not only much fewer in number but also lacked these specific indicators of the incumbent's political status.[71] Such paired 'male' and 'female' spaces reappeared in Wang Chuzhi's tomb of the tenth century, albeit in pictorial forms.[72] As mentioned earlier, two groups of male and female objects, including screens, hats, mirrors and boxes of complementary shapes, are depicted in the two side chambers to stand for the deceased husband and wife (see illus. 78, 79).

Also related to the function of framing, a system of figurines was established during the Tang-Song period to regulate the number, types, and spatial arrangement of figurines in individual tombs in accordance with the rank of the deceased. Several



110 Distribution of figurine types in the joint burial of Li Xizong and his wife Lady Cui at Cixian, Hebei. Eastern Wei, mid-6th century CE.



111 Four types of burials prescribed in *The Secret Burial Classic of the Original Sepulchres of the Great Han.*

Tang and Song texts contain such regulations,[73] but the most detailed account of this system is preserved in *The Secret Burial Classic of the Original Sepulchres of the Great Han* (*Da Han yuanling mizang jing*), a twelfth-century text written by the geomancer Zhang Jingwen.[74] The four diagrams in the section 'Spirit Articles and Supernatural Images', reproduced here in illus. 111, illustrate burial chambers designed for people of different social status, from emperor to commoner. As the diagrams show, the figurines in each design vary in both number and kind. The emperor's tomb, for example, includes 173 human figurines representing 36 official posts and five degrees of royal concubines (illus. 111A).[75] None of these types appear in the design for a commoner's tomb, which only contains images of domestic animals and underworld guardians (illus. 111D).

Accompanied by instructions detailing the precise placement of each figurine, these diagrams testify to a heightened attention paid to the *positional significance* of figurines. In fact, as a semi-abstract chart, each diagram prescribes a standard spatial

structure reduced to a two-dimensional plane; different types of figurines then provide this structure with mimetic and symbolic meaning. In the design for an imperial tomb, for example, the emperor's coffin is placed in the middle. The space behind it is occupied by a group of female figurines representing various ranks of palace ladies, from the empress down to royal concubines and 'ladies-in-waiting'. The figures flanking the coffin head various 'interior departments' of the palace, whereas those placed along the central path represent civil and military officials, thereby defining the space in front of the coffin as a symbolic representation of the imperial court. Significantly, although a commoner's tomb lacks such palatial figures, the arrangement of its limited figurines attests to a similar 'framing' strategy in constructing a symbolic space for the dead.

Miniaturization

Miniaturization is without doubt an essential feature of Chinese tomb figurines. All Eastern Zhou figurines are limited in size; the northern 'tableaux' of pottery dancers and musicians especially attests to the fascination with miniature forms used to represent complex human activities (see illus. 106). It is true that the underground army from the Lishan Mausoleum signified the First Emperor's penchant for the gigantic, but the early Han rulers immediately abandoned such desire for monumentality in favour of a more moderate visual display. Although Emperor Jing's (156–141 BCE) mausoleum, Yangling, is among the largest from the early Han, the figurines in it are only about one-third of a Qin warrior in height; those from some non-imperial tombs are considerably smaller, about one-ninth of a Qin figure. Although these Han figurines still outsized pre-Qin northern examples, they can be considered 'miniatures' not only in comparison with their natural models, but also because their limited height and volume resulted from a conscious decision to drastically reduce the scale of tomb figurines. It was a conscious decision because the Yangling figurines were made not long after the Qin warriors in the Xianyang-Chang'an area, when the memory of creating thousands of life-sized statues must have still been alive in the region.

Why didn't the Han emperors follow the Qin example and furnish their tombs with life-sized sculptures? Some scholars have explained this decision in terms of frugality and other economic concerns, but this reason hardly explains why *no* Han emperor ever attempted life-sized figurines, even after the initial years of the dynasty when they had accumulated much wealth. In fact, excavations of Yangling have begun to reveal a project which was no less ambitious than that of the Lishan Mausoleum in conception. Various kinds of figurines and grave goods were buried in 86 sacrificial pits radiating from the emperor's tomb.[76] These pits range from 4 to over 100 metres long. Located close by in a well-defined area, their patterned orientations and parallel positioning suggest that they were designed as a unit; and indeed their content mirrored various aspects of a Han royal household. The southern section of Pit 17, for example, was filled with grain and can be identified as an underground granary. The 70 terracotta soldiers marching behind two carriages in the northern section may have served to protect this important source of food. The square Pit 21 was divided into three sections for a variety of sculptured domestic animals, including oxen, dogs,

sheep, pigs and chickens, all carefully modelled and painted to achieve a lifelike effect. Stoves and cooking utensils were also displayed in this pit and were attended by domestic servants (illus. 112). A third component of this pit comprised terracotta guards, equipped with short- and long-range weapons and stationed at the four corners of this subterranean building.

These figurines and the tableaux they constituted were not just smaller and less elaborate versions of the Qin examples. Instead, the basic purpose of the Han tableaux was to fashion a miniature world. The strongest evidence for this interpretation is that *everything* in this tomb was a miniature version of a real thing – not only figures and domestic animals, but furniture, chariots, weapons, stoves, pots, measuring cups and so on. We wonder why such tiny imitations were painstakingly made according to a uniform scale of reduction. The answer must be found in the specific artistic goals of the *miniature*. It has been suggested that miniature representations most consciously create an interior space and time in a fictional world.[77] While the life-sized figures from the First Emperor's tomb attempted to map art onto life, the metaphoric world of the miniature in Emperor Jing's mausoleum skews the temporal and spatial relations of the everyday world. Buried underground, the miniatures in Yangling and other Han tombs not only 'substituted' for the real human world, but constituted a world free from the natural laws of the human world, thereby extending life in perpetuity.

112 A section of Pit 21 in the Yangling Mausoleum of Emperor Jing at Xi'an, Shaanxi. Western Han, 2nd century BCE.

113 A civil official figurine from the Wanzhang Tomb at Cixian, Hebei. Northern Qi, 560 CE.

While this tradition of miniaturization generally persisted throughout the later history of tomb figurines, it was also modified or codified in different periods in accord with people's specific concerns. When the 'tripartite' system of figurines developed during the Northern Dynasties and Tang, for example, various figurine types were distinguished not only by their iconographic features but also by their sizes. In the Northern Qi Wanzhang tomb introduced earlier, all examples in the second and third groups – that is, the 1,800 ceremonial and domestic figures – share a uniform size; with the height of a standing figure measuring around 30cm or slightly below. The 'guardian figures' were made according to a different scale: consisting of paired warriors and apotropaic beasts, these images are close to 50cm tall. Rather surprisingly, the largest figurines from the tomb represent two civil officials. Although the excavators have grouped them together with other 'civilian officials' in the ceremonial procession, they are actually several times larger. Over 142cm tall, they stood as two giants amidst other figurines, and their modelling and colouration reflect much higher artistic skills and standards (illus. 113). Checking the excavation report, we find that these two figures originally stood inside the burial chamber to flank the stone gate. In other words, they did not belong to the tableaux formed by the numerous miniature figures; their unique size was determined by their relationship with the tomb's architecture.

Such disparity in figurines' physical dimensions became even more pronounced in early Tang tombs, in which figures of identical types were often rendered in different sizes. Two interrelated factors may have encouraged this tendency. The first is the degree of importance of a figurine in the constructed afterlife of the deceased; the second is the placement of a figurine inside a tomb. Both factors can be observed in an early Tang tomb at the east suburbs of Chang'an, identified by the epitaph as the burial of Princess Jinxiang and her husband.[78] The figurines from this tomb, whose elegant sculptural style and spirited appearance have been the subject of constant admiration, actually vary greatly in size and seem to belong to different series. Following the Northern Dynasties tradition, the sculptors made large and bold guardian figures, as well as tall civil and military officials in pairs. A new phenomenon, however, is that the ceremonial and domestic figurines no longer conform to a single scale. The 38 'female standing figurines' (*nü li yong*), for instance, are three different sizes, ranging from 16–18cm to about 50cm. Similar dimensional disparity characterizes other figurine types and would not have resulted from negligence, especially when we consider the lofty status of the deceased

and the unusually high quality of the figurines. Not coincidentally, most of the small and mid-sized 'female standing figures' furnished the small niches built along the tomb's long passageway, whereas all large figurines stood inside the burial chamber near the princess's coffin.[79]

According to Tang official regulations, tomb figurines representing supernatural beings were not to exceed one *chi* (about 30cm) high, and images of ceremonial guards, musicians and attendants were not to be taller than seven *cun* (about 20cm).[80] But excavated examples, including those from the tomb of the Jinxiang princess and many other elite Tang burials, demonstrate that these regulations were seriously violated, if not entirely ignored, in actual practice. Perhaps in reaction to such violation, ritual specialists became more adamant in advancing 'correct' behaviour in conducting funerary rites. This counter-movement reached its height during the Song, when some leading Neo-Confucian scholars compiled detailed ritual prescriptions. Regarding tomb figurines, Zhu Xi wrote in his influential *Family Rituals* (*Jia li*): 'Carve wood to make carts and horses, male and female servants, and all the things needed to care for the deceased. *The objects should resemble those used in real life but be smaller* [italics added].'[81] A similar statement also exists in Sima Guang's *Writing on Rituals*.[82] These instructions provided fundamental guidelines in funerary practices when Neo-Confucianism became the official doctrine during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Verisimilitude

More than any other art form in traditional China, the tomb figurine was intimately linked with the notion of *verisimilitude* – 'the quality of appearing to be true or real'. As mentioned earlier, Confucius criticized *yong* because their mimetic quality reminded him of human sacrifice. But the popularity of *yong* derived exactly from the same assumption, that such manufactured figures were supposed to substitute for real people – soldiers, servants and entertainers who would protect and accompany the dead in the netherworld. Verisimilitude, however, entails not only formal semblance but also imaginative perception. Thus, while the history of tomb figurines indeed shows a consistent pursuit for 'naturalistic' styles in artistic representation, a tomb figure does not have to be anatomically accurate to fulfil its symbolic role. Frequently, it was the human imagination that transformed a figurine – whether individually designed or mass-produced – into a surrogate. In some cases, such imagination inspired writers to create interesting ghost stories, as we find in the early Ming tale 'The Peony Lantern' ('Mudandeng ji'): during the lantern festival, a certain Mr Qiao met a young woman. She was accompanied by a girl servant by the name of Golden Lotus, who was holding a double-headed peony lantern. Attracted by the extraordinary beauty of the woman, he invited her home and had an affair with her. His neighbour found out the identity of the woman and asked Qiao to visit her at her home. His search led him to a dark room in a temple which stored a coffin. 'In front of the coffin hung a double-headed peony lantern. Beneath it stood a figurine representing a female servant, with the name Golden Lotus written on the back.'[83]

Even when tomb figurines first appeared in the Eastern Zhou, their forms and methods of manufacture already demonstrated two different modes of mimetic repre-

114 A terracotta soldier in the underground army at Lintong, Shaanxi. Qin Dynasty, early 3rd century BCE.

sentation. The first mode can be called 'sculptural': the artist focused on the external appearance of a figure and rendered various features, including bodily features and costume, ornaments, weapons, instruments and so on, into three-dimensional forms to signify the figure's gender, status and social role. The second mode produced doll-like images with movable limbs and removable clothes; the designer's interest lay not only in the outward appearance of a figurine but also in its hidden body and the operating mechanism. The best examples of the first mode are without question the terracotta figures found in the First Emperor's Lishan Mausoleum. *The Book of Rites* describes those of the second mode: 'With facial features and mechanical body parts, these figurines resemble living human beings.'[84] Actual examples of such works have been found in Eastern Zhou and Western Han tombs.

Much research has been devoted to the manufacturing procedures of the Lishan figurines. Generally speaking, each of these life-sized statues was produced by making and combining three separate parts of the body: the head, hands and torso. The torso was modelled by hand, while the other two parts were fashioned with moulds (illus. 114). Whether modelled or moulded, the rudimentary form of each part was then covered with layers of finer clay, in which were carved the details of hair, beards, eyes, mouths and chins, muscles and tendons, collars, pleats, belts and belt hooks, leg bindings and armour plates (illus. 115). Enormous effort was made to imitate varying hairstyles, the tissues and ribbons on the armour and the thousand grooves on the sole of a shoe. The focus was clearly the external appearance of the warriors, which identifies their military function and rank. Thus, although each figure projects an impression of individuality, its basic function is still to represent a basic role. On the other hand, by assembling different sets of body components and finishing the facial features by hand, the sculptors were able to give each figurine a distinctive appearance. As a result, although these warriors can be classified into several military types based on their costume and weaponry, the subtle variations of their faces defy a rigid typology. These figures are therefore 'neither realistic portraits of individuals nor idealized types', but have 'the goal of creating a reality of a different order'.[85]

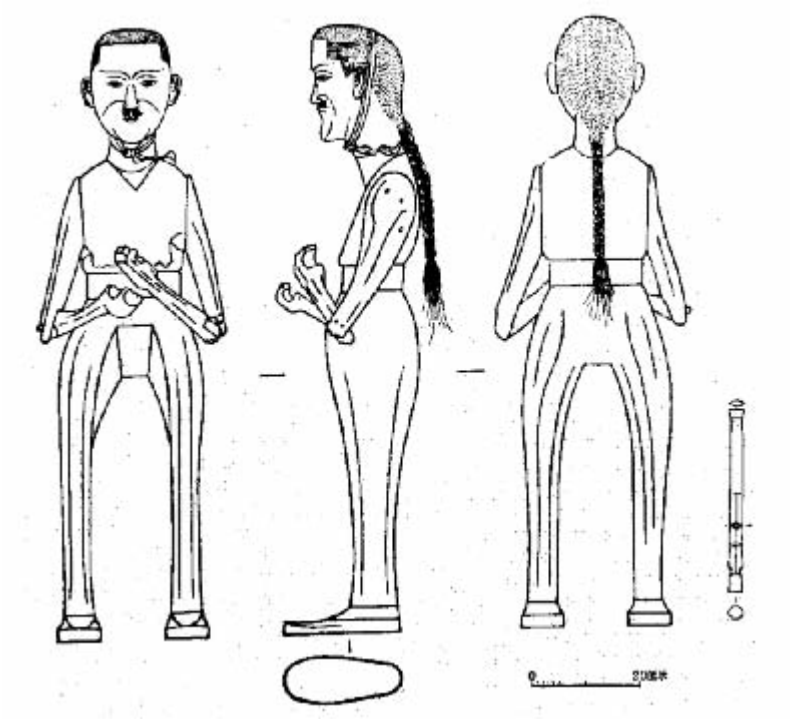
115 Face of an officer in the underground army at Lintong, Shaanxi. Qin Dynasty, early 3rd century BCE.

The works that best represent the achievement of Qin representational art, however, are not these underground soldiers, but a group of life-sized 'acrobats' discovered in 1999 inside the walled 'funerary park' in the Lishan Mausoleum. Indeed, these astonishingly realistic figures challenge a conventional view that traditional Chinese art eschewed any realistic rendering of the human body. Take statue no. 5, for example. It represents a powerful male, 171cm tall, wearing a short skirt and standing firmly in his bare feet (illus. 116). The image impresses us with both the sculptor's mastery of human anatomy and his superb artistry: omitting excessive details, he endowed the figure with not only a convincing masculine torso but also an air of inner strength. Unlike the uniformed soldiers, these acrobats were not grouped in large formations but act on their own, and they exhibit markedly different physiques and gestures. All these features contribute to their significance as representations of individual figures, not types.

116 Three views of a pottery 'acrobat' from the First Emperor's tomb at Lintong, Shaanxi. Qin Dynasty, early 3rd century BCE.

During the Eastern Zhou, examples of doll-like tomb figures were mainly produced in the Chu area in the south. Two large figures from Baoshan Tomb 2, for example, have arms made of separate pieces of wood. Their ears, hands and feet were all carved individually and then attached to achieve more complex gestures (illus. 117). The head and face are subtly modelled and finely painted, with a mustache and a braid made of real hair. Created as a manikin, the figure originally wore specially made silk clothes. Described in an ancient text as 'wooden figurines dressed in fine silk',[86] this type of figurine became increasingly elaborate during the early Han.[87] It should be emphasized that a 'dressed' figure differs significantly from a sculptured one because it is a layered construct. Although eventually covered, the body remains an essential component in such a figurative representation. Indeed, the development of this type of figurine shows an increasing attention paid to the hidden body. The bodies of the Baoshan figurines were still crude wooden skeletons. Some 'dressed' figurines from Mawangdui begin to show a well-defined torso, with smooth shoulders and wide hips. This development led to a decisive change around the mid-second century BCE, when a kind of 'naked' figurine was produced in great quantities (illus. 118).[88]

Unique in the history of tomb figurines, these images of naked men and women eliminate the contrast between the face and the body and unify them into a coherent representation. Instead of imitating a figure's clothed appearance, the artist started from the body inside the clothes to recreate a natural human image.[89] Each figure was carefully moulded and modelled to represent the slightly bulging muscles on the chest, the subtly protruding collarbones, the round buttocks and the often hidden bodily features such as the navel and sexual organs. The entire surface of the body was polished



117 Three views of a wooden figurine from Baoshan Tomb 2 at Jingmen, Hubei. Warring States Period, 4th century BCE. Drawing.

smooth and covered with orange paint to imitate the colour of the skin. Traces of fabric are left on the surface of some figures, proving that they were originally clothed.

These figurines thus pose an intriguing question: Why should their bodies be so painstakingly sculpted and painted if they were going to be covered? The answer must be that to the artist as well as the patron, the body and the clothed appearance of a figurine were equally important subjects of representation. The naked body had to be made first and then dressed, because this was how it was in real life. The making of these figurines thus signified a particular notion of naturalism based not only on formal verisimilitude but also on mimicking a *fashioning process*.

Interestingly, it was around this period that a creation myth of mankind was invented in China. The central figure of this myth is Nüwa, an ancient goddess who attained the status of a 'fashioning deity' during the period from the late Eastern Zhou to Han. One of her main accomplishments was the creation of human beings, as described in a second-century text, the *Explanations of Customs* (*Fengsu tong*):

> People say that when heaven and earth were first created, mankind did not yet exist. Nüwa kneaded yellow earth and fashioned human beings. Though she worked feverishly, she did not have enough strength to finish her task, so she drew her cord in a furrow through the mud and lifted it out to make human figures. That is why the rich and the noble are those men of yellow earth, whereas the poor and the lowly – all ordinary people – are the human beings made from the cord's furrow.[90]

118 'Naked' figurines from the Yangling Mausoleum of Emperor Jing. Painted earthenware, originally dressed in clothes made of fabrics. Western Han, 2nd century BCE.

Clearly deriving its chief imagery from contemporaneous artistic practice, this legend draws an analogy between the making of anonymous figurines and the creation of mankind by a supreme deity.

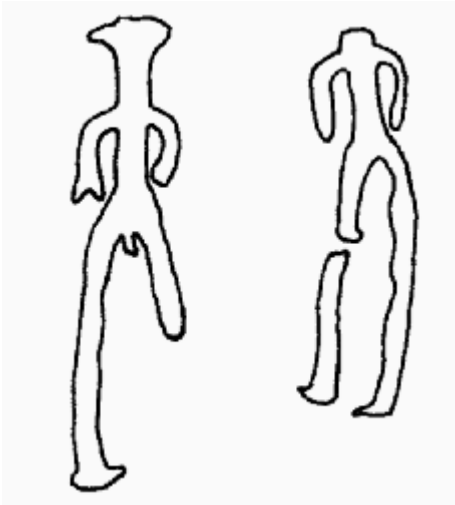
Magic

One particular type of tomb figure demands our special attention: instead of substituting for the guards, servants and entertainers of the dead, they were created as the 'double' of the deceased (and sometimes as his or her living relatives) to gain release from underworld culpability. For this purpose they were made of special materials and forms. In contrast to an ordinary figurine, these figures could realize their magical function only after they were 'activated' by professional priests through a particular ritual.

One group of such works includes silhouette figures made of lead or tin. The accompanying inscriptions in fact call them *qian ren* or *xi ren*, meaning literally a 'lead or tin figure'. Among excavated examples, the earliest come from a Western Zhou burial; the latest from a Northern Liang tomb dated to 459.[91] The majority of them, however, furnished first- and second-century graves near Luoyang and Chang'an, the Eastern Han metropolitan area which was becoming a major base of religious Taoism at the time. In one case, a tomb at Hanzhong in Shaanxi was equipped with ten such figurines, each 10.5–10.7cm tall.[92] Often placed inside pottery jars, the meaning and ritual function of the figures is explained by the inscriptions written on the vessels' surfaces at the time of burial.

For example, two naked figures, each about 5cm tall, were found in a jar in a second-century tomb near Luoyang.[93] Made of lead foil, their slender bodies have exaggerated long legs and represent both sexes (illus. 119). Compared with lifelike clay figurines from the same graveyard that represent servants and chess-players, their images are simple and rudimentary – an established feature of 'magical', talismanic figures since China's antiquity.[94] While the inscription on the jar is damaged beyond recognition, we know its contents from four other jars from the same tomb, which all bear identical inscriptions that read: 'Respectfully [we offer] herewith lead figures, as well as gold and jade, to release the dead from culpability, and to remove the sins and trespasses of the living.'

Scholars have termed this kind of funerary inscription a 'grave-quelling script' or a 'tomb ordinance'. Such inscriptions were written by a religious professional to ensure the security of the dead in the underworld and to protect his or her living relatives. Anna Seidel argued that these documents reflect a particular view of the afterlife developed in a proto-Taoist tradition during the Eastern Han. According to this view, the newly deceased would be subject to judicial examination and possible imprisonment in the afterlife, and the punishment they receive might be transferred to their living family members. An important role of the priest was therefore 'to exorcise malefic influences on behalf of the living and to gain release from culpability on behalf of the dead' – a conventional statement found in a number of grave-quelling scripts.[95] A lead figure could play this role because it functioned as a 'double' of the dead (and/or their living relatives). It was a 'double' because it did not substitute for the dead in a physical sense. Instead, buried alongside the corpse, these crude, primitive-looking figures would take over whatever punishment that the netherworld authorities would inflict upon the dead and his family members.



119 Lead figures from a tomb near Luoyang, Henan. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE. Drawing by Jie Shi.

This meaning is most clearly spelled out in a 'grave-quelling script' excavated from an Eastern Han tomb north of Chang'an.[96] First constructed in 104 CE by a family surnamed Jia, this tomb was expanded thirty-three years later to accommodate a newly deceased family member, a daughter or daughter-in-law of the previous tomb occupant. Attached to the tomb's existing passageway, her small burial contained two lead figures and six pottery jars

with identical inscriptions. The inscriptions record that the woman died in 147 at the age of 24. It is possible that her untimely death on a particularly unlucky day was considered indicative of her culpability. To free her from underworld punishment, her living relatives created a pair of lead figures to substitute for her, and made a plea to the underworld authority in her place: '[She] presents these lead figures to stand in for herself. They will [take on any assignment] happily. They can husk rice and cook. On a cart they know how to drive, and given brushes they know how to write.'

One wonders why these images, which we may call 'acquittal figurines' (*jiechu yong* or *jiezhe yong*) based on their magical function, were frequently made of lead (ancient Chinese often equated tin with lead). An answer can be found in the strong association between this metal and Taoist ritual practices and symbolic system. Anyone with basic knowledge about this religion knows that lead is one of the most fundamental materials and symbols in both the 'inner alchemy' (*neidan*) and 'outer alchemy' (*waidan*) techniques of Taoist self-cultivation. In fact, medieval Taoist practitioners commonly believed that the primary task of self-cultivation was to find the 'true lead' and 'true mercury', which would interact and transform, resulting in the 'golden elixir' of longevity.[97] In this process, lead embodies *yin* energy and corresponds to water, the west and the White Tiger; whereas mercury embodies *yang* energy and corresponds to fire, the east and the Green Dragon.[98] This theory explains why lead was selected for 'acquittal figurines,' which dwell in the realm of *yin* and possessed the transformative ability to stand in for the dead.

But acquittal figures were not only made of lead and tin; alternative materials include special wood from pine, cypress and peach trees.[99] Such seemingly confusing choices of materials are actually easy to explain: all these timber materials have two things in common with lead; one is their association with the tomb and underground, the other is their special role in magical transformation. As early as during the Western Han, it was believed that ghosts gathered under the deep shade of pine and cypress trees.[100] A Taoist writer further glorified the cypress as the greatest among all trees, and connects it to longevity and image-making:

> Bestowed with the luminous *qi* from heaven, a cypress tree possesses its strength for ten thousand years. People receive the benefit of longevity from it. It is the domain of the Three Epochs [Sanyuan], and the most distinguished thing within all the nine continents. Its shape is comparable with those of gold and jade, and it is protected by countless spirits . . . When an image is made of cypress wood, it will also acquire a luminous *qi* and last for ten thousand years. The celestial department calls the cypress 'the body of golden wood' (*jin mu zhi ti*), and the underworld officials treasure it as the credential for rebirth (*sheng cheng zhi jian*).[101]

Similarly, pine and peach trees were believed to possess supernatural powers, and were thus commonly used to make Taoist talismans and other magical instruments.

Around the late Tang or possibly earlier, a new kind of Taoist practice was developed to fashion a sculptured tomb figure called a *shizhen* – a 'stone true body'. Because

this image also functioned as a double and was activated through a Taoist ritual, it may have evolved from earlier acquittal figurines. But instead of 'exorcising malefic influences on behalf of the living and gaining release from culpability on behalf of the dead', it was created to prolong a person's life forever. The basic method was to build a 'tomb for a living person' (*shengkuang*) and to place a miniature portrait statue – a 'stone true body' of the person – inside it. Sometimes the statue bears an inscription that reads: 'Only when this stone [statue] rots [i.e., disintegrates] will the real person come to replace it' (*Shi ruo lan, ren lai huan*).[102] It is clear that this statue was intended as a stand-in for the mortal body of the person, freeing him from death.

A number of such statues have been found. One of them, dated to 1182, stood in a special niche in the rear chamber in a tomb at Jinyucheng in Chengdu, Sichuan. The accompanying inscription reads:

> The ninth year of the *chunxi* era of the Great Song, the twelfth month of *dingyou shuo*, the fourth day of *gengzi*. Now there is this male Taoist disciple Lü Zhongqing who is forty-six years old. He had constructed a tomb for himself before his demise on the sixteenth day of the ninth month. An 'auspicious residence of a thousand years' and 'a hall of longevity for a hundred years,' it stands on a piece of auspicious land in Yanfu village, Chengdu county. He is closing the tomb today, an auspicious day [for doing so]. He wishes that after the tomb is closed he will never be troubled by calamities, and will only celebrate happiness at seasonal festivals. Now he uses a stone true body to substitute for himself. It will protect and prolong his life. He also places a bottle of green water [in the tomb] as a token of the contract. This document is presented to secure purity and happiness forever.[103]

Because of its expected magical function, a 'stone true body' differs from an acquittal figurine in term of its material and representation: it is made of durable stone so it will never 'rot', and it often demonstrates the mimetic intention to represent a person's likeness. These two features explain the creation of an outstanding sculptural work from traditional China: a portrait statue of Wang Jian, emperor of the Great Shu kingdom, who died in 918 (illus. 120), 96.5cm tall, it represents Wang seated in a dignified manner. Predating the Jinyucheng figure by almost three hundred years, the statue was also made of pure stone and positioned in the rear section of a tomb. The face and clothes of the young emperor are sculpted in a superbly realistic manner. His expression is solemn but peaceful. Free from ornate ornamentation, his attire instead emphasizes simplicity and linear fluidity. There is little doubt that this image was created as the 'stone true body' of Wang Jian, who made Taoism the state religion of his kingdom and employed famous Taoist priests such as Du Guangting (850–933) as his chief religious advisers.

The Chinese archaeologist Zhang Xunliao has proposed a hypothetical construction process for Wang Jian's tomb: the structure was first built as a 'hall of longevity' (*shou tang*) for the emperor when he was alive, and the stone statue was placed there in Wang's place to prolong his life. Only after he died and was buried in

120 Stone statue of Wang Jian (*d.* 918 CE), emperor of the Great Shu kingdom. From Wang Jian's tomb (Yongling) at Chengdu, Sichuan. Five Dynasties, early 10th century.

the middle chamber did the structure become a 'tomb' in a conventional sense.[104] The statue was not removed, however. It was simply left there, looking at the body that it was supposed to save for eternity. To my knowledge, no Taoist text explains the significance of a person's 'stone true body' after the person dies and is buried next to it. But an interesting story seems to offer a possible compromise. Recorded in 1294, it relates a miracle witnessed by the Yuan scholar Zhu Derun's great-great-grandfather. It says that when Zhu's great-great-grandmother fell seriously ill, she had her tomb built in the Yangbaoshan area outside Suzhou. When workers were digging the grave pit and had reached about five *chi* deep, they found a piece of stone bearing the words '*Shi ruo lan, ren lai huan*' – 'Only when this stone rots will it be replaced by a living person.' What happened next astonished the workers and Zhu's great-great-grandfather: this stone actually disintegrated before their eyes. Frightened, his great-great-grandfather hurriedly ordered the workers to fill the pit with dirt, and asked ritual specialists to divine another burial site for his dying wife.[105] The implication of this story is that when a person dies, his or her 'stone true body' will decompose, 'replaced' by the corpse in the tomb.

The Body: Preservation and Transformation

The Chinese word for 'corpse' is *shi*. The Eastern Han scholar Ban Gu explains: 'It is called *shi* because it denotes 'loss' (*shi*) and 'display' (*chen*): the body no longer possesses *qi*-energy; only the physical form is laid out.'[106] In other words, death has taken away energy and intelligence from a living body, transforming it into a mere object. This transformation inspires disgust as well as awe. Confucius' disciple Zi You thus reportedly said: 'When a man dies, there arises a feeling of disgust [at the corpse]. Its impotence makes us turn away from it.'[107] From this point of view, the elaborate funerary rites prescribed in Confucian ritual canons served, first of all, to overcome such intuitive, physical response with a rigidly structured social programme, which redefined the tragic event of death as a glorious occasion to express one's loyalty, filial piety and chastity. Instead of running away from a decaying body, the living members of the family would treat it as if it were still full of desire and feeling. They would wash and feed it, and dress it in layers of clothes – a lengthy process which would finally lead to coffining the body and sending it away to the burial ground. Although grief would be repeatedly expressed

during the funeral, such expressions – wailing and leaping at appointed moments – would appear as synchronized and orchestrated performances.

While such responses to death formed a crucial part of Confucian ethics and ritual theory, death also occasioned another kind of imagination and expectation of this natural event in ancient China. Mostly expressed in myths, legends and records of the strange, it perceives death in light of miraculous transformation. Rather than terminating a person's experience, it was believed that death would transform his appearance and transport him to a different realm. Ancient texts contain descriptions of the transformations that took place when an important figure died. For example, we are told that upon his death, Gun – the father of Yu the Great – turned into a yellow dragon or a three-legged turtle.[108] Other texts relate that after some legendary figures passed away, a multitude of animals, birds and spirits emerged to guard their burial sites.[109] These stories persisted in later Chinese history and nourished the belief in 'postmortem immortality' during the Han. The idea of *shijie*, or 'liberation from the corpse', was circulated by necromancers as early as the second century BCE. It is said that after Emperor Wu's religious adviser Li Shaojun died, the emperor ordered his tomb opened. Nowhere could Li's corpse be found, and only empty clothes remained in his burial chamber. The emperor was thus convinced that the magician had actually escaped the mortal world through some mysterious posthumous transformation.[110] Sima Qian also recorded that the same emperor once travelled to the tomb of the Yellow Emperor at Mt Qiao. While offering a sacrifice to the ancient sovereign, he posed a question to his religious advisers: 'I have heard that the Yellow Emperor never died – how is it that he had a tomb?' The advisers told him that the Yellow Emperor had indeed become an immortal and that only his clothes were buried in his grave.[111] It is no surprise that such ideas would encourage people, especially those of great power and wealth, to pursue posthumous immortality through transforming the dead body.

The following section examines different concepts and treatments related to this belief in ancient China. I will first introduce textual and archaeological evidence which demonstrates two kinds of efforts made to *preserve* or *transform* the dead, and then conclude this chapter with an examination of the impact of Buddhism on the postmortem treatment of the body in funerary rites.

Preservation of the Body and the Image

According to the *Protocols of Ceremonies* and *The Book of Rites*, after a person died, the corpse, initially lying in the northern part of the mourning hall, would be removed to a couch close to the southern window. Kong Yingda (574–648) of the Tang dynasty explained this shift as moving the deceased from *yin* (north, darkness and death) to *yang* (south, brightness and rebirth).[112] The deceased could then receive ritual offerings: a servant would prop his mouth open with a spoon made of horn and would put a small stool under his feet; meat and wine in various vessels would be placed beside him.[113] Following this, the host of the funeral, usually the elder son of the deceased, would announce the death to people outside the immediate family.[114] Guests and relatives would arrive to offer their condolences, bringing clothes as funerary gifts either to

cover the deceased or to be displayed in the mourning hall. Ritual specialists of different skills would be called in to wash the corpse, to dress it in layers of new shirts and robes and to repeatedly offer sacrifices in new vessels. Meanwhile, a special 'Name Banner'[115] (*mingjing*) would be made and inscribed with the words: 'The *Jiu* [the body in its lasting home] of Such a One.'[116] This banner thus identified the body, which had been concealed by clothes and shrouds. In his commentary to *The Book of Rites*, Zheng Xuan explained its ritual significance: 'Because [the living] can no longer distinguish the deceased, they recognize him and express their love towards him through his banner.'[117] While various ritual events were still taking place in the mourning hall, this banner would be posted on a bamboo pole in front of the hall and then removed to cover the spirit tablet of the dead.

The main use of this banner, however, would be in the *bin* ceremony that followed, when the ritual ground shifted from inside to outside the mourning hall. A narrow pit, called a *kan* or *si*, would have been excavated in front of the hall above the western steps. Now a coffin would be lowered into this pit and the corpse would be put inside the coffin. After the coffin was closed, the Name Banner of the dead would be hung beside this temporary grave.[118] More guests would arrive to pay their condolences to the dead, and the members of the family would demonstrate their grief while receiving these guests. This ritual homage differs from the earlier series in that the dead is no longer represented by his physical remains, but solely by his Name Banner, a manufactured object that allowed the living 'to recognize him and to express their love towards him'.

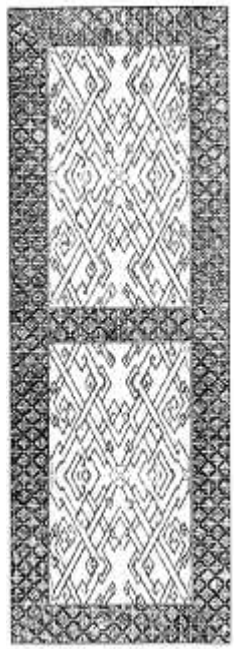
This initial sequence of ritual events thus consists of two phases with distinct purposes and symbols. During the first phase inside the mourning hall, the deceased underwent a symbolic transformation from death to rebirth: his body was removed from the *yin* to the *yang* side and from the ground to a couch, purified, dressed and offered nutriment. The second phase outside the mourning hall, on the other hand, symbolized the next transformation of the dead from this world to the other world: the corpse, now purified and carefully dressed and wrapped, was concealed inside the coffin and represented by his Name Banner. *The Book of Rites* clearly states the distinction between these two ritual phases: '[The corpse] on the couch is called a *shi* [the laid-out]; when it is put into the coffin, that is called a *jiu* [the body in its lasting home].'[119] Interestingly, the ancient graphs of *shi* and *jiu* expose their different meanings. *Shi* (尸) shows the deceased who 'has just lost his *qi*-energy and spirit, with only his physical body laid out.'[120] *Jiu* (柩 or 匶) shows a (wooden) encasement, with the graph *jiu* inside it to supply the meaning of 'forever' or 'eternal'.[121] A very important fact is that during the Han, not only was the corpse inside the coffin called a *jiu*, but the coffin and the Name Banner were also called *jiu*.[122] This shared designation thus indicates the intrinsic relationship and grouping of the corpse, the innermost coffin, and the Name Banner.

Only when we understand the meaning of *jiu* can we comprehend the structure of Mawangdui Tomb 1 and similar burials from the late Eastern Zhou to Han. We find that deep inside the layers of encasements in this tomb is an 'inner unit' consisting of Lady Dai's corpse, her innermost coffin and the famous painting on this coffin, which corresponds exactly to the *jiu* group described in the ritual canons. The dead woman was carefully dressed: she wore a wig with more than thirty hair ornaments, and both

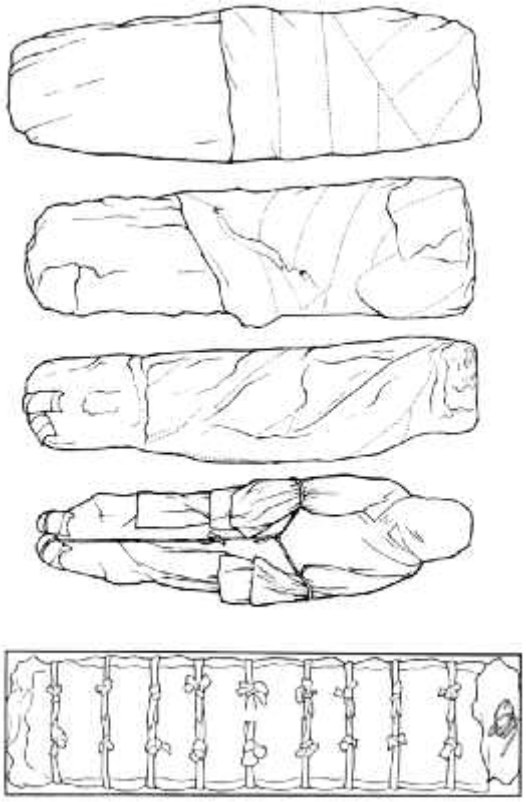
her hands held embroidered incense-bags. Her face was covered with two pieces of silk; and her body, first wrapped in twenty layers of cloth and shrouds, was bound with nine bands and again covered with more layers of cloth and shrouds (illus. 121). All these preparations must have been done before the corpse was laid in the coffin.

The tomb has four coffins, but only the innermost one can be identified as the *jiu*-coffin displayed in the *bin*-ceremony.[123] Not coincidentally, this coffin differs from the other three in both material and decoration. While the three outer coffins are painted with lacquer, this innermost coffin alone is covered with satin stitch embroidery and further embellished with kingfisher feathers along the top and sides. Again, unlike the other coffins whose painted images depict animal and human figures and have a 'representational' quality (which I will discuss in chapter Three), the decoration on this coffin consists of purely geometric patterns resembling those found on Lady Dai's clothes (illus. 122, 123). Such an overlay concealed the coffin's wooden material and made it another 'outfit' for the deceased woman. The three outer coffins are not tied, but this coffin is secured by parallel bands, similar to the manner in which the lady's corpse was bound. Finally, the silk painting lying between this coffin and the other three firmly established their distinction.

Although researchers have often divided this painting into two or three parts,[124] the vertical composition actually consists of four sections, separated by three parallel horizontal 'ground levels' which, as internal boundaries of the pictorial representation, define different realms of beings (illus. 124, 125).[125] All interpreters identify the main

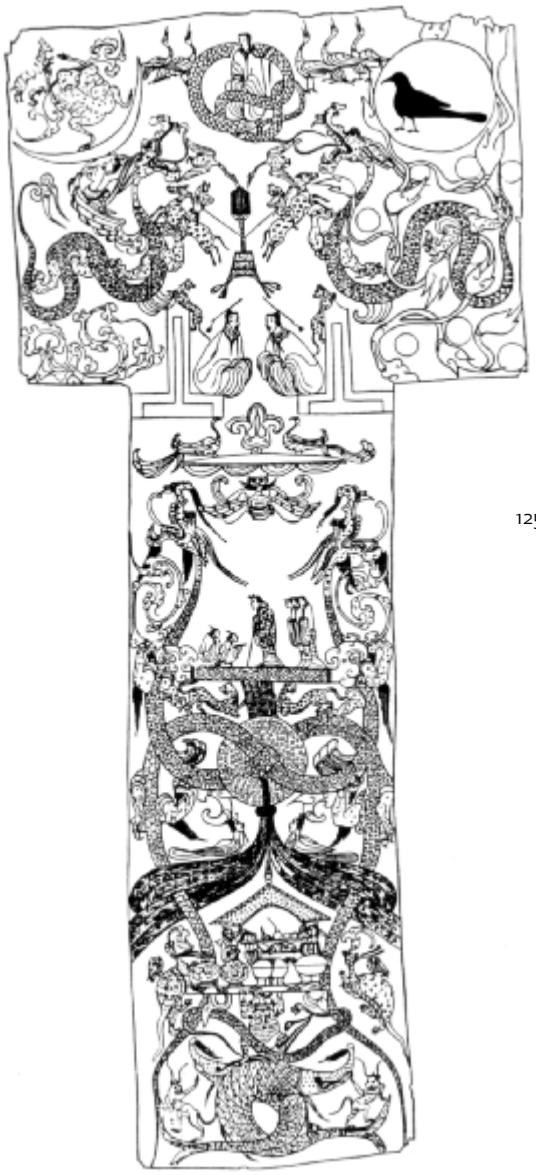


Decoration on the innermost coffin in Mawangdui Tomb 1 (122, top) and patterns on Lady Dai's clothes (123, above). Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.



121 (*left*) Treatment of the body preserved in the Mawangdui Tomb 1 at Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

124



125

124 Silk banner from Mawangdui Tomb 1;
125 Three 'ground levels' painted on the silk banner; drawing. Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

image in the painting's centre (the second level from the top) as a 'portrait' of Lady Dai, and some scholars have rightly pointed out that this 'portrait' substitutes for the written name of the deceased, which was customarily inscribed on a Name Banner.[126] Like a Name Banner, this image allowed the living to 'recognize and love' the deceased woman, now concealed in her coffin or 'lasting home'.

This otherworldly image of Lady Dai is situated in a cosmic context. The painting's top and bottom sections clearly represent heaven and the underworld. A gate, which separates the heavenly realm from other scenes, is guarded by two doormen and a pair of leopards, both described by Qu Yuan as guardians of Changhe or the Gate of Heaven.[127] In the centre of this section is a principal deity of uncertain identity, flanked

by the sun and moon, whose juxtaposition suggests the opposition and balance of the *yin–yang* cosmic forces.[128] The identification of the bottom section is also unmistakable: all images in this part, including the two giant fish (symbols of water), the central figure standing on the back of the fish (the Lord of Earth?), a snake (underground creature), and a pair of 'earth-goats' (*tuyang*) at the painting's lower corners, signify the painted subject as the underground world. These two sections thus remind us of the scenes in the First Qin Emperor's grave chamber which, according to Sima Qian, represented 'all of heaven' above and 'all of earth' below.[129] Like the emperor's tomb, the Mawangdui painting situated the dead in a microcosm of the universe.

This and other scenes have led me to characterize the painting's compositional principle as a 'correlative' one: images are organized together according to their conceptual relationships, and in this way the fundamental 'dualistic' structure in ancient Chinese cosmology is translated into visual forms.[130] We find that the painting contains many interrelated 'pairs': in addition to the many 'mirror images' arranged symmetrically along its vertical axis (including dragons, heavenly horses, leopards, the guardians of the heavenly gate, flying figures, turtles, owls, fish and 'earth-goats'), the sun is opposed to the moon, Heaven is opposed to the underworld, and the main deities in these two realms are also opposed to one other.

One of the most interesting 'pairs' in the painting consists of the sacrificial scene immediately above the underworld (the second level from the bottom) and the portrait of Lady Dai below the heavenly realm (the second level from the top). In the sacrificial scene, three large tripods and two vases are displayed in the foreground; behind these ritual vessels, five men in two opposite rows raise their arms obediently towards an object in the middle. Some scholars have identified this object, which rests on a low stand and has a patterned surface, as Lady Dai's coffin.[131] But instead of being a rectangular box, this image is flat with a soft round contour. It is more likely the woman's corpse which the ritual canons require to be placed on a couch, covered with clothes and shrouds, and offered food and wine. In other words, this image represents Lady Dai's corpse in the mourning hall, as stated in *The Book of Rites:* '[The corpse] on the couch is called a *shi* [the laid-out].'

Corresponding to Lady Dai's *shi* in the sacrificial scene is her 'portrait' in the centre of the painting. As mentioned earlier, in representing her former existence this image allowed people to 'recognize and love' her after her demise. Created as an alternative form of the Name Banner, the painting was first used in the funerary ritual and then laid on top of the innermost coffin to become a crucial component of the woman's tomb. In this second burial context, it formed a crucial component of her *jiu* and was juxtaposed with her physical remains. It maintained its original significance to identity the deceased woman, although its audience may have changed from the living participants at her funeral to deities and spirits governing the land of the Yellow Springs.[132]

Postmortem Transformation of the Body

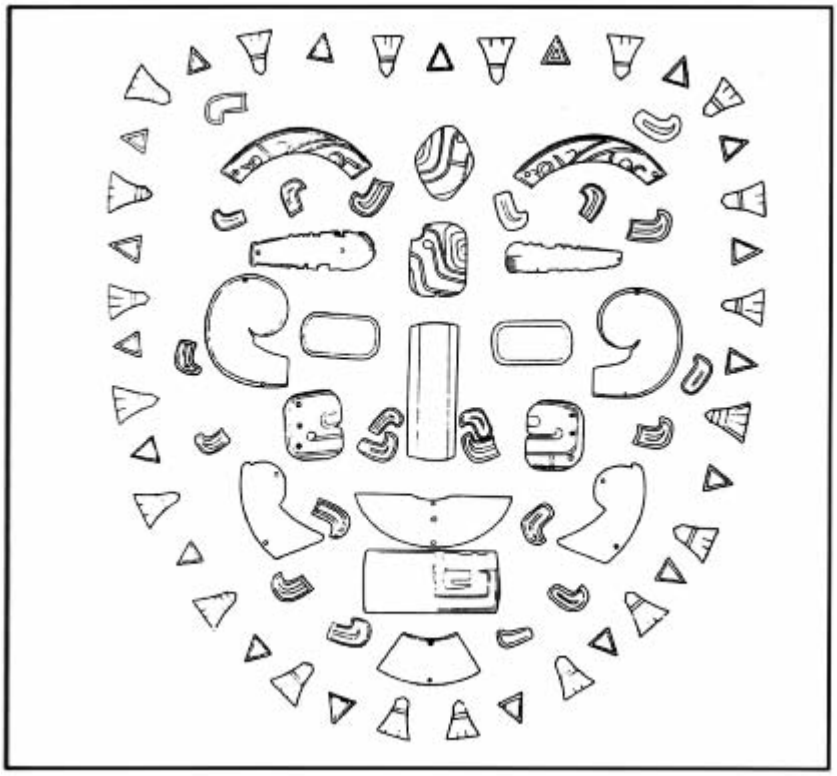
Han texts records that after emperors and princes died, their bodies were installed in 'jade boxes' (*yu xia*).[133] Many examples of this funerary device have been found, and

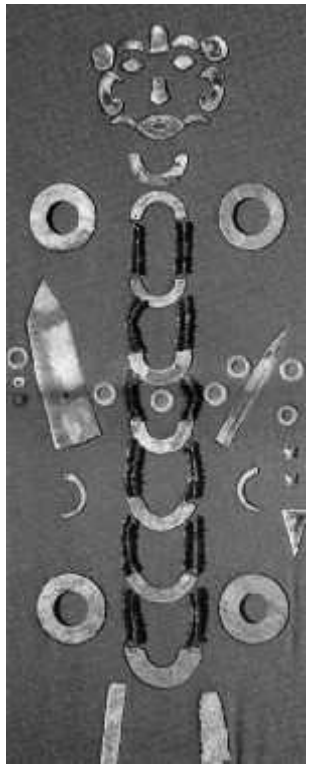
have led scholars to trace the custom of 'jade-furnished burials' (*yujianzang*) all the way back to Liangzhu culture of the late Neolithic period. Briefly, from the 1970s and especially in the 1980s and '90s, a large number of rich Liangzhu burials were discovered in the three adjacent provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Anhui.[134] The term 'jade-furnished burial' was coined for tombs furnished with an extraordinary amount of burial jades. One such grave is tomb M3 at Sidun. Excavated in 1982, this small rectangular burial contained more than a hundred jade carvings, including 33 short and long tubular *cong* which encircled the corpse of a young male (see illus. 2).[135] Entire Liangzhu cemeteries were then discovered in 1986 and 1987: the eleven tombs in the Fanshan cemetery yielded some 1,200 jades or groups of jades, while more than 700 jades or groups of jades came from the twelve tombs in a nearby cemetery at Yaoshan.[136] Although we still do not know the precise ritual function and symbolism of individual types, there is no question that to Liangzhu people, because of the extraordinary hardness and beauty of jade, this natural material was bestowed with magical power to protect or transform the dead.

Another group of recent archaeological finds demonstrates the continuous use of burial jades during the Zhou and clinches the argument that particular jade artefacts were created at this time to transform the corpse into an awesome, supernatural being. From 1992 to 2000 Chinese archaeologists excavated the royal cemetery of the state of Jin at Tianma-Qucun in southern Shanxi. There, they found nineteen tombs in nine groups, which they identified as burials of generations of Jin lords and their consorts who lived from the late eleventh to eighth centuries BCE. Among the numerous objects from the tombs, a particular type of jade carving was always found near the head of the deceased. Each group consisted of 40, 50 or 80 pieces of jade; the tiny holes drilled in the back or on the side indicate that these jades were originally sewed on a piece of cloth to form a composite image.[137] When reconstructed, each set of jades constitutes a mask (illus. 126). Based on textual records, the excavators have identified it as a *fu mian* or a 'face cover' for the dead.[138]

Fu mian masks from the Jin cemetery differ from one another in the construction and degree of elaboration, but none of them represent human faces naturalistically. The common style is to use jade pieces in geometric shapes – triangles, rectangles, arcs and trapezoids – to construct a semi-abstract face that recalls masks on Shang and early Western Zhou bronzes. Some of the individual jade pieces represent miniature animals, similar to the zoomorphic motifs used to compose mask images on Shang and early Western Zhou bronzes. 'Burial jades' (*sang yu*) of this kind have been found in Shaanxi, Henan and Jiangsu, demonstrating a ritual practice that extended well beyond the state of Jin.[139] Covering the face of a newly deceased during the funerary ritual, a *fu mian* mask not only concealed the dead but, more importantly, altered his appearance and transformed him into a different, mysterious being.

Han dynasty 'jade suits' (*yu yi*) – as these amazing constructs have been conventionally known – represent a new stage of burial jades.[140] So far more than ten complete sets of such 'suits' have been found, attesting to at least three methods to transform a corpse into a 'jade body'.[141] The first method, exemplified by a set of burial jades from the tomb of Prince Liu Ci at Linyi in Shandong, including a head with a





126 Jade mask and other jade ornaments from the royal cemetery of the state of Jin at Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi. Late Western Zhou, 8th century BCE.

127 Jade mask and other jade ornaments from the royal cemetery of the state of Guo at Sanmenxia, Henan. Late Western Zhou, 8th century BCE.

pronounced nose, a pair of hands with folding fingers and two feet, is to use jade to cover exposed body parts. These jade carvings transformed the appearance of the exposed body parts; the torso of the deceased was presumably covered by clothes made of fabric (illus. 127).[142] The second method, seen in a royal tomb of the Southern Yue in Guangzhou, used jade to make not only body parts but also clothes (illus. 128).[143] Interestingly, excavators have noticed remarkable differences between the different sections of the jade figure in terms of material, manufacturing and construction method. The jade pieces used to form the head, two hands and two feet are carefully cut and polished, with even thickness and smooth edges. Small holes drilled at the corners allowed the pieces to be linked together to shape precise, three-dimensional forms. In contrast, the jade pieces used to make the clothes – a jacket and a pair of trousers – are often materials left over from making other jade products. Without perforated holes, these coarse and minimally polished pieces were tied together with thick ribbons and attached to a fabric lining.[144]

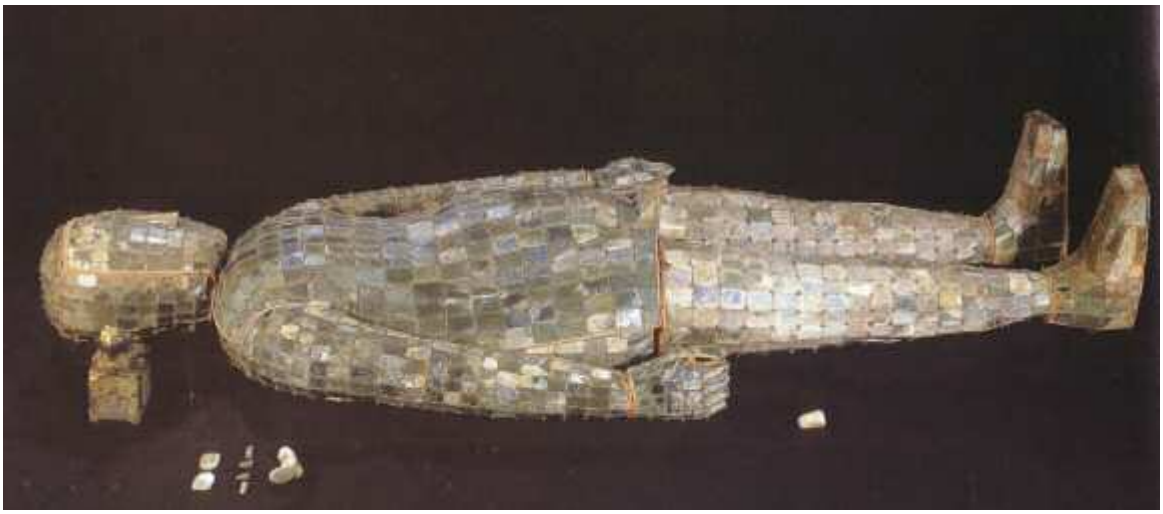
Two 'jade suits' from Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2 of Prince Liu Sheng and his wife Dou Wan represent the third method, which transforms a corpse into a complete 'jade body' (illus. 129, 130). In the cases of both husband and wife, the head of the jade body has basic facial features. Jade plaques were specifically shaped and fitted together to represent a rudimentary nose; Dou Wan even has a pair of jade ears (see illus. 130). Each face bears three thin slits which represent two eyes and a mouth. Interestingly, although eye plugs had been applied to 'seal' the dead body, here slits were created to

128 The 'jade body' of Zhao Mo, a king of the Kingdom of Southern Yue. Excavated at Guangzhou, Guangdong. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

allow the 'jade prince' and his consort to see again. A later jade body, belonging to a Zhongshan king of the first century CE, even has sculpted eyes and mouth (illus. 131). With such faculties, the jade figure seems to stare into the darkness before him with an everlasting expression.

Not only do the 'jade bodies' of Liu Sheng and Dou Wan possess facial features, but the modelling of different body parts attests to a consistent attention to representing basic anatomy. The concept of clothes disappears entirely in these two examples, which are in fact fully naked jade figures. In each case, the round arms are smoothly connected to two hands; fingers are painstakingly shaped with jade plaques of different shapes and sizes (illus. 132A). The legs imitate human legs, not a pair of trousers (illus. 132B). The torso shows subtle curves; the joining of stomach and legs, and especially the round buttocks, are sensitively represented (figs 132C, D). These so-called 'suits' have no buttons or openings (as the Southern Yue suit does). Instead, Liu Sheng's jade body is equipped with genitals to preserve the prince's sexuality and generativity.

129 The 'jade body' of Liu Sheng from Mancheng Tomb 1. Western Han, 2nd century BCE.



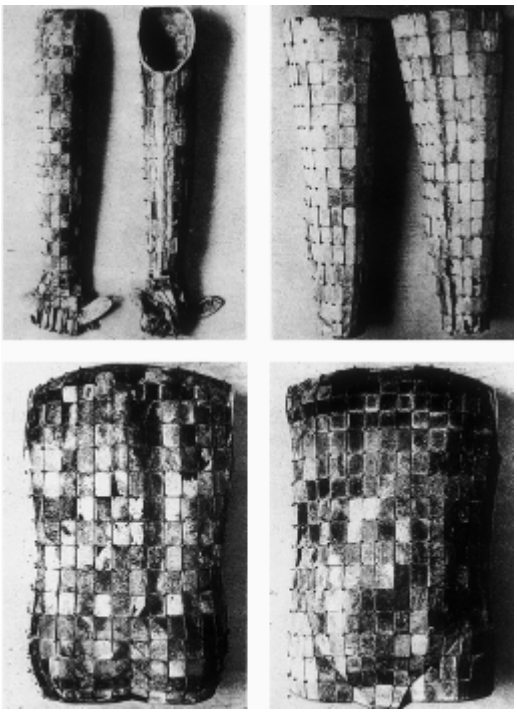
It would be a mistake, however, to consider each jade body simply a 'represention' of a dead person. A close examination of the burial context of Mancheng Tomb 1 reveals a complex ritual sequence, through which the dead prince was transformed into a 'prince of jade'. This transformation took place in the symbolic realm. Its fundamental technology was 'layering': sets of carved jades were successively applied to the corpse – inserted into it, sealing it up, securing it, covering it and encasing it. In this process, the corpse gradually disappeared and was replaced. It became less and less a body of flesh vulnerable to physical decay, but more and more like a solid statue untouchable by time or the elements.

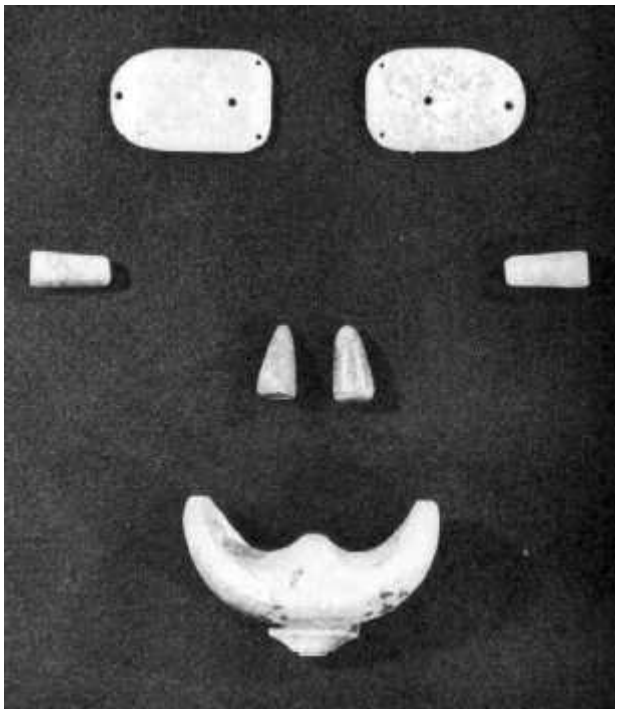
130 Detail of Dou Wan's 'jade body'.Mancheng Tomb 2. Western Han, 104 BCE.

131 The 'jade head' of King Liu Yan of the state of Zhongshan, excavated in Dingzhou, Hebei. Early Eastern Han, 1st century CE.

At least four layers of jades were found above Liu Sheng's and Dou Wan's bodies. The innermost layer consisted of a set of jade plugs that stopped up the nine bodily orifices. The seven plugs shown in illus. 133 include two flat eye covers, short tube-like plugs for the ears and nostrils, and a large amulet for the mouth; the other two plugs were for the anus and the sex organ. The idea behind this practice was later summarized by Ge Hong in the early fourth century: 'When gold and jade are inserted into the nine orifices, corpses do not decay.'[145]

This initial step of plugging the orifices was followed by protecting the corpse with large and small jade *bi*-discs. In Liu Sheng's case, eighteen *bi* were placed around his upper body – three large ones on the chest, five under the back and five on either side. More jade disks protected his lower back and shoulder blades. All the discs bore tracings of cloth upon their discovery; the excavators thus suggested that they were originally tied together and attached to a large piece of thick fabric.[146] If their opinion is reliable, then these ritual discs must not be viewed as individual objects, but must be taken collectively as a 'jade shroud' covering the most crucial parts of the dead body. This process was finally concluded by encasing the corpse, as well as all its protective plugs and the *bi*-shroud, with a 'jade body'.





132 a–d (clockwise from top left) Parts of Liu Sheng's 'jade body'.

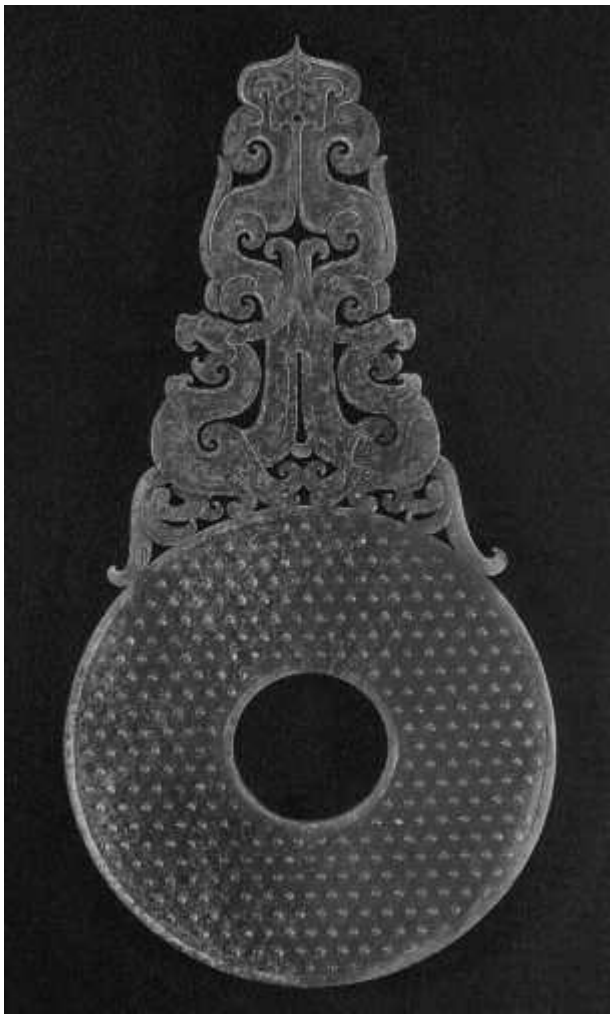
133 Jade plugs excavated from Mancheng Tomb 1. Western Han, 113 BCE.

Several writers have proposed that the full-bodied Mancheng 'suits' must have developed from the partial 'suit' from Linyi.[147] But these two examples – in fact two types of jade bodies – reflect more than a typological evolution. The Linyi set, as I have just argued, shows the exposed parts of a fully dressed figure. We can thus call it a *metonymic* representation of a jade figure, in which parts stand for the whole.[148] The Mancheng set, on the one hand, is *metaphoric* because it transforms the corpse in its entirety.[149] In retrospect, we realize that the first two layers of jades applied to Liu Sheng's body – the plugs and the shroud with *bi* discs – only blocked orifices and covered the chest; they protected and partially transformed the corpse, but did not substitute for it. The overall 'jade body', on the other hand, represented the completion of a magical transformation. This transformed body was then placed into the coffin and was further surrounded by additional jades. Dou Wan's coffin had a jade lining, formed by 192 rectangular jade tiles inlaid on the coffin's interior. Twenty-six *bi* discs were again inlaid on the coffin's exterior, reminding us of similar disks that had been attached to a shroud for the lady.

A brief comparison with the treatment of Lady Dai's body in Mawangdui Tomb 1 will reinforce this interpretation of the Mancheng burial jades. Earlier I mentioned the painstaking preservation of Lady Dai's corpse: the dead woman's body was wrapped in twenty layers of clothes and shrouds, bound with nine bands, and then covered with additional layers of cloth (see illus. 121). All these wrappings, however, aimed to embellish and protect the body, not to transform it. Miraculously, the lady's corpse has indeed survived after 2,200 years. But in the Mancheng tombs, only a few teeth and the disintegrated bones of Liu Sheng and Dou Wan were found;

what has been preserved are their transformed bodies of jade.

This may in turn explain another difference between these two famous Western Han tombs. In the Mawangdui tomb, Lady Dai's Name Banner placed between the two innermost coffins displays her image above a large *bi* disc intertwined with two rising dragons (see illus. 124, 125). No such painting was found in Liu Sheng's tomb; instead, carved jades were placed in the space between the inner and outer coffins. These include a large *bi* disk – the most elaborate one from the tomb – decorated with a pair of dragons in ornate openwork patterns (illus. 134). Next to the disk was a jade figure, representing a gentleman seated in a formal posture, with arms resting on a low stand (illus. 135). The inscription on the bottom identifies the figure as an immortal, called 'Gu yu ren' or 'Jade gentleman of antiquity'. The placement of this figure resembles that of Lady Dai's portrait. But instead of portraying Liu Sheng's physical and hence temporary appearance, this jade figure confirms his newly gained eternity.[150]



134 An elaborate jade *bi* disk stored in Liu Sheng's coffin. Mancheng Tomb 1. Western Han, 113 BCE.

The jade figure from the Mancheng tomb recalls Zhuangzi's description of those ageless men unaffected by time and other natural rules: 'There is a Divine Gentleman living on faraway Gushe Mountain, with skin like ice or snow, and gentle and shy like a young girl. He doesn't eat the five grains, but sucks the wind and drinks the dew.'[151] Like this Divine Gentleman, the 'jade gentleman' from Liu Sheng's tomb also has 'skin like ice or snow', 'does not eat the five grains' and has a gentle expression on his face. In both cases, the figures still assume human shape, but their unusual colour and habits signify their immortality.

From traditional texts we also know that jade was actually used as a magical material to induce immortality. Emperor Wu of the Western Han, a half-brother of Liu Sheng, is said to have regularly taken a kind of elixir mixing jade powder with 'sweet dew' (*ganlu*). His example was followed by a Grand General of the Later Wei named Li Yu, who engaged in the cultivation of immortality after his retirement. Upon obtaining an 'ancient recipe for jade elixir', he collected many antique jades; the seventy best pieces were ground into powder, which he ate every day for several years. This did not lead to longevity, of course, but as a true believer, he asked his wife to observe the miracle of his corpse: 'Don't bury me immediately, so that everyone can have a chance to know how wonderful and effective this elixir is.' His wife followed his instruction to display his body in the summer heat. After several days, it did not change colour even

135 A jade figure stored in Liu Sheng's coffin. Mancheng Tomb 1. Western Han, 113 BCE.

slightly. When the family finally held funerary rites for him and tried to put his body into a coffin, it felt as hard as stone. Li Yu was buried with the jade powder that he had not finished eating.[152]

Han dynasty folk songs written down around the time of the Mancheng tombs express two views about death. One song goes: 'No one is made of gold and stone; / How could one escape death?'[153] But when an entire grave has been turned into stone and even the corpse has been transformed into jade, this premise was reversed, as expressed in another song: 'At death he has attained the way of holy immortals.'[154] Indeed, we may say that Liu Sheng and Dou Wan had indeed achieved immortality, but only through death and only through the alchemy of funerary symbols.

Transformation and Restoration

The custom of making 'jade bodies' died out after the Han, but new methods were developed to transform the dead body for various ritual and religious purposes. It is interesting to note that these methods often originated in non-Chinese cultural and religious traditions. One such practice was related to the Sogdians, who by the sixth century had established a string of settlements along the Silk Road, from their native Sogdiana all the way to Chang'an and Luoyang. Following Zoroastrian ritual custom, Sogdians exposed the body of the dead and stored the disarticulated bones in an ossuary, which they then placed in a mausoleum.[155] After moving to China and establishing large and small colonies there, many Sogdians adopted the Chinese custom of burying the dead in underground tombs, but still retained the Zoroastrian treatment of the corpse.[156] A tomb excavated in 2000 near Xi'an contained an epitaph which identifies the tomb occupant as An Qie, a leader of the local Sogdian community who died in 579.[157] A prominent image of a fire altar, carved above the entrance to the tomb chamber, indicates his Zoroastrian affiliation. The only furniture in the chamber was a mortuary couch carved with elaborate pictorial scenes; but it was empty, with no trace of a coffin or human body on it. Instead, An Qie's skeletal remains, including only a skull and part of a thighbone, were found near the entrance behind his epitaph, with the thighbone showing traces of burning. It is both recorded in ancient texts and established by archaeological evidence that Sogdian funeral rituals included burning the bones of the dead. Since this tomb was never robbed, it is reasonable to conclude, as the excavators did, that this ritual was used in An Qie's burial.[158] Similar phenomena have been found in other Northern Dynasties tombs.[159]

It is likely that this Zoroastrian custom was mainly practiced by Sogdian immigrants. But cremation – a Buddhist postmortem practice that originated in India – represented a very different case. Largely restricted to monks and nuns until the late Tang, this practice gained wide currency during Song times. Patricia Ebrey observes: 'Beginning in the tenth century, many people willingly gave up the long-established custom of burying bodies in coffins to follow the practice introduced by Buddhist monks of cremating bodies and either scattering the ashes over water, storing them in urns aboveground, or burying the urn in a small grave. Throughout the native Sung [Song] dynasty and its successor, the alien Yuan dynasty founded by the Mongol conquerors, cremation flourished despite strong objections on the part of the state and the Confucian-educated elite.'[160] Ebrey proposes a number of reasons to explain this change in burial custom, among which the most fundamental is simply that by this time, Buddhism had deeply penetrated society at large and begun to influence people's lives in more essential ways.

It is important to realize, however, that cremation was not only popularized in the Song, but also became widespread in the neighboring Liao and Jin empires, where this Buddhist ritual was mingled with elements from other ritual/religious traditions. In particular, while the Song practitioners of cremation often replaced coffined corpses with unadorned 'ash urns' in an unproblematic fashion, Han Chinese living under Liao rule invented a new, imaginative way to both transform and restore the body of the dead. The

reason for this invention, as we will see below, lies in a series of complex interactions and negotiations between multiple cultural and religious factors, not only between Buddhist, Taoism and Confucianism but also between Qidan (Khitan) and Han.

The best example of this new burial custom is a group of near life-size manikins from a Zhang family graveyard at Xuanhua, a town located north of the Great Wall and close to present-day Inner Mongolia.[161] Inscriptions in the tombs date the graveyard securely to the period between 1093 and 1117, almost two centuries after the Liao annexed the town in 938. The Zhangs were local Chinese gentry and devout Buddhists. Zhang Shiqing, who founded the family cemetery and reburied his grandparents there, held a series of official posts in the government. The tombs' careful design and opulent decoration further imply the economic security he and his descendants enjoyed under Liao rule. Still, the Zhangs were clear about their Han identity and made this clear through performing certain funerary rites. We know this from archaeological excavations over the past thirty years, which have proven that cremation manikins were only used by Han subjects in the north.[162] It would be wrong, however, to call this mortuary practice a 'Chinese' custom because of its absence in the Song: it signified Han identity only in the geopolitical context of the Liao.

Among the unearthed Xuanhua manikins, two were 'straw figures' containing cremated ashes. Lying side by side in a single coffin in M7, they stood for Zhang Wenzao and his wife. According to the excavation report, the two figures were 80 and 90cm tall and had 'heads made of silk and representing facial features'. Wearing headgear ornaments, socks and shoes, and layers of clothes, they rested their heads on pillows and had their bodies covered with quilts. The figures disintegrated when they were exposed to fresh air, but excavation photos still show the fragile materials used to construct them.[163]

In contrast, wooden manikins from the graveyard and a nearby tomb are better preserved and allow us to study their construction. When archaeologists opened Zhang Shiqing's coffin in 1974, they saw a human figure made of cypress wood lying inside. Only a face mask and a foot have been successfully preserved, however. Masterfully sculpted and painted, the mask shows an older man with a beard (illus. 136); the image's individualized features and vivid expression have convinced researchers that this is a portrait of Zhang Shiqing, who died at the age of 74. Twenty-four years later, two complete wooden manikins were discovered in a tomb next to the Zhang family graveyard. Each 1.5m tall and composed of seventeen different parts, they represent two wives of a Qidan man whose corpse was encased in a metal mesh body suit (a unique Qidan mortuary practice which I will discuss later in this section). The heads and torsos of the two manikins are carved from single pieces of cypress wood, whereas each limb consists of four pieces connected by sockets and joints. The figures could thus be positioned in various gestures. The stomach of each manikin is hollowed out to contain cremated ashes wrapped in a piece of silk. It is likely that the figures originally wore clothes, and this is why, as the excavators have noted, 'the modelling of the face, hands, and feet is especially exquisite'.[164] An example from a monk's tomb at Balinzuoqi, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, clinches the assumption that these manikins are 'portrait statues' of the deceased: wearing monastic clothes, it has ordination marks on a bald head (illus. 137).[165]

In the Zhang family tombs, manikins were placed inside wooden coffins on brick 'coffin beds' (*guan chuang*). These coffin beds are brightly decorated, but the coffins only bear written inscriptions on top and on each side. Most of the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit with Chinese titles. The content is exclusively Buddhist. Copying *dhāranī* spells and *The Heart Sutra*, these inscriptions express wishes for rescue from the impure world of causation after death.

136 Mask of Zhang Shiqing excavated at Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1116 CE.

In her excellent essay 'Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province', Hsüeh-man Shen interprets the heterogeneous methods used to design, decorate and furnish these tombs as complementary means of pursuing postmortem immortality: it was the family's desire to transcend death that brought different religious traditions into a synthetic interplay.[166] This interpretation, which focuses on the patrons' intentions, can be strengthened by an analysis of three consecutive stages of the treatment of the corpse – cremating the body, installing the cremation manikin and coffining the manikin. Deriving ideas and methods from different religious and ritual traditions, these three stages together constituted a new, coherent ritual programme.

Cremation: 'Transformation by Fire'

Funerary inscriptions from the Xuanhua tombs explicitly identify cremation as a Buddhist practice that originated in India. A passage from Zhang Shiqing's epigraph states:

> At his death bed he ordered a cremation in accordance with the Indian Buddhist rite. After the ritual [people] retrieved his scalp and tongue, which had miraculously survived the fire. This must be a manifestation of the good deeds accumulated throughout his life.[167]

137 A wooden manikin excavated from Balin Right Banner, Inner Mongolia. Liao dynasty, 11th–12th centuries CE.

It is said that the Buddha initiated the ritual of cremation to detach himself once and for all from the fleshly body and impure world.[168] Contrary to Confucian funerary rites which aim to preserve the physical body, cremation reduces the body into *relics*. The Chinese term for the practice, *huo hua* or 'transformation by fire', acutely highlights its intended symbolism as a means of transformation and purification. The Southern Song writer Hong Mai (1123–1202) observed: 'Once the Buddhist theory of transformation by fire arose, there have been people everywhere who burn the corpse on death. When the weather is hot, out of dread of the foul secretions, they invariably lay out (the body) before the day is over and burn it before the flesh is cold.'[169] Zhang Shiqing was

contemporary with Hong Mai's father Hong Hao, who spent many years in the north. Hong Mai himself also travelled to the north in 1163 as an official envoy. It is perhaps no accident that he emphasized the wide geographical spread of this practice.

Manikins: Restoration of the Body

If cremation eliminates any cultural and ethnic specificity from the physical body, storing cremated ashes in a funerary manikin was a cultural practice developed by a particular ethnic group in a particular sociopolitical context. In her article Hsüeh-man Shen makes an insightful argument that instead of serving as stand-ins for the dead, such manikins became 'the deceased themselves' to defy death.[170] From the perspective of ritual performance, a manikin thus *restored* the body, which had been destroyed by cremation. The conceptual basis of this second transformation is no longer provided by Buddhism, but is found in the Confucian notion of the body and ancestral worship. As mentioned earlier, postmortem rites prescribed in Confucian ritual canons focus on dressing, nourishing and honouring the dead body – practices which would become obsolete if the physical body no longer existed. Although the Zhangs were Buddhist followers, by creating the manikins to hold the cremated ashes of the deceased, they could maintain traditional Confucian funerary rites – dressing the manikins as if they were real persons, and offering them food and drink in the manner of traditional ancestral worship (see illus. 215).

This restoration did not cancel the previous transformation of the body through cremation. To the contrary, because the restored body 'embodied' the cremated ashes which were perceived by Buddhists as sacred relics, it elevated the body to a higher ontological level. It was a widespread belief in medieval China that religious icons, both statues of the Buddha and images of eminent monks, gained magical power from the relics installed inside them. Thus the Chan master Danxia Tianran (739–824) felt at ease to burn a statue of the Buddha when he found no relics inside it.[171]

Combining Buddhist and Confucian concepts, the Xuanhua manikins were products of religious syncretism, defined as the reconciliation or fusion of differing systems of belief. An investigation of the possible origins of this funerary device further confirms its syncretistic nature. Although we are still unable to trace the precise development of funerary manikins, enough evidence suggests that they derived inspirations from three different sources. The first is the so-called 'ash icon' of an eminent monk, which gained currency among certain Buddhist communities during and after the Tang. Often representing the subject in a surprisingly realistic manner, such statues were either made of clay mixed with cremated ashes (called *xiangni* or 'fragrant clay'), or contain cremated ashes in their hollowed bodies. The earliest surviving example of such a statue belonged to Hongbian (d. 962), the head of the Buddhist community at Dunhuang in the first half of the tenth century (illus. 138). The many parallels between this type of statue and the Xuanhua manikin, including the association with Buddhist cremation, the 'embodiment' of relics and the restoration of the physical body of the dead, has led some scholars to identity it as the origin of the Liao custom.[172] In fact, some Liao tombs may have contained clay 'ash statues' of the

138 Sculpted portrait of Hongbian (*d.* 962 CE) in Cave 17 of the Mogao Grottoes. Dunhuang, Gansu. Five Dynasties, 10th century CE.

dead as an alternative form of funerary manikin, but which had dissolved by the time of excavation.[173]

The second inspiration possibly came from the funerary practice of the Qidan, the ruling ethnic group of the Liao. The Song author Wen Weijian reported this custom in considerable detail after visiting the north:

> The Qidan have the following very strange custom. When a man from a rich or noble family dies, they cut open the abdomen and remove the intestines and

> the stomach. After washing it they stuff the body with fragrant herbs, salt, and alum. Afterward they sew it up again with five-colored thread. They prick the skin with sharply pointed reeds in order to drain off the fluid and blood until it is all gone. They use gold and silver to make masks and they wind copper wire around the hands and feet. When Yelü Deguang [the Liao emperor Taizong] died, this method [of embalming] was used. The [Chinese] people of that time call the corpse 'Imperial dried meat' (*di ba*). These are the true facts.[174]

This report has been confirmed by many archaeological finds, among which the joint burial of the princess of the state of Chen and her husband is the most splendid.[175] The princess, a granddaughter of Emperor Jingzong (r. 969–982), died in 1018 at the age of sixteen. This undisturbed Liao royal tomb in southeast Inner Mongolia revealed an unprecedented lavishness in burial dress that stunned the archaeological world. The royal couple was interred side by side on a wooden funerary couch with their heads resting on gilded-silver pillows (illus. 140). Each corpse was encased in a silver-wire mesh body suit that extended from head to toe. Each wore a gold death mask (illus. 139), an ornate headdress, earrings, a belt with gilded accessories and gilded-silver boots, along with clothing made of real fabric. Another Liao burial, Tomb 6 at Haoqianying in Chayouqianqi, Inner Mongolia, has yielded additional evidence concerning the treatment of the body: wearing a copper-wire suit and a gilt-bronze mask, the female corpse in the tomb 'bore obvious blood stains on her right shoulder and chest, as well as on the lower body' – a phenomenon that possibly resulted from draining off the blood.[176]

A comparison between these Qidan burials and the Zhang family tombs at Xuanhua reveals many parallels as well as differences. In both cases, the postmortem treatment of the body includes two consecutive stages. A corpse was first transformed into an 'incorruptible body', whether through 'transformation by fire' or by turning the body into a fluidless 'dried meat' (*ba*). The second stage aimed at restoring the body by providing the deceased with a manufactured face and torso, and through dressing the restored body with real or surrogate clothes, headgear and shoes. Li Qingquan has further noticed that Zhang Shiqing's mask (see illus. 136) was constructed in a similar way to a Qidan metal mask (see illus. 139).[177] Such similarities between the two ritual practices, however, also highlight their differences. First, as mentioned earlier, tombs of the Han-Chinese only contained wooden or straw manikins, while at least twenty-four metal masks and eighteen body suits have been found in Qidan tombs.[178] Second, whereas the practice of cremation identified the tomb occupant as a Buddhist, the method of embalming the corpse identified the practitioners' Qidan origin. These similarities and differences indicate an interreferential system in a multi-ethnic society, which provided its members with the means to articulate their different ethnic and religious identities.

The different materials of the 'restored bodies' raise a question: Why did the Han subjects of the Liao use wood in making funerary manikins – a perishable material which seems at odds with the idea of permanence and immortality?[179] Although any answer can only be hypothetical, this question leads us to uncover a third source of

such images in a type of Taoist practice in traditional Chinese funerary culture. An important clue is that the Xuanhua manikins were all made of cypress wood. Significantly, several stories in traditional texts reveal that cypress figures were used to substitute for real persons. One of the stories in *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu*) relates that Wang Dao (276–339), Chancellor of the Eastern Jin (317–394), asked Guo Pu (276–324) to tell his fortune. A noted master of esoteric learning, Guo decided that Wang would soon meet a fatal calamity and gave him this advice:

> Order your carriage and go out of the city toward the west several *li*. There you will find a cypress tree. Cut it off to the same length as yourself and put it on the bed in the place where you usually sleep, and the calamity may be minimized.

Wang followed Guo's instruction. Not long after, a thunderbolt shattered the cypress figure.[180] But he survived.

It is archaeology, however, that has provided the most convincing evidence to connect the Xuanhua manikins to Taoist funerary practices. In 1973 Chinese archaeologists excavated a Tang tomb north of Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi province. Among the unearthed objects is a standing figure carved from a single piece of cypress wood. Painted with clear facial features, it also wears a black hat and a robe. The long inscription written on the back identifies the statue as a *bai ren* (cypress person) and states explicitly that it was created for the tomb of a certain Madam Xiong, who died in 890 at the age of fifty-four. Like other Taoist 'acquittal figures' discussed earlier, this statue would 'answer the calls of the underground deities' in place of the dead woman and her

139 Gold death mask of the princess of the State of Chen. Excavated from Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, Inner Mongolia. Liao Dynasty, 1018 CE.

140 Excavation view of the joint-burial of the princess of the State of Chen and her husband at Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, Inner Mongolia. Liao Dynasty, early 1018 CE.

descendants and servants, protecting them from the perils of the underworld.[181] Another 'cypress figure' from Pengze in Jiangxi, dated 1090 with an inscription, further proves that this tradition continued during Song and Liao times.[182]

Dhāranī coffins: Transcending Death

A manikin – the restored body of the dead – was interred in a rectangular coffin; the lid of the coffin has four sloping sides. An inscription written on three of the sides reads:

> With its efficacy to bless whoever is cast in the shadow, this *dhāranī* coffin (*tuoluoni guan*) transcends the substance of the returning soul, to exempt it from hell, and to award it with a heavenly body forever. We trust that the good causes of dust [on the *dhāranī* coffin] and ink [used to copy *dhāranī* texts on the coffin] will [make the coffin] as indestructible as heaven and earth. Thus inscribed with respect.[183]

The coffin is called a '*dhāranī* coffin' because it bears *dhāranīs* on all its four sides and the top. The Sanskrit word *dhāranī* means literally to 'preserve, maintain, and uphold' the Buddha's teachings in one's heart. Various Chinese translations of the word, including *zongchi*, *nengchi* and *nengzhe*, all refer to a complete 'maintenance' of wisdom and a permanent 'control' over evil passions and influences. Because medieval Buddhists, especially the followers of Esoteric Buddhism, considered *dhāranī* the essence of all approaches to the Dharma, *dhāranī* came to signify Complete Enlightenment or Buddha-nature, and practising *dhāranī* amounted to practising all approaches to the Dharma.

Dhāranī texts inscribed on Xuanhua *dhāranī* coffins appear in three forms. The first kind, covering the three sides of a coffin, consists of a number of secret *dhāranī* spells written in Sanskrit, each followed by its Chinese title. The second form, appearing on the top of a coffin, transliterates a *dhāranī* spell phonetically into Chinese. The third form includes a single *dhāranī* text – *The Heart Sutra* (*Xin jing*) copied in full in Chinese on a coffin's head board. These three kinds of inscriptions play different roles. The Sanskrit mantras and phonetic transliteration possessed no literal meaning to a Chinese reader. They were not translated because their power resided predominantly in their esoteric visual form and sound. Moreover, as Zhang Baosheng has pointed out, inscribed on different sides of the coffin, these foreign, illegible signs constitute a spatial structure known as a *dhāranī mandala*.[184] It is this *mandala* that casts the dead 'in its shadow' and embraces the 'returning soul' in the field of Buddhist dharma. A statement from the *Dhāranī of the Jubilant Corona* (c: *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*; s: *Usnīsavijayādhāranī*) makes this idea explicit:[185]

> When this *dhāranī* is duplicated and enshrined atop a sutra pillar, on high mountains, on towers, or on stupas, those multitudes who see or come close to the *dhāranī* and those whose body is cast in the shadow or is touched by the dust blown from the *dhāranī* pillar will be eliminated from all sins, all suffering from hell . . . and will be promised Buddhahood.[186]

Significantly, this passage emphasizes the efficacy of 'viewing' and 'touching,' not 'reading'. Inscribed on a coffin, *dhāranī* texts came into close contact with the restored body of the dead, literally casting it 'in its shadow'. In other Liao tombs, *dhāranī* are carved on stone slabs, pillars and walls to transform the entire chamber into a Dharma field.[187] Most tellingly, one of these tombs at Lamagou in Aohanqi, Inner Mongolia, bears an inscription on the ceiling that starts with this sentence: 'When the Sanskrit script of a sacred *dhāranī* touches the dead bones, the deceased will have been instantly reborn in the Pure Land.'[188]

Appearing in a readable Chinese script on the front side of a *dhāranī* coffin, *The Heart Sutra* bestows the coffin with not only magical power but also literary meaning. The shortest among all the 'Perfection of Wisdom' (*Prajñāpāramitā* in Sanskrit and *Banruo* in Chinese) texts of Mahāyāna literature, this sutra consists of just 260 characters in the most prevalent Chinese version.[189] But it was regarded as the most succinct explanation of the Buddha's doctrine of emptiness. Here is the core section of the text translated by Jerry Pevahouse:

> Therefore in emptiness,
> No form, no feeling, thought, volition, consciousness,
> No eyes, ears, tongue, body, mind,
> No listening, smelling, tasting, touching,
> No world to be observed up to,
> No world to be perceived,
> No ignorance also no end to ignorance,
> No old age and death and no end to old age and death,
> No suffering, craving, annihilation, path.
> No wisdom also no attainment.
> Therefore nothing arises which can be attained.
> The Bodhisattva relies on Prajna Paramita.
> Therefore the mind is without obstructions.
> No obstructions therefore no fear, doubt.
> Far beyond deluded thinking, suffering and difficulties.
> Ultimate Nirvana!
> All past, present and future Buddhas rely on Prajna Paramita
> Therefore attaining supreme enlightenment.

It is understandable why *The Heart Sutra* was copied in entirety on a Xuanhua *dhāranī* coffin: while promising permanent release from the suffering in the phenomenonal world, it also includes a powerful protective mantra at the end, which the text itself identifies as 'the great-enlightened *dhāranī*, the highest *dhāranī*, the unequalled *dhāranī* and remover of all suffering'. On a Xuanhua coffin, *The Heart Sutra* is followed by a dedicatory inscription which clearly reveals the sutra's function in a funerary context: 'We wish that the merit (of copying the sutra) will be transferred to all dead and living beings, enabling them all attain the ultimate Buddhahood.'

3 Temporality

The sky was black and earth yellow; space and time vast, limitless.
Sun high or low, moon full or parsed; with stars and lodges spread in place.
Cold arrives then heat once more; Autumn's harvest, Winter's store.
Extra days round out the years; scale in tune with sun and spheres.
A Thousand Character Essay[1]

Written by Zhou Xingsi (d. 521) of the Southern Dynasties, these lines describe the universe after the moment of its creation. Without the will and action of an external creator, *time* and *space* had unfolded of their own accord. A myriad of celestial bodies had emerged in the sky and begun to revote around a mysterious pivot. The movement of light and dark and that of cold and heat had gained their rhythm, producing days, months and the four seasons of the year. Interestingly, this creation process was repeated in constructing each decorated tomb in traditional China: when stars and constellations were painted on the ceiling, surrounded by the Four Animal Spirits that symbolized the ceaseless circulation of energy around a pivotal point, an imageless vacuum beneath the earth was transformed into a living microcosmic organism. This model universe was further enriched by additional temporal orders conveyed by other images and objects and the bodily remains of the tomb occupant. Whether historical, biographical or psychophysical, these secondary temporal orders were more closely related to the culture, ideas and experience of those who commissioned, built and inhabited a tomb. Since these specific temporal orders were routinely superimposed onto the cosmic order in funerary art and architecture, a decorated tomb never committed itself to a single notion of time, but always synthesized multiple temporalities into a complex interplay.

Here *temporality* means the quality and state of time that substantiates a temporal order or system. Philosophers have written a great deal to explain such orders and systems. Paul Ricoeur, for one, discusses no less than twenty kinds of time in his book *Time and Narrative*, including cosmic time, universal time, monumental time, mythic time, astral time, common time, objective time, historical time, mortal time, lived time, ordinary time, ritual time, physical time, psychological time, private time, public time and anonymous time, as well as calendar, chronicle and others.[2] One constant thread throughout his discussion, however, is the interaction between a 'lived

time' experienced by individuals and a cosmic/mythic time attributed to an external entity.[3] According to him, this interaction – both tension and collaboration – gives rise to historical narrative and fictional imagination. It is surprising how well this insight helps illuminate a crucial aspect of this ancient artistic and architectural tradition of Chinese tombs.

To understand the crucial significance of the interaction between 'lived time' and cosmic/mythic time in imagining and constructing a Chinese tomb, the most direct way is to review the two archetypal descriptions of this ritual space. Sima Qian's account of the First Emperor's grave juxtaposes a simulated microcosm of the universe ('Above were all the heavens and below all the earth') with reminders of the emperor's former existence (models of his palaces and subjects, strange objects and valuables in his former possession). Lu Ji's 'Mourner's Songs', on the other hand, describes the cosmic/mythic environment inside a tomb from the point of view of the departed soul – it is the *voice* of the poet that signifies the continuous existence of the dead. It then becomes evident that both descriptions articulate a single 'core construct' underlying a tomb's architecture and decoration, characterized by interactions between subject and object, text and context, self and environment.

The previous chapters have examined such interactions in terms of space and art medium: we have seen how spirit articles and other objects defined the existence of the posthumous soul in a tomb, and how paintings and sculptures constructed cosmological and domestic environments for the dead. This chapter expands this investigation by approaching a tomb as a spatial-temporal construct. In fact, since time and space are never separate, many 'spatial' representations discussed earlier are simultaneously 'temporal' in nature. I will begin from pictures and sculptures that represent systems of *cosmic/mythic time*. These systems are both cosmic and mythical because they integrate temporal cycles which have no beginning or end. Forging an abstract totality, these cycles situate a tomb at the locus of a perfect balance and harmony. For these reasons, representations of this temporal order could easily absorb concepts and symbols related to immortality, thereby integrating scientific knowledge of the universe with fantasies of an eternal paradise.

My next focus is *lived time* in a tomb signified by 'lived objects' – personal belongings of the dead found among tomb furnishings. The intimate relationship between these objects and the tomb occupant make them special symbols with multiple implications. When they were displayed during the funeral, these objects reminded people of a departed family member or friend, conjuring up memory and evoking emotional response. At this stage of the mortuary ritual, these objects indicated a past life and were analogous to the corpse. Once buried inside a tomb, however, they acquired a new meaning to signify the 'rebirth' of the dead in a different time-space. Since the ancient Chinese believed that the posthumous soul remained conscious and mobile, and was actually 'living' in the tomb, such objects no longer symbolized a past life in the human world, but attested to a 'present afterlife' in the realm of the Yellow Springs.

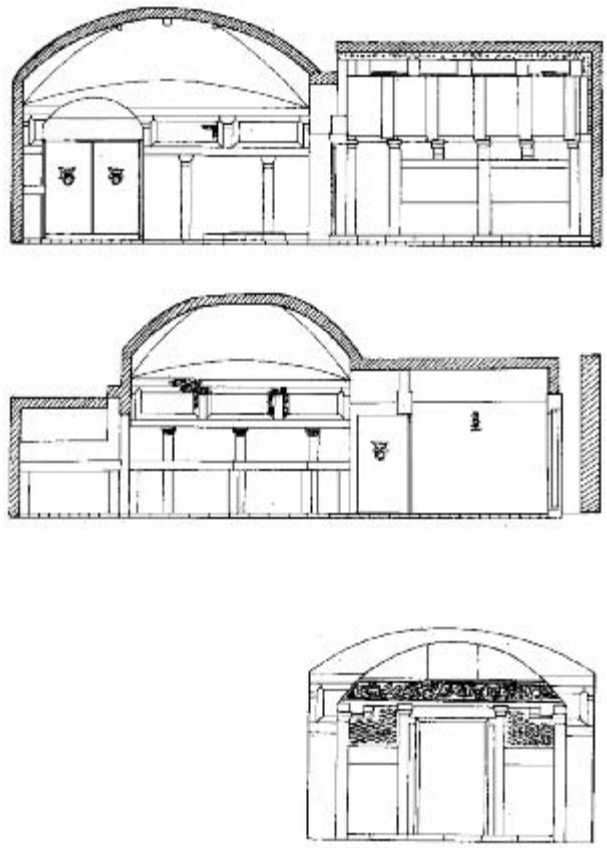
In both situations, a 'lived object' differs fundamentally from images and texts that convey *historical time* – the third topic of my discussion. Consisting of images of

ancient figures, simulated archaic forms and posthumous biographies, these are historical reconstructions and embody retrospective views. If 'lived objects' are by definition personal and fragmentary, these images and texts, as reconstructed histories, position the deceased within extra-personal narratives and subject him or her to public evaluation. Representations of historical time in funerary art are therefore intrinsically social and political.

The final section of this chapter discusses various kinds of 'journeys' depicted in tombs. These images lead us to explore an entirely different notion of temporality in funerary art. Whereas each of the three temporal orders examined in the earlier sections – cosmic/mythic time, lived time and historical time – constitutes a self-contained and self-sustaining system of representation, images of journeys blur the boundaries of these disjunctive systems and connect them into a flow of movement and transformation.

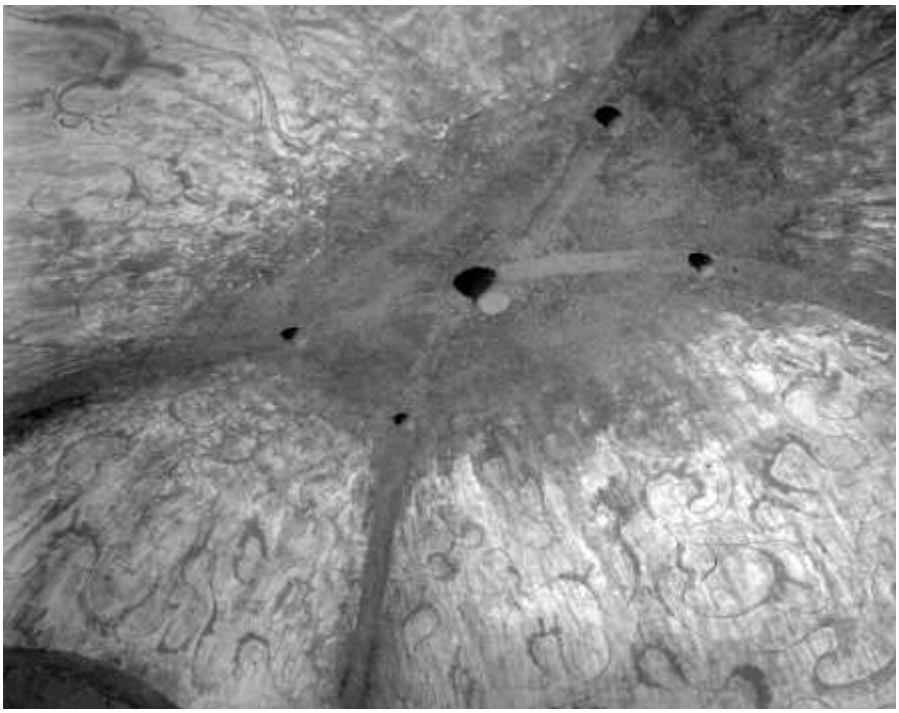
Cosmic/Mythic Time

The epigraph of this chapter, a passage from the *Thousand Character Essay* (*Qianzi wen*), reveals a medieval Chinese notion of the universe as an all-inclusive entity encompassing *all* phenomena – the heavens, earth, and everything that is in them. The universe is thus imagined as an absolute interiority, a closed system that has everything inside and nothing outside; its movement is produced and measured by its integral components, whether concrete heavenly bodies or a set of conceptual 'elements'. This all-inclusiveness of the universe and its intrinsic temporality makes it impossible to portray it in a realistic manner. Instead, the ancient Chinese developed two visual systems from early on, one *diagramming* the cosmic movement with symbols and patterns, the other *picturing* such movement as observable celestial phenomena. The first tradition inspired abstractions and schema; the second, descriptions and metaphors. Whereas these two visual traditions developed in parallel for thousands of years, they also constantly interacted with each other, producing numerous synthetic representations of cosmic/mythical time combining conceptual and descriptive signs.



141 Plans of the Jinguyuan Tomb near Luoyang, Henan. Xin dynasty, 8–25 CE.

The best early example of the 'diagramming' tradition is a painted chamber grave constructed during the Xin dynasty (8–25 CE) at Jinguyuan near the capital Luoyang (illus. 141).[4] The builders used different images to decorate the tomb's two chambers. The front chamber is bare and bears no zoomorphic or anthropological images. The only



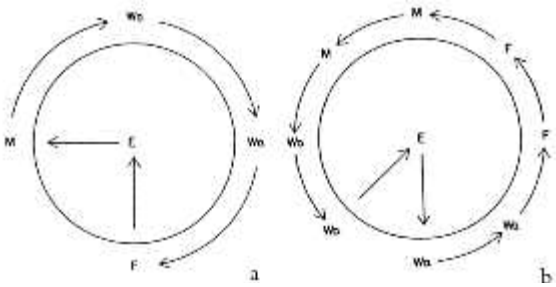
142 Ceiling of the front chamber in the Jinguyuan Tomb. Xin dynasty, 8–25 CE.

decorated section is the domed ceiling covered with painted swirling clouds. Five round sculpted forms protrude from this background at the apex of the dome, forming an abstract pattern at the centre of a mysterious space (illus. 142).

A contemporary viewer would immediately recognize this pattern as a representation of the Five Elements (wood, fire, earth, metal and water), and would mentally connect the isolated dots into a dynamic process of transformation that enlivens the universe. Indeed, as rudimentary as it is, this pattern was able to signify all natural and human phenomena, summarized in sets of fives in Han cosmology: five directions; five sacred mountains; five musical notes; five basic colours; five tastes; five senses; five features of the head; five organs of the body; five fingers on each hand; five toes on each foot; five human relationships; five fundamental virtues; five Confucian Classics; and so on. But the pattern does not just index a *classification* of the world. More important, the spatial juxtaposition of the Five Elements implies the internal movement of the universe, and in this sense should be considered a continuous process of transformation consisting of 'five phases'. A fascinating feature of this theory is that the Five Elements interact with one another in two opposite directions, forming either a 'mutually generating' (*xiang sheng*) cycle or a 'mutually overcoming' (*xiang ke*) cycle (illus. 143). In the first cycle, wood feeds fire; fire creates earth; earth bears metal; metal collects water; and water nourishes wood. Following the second movement, wood cleaves earth; earth absorbs water; water quenches fire; fire melts metal; and metal chops wood.

In contrast to the highly abstract five-dot pattern in the front chamber, the back chamber in the Jinguyuan tomb exhibits multiple zoomorphic and anthropomorphic

images. The underlying structure remains rational and schematic, however. A series of twelve deities and cosmic symbols, including Goumang, Rushou, Zhurong, Feilian and the Four Animal Spirits, constitutes a linear progression around the room. These figures correspond to various months in contemporary almanacs called *yue ling* or 'monthly ordinances', which describes the seasonal changes of the natural world and prescribes appropriate human activities for different months. These images thus likely stand for the twelve-month cycle of a year. Four square pictorial compositions on the ceiling further depict, as the excavators have identified, the sun, the moon, the Five Elements (this time represented by zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures), and two dragons ascending to heaven through *bi*-disks. Taken together, images in the two chambers articulate three kinds of temporal orders – the calendrical movement of the day and month, the cosmic transformation of the Five Elements and the journey of the posthumous soul.

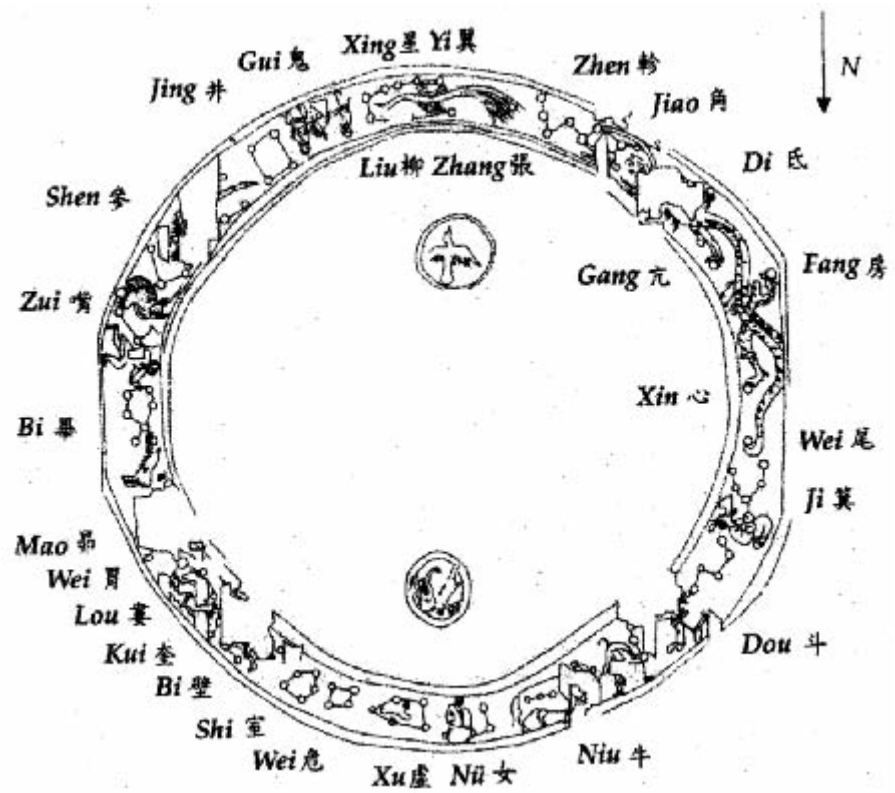


143 'Five Elements' patterns. (a) 'Mutually generating' cycle; (b) 'Mutually overcoming' cycle.

Whether abstract or figurative, the images in the Jinguyuan tomb aimed to reveal some essential correlative patterns of the universe, not to depict the observed world. As such, they differ fundamentally from a mural found in a contemporary tomb in Xi'an, which represents cosmic/mythical time as the movement of heavenly bodies in a well-defined celestial sphere.[5] Although the painter still employed zoomorphic and anthropomorphic symbols, these images symbolize not just abstract ideas but also actual astronomical phenomena.

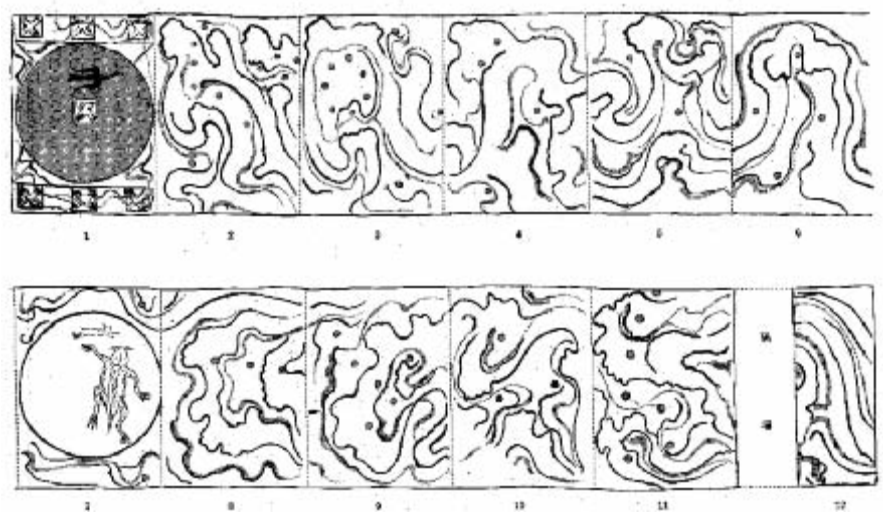
Considering the tomb's moderate size – the burial chamber is only 1.83m wide and 2.25m high – this circular mural is disproportionally large. With a diameter of 2.68–2.7m, it covers the full width of the arched ceiling and expands onto the side walls. In fact, only by lying on the floor and looking up can one behold the entire composition; this may exactly be how this mural was supposed to be viewed. From this position (that is, the position of the dead), one finds that the whole painting consists of two broad concentric circles. Symbols of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges (*Ershiba xu*) and Four Heavenly Palaces (*Si gong*) fill the outer band, surrounding an inner circle in which the sun balances the moon, and cranes and wild geese fly along drifting clouds (illus. 144; also see illus. 42).

One of the earliest 'celestial charts' (*tian tu*) in China, this mural has attracted much attention from scholars, especially those in the field of the history of science. Comparing this painting with ancient astronomical writings, mainly the 'Treatise of Celestial Officials' (Tianguan shu) in Sima Qian's *Historical Records*, these scholars have concluded that its depiction of the sky basically agrees with a Han astronomical theory known as *gaitian shuo* or the 'theory of the canopy-shaped heaven'.[6] What has not been sufficiently emphasized, however, is that far from being a static star map, this mural conveys a strong sense of motion. Indeed, if we compare it with the astronomical drawing in a slightly earlier tomb at Luoyang, we see a major advance in picturing cosmic time. Dating from the mid-first century BCE, this second tomb, known in archaeological literature as Shaogou Tomb 61, has a pitched ceiling above

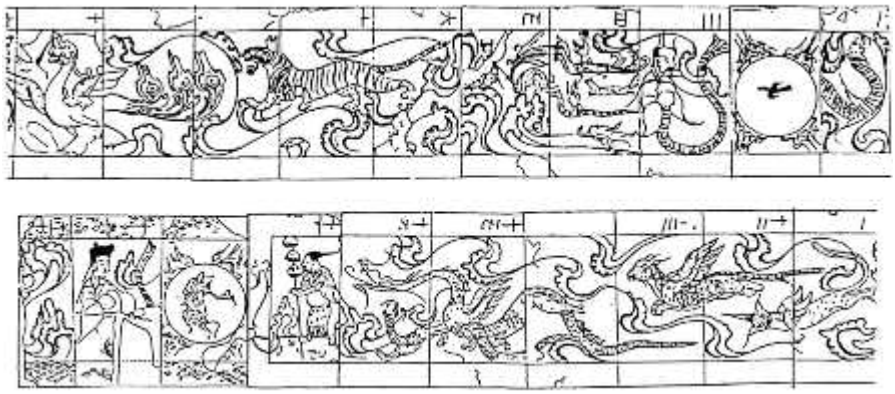


144 The outer circle of the 'star map' in the tomb at the Xi'an Transportation University. Xi'an, Shaanxi. Late Western Han, 1st century BCE.

the burial chamber (see illus. 8, 15).[7] The narrow spine between the two slopes bears an image of the sky, with dotted stars dispersed throughout profuse clouds. Neither the stars nor the clouds generate the sense of a coherent movement; the placement of the sun and the moon at either end of the composition increases the stability of the drawing (illus. 145). The same kind of framing is also seen in the contemporary Bo Qianqiu tomb at Luoyang (illus. 146). In contrast, the painter of the Xi'an mural not



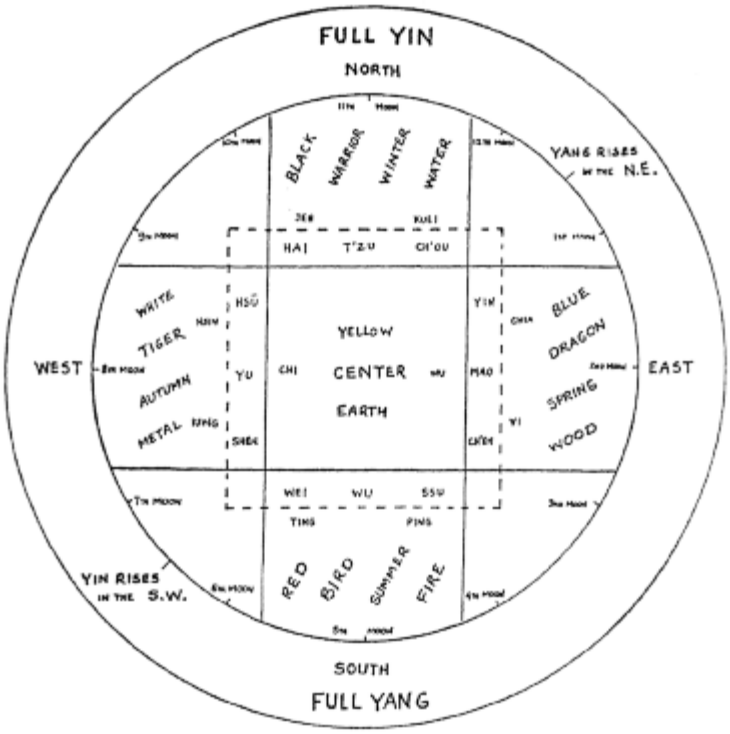
145 Ceiling mural in Shaogou Tomb 61 at Luoyang, Henan. Western Han, 1st century BCE. Drawing.



146 Ceiling mural in Bo Qianqiu's tomb at Luoyang, Henan. Western Han, 1st century BCE. Drawing.

only depicted dotted stars and constellations within a circular band, but also combined such signs with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images, whose movements help generate a linear progression. A close reading of the mural further reveals that this progression synchronizes the movements of *yin* and *yang*, the Five Elements and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges into an endless circular transformation.

According to studies of traditional Chinese philosophy, during the period from the Eastern Zhou to Han, there emerged a strong effort to integrate various cosmological systems into a comprehensive cosmograph. The diagram in illus. 147, which summarizes an early theory attributed to the third century BCE philosopher Zou Yan (305–240 BCE), superimposes the circular transformation of the *yin-yang* forces onto a Five-Element pattern.



147 A diagram illustrating a traditional theory of the Yin-Yang forces and Five Elements.

Explaining this diagram, Cheng Te-k'un writes: 'The circular territory . . . is subdivided into nine *zhou*-provinces with a square in the center, which is yellow and charged with the Power-Element of Earth. Each of the four directions is occupied by its respective elements shown by their colors, deities, seasons, the Heavenly Stems, and Earthly Branches. The Yang Force rises in the north-east and becomes full in the south, while the Yin Force rises in the south-west and becomes full in the north.'[8] Other early theoretical formulations further intersect the movement of *yin* and *yang* with the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges, which divide heaven and earth into sections. Through such interactions time become measurable, as described in the second-century BCE text *Huainan zi*:

> If one wishes to know the Tao of Heaven, one takes the sun as the ruling factor. In the sixth month, it matches the centre. Rotating leftward, it moves, dividing (the celestial circle) and making the twelve months. When they accord with (the movement) of the sun, Heaven and Earth are doubly in accord. Therefore, there can be no calamitous asterisms. The first month is established in the lunar lodge Encampment (Shi). The second month is established in Stride (Kui) and Bond (Lou). The third month is established in Stomach (Wei). The fourth month is established in Net (Bi). The fifth month is established in Eastern Well (Jing). The six month is established in Extension (Zhang). The seventh month is established in Wings (Yi). The eighth month is established in Neck (Kang). The ninth month is established in Room (Fang). The tenth month is established in Tail (Wei). The eleventh month is established in Ox-Leader (Niu). The twelfth month is established in Emptiness (Xu).[9]

This passage is particularly important to understanding representations of cosmic/mythical time in funerary art because it associates the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges with the number 'twelve.' In many post-Han tombs, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges are often shown side by side with the 'twelve earthly branches' (*di zhi*). In Chinese astronomy, the twelve earthly branches are correlated to the twelve *chen*, the duodenary sectors of the sky along the equator, in which the sun, the moon and Jupiter moved. The branches are thus used to mark the twelve months of the year, and *chen* also become a standard term for the hours. Another common use of the twelve earthly branches (*zi, chou, yin, mou, chen, si, wu, wei, shen, you, xu, hai*) is to combine them alternately with the 'ten heavenly stems' (*tian gan*: *jia, yi, bing, ding, wu, ji, geng, xin, ren, gui*) to form infinitely repeated sexagenary cycles in the traditional calendar.

148 TLV mirror. Bronze. 16.5 cm in diameter. Eastern Han, 1st–2nd century CE. Palace Museum, Beijing.

In an excellent study of the images of the twelve earthly branches, Judy Chungwu Ho traced the origin of such images, often called 'twelve calendrical animals', to so-called TLV mirrors of the Han dynasty (illus. 148), and speculated on the funerary significance of such mirrors:

> A subject of intensive study of scholars, the TLV mirror is widely recognized as a schematic diagram of the Chinese universe. Earth is represented by the central square, while the outer circle symbolizes Heaven. The sides of the square

correspond with the cardinal points, represented by four animal spirits: Xuanwu (Tortoise intertwined with Snake) in the North, Dragon in the East, Red Bird in the South, and Tiger in the West. The four demarcations extend to the celestial realm as well, representing the Four Palaces or constellations.[10] Together with the central boss, they also stand for the Five Elements. The branch characters are placed on the central square facing out, beginning with *zi* corresponding with Xuanwu in the north, and so forth, in a clockwise direction, clearly indicating their function as celestial and terrestrial demarcations.

The TLV mirror, with the 'T' shapes attached to its sides and the 'L' shapes attached to the outer circle, represents the ideal alignment of all the cosmic forces analogous to a diviner's board, or *shi*. In this way the TLV mirror has added divinatory significance in ensuring good fortune, all the better to escort the deceased in his afterlife journey.[11] TLV mirrors often bear inscriptions on the outer rim such as, 'May your sons and grandsons be complete in number and dwell in the center' and 'May you long preserve your two parents in happiness and good fortune.'[12] Being in the center also means being in a position to receive maximal benefit from the cosmic forces. Usually placed near the coffin, the mirror serves as a mandala that enables the deceased to be 'in the sacred center', i.e., in a state of perfect balance and harmony with the cosmic forces.[13]

The similarities between the TLV mirror design and the ceiling murals in the Luoyang and Xi'an tombs are striking (see illus. 42, 144). Close in date, all three examples organize abstract signs and/or zoomorphic symbols into circular compositions to signify spatial alignment and temporal movement of cosmic forces. This tradition in representing cosmic/mythical time continued into later periods. An important development, however, was the popularization of the 'twelve calendrical animal' images in tomb decoration. The earliest known example of such images is found in Lou Rui's grave of the late sixth century. A surviving portion of the tomb's ceiling shows a bull, the symbol of the *chou* branch (illus. 149). Painted in energetic brush lines, the animal is walking across the sky among mythical beasts. Such painted images then developed into freestanding sculptures and relief carvings; the animal forms of the earthly branches also transformed into half-human creatures (illus. 151) and finally to fully human figures (illus. 152). The placement of these images in tombs was also gradually systematized, from flanking a coffin to forming a coherent circle to surround an underground chamber. The latter design is exemplified by the tomb of a royal consort of the Wu-Yue kingdom (illus. 150) and Wang Chuzhi's tomb (see illus. 76), both dating from the tenth century. The twelve branches, shaped as a series of celestial officials, occupy twelve niches surrounding the main room in both tombs.[14] Such arrangement is codified in the twelfth-century ritual manual *The Secret Burial Classic of the Original Sepulchres of the Great Han*. A major concern of the manual is the proper alignment of a tomb with cosmic forces. As mentioned previously, four diagrams from the chapter on 'Spiritual Articles and Supernatural Images' (*Mingqi shensha*)

149 Images of the twelve earthly branches on the ceiling of Lou Rui's tomb at Taiyuan, Shanxi. Northern Qi, late 6th century CE.

prescribe the designs of burial chambers for people of different social status, from emperor to commoner (see illus. 111). While the designs vary greatly, the spatiotemporal schema is the same for all: the four layouts all place the coffin in the centre, within a rectangular frame comprised of the twelve earthly branches.

After the fifth century, a painted tomb often bore an astronomical drawing or a cosmograph on the ceiling. These two types of murals had similar symbolism but different subject matter and pictorial language. An astronomical drawing transforms

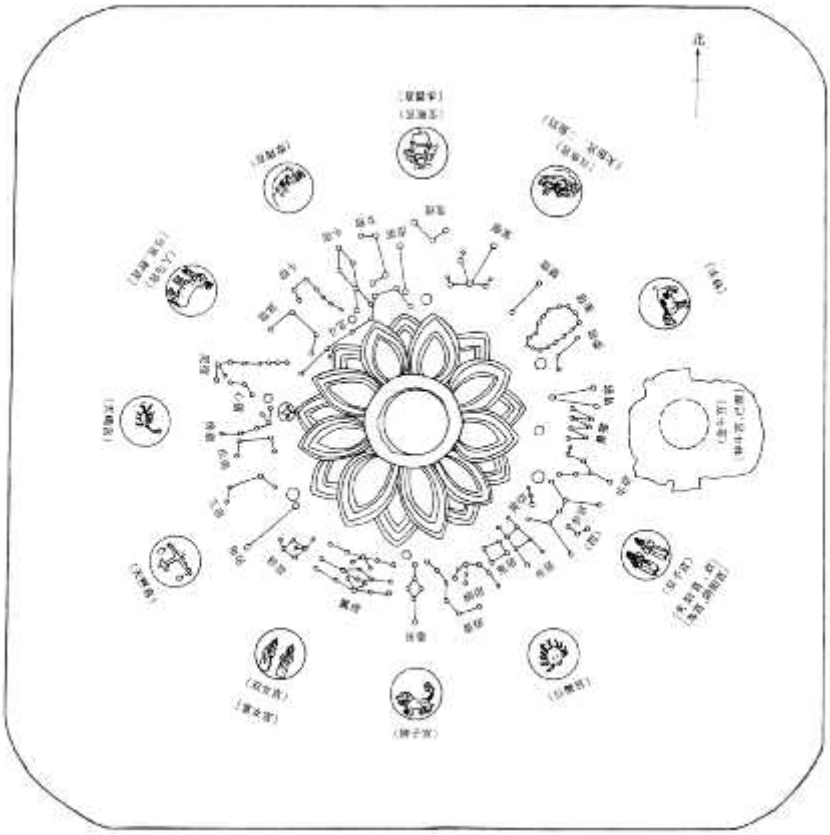
150 The rear chamber of the Kangling Mausoleum of the Wu-Yue kingdom at Lin'an, Zhejiang. with the 'twelve calendrical animals' occupying twelve niches surrounding the main chamber. Five Dynasties, 939 CE.

opposite page:
151 (left) One of the twelve calendrical animals in half-human form. Gilded bronze. Tang dynasty, c. 8th century CE. Leon Black collection, New York.

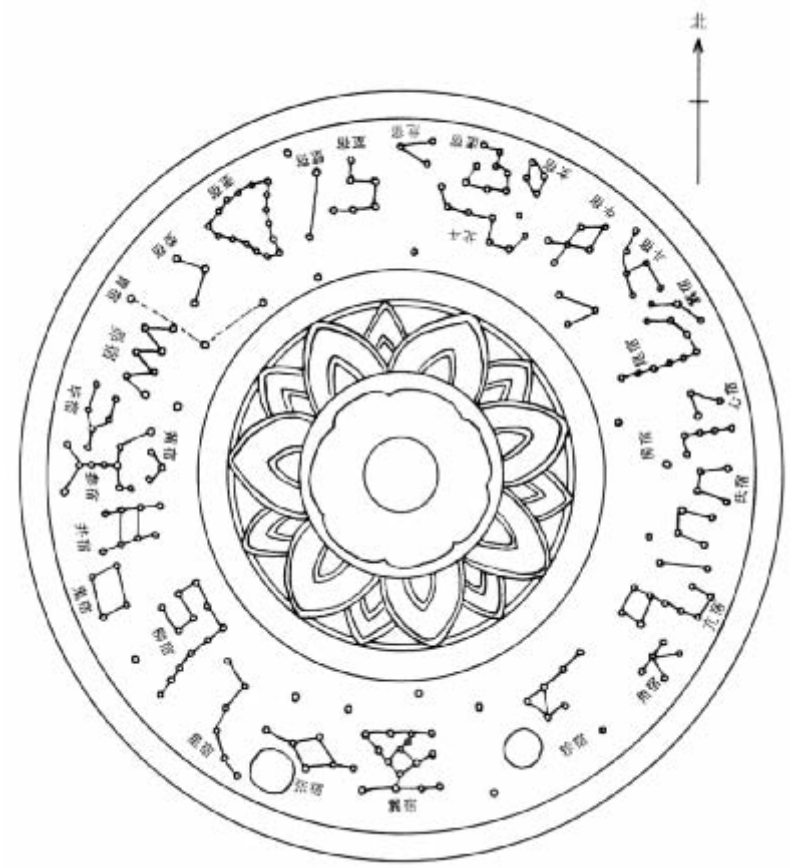
152 (right) One of the twelve calendrical animals in full human form. Late Tang dynasty, c. 9th century CE.

a domed ceiling into an illusionary starry sky, with concrete heavenly phenomena – the sun, and the moon, stars, constellations and the Milky Way – rendered in their proper places (see illus. 43). A cosmograph, on the other hand, employs systems of symbols to reveal the structure of the universe. These two types of images thus continued the two traditions of 'picturing' and 'diagramming' cosmic/mythical time in Han funerary art. But again, their difference is not absolute. Especially in some post-Tang tombs, depictions of stars and constellations often conform to some schematic layout, while a cosmograph frequently encompasses images of heavenly bodies. Both situations are seen in the Zhang family cemetery at Xuanhua.

After the discovery of this cemetery in 1974, scholars immediately noticed an unusual feature of Zhang Shiqing's tomb: its ceiling murals depict, for the first time in Chinese history, a complete set of the twelve Babylonian zodiac signs in sinicized form (illus. 153).[15] While the subsequent discussion has predominantly focused on the cultural exchange between East and West, it has also led some art historians to derive evidence from this and other Zhang family tombs to study visual representations of time in funerary art.[16] In fact, except for the severely damaged M9, the other eight tombs found in the graveyard all have astronomical or cosmological images painted on their ceilings, and these images exhibit shared elements as well as certain structural differences. A comparison of these images reveals two compositional modes that embody different notions of heaven and cosmic time.



153 Painted ceiling of Zhang Shiqing's tomb (Tomb No. 1). Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1116 CE. Drawing.



154 Painted ceiling of Zhang Wenzao's tomb (Tomb No. 7). Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE. Drawing.

The first composition, found in the tombs of Zhang Kuangzheng (M10), Zhang Wenzao (M7), Zhang Shiben (M3), Han Shixun (M4) and an unidentified member of the Zhang family (M6), is the simplest and most coherent: a broad circular band, coloured blue, surrounds a painted lotus flower in the centre of a domed ceiling (illus. 154).[17] Clearly representing the round sky, this band contains the sun, the moon, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges and scattered stars. We find an unmistaken relationship between this composition and the celestial chart in the Xi'an tomb created a millennium before (see illus. 144; also see illus. 42). Like the Han dynasty prototype, the alignment of the heavenly bodies in the circular zone implies the internal movement of the universe.

The second composition, found in M2 and M5, enriches this basic star map with two additional elements: the twelve earthly branches and the Babylonian zodiac. The intact mural in Zhang Gongyou's tomb (M2) shows that the entire composition consists of three zones divided by two concentric circles (illus. 155). A large lotus with multicoloured petals occupies the innermost zone; a bronze mirror, originally hanging from the apex of the ceiling, formed the centre of the flower. The next zone contains three systems of astronomical and cosmological signs: from inner to outer, these are the twelve Babylonian zodiacs drawn in individual circles; the Chinese Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges, each connecting a group of dotted stars with straight lines; and the sun

155 Painted ceiling of Zhang Gongyou's tomb (Tomb No. 2). Drawing. Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1117 CE.

and moon aligned to the east and west. Beyond this second zone, twelve male figures, wearing Chinese official costumes and standing in rigid, uniform postures, represent the twelve earthly branches. Zhang Shiqing's tomb (M1) includes all these elements but in a different order and form: here the Babylonian zodiac constituted the outer circle of the mural, whereas the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges are represented by wooden statues, installed in individual niches surrounding the tomb chamber.

Three points can be made based on this classification. First, depicting only heavenly bodies and free from zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images, the first composition follows the tradition of astronomical drawing that can be traced back to the Western Han. Second, with the twelve earthly branches represented by wooden statues around the walls, the twelve Babylonian zodiac signs assume a dominant appearance in the mural in Zhang Shiqing's tomb.[18] It is possible that this choice reflects Shiqing's personal interest in non-Chinese systems of knowledge. As mentioned earlier, he served in the Liao court in multiple official capacities and was probably exposed to foreign cultures and learning.

Finally, the painter of M2 and M5 made several adjustments to create a synthetic cosmograph combining Chinese and foreign elements: he reduced the size of the Babylonian astronomical symbols and moved them to an inner circle, and aligned the sun and moon to the precise directions of east and west. Most obviously, he reframed the

whole composition with a series of Chinese officials who symbolize the native concept of the twelve earthly branches. These adjustments had a twofold result: the composition now incorporates heterogeneous astronomical and cosmological symbols into a schematized image of the universe, and also bestows this synthetic universe with a distinct Chinese 'look'. Interestingly, the dates of the seven tombs suggest a chronological sequence to the three variations. Tombs bearing the first composition were all constructed in the same year of 1093. Twenty-three years later, in 1116, Zhang Shiqing died and was buried in a tomb decorated with the exotic images of the Babylonian zodiac. The two tombs decorated with the comprehensive, synthetic composition were built the next year, in 1117. It seems that the designer of these last tombs used all available means to achieve the most 'comprehensive' representation of the universe for the dead.

'Lived Objects'

Dao wang, 'grief for the death of a loved one,' became a sub-genre in Chinese poetry from the third century on, after Pan Yue (247–300) wrote a series of poems under this title to mourn for his departed wife. Each poem begins by contrasting the limited lifespan of human beings with the eternal movement of cosmic time, followed by the poet's realization of his worldly duties despite his longing for the dead. Pan Yue's first 'Dao wang' poem starts with these lines:

> Winter and spring gradually pass on;
> Cold and heat quickly course and alternate.
> She has gone to the Deep Springs;
> The piled earth forever keeps her in the darkness.
> Who can fulfill one's personal longings?
> So what good is there in my staying here?
> I exerted myself to honor the court command,
> And returned to former duties so to distract my mind.

But the poet halted his departure: his attention was suddenly arrested by some objects in *her* former home, which transported him to a time/space in his memory. He lingered, and contemplated on these objects that bore visible or invisible traces of his beloved wife. As fragments of her former existence, they provoked her presence right before his eyes.

> But I gaze upon my house and think of her;
> Entering the room, I recall the past.
> Among the curtains and screens there is not a semblance of her;
> There are remaining traces of her brush and ink.
> Her lingering fragrance has yet to fade;
> The hangings she left behind still remain on the walls.
> Sadly perplexed, it is as if she is still alive;
> Nervous and upset, I am agitated and anxious . . .[19]

The experience described here is probably universal: when a person dies, his or her belongings become 'leftover things' (*yi wu*) imbued with sentimental value. This must have been why such objects were often displayed in funerals. According to the *Protocols of Ceremonies*, grave goods laid out in a funerary ceremony included both *mingqi* and *shengqi*. We have learned that the former, the spirit articles, are surrogate objects specifically made for the dead. The latter, meaning literally 'lived objects', were chosen from the possessions belonging to the dead when he or she was alive. This second category of objects would include utensils and ritual vessels, musical instruments, weapons and armour, art collections and intimate objects.[20] Indeed, the practice of having former belongings accompany the dead must have predated the invention of spirit vessels, and this practice never became obsolete in traditional China. The excavation of the tomb of Fu Hao – a powerful royal consort who lived in the thirteenth century BCE – demonstrated that most bronze vessels buried in Shang aristocratic tombs fall into the category of 'lived objects'.

Frequently mentioned in the divinatory inscriptions found in the last Shang capital at Anyang, Henan, Fu Hao was a consort of King Wu Ding and a powerful leader of the Shang army, who once led 13,000 men to conquer a neighboring state. Her tomb discovered in 1976 (Yinxu Tomb 5) is the only known Shang royal burial to have escaped looters.[21] A striking feature of the tomb is the sharp contrast between its modest size and the abundant grave goods. Clearly, it was the tomb's content, not its architectural form, that distinguished Fu Hao's extraordinary social status: in a vertical earthen pit merely 5.6m long and 3.85m wide, archaeologists found over 1,600 objects. The 468 bronze artefacts included 210 heavy bronze ritual vessels (see illus. 3), four bronze mirrors and 89 dagger-axes. Among the 755 unearthed jade carvings was a group of Neolithic jades from the Longshan, Liangzhu, Hongshan and Shijiahe cultures, possibly a prized collection of antique pieces accumulated by Fu Hao during her military campaigns. Ninety of the ritual vessels are inscribed with the name Fu Hao. Because a Shang aristocrat was given a 'temple name' (*miao hao*) upon his or her death (that is, when he or she became a subject of ancestral worship), we can deduce that these ninety vessels came from Fu Hao's own possession. The tomb also yielded seven ritual vessels bearing the temple names of two deceased ancestresses (called Mother Gui and Mother Xin). Although Fu Hao's temple name is also Mother Xin, David Keightley argues that the Mother Xin bronzes from her tomb actually belonged to a different person, and that these ritual vessels were buried in her tomb 'because she [i.e., Fu Hao] had used the vessels in her lifetime to worship some other Mother Xin (or Gui).'[22] In other words, these vessels were not *mingqi* made upon Fu Hao's death, but were part of a larger assemblage of 'lived objects' that Fu Hao used when she was living.

This then leads to another question: why were so many Western Zhou tombs furnished with practical ritual bronzes inscribed with the phrase 'May sons and grandsons eternally use this [vessel]'? Hayashi Minao believed that this practice implies a contemporary belief, that a deceased member of an aristocratic family would continue to perform the ritual duty of worshipping his or her ancestors in the afterlife, and in this way they would also set an example for their descendants to follow.[23] Advancing

this interpretation, Lothar von Falkenhausen has recently written: 'The newly created ancestor [thus] remained very much part of the society: s/he was kept alive, albeit in a different form of being, through the continuing worship by later-day descendants.'[24] In this system, the entombed ritual vessels, as a type of 'lived objects', connected the tomb occupant (or his spirit) to his forebears as well as his descendants.

Although plausible, this interpretation lacks direct textual support from Western Zhou sources and remains a hypothesis. Several hundred years later, however, Eastern Zhou philosophers like Xunzi began to openly expound on the meaning of burying one's possessions in a tomb:

> Gathering 'lived objects' (*shengqi*) and using them to furnish the grave, this is to symbolize that the dead is changing his path. But only token articles are taken, not all that he used when he was alive, and although these articles have their regular shape, they are rendered unusable . . . This is all done in order to emphasize the feelings of grief. Thus 'lived objects' retain their original form but not their function, whereas spirit articles only resemble real articles and cannot be used.[25]

According to Alain Thote, personal belongings, including combs, mirrors, belt-hooks, personal weapons, musical instruments, bamboo cases, mats, pillows, fans and utensils for eating and drinking, constituted new categories of grave goods in Chu burials during the Warring States period.[26] Judging from the types of objects and contemporary texts, the meaning and ritual function of 'lived objects' had changed considerably from the Shang and Western Zhou. It is possible that these objects were buried in an Eastern Zhou tomb because they could facilitate the posthumous journey of the deceased.[27] Xunzi's writing cited above emphasizes an alternative significance of a 'lived object': its transformation from a functional instrument to a ritual symbol during the funeral. Unlike spirit articles that never belonged to the human world, 'lived objects' realized their ritual significance through dislocation and recontextualization. This is why Xunzi especially emphasizes their fragmentary nature as 'tokens' of a vanished whole. In other words, 'lived objects' must be stripped of their former usefulness in order to mirror death, an event that turns a living human body into a dysfunctional corpse. Xunzi's idea of 'changing paths' (*xi dao*) was further explained by the Qing scholar Wang Xianqian (1842–1918): 'These objects should have stayed home. To bury them with the dead means that life has taken a separate path from its natural course.'[28] To another Qing scholar, Hao Yixing (1757–1825), the practice of including 'lived objects' among grave goods can also be comprehended from the perspective of a mourner: 'Burying such articles is like moving house. The living cannot bear to treat the dead as dead.'[29]

Hao's comment most clearly articulates an essential argument in these interpretations, that the significance and effectiveness of a 'lived object' in a funeral depends on its ability to evoke remembrance and emotional response. Related to this point, an inventory of grave goods found in an Eastern Zhou tomb at Yangtianhu, Changsha, provides a piece of interesting evidence. One bamboo strip in this inventory (no. 15) lists 'one pair of new shoes, one pair of old shoes'.[30] Clearly,

together displayed with the new shoes in the funeral, the old pair more acutely evoked the past existence of a deceased family member. For the dead, however, the meaning of a personal object must lie in his or her own intimate relationship with it. An interesting will found at Dunhuang and now housed in the British Library expresses exactly this alternative view. Written around the tenth century by a certain Mrs Kang to her husband, the text's unconventional content and unadorned style confirm its authenticity:

> Darkness sets in when the sun is falling behind the western mountain;
> I'm leaving behind a horde of orphaned sons.
> The scissors and the ruler made of willow wood
> – these are items I always keep with me.
> As for the make-up box with some powder left in it,
> Let me leave it to the young.
> Please be pitiful toward our children if you have feeling;
> But it is up to you if you are feelingless.
> If 'yellow money' [fake paper money presented to the dead] is not put to use
> [i.e., burned at the funeral],
> It will turn into fine dust anyway.
>
> Please continue to strive. Mrs Kang is leaving this will. I have heard that time never stops, that one's life must have beginning and end, and that one's fate is inconstant. When one is old and dies the path of ghosts awaits.[31]

Mrs Kang only brought her scissors and ruler with her to the netherworld. But for the rich and powerful, the things they valued most were often rare antiques and works of art. For example, more than one ancient text records that among all the tributes Emperor Wu of the Han received from neighbouring countries, his most treasured pieces were a jade box and a jadeite staff from the king of the Western Hu. After he died, the two objects were put next to him in his inner coffin.[32] The best-known story of this kind, however, concerns Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty (r. 627–49) and the fate of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface* (*Lanting xu*), the unsurpassable masterpiece of Chinese calligraphy by Wang Xizhi (321–379). It is said that the emperor – himself an excellent calligrapher – loved Wang's brushwork so much that he offered a handsome reward to anyone who could bring him Wang's calligraphy. The encouragement worked, and within several years he had received as many as 3,600 pieces (!). But the jewel of Wang's writing, the *Orchid Pavilion Preface*, remained in the hand of a monk named Biancai, who received the work from his teacher Master Zhiyong, a seventh-generation descendent of Wang Xizhi. Before Zhiyong passed away he entrusted the *Preface* to Biancai, his favorite disciple, who then hid it in a secret place inside his temple. Determined to obtain the masterpiece, Taizong sent a clever minister named Xiao Yi. Xiao disguised himself as an earnest scholar and won Biancai's trust. After discovering the *Preface*'s whereabouts he finally managed to smuggle it out. Once he acquired the work the emperor never let it out of his sight: he placed it

next to the throne, and copied it again and again, sometimes in the middle of the night. When he finally reached the end of his life, he ordered the masterpiece to be buried with him. His wish was fulfilled by his son, the next Tang emperor Li Zhi. According to the *Old History of the Five Dynasties* (*Jiu Wudai shi*), in the tenth century, a warlord named Wen Tao 'opened the imperial burials in the region under his control, taking away all the gold and treasures in the tombs. The Zhao Mausoleum of Emperor Taizong was the most solidly constructed. It contained antique books and calligraphic works by Zhong You and Wang Xizhi. The brushwork was like new.'[33] Later writers remarked that only because of Wen's barbaric behaviour could the *Orchid Pavilion Preface* return to the human world and become a standard model for the study of calligraphy.

These and other textual references guide an art historian to identify actual 'lived objects' in tombs. These include paintings and jades from the collections of a deceased art lover, books and manuscripts from a scholar's personal library, legal documents accumulated by a local official, ritual paraphernalia owned by a Buddhist or Taoist priest, the cap and sword of a gentleman, and cosmetics and silk slippers belonging to an aristocratic woman. These objects can be considered 'traces', which, according to Ricoeur, have two different but interrelated functions. On the one hand, a trace is visible here and now, as a vestige, a mark. On the other hand, it indicates that 'earlier' a human being had passed this way.[34] Generally, 'lived objects' are traces because they preserve a past that has been abolished. Though fragmentary, such objects ensure that this past will not be entirely wiped out.

Mrs Kang's will reminds us of a group of personal objects found in Mawangdui Tomb 1, which, as mentioned earlier, helped construct Lady Dai's 'spirit seat' in the northern *guo*-chamber of her tomb (see illus. 59). The centrepieces among these objects were two exquisite toilet boxes (illus. 156) and a cane. The cane is illustrated in Lady Dai's portrait as being held by the woman in the centre of illus. 124, 125. The toilet boxes were carefully wrapped with expensive silk and put in the seat to indicate the woman's existence. Inside each box were objects which clearly belonged to a female subject: tiny containers holding various kinds of cosmetics, a wig made of human hair, silk ribbons and handkerchiefs, a mirror and a mirror polisher, a pair of gloves, a used needle case and two combs. A seal in one container bears Lady Dai's personal name Xinzhui, clinching the argument that these are objects she used when she was alive.

Following this line of inquiry, we can look into Mawangdui Tomb 3 and compare its 'lived objects' with those from Tomb 1. (Tomb 2, the burial of Marquis Dai, had been looted before the excavation and cannot be used in a comparative study.) Scholars agree that Tomb 3, which was located directly south of Tomb 1, belonged to a son of Lady Dai.[35] Based on the many weapons and two military maps buried in the tomb, the excavators have further suggested that he served as a high-ranking military officer during his lifetime.[36] Tombs 1 and 3 had identical architectural structures and contained similar grave furnishings, including a large number of utensils and figurines, abundant food and portraits of the deceased. A main difference between them lies in the personal belongings of the mother and the son. Like Tomb 1, the northern

156 Lacquered toilet box of Lady Dai from Mawangdui Tomb 1 at Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

guo-chamber in Tomb 3 was arranged as an intimate space of the dead, with several toilet boxes placed on the empty seat in front of a free-standing screen. Instead of containing female objects such as cosmetics and a wig, however, they held a man's cap (illus. 157) and other male articles. Other objects around the seat included a lute, a chess board and dice and personal weapons. In addition, a rectangular lacquered box in the east chamber contained more than forty philosophical, military and medical texts written on silk (illus. 158) – a miniature library of a learned gentleman in the second century BCE.[37]

Archaeological excavations have also substantiated textual records about entombing a deceased art collector with his or her art collection. The earliest evidence for such practice came from the grave of Fu Hao, a consort of King Wuding of the Shang dynasty. Living around the thirteenth century BCE, she wielded great power during Wuding's reign: divinatory inscriptions of the Shang royal house record many of her activities, including leading large military campaigns against neighbouring kingdoms. As mentioned erlier, her tomb, known as Yinxu Tomb 5, discovered in 1976 at Xiaotun, Anyang, was the only Shang royal tomb that had escaped grave looters. Over 1,600 objects were found inside, including 468 bronze vessels and weapons, 560 bone and ivory carvings, 755 finely carved jades and over 6,000 cowrie shells. Interestingly, among the excavated jades there was a group of prehistoric examples from different regions.[38] It has been suggested that Fu Hao may have collected these 'antique' objects during her military campaigns and brought them with her to the afterlife.[39]

157 Man's hat from Mawangdui Tomb 3 at Changsha, Hunan. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

158 A map (drawing on silk) found in Mawangdui Tomb 3. Western Han, early 2nd century BCE.

This tradition continued throughout the rest of the Three Dynasties. In 1983 a seventh-century BCE tomb was found during the construction of a brick factory at Guangshan, Henan. The subsequent excavation identified the tomb occupants as Meng, a ruler of the state of Huang, and his wife.[40] Unlike most contemporary tombs, the grave pit contained two independent *guo*-caskets laid side by side. Significantly, it was during this period that the phrase *tong xue er zang* – 'to be buried in the same grave' – came to refer to the undying love between a man and a woman. A moving poem in *The Book of Songs* (*Shi*) describes a woman's unrequited love for a nobleman. It ends with her bitter vow in the first person:

> While living, we may have to live in different houses.
> But when we are dead, we will share the same grave.
> If you say that I am not sincere,
> By the bright sun I swear that I am.[41]

The joint tomb at Guangshan yielded other evidence for an unusual relationship between the deceased couple. The wife's casket, supposedly constructed under the supervision of the husband,[42] was extraordinarily rich – in fact even richer than the husband's own burial. It contained twenty-two bronze vessels, fourteen of which bear an identical inscription: 'Meng, Lord of the state of Huang, has made this travelling vessel (*xing qi*) for Mrs. Huang. Treasure it forever without end.' In contrast, the husband's casket only contained fourteen bronzes, including ten 'travelling vessels' which he had made for himself.[43] Both caskets had many jade carvings; their extraordinary quantity and quality indicates the couple's fondness for this art form.[44] But again, as many as 131 fine jades came from the wife's casket, more than double those of the husband. Among the woman's jades, some were found near her head, on her chest, and around her waist. One of these 'personal jades' is a very old piece from prehistoric times, which represents a human head with round earrings (illus. 159). Interestingly, among the husband's jades, a pair of plaques 'copied' this antique piece in a contemporary style (illus. 160). It is tempting to suggest that buried with the wife and husband, these two groups of jades – the original and the copies – deliberately echoed each other and were invested with sentimental value. But even without making this suggestion, the antique jade was doubtlessly a 'lived object' which continued to adorn the woman in her afterlife.

Jade carvings from the tombs of Meng and his wife at Guangshan, Henan. Spring and Autumn Period, 7th century BCE. (159) a prehistoric miniature head, 3rd millennium BCE; (160) plaques, 7th century BCE.

161 Gilt-bronze lamp from Mancheng Tomb 2 of Dou Wan. Mancheng, Hebei. Western Han, 104 BCE.

Some five hundred years later, in the late second century BCE, Liu Sheng and his wife Dou Wan were buried in Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2, respectively. Among the personal belongings found in these two tombs, a gilt-bronze lamp has been considered one of the finest examples of Han dynasty sculpture (illus. 161). Accompanying Dou Wan's corpse, it bears a series of nine inscriptions that reveal the history of its successive possession by different members of the Han royal house. Originally made by a Han prince before the mid-second century BCE, it was confiscated around 151 BCE and entered the Changxin Palace of Empress Dowager Dou, a powerful political figure during Emperor Jing's reign (r. 156–141 BCE). This empress was not only the grandmother of Prince Liu Sheng, but was also related to Liu Sheng's wife Dou Wan (as indicated by their shared surname). It seems that after obtaining this precious object, she in turn gave it to Dou Wan, a younger female member of her own clan who also married into the royal household.[45]

Because of the fragility of paintings and calligraphic writings, there is a slim chance for such works to be preserved in tombs. The story about the internment of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface* in Emperor Taizong's Zhao Mausoleum had thus remained an untested legend until 1970, when the large burial of a Ming prince was opened at Zouxian in Shandong.[46] Belonging to Zhu Tan (1370–1389), one of the 26 sons of the founder of the dynasty, the tomb consisted of two chambers inside a rocky hill. An altar, painted red, stood at the focal point of the front chamber, on which were placed the prince's seal. In front of the altar, a large group of wooden figurines constituted a ceremonial procession. The prince's coffin in the rear chamber was flanked by personal belongings: to the east were his hat, boots, clothes, belt and toilet articles; to the west lay a group of paintings and rare books – the only Ming private collection discovered so far to have remained in its original grouping. Some of these objects are damaged due to the unfavourable underground conditions, but those preserved tell much about the prince's taste. The collection includes a fan painting from the Southern Song court inscribed with a poem written by Emperor Gaozong (1107–1187), a beautiful flower painting by the Yuan master Qian Xuan (1239–1301) (illus. 162), and an extremely valuable Tang-dynasty lute, whose engraved name Tianfeng Haitao – Heavenly Wind and Ocean Waves – refers to the wonderful sound it could produce. The collection also includes a group of Yuan (1271-1368)-edition books and a complete set of *weiqi*-chess. As previous authors have demonstrated, all these objects belonged to the prince's private collection.

Liu Sheng and Zhu Tan's tombs attest to the two conventional locations for 'lived objects' in a tomb, one near the physical body of the deceased and the other around the 'spirit seat' of his posthumous soul. These two locations have divergent significance: placed together with the corpse, 'lived objects' were associated with the former existence of the dead. Used to frame a 'spirit seat,' they indicated the present existence of the soul in the grave. Such dual significance of 'lived objects' is related to an observation I made earlier, that such objects change their meaning at the moment of entombment. Briefly, as Xunzi had argued in the third century BCE, 'lived objects' were displayed during funerals because they could most effectively remind people of the continuity between life and death.[47] When buried, these objects extended this continuity into the underground, where they forged a crucial link between death and rebirth. Liu Sheng and Zhu Tan's tombs demonstrate that this link was realized by the

162 A painting by the Yuan master Qian Xuan found in Prince Zhu Tan's tomb at Zoucheng, Shandong. Ming dynasty, 1389 CE.

respective associations of 'lived objects' with the two chambers and, in turn, with the body and soul of the tomb occupant. No longer visible, these objects ceased to convey memories of the dead to the living, but instead helped define and bridge different temporalities for the deceased, who, though dead, was imagined to be 'living' in his underground home through his disembodied spirit. The meaning of an entombed 'lived object' thus lay in its 'pastness' as well as its 'presentness': it had its origin in the past, but it reattached itself to a perpetual present in the grave.

Historical Narratives

Retrospective Biography

Whereas 'lived objects' bore traces of the former experience of the dead, a biography, inscribed on a stone panel placed inside the tomb, summarized and evaluated the life of the occupant from a retrospective vantage point. Different theories have been proposed to explain the origin of this type of funerary inscription.[48] But most scholars agree that it was related to a government initiative during the Wei-Jin period in the third and forth centuries, which prohibited the erection in a graveyard of aboveground stone mortuary monuments, including shrines, sculptures and memorial steles. In response to this prohibition, people transferred the memorial stele underground, burying it in the grave with the dead.[49] Perhaps because 'reading' was no longer a major factor in this new environment, the vertical stele was gradually transformed into a stone epitaph lying flat on the ground; a heavy lid further concealed it around the mid-fifth century (illus. 163).[50] Consisting of two matching square slabs, this type of covered epitaph is designed as a solid stone 'box' containing the biography of the dead. Inscribed on the lower slab in a formal calligraphic style, the biography is tightly sealed by the upper slab (or the 'lid' of the box), on which cosmological symbols frame the name and title of the deceased (illus. 164).

Once invented, this form of epitaph soon replaced all previous types and became a regular component of Chinese aristocratic burials for the next fifteen hundred years. Sealed inside the stone container and removed from the ordinary eye, the biography nevertheless follows a set of rigid literary conventions. In most cases, it starts from tracing the genealogy of the deceased, often to some figures in remote antiquity. Depending on the gender and social status of the dead, this part of the inscription can be short or as long as one third of the whole text. The epitaph then proceeds to describe the tomb occupant's life, focusing heavily on his official career and public persona. The writer carefully recounts all his government posts in chronological order and praises his virtues and achievements with elaborate set-phrases. The text normally ends with a rhymed dirge, summarizing the life and merits of the deceased and expressing the sorrow of the living.

This short introduction allows us to identify the posthumous biography in an epitaph as a historical narrative consisting of three basic features. First, the text has a fundamental genealogical structure, which situates the dead in an intermediary position between the earlier and later generations of the family – an in-between status that

163 A typical stone epitaph. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

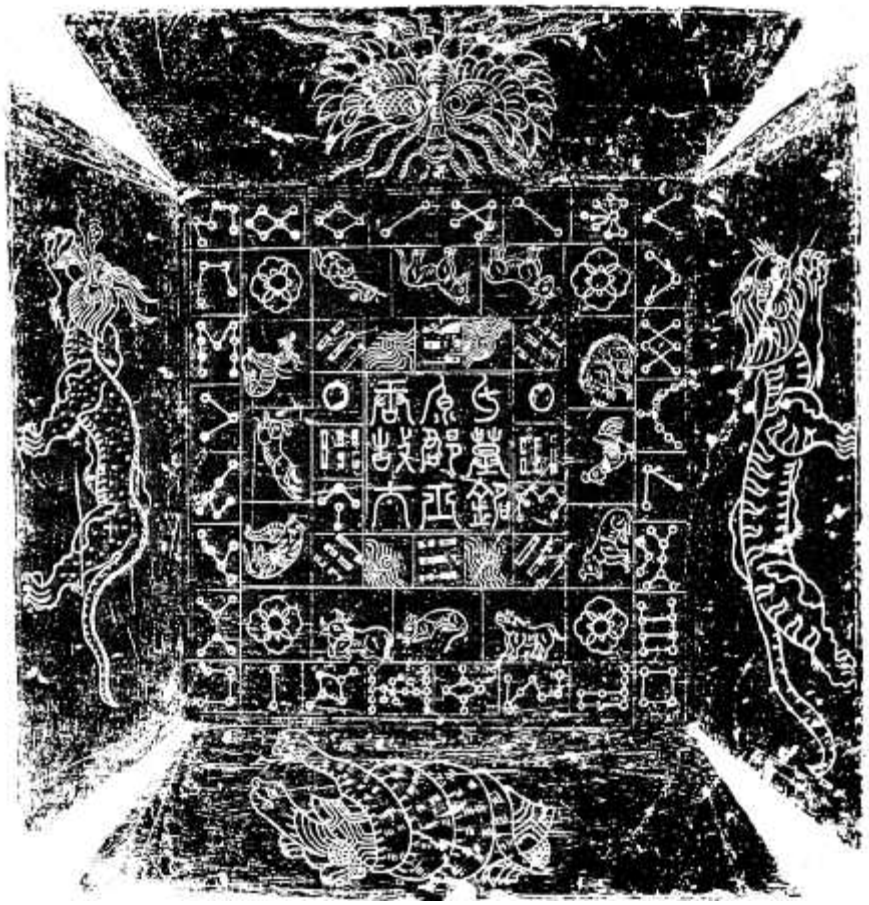
bestows the dead with a temporality between past and present. Alternatively, the deceased is conceived as embodying a past which has its own past and future. This notion of time is not limited to epitaph inscriptions, but can be recognized on numerous occasions in traditional ancestral worship. For example, Shang dynasty diviners classified royal ancestors into 'recent' and 'remote' groups with different degrees of spiritual power and efficacy. Later Confucian ritualists consistently treated the recently deceased as 'half-dead'. It is based on this notion that Confucius himself proposed the famous reasoning for spirit articles: 'In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of intelligence, and should not be done.' Through providing the recent dead with an intermediate temporality between past and present, an epitaph inscription internalizes this logic in its narrative structure.

The second feature of a funerary biography concerns the narrative voice and point of view: a commemorative text like this is by definition retrospective because it is always written posthumously. The rhymed dirge that concludes the text makes this perspective explicit: here we hear the living mourners speaking out, pledging loyalty to the dead. Sometimes, a complete list of the surviving family members is further appended to the dirge. This then leads to the third feature of an epitaph, which is its role in constructing a definitive 'public persona' for the dead. An epitaph inscription is understood as the 'final word' about a person – a consensual, historical evaluation of his life and deeds. Its purpose is thus similar to an official dynastic history, which was in most cases written by the reigning dynasty for the previous one; indeed the form of an epitaph closely mirrors biographies in dynastic histories. Composed by professional writers, its language is grandiose and impersonal. Only occasionally do we find glimpses of intimacy and genuine emotional expression. Scholars have noticed that epitaph inscriptions became increasingly formulaic during the Tang. Identical phrases were used for different people; sometimes an entire composition was based on a ready-made model. Although Song epitaphs included more personal information and correspondingly increased in length, the basic textual structure remained unchanged.

Carvings on the cover of a stone epitaph can be simple or complex, but in most cases consist of two basic elements: the name/title of the deceased framed by

cosmological symbols. The example shown in illus. 164, dated to 946, is of the most complicated kind. The inscription in the centre, which identifies the dead as a certain Madam Wang of Donghai in Jiangsu, is surrounded by four layers of symbols: from inner to outer, these are the eight trigrams, the twelve calendrical animals, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges and the Four Animal Spirits. Other examples show fewer symbols, consisting mainly of the Four Animal Spirits or the twelve calendrical animals, or a combination of the two.

Such designs on epitaph covers have frequently been used to illuminate general principles in ancient Chinese cosmology and astronomy. Made for tombs and buried underground, however, these designs realized the specific purpose of locating the deceased at the centre of a symbolic universe. In other words, framing the name of the dead, the circles of cosmic symbols reinscribe a specific historical being within a cosmic spatiotemporal programme. This reinscription acquires a more precise historicity when the two parts of a stone epitaph are put together – when the biography on the lower panel is superimposed with the patterns on the lid. In the original burial context, the two slabs were fastened together by strong metal bindings. Scholars have rightly pointed out that in combining these two sections, an epitaph encapsulates a tomb's symbolic structure in a single object.[51] Based on this observation, I want to



164 Rubbings of inscriptions and decorative patterns on the epitaph of Madam Wang, excavated at Hanxian, Jiangsu. Five Dynasties, 946 CE.

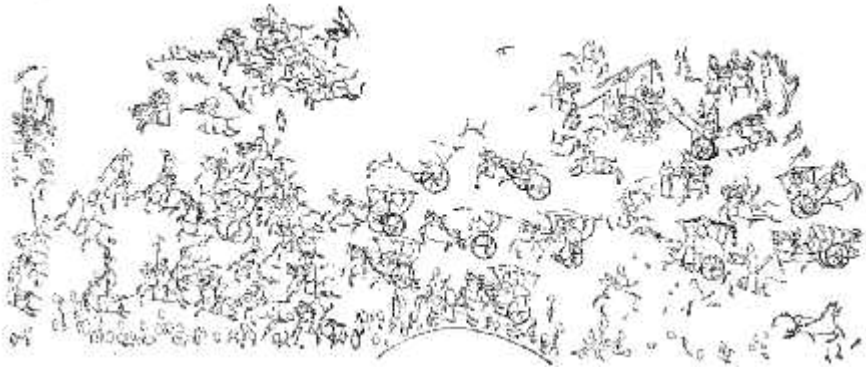
further suggest that what these two panels constituted was, in fact, a symbolic tomb within an actual tomb. The epitaph – a representation of the life of the deceased – was sealed and concealed in the same manner that the corpse was put in a coffin and placed under a starred ceiling. Significantly, in many cases, epitaphs were placed in the front section of a tomb, opposite the coffined corpse in the rear section. In this juxtaposition, the epitaph, as a retrospective historical construct, stood for the public image of the dead, whereas the corpse, accompanied by 'lived objects' from the former life of the dead, defined a private, personal space.

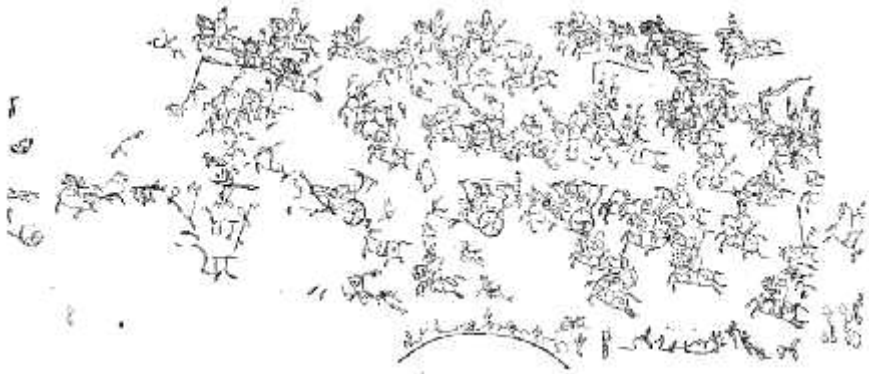
Sometimes, the public persona of the dead was realized by a pictorial biography, as we find in a large Eastern Han tomb at Helingeer, Inner Mongolia.[52] The tomb has six rooms, with the three main ones located along the central axis. Colourful murals, covering almost every inch of the walls, depict 57 subjects around 250 captions. Upon entering the first room, a hypothetical viewer would find a continuous cavalcade running around the lower part of the domed ceiling (illus. 165). Starting from the west side and proceeding in an anticlockwise motion, a series of chariot processions represent different stages in the career of the deceased, from Filial and Uncorrupt (Xiaolian) to Gentleman-in-Waiting (Lang), Magistrate of Xihe, Governor of Shangjun, Prefect of Fanyang and ending at Colonel-protector of Wuhuan. Murals in the middle room further show his activities at his various posts, either receiving subordinates or reviewing captives from a victorious battle. These biographical illustrations are accompanied by images of ancient sages, loyal ministers, filial paragons and auspicious omens – pictorial allusions to the achievement and conduct of the deceased Colonel. Underlying this pictorial narrative, therefore, is the same structure used to construct a public image for the dead in an epitaph inscription.

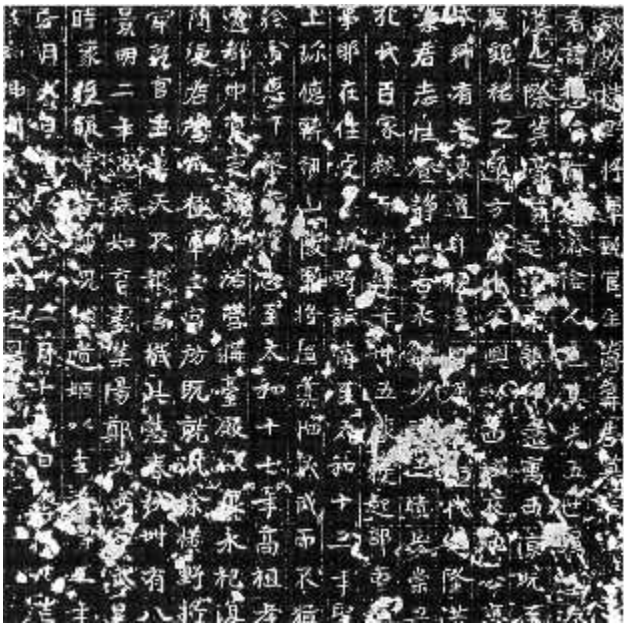
Occasionally, a tomb contains both textual and pictorial biographies of the dead, such as the grave of Ning Mao, a mid-level official in the Northern Wei court. After he died in 501, a stone epitaph, along with an exquisite house-shaped sarcophagus possibly engraved with his portraits, was commissioned for him.[53] Following the convention of epitaph writing, the first two sections of his posthumous biography focus on his ancestry and official career (illus. 166):

> The gentleman, whose given name was Mao with style name of Anian, was a native of Jiyin [in Shandong]. His ancestors of the first five generations lived in Lian [?]. During the interim between the Qin and Han dynasties, when the brave and powerful vied for power, members of the family left their native country and settled in distant Xiliang. When the current dynasty came in power, the blessing of the Northern Wei emperors reached remote regions. Ning Mao's father considered the western land gloomy and unrefined. He longed for the family's native home and wanted to move back east. Consequently he returned to his own land and settled in Heng and Dai, where his life and career prospered.
>
> The gentleman [i.e., Ning Mao] was by nature quiet and reserved, clear-headed and farsighted. In his youth he studied the books of the three legendary sovereigns. When he grew up he adored the works of the five sage emperors.

165 Ceiling murals in the first chamber of an Eastern Han tomb at Helingeer, Inner Mongolia. Eastern Han, late 2nd century CE. Drawing.







166 Rubbing of Ning Mao's epitaph. From Luoyang, Henan. Northern Wei, 501 CE.

He was especially well-versed in the writings of Confucius and the hundred philosophical schools. At the age of thirty-five he was appointed Clerk of the Ministry of Public Construction. He took his official duty seriously, and people inside and outside the court all respected him. In the thirteenth year of Taihe [489], the Emperor, treasuring his virtues, promoted him to General of the Imperial Mausoleum Guards. Ning was kind to the helpless and benevolent to the masses. Stern but not harsh, he felt pity for the poor and was generous toward the lowly. He could thus win over people's hearts. In the seventeenth year of Taihe [493], the late Emperor Xiao[wen] moved the capital to Zhongjing [i.e., Luoyang], establishing the seat of power at the Yi and Luo Rivers. Terraces and palaces were constructed to ensure the dynasty's eternal glory. Ning Mao was put in charge of commanding the construction corps. When the main palace buildings were completed, he was promoted to the positions of General Hengye and Chief Officer of Building Materials. But Heaven failed to repay his goodness and removed this fine man. At age forty-eight, in the second year of Jingming [501], he fell sick and passed away.[54]

Ning Mao's sarcophagus, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is shaped like a Han dynasty funerary shrine (illus. 167; comparing with illus. 1). What distinguishes it from a Han shrine include its function, placement and decoration, especially the line-engravings executed on the rear exterior wall (illus. 168).[55] Here, a faintly delineated architectural framework represents the timber structure of a building, a 'frame' enclosing the portraits of three gentlemen. Attired in similar costumes and each accompanied by a female figure, the three men differ from one another mainly in age. The figure to the right is a younger man with a fleshy face and a strong torso; the one to the left is heavily bearded with an angular face and a slender body. Whereas these two figures, both shown in three-quarter view facing outward, appear vigorous and high-spirited, the third figure in the middle is a frail older man retreating into an inner space. Slightly humpbacked and lowering his head, he contemplates on a lotus flower in his hand. The flower – as a symbol of purity and wisdom – originated in Buddhism, which had rapidly spread among Chinese literati by the sixth century. Lost in contemplation, this focal figure is about to enter the wooden-framed building, leaving this world and us the viewers behind.

The modern Chinese scholar Huang Minglan has offered an interesting reading of this composition. He suggested that all three images represent Ning Mao and together narrate his life, from his vigorous youth to his final spiritual enlightenment.[56] Ning Mao's epitaph seems to support this interpretation: its biographical section high-

167 Ning Mao's stone sarcophagus. From Luoyang, Henan. Northern Wei, 501 CE.

lights three dated events in Ning's life, from assuming his first official post when he was thirty-five to his demise thirteen years later. Although the portraits do not necessarily coincide with these specific events, they do show the general contour of his life as described in the epitaph. Most notably, after praising Ning's virtues and achievements, the epitaph changes tone abruptly to lament his untimely death. The conflict between life and death was a popular subject of philosophical and religious contemplation at the time. This is also the subject of the three portraits: we find that lived experience ends at the point where the central figure turns inward, about to penetrate the solid surface of the stone and enter the sarcophagus.

168 Carvings on the exterior back wall of Ning Mao's sarcophagus. Northern Wei, 501 CE. Rubbing.

Echoes from the Past

Ning Mao's occupation as an administrator of imperial architectural projects explains the unusually high quality of the engravings on his sarcophagus.[57] In addition to the three figures on the rear wall, complex pictorial scenes are carved on the side walls to narrate the stories of four ancient filial paragons. These historical illustrations construct another kind of temporality, connecting Ning Mao and his own 'filial sons' to some eternal virtues in Chinese civilization.[58] The two heroes represented on the right wall are Emperor Shun from antiquity and Ding Lan of the Eastern Han. Shun was commonly regarded in medieval China as the founder of the country's moral culture. The legend relates that after Shun's mother died, his father remarried a woman who was cunning, cruel and malicious. Shun was naturally filial, but despite his obedience, he could never please them. Together with their son Xiang, his father and stepmother tried many ways to kill him. One time they asked Shun to repair a silo, and then set the silo on fire. Another time they asked him to dig a well, and then dumped rocks into the well while he was working inside. As if protected by the gods, Shun was miraculously spared from each disaster, and only repaid his parents and half-brother with kindness. He became known throughout the land as a man of unparalleled virtue. The reigning emperor Yao therefore married his two daughters to him and finally abdicated the throne to him. To Confucius, Shun embodied the essence of a 'sage-emperor' who ruled the country with virtue alone: 'How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself.'[59]

Differing from Shun's unconditioned compassion toward mankind, Ding Lan, the other filial paragon depicted on the right wall, broke the law in killing a person who dared to offend his mother's (or father's) visage.[60] It is said that upon the death of his mother, he carved an image of her, waiting upon it as though she were alive. When neighbours wanted to borrow things, he would always consult the statue first. Enraged, a rejected neighbour hacked the statue with a knife, and the statue bled. Ding Lan returned home and saw this. He cried grievously and killed the neighbour in revenge. When officials came to arrest him, he bid farewell to the statue, and the wooden mother looked at him and shed tears. The miracle was reported to the throne. The emperor praised Ding Lan's extraordinary filial piety and assigned him an official post.

Shun and Ding Lan, as well as the other two filial paragons Dong Yong and Dong Yan represented on the opposite side wall of the sarcophagus, lived in different periods. But their shared virtue transcended their historical specificity. In other words, although each pictorial story took place in a particular time and place, the four stories together typify a timeless principle in ancient China. The *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiao jing*), a Confucian text that became extremely popular from the Han dynasty onward, teaches that 'filial piety is the foundation of virtue and the root of civilization' and that 'filial piety is the first principle of heaven, the ultimate standard of earth, and the norm of conduct for the people.'[61] The pictorial stories on Ning Mao's sarcophagus, therefore, depict historical manifestations of filial piety as an ahistorical moral principle. This significance becomes more explicit on a contemporary stone sarcophagus from

169 A long side of a stone sarcophagus from Luoyang, Henan. Northern Wei. early 6th century. Rubbing.

Luoyang, which juxtaposes such historical narratives with images of a transcendent Taoist paradise.

Also produced in the early sixth century, this second Luoyang sarcophagus adopts the form of a traditional timber coffin, with a rectangular, box-like lower part covered by an arched lid.[62] The two long sides of the box are decorated with a rich combination of pictorial and decorative images (illus. 169). At the bottom of each rectangular composition, a rolling hillock establishes a continuous foreground and extends into the depths along the picture's vertical sides. Tall trees further divide this U-shaped picture frame into a number of 'space cells' for depicting stories of individual filial paragons from different historical times. Scholars have been astonished by the 'naturalism' of these narrative scenes:[63] well-proportioned figures – a series of famous filial sons from China's past – sit or kneel on a tilted ground or on platforms that recede into the depths. Behind them are a mountain range and floating clouds, whose greatly reduced size indicates their remoteness.

This spatial representation serves two seemingly contradictory but actually complementary purposes. On the one hand, it groups historical figures from different times and places into a synchronic setting. The rationale of this synthesis is, as proposed a moment ago, that all these figures share the same virtue and their lives show a uniform contour. The naturalism of the illustrations thus serves to diminish any vestige of historical specificity. The figures belong neither to the past nor the present. Rather, they embody the Confucian principle of filial piety as an abstraction of history and human conduct.

On the other hand, positioned in the lower half of the pictures, these virtuous men are still earth-bound; they can typify a Confucian principle *because* of their actual historical existence. From this perspective, the naturalist style of their portraits attests to their realness and credibility. This significance of the style is confirmed by its absence in the upper half of the composition, where we find fantastic and possibly Taoist images: an enormous dragon juxtaposed with a huge phoenix, beautiful fairies riding on clouds or exotic birds, fierce demons roaring against the wind. Instead of being united by a three-dimensional landscape, these fantastic images are harmonized by the swelling, rhythmic lines that shape them. One may say that these fluent lines are themselves a metaphor of the vital energy of the universe, from which all these imaginary images – heavenly flowers, auspicious birds, mystical beasts, fairies and demons – emerge. Floating and ever-changing, these line-images seem to shift smoothly on the two-dimensional picture plane without penetrating it.

170 Seven Worthies and Rong Qiqi. Brick reliefs from a tomb at Xishanqiao near Nanjing, Jiangsu. Six Dynasties, c. 5th century CE. Rubbing.

As historical representations and abstractions of filial piety, the pictorial narratives on these two Northern Wei sarcophagi effectively connected the deceased and their descendants to this Confucian moral tradition. Inhabiting a sarcophagus covered with images of filial paragons, the dead literally became one of these virtuous men from different times. At the same time, to participants in the funeral (at which the sarcophagi were publicly displayed), the pictorial stories also alluded to the 'filial sons' of the dead who were conducting the rite. This double implication explains why filial sons became the most popular historical figures illustrated in chamber tombs. The Northern Wei depictions revived filial son images in Eastern Han funerary art. The same tradition reached a new height during the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties when Confucian ethics dominated social life as never before.

The longevity of filial son images attests to the lasting dominance of Confucian ethics in Chinese society. But when Taoism became fashionable during the Six Dynasties (220–589), an additional set of cultural heroes was introduced into tomb art. These were the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove (*Zhulin qixian*) – a group of third-century bohemian intellectuals who escaped worldly affairs to find freedom in nature. In some important aristocratic tombs of the fourth to fifth centuries, images of the Seven Worthies appeared together with a much earlier figure named Rong Qiqi, who was said to have attained immortality in antiquity (illus. 170). This ahistorical grouping signifies the changing meaning of the Seven Worthies from specific historical figures to tokens of a general figurative type. Known as 'hermits and recluses' (*yin yi*), this type of image no longer claims historical specificity for the representation, but portrays a series of anonymous gentlemen immersing themselves in nature, playing a *qin*-lute or chatting about poetry in various landscape settings. Decorating some extraordinary sixth-century tombs, these figures reflect the growing influence of literati culture in imagining the afterlife (illus. 171).

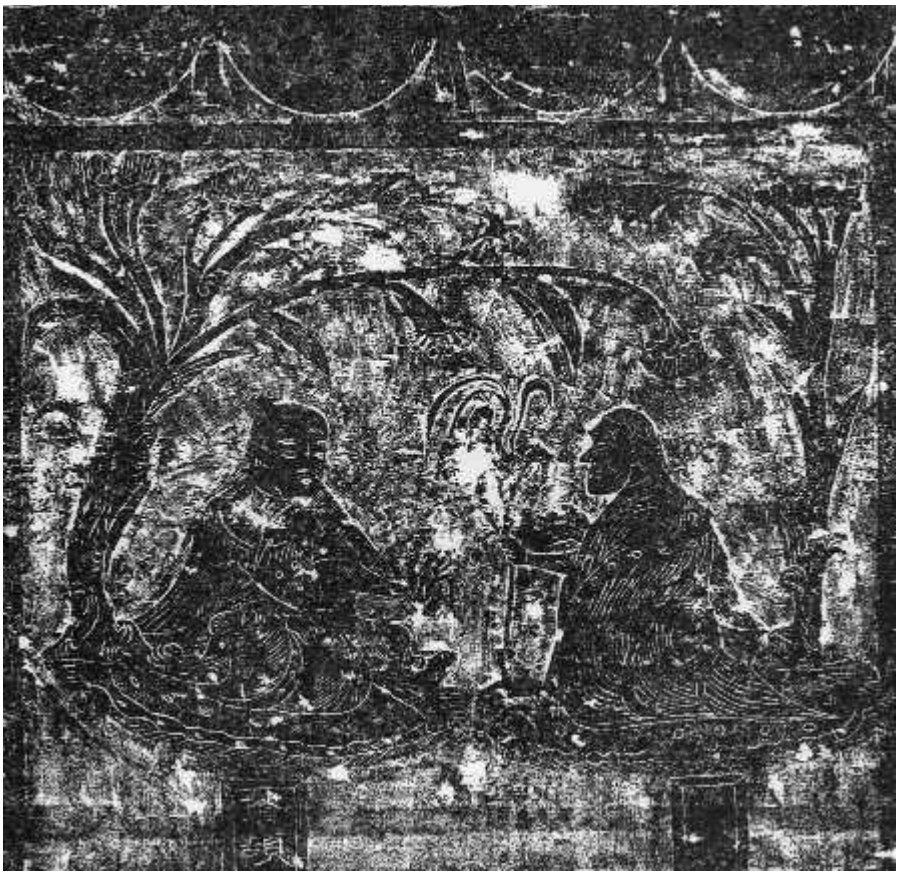
In Chinese funerary art, filial sons and hermits constituted two lasting traditions of historical painting, against which some 'unconventional' images can be detected. Given the rare or singular occurrences of such images, we can further assume that they were commissioned and designed for specific purposes. A clearly documented case of this kind concerns Zhao Qi, a second-century scholar and official who designed his

own grave when he was still living. According to his biography in the *History of the Later Han* (*Hou Han shu*), inside the tomb he painted four Confucian paragons from previous dynasties, including three wise ministers (Zichan, Yan Ying and Shuxiang) and Jizha, a gentleman famous for his devotion toward a deceased friend, 'as guests flanking his own portrait in the position of the host'.[64] Zhao Qi's tomb still existed in the early sixth century, when the renowned geographer Li Daoyuan (472–527) visited and recorded it. Li concluded his report by saying that in composing the tomb mural, Zhao 'expressed the values he had always admired'.[65] Checking Zhao Qi's biography, we find that he was forced into hiding when a political persecution of scholar-officials started in 158. All his relatives were imprisoned or executed. He changed his name, wandered all over the country and earned his living selling pancakes. One day he was recognized in a marketplace by a righteous man named Sun Song, who took him home and hid him inside a hollow wall. Only after the persecution ended did Zhao Qi leave this 'living grave', where he had spent several years. He won respect from fellow Confucians and was finally promoted to a prominent office. Understood in this context, the image of Jizha that Zhao Qi painted next to his self-portrait in his tomb probably expressed his gratitude toward Sun Song, who saved him during the political persecution, whereas the three famous politicians from the past alluded to his political aspirations.

171 Gentlemen under trees. Mural in Cui Fen's tomb at Linqu, Shandong. Northern Qi, 557 CE.

Unfortunately, none of the excavated Han tombs can be definitely identified as the outcome of the patron's specific intention. This is because such identification would require texts documenting the design process of a tomb, which we do not have. The unusual images in some large graves, however, do provide convincing evidence about the existence of such intentions. Earlier I

introduced an impressive stone bas-relief in a second-century tomb at Qilingang, Henan, and related its unique portrayal of Taiyi as a cosmic deity to a Taoist sect emerging in the region (see illus. 53). It is possible that the tomb occupant was an important figure in this religious sect. Another example is a famous stone tomb at Yi'nan, Shandong. Dated to the late second or early third century, it exhibits a series of legendary and historical figures in the middle chamber.[66] Carved in fluid lines on individual vertical panels, these images appear as paired or interacting portraits. There are Cang Jie and the Divine Farmer, the inventors of writing and agriculture (illus. 172); Zhuan Xu and the Yellow Emperor, two of the legendary Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors; the Duke of Zhou and young King Cheng of the Western Zhou; a number of famous generals, assassins and lords who lived in the turbulent Eastern Zhou; and figures present at the Hongmen Banquet (Hongmen Yan), a key episode in Han history. To my knowledge, this is the only Han tomb decorated with such a wide range of historical figures. (A comparable example is Wu Liang's shrine built in 151, but this shrine is an above-ground funerary monument, not an underground tomb.) Because little is known about the occupant of this tomb, and because many of the images are unlabelled or mislabelled, however, any interpretation of the carvings can only be provisional. What seems apparent is that the selection of the figures reflects an effort to cover a broad time span from the beginning of Chinese civilization to the current



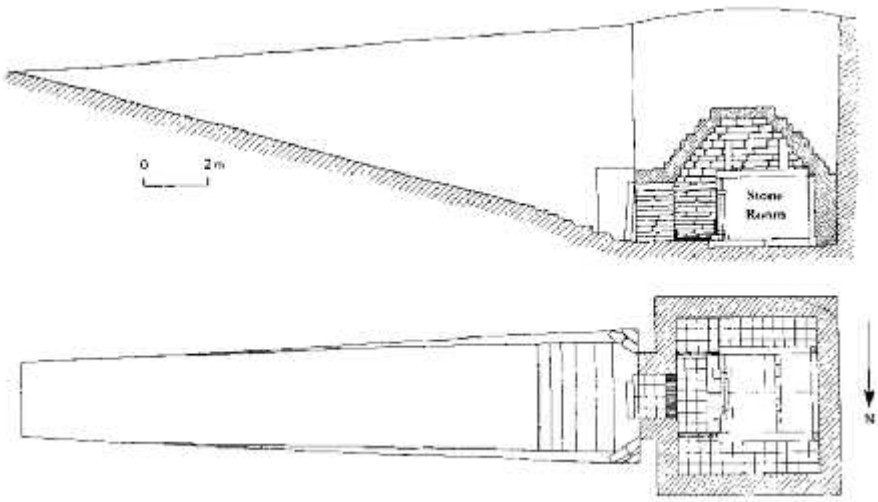
172 Cang Jie and Shen Nong (the creators of writing and agriculture). Relief carving in a stone tomb at Yi'nan, Shandong. Late Eastern Han, late 2nd–early 3rd century CE.

dynasty – a coverage similar to that of the *Historical Records*, the first general history of China, written by Sima Qian in the Western Han.

My last example in this section – an extraordinary example indeed – is an early Liao tomb excavated in 1996. Designated as Baoshan Tomb 2 and dated to around 930, it was located in an aristocratic family graveyard at Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia.[67] Two large murals from the tomb have been widely published to exemplify the achievement of 'female figure painting' (*shinü hua*) in Liao art. But in my view, the significance of these unusually sophisticated images must be understood in relation to the tomb's occupant.

According to the excavation report, the tomb's brick chamber contained a stone structure 2.97m wide and 3.2m deep (illus. 173). Inside the structure and against the back wall stood a brick platform, on which lay skeletal remains of an adult woman. The stone structure can thus be considered a 'house-shaped' sarcophagus similar to Ning Mao's (see illus. 167). Also like Ning Mao's sarcophagus, it was originally decorated on both the interior and exterior, but only the images inside the structure have survived intact. Painted with bright colours on a thick layer of plaster, these images transformed the interior of the stone house into a 'feminine space':[68] two female attendants guarded the door, and large peony flowers decorated the back wall above the platform, providing the deceased woman with a backdrop. The two paintings mentioned earlier decorated the side walls. As the Chinese scholar Wu Yugui has correctly identified, the central characters of the compositions are two famous historical women, the fourth-century poet Su Hui (style name Ruolan) and the eighth-century *femme fatale* Yang Guifei (also known as Yang Yuhuan or Yang Taizhen). The painting on the northern wall bears a poem:

Snow feathered bird from Mt Long with a red beak,
You have received much coaching from our palace lady.
Never speaking ordinary words in front of people,
All the sounds you make are the chanting of Buddhist sutras.



173 Cross-section and plan of Baoshan Tomb 2 at Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. Liao dynasty, 930 CE.

The subject of the poem is a well-known Tang tale: Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756) and his favourite consort Yang Guifei loved an unusual white parrot from the south, whom they nicknamed White Robed Girl (Xueyi niang). One day the parrot flew to Guifei, saying in human voice that she had dreamt the previous night of being caught and crushed by a vicious eagle. To prevent the calamity prophesied by the dream, the emperor asked Guifei to teach the parrot *The Heart Sutra* until she could recite it fluently. But when the royal couple later took the parrot to a palace resort, an eagle suddenly swooped down and killed her. Sadly, the emperor and Guifei had her buried in the imperial garden, and named the burial site Yingwu Zhong – the Tomb of a Parrot.[69]

In the mural, Yang Guifei is seated behind a narrow table under a leafy willow tree (illus. 174); the open scroll on the table must be *The Heart Sutra*. An exotic palm tree and an ornate Taihu rock identify the setting as a royal garden. Two female attendants stand behind Guifei, one holding a fan and the other a cup. Two more attendants stand in front of the royal lady, looking at her attentively. Meanwhile, Guifei is fully occupied by the scroll, apparently in the middle of teaching the parrot to recite the Buddhist sutra. The bird stands on the table next to the scroll. Alert and directly facing her teacher, she seems to be memorizing every word uttered from Guifei's mouth.

Several versions of Su Hui's story exist. According to the version in the *History of Jin* (*Jin shu*), Su's husband Dou Tao was sent by Fu Jian (r. 357–84), the founding emperor of Qian Qin, into exile on the frontier. Expressing her longing for Dou, she invented a kind of palindrome (*huiwen shi*) that could be read forward or backward and in many other ways. No matter how one reads it, however, the verses always convey her plaintive sentiments. She wove the poem into a piece of brocade with five-colour thread and sent it to Dou Tao. When the work fell into Fu Jian's hands, it is said that the ruthless warlord was moved by Su Hui's devotion and pardoned Dou Tao, allowing the couple to reunite.[70] There is another version of the story, however, which has a tragic ending: scheming to win over Su Hui, Fu Rong (a brother of Fu Jian's) faked

174 A mural in Baoshan Tomb 2, depicting Yang Guifei's recitation of sutras. Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. Liao dynasty, 930 CE.

the news that Dou Tao had died on the frontier. Heartbroken, Su Hui committed suicide before Dou could reach home.

In the Baoshan tomb, the mural on the south wall depicts the moment when Su Hui is dispatching an emissary to her husband (illus. 175). Surrounded by five female companions or attendants, she has a wistful expression on her face. Holding the brocade in her left hand, she points to the emissary with her right, as if in the middle of telling him the importance of the object. In response, the emissary, a young man in traveller's attire, slightly bends his upper body and holds both hands in front of his chest – a gesture of loyalty. A female companion is handing him a little scroll, perhaps a letter.

Although both paintings depict historical women, they have different subject matters and implications. Su Hui's story is about a woman's love and devotion, whereas the tale of the White Robed Girl falls into the literary genre of 'records of the strange'. One wonders why these two stories were chosen to decorate a woman's tomb. My hypothesis is that the selection was based on the existing pictorial representations of the stories, not on the stories themselves. Traditional painting catalogues show that both tales were popular subjects of Tang and Song painting, and were especially favoured by painters in the Zhang Xuan-Zhou Fang tradition.[71] It is possible that representations of the two stories followed pictorial conventions of 'female figure painting', and that the decision to decorate Baoshan Tomb 2 with the two murals was based on these conventions. This assumption directs our attention to the shared elements of the two compositions, which would in turn indicate their relationship with the woman buried in the tomb.

In this vein, the first thing we notice is the strong similarity between the central female figures of the two murals, both representing aristocratic women of the highest social level. This is not consistent with the original stories, in which Su Hui has a much lower status than Yang Guifei. But in the painting, she is portrayed as a grand royal

175 A mural in Baoshan Tomb 2, depicting Su Hui's story of forwarding brocade textiles to her husband. Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. Liao dynasty, 930 CE.

lady with multiple female companions or attendants. Based on an inscription in Baoshan Tomb 1, the excavators suggest that the graveyard belonged to a branch of the Liao royal clan and may have even belonged to the branch of Emperor Abaoji himself.[72] If this suggestion is correct, then the female occupant of Tomb 2 would likewise have been of royal status. Depicted as grand royal ladies, the central figures of the murals were thus compatible with the occupant of this tomb in social status. Alternatively, we can say that the paintings provided her with two prominent 'historical counterparts'.

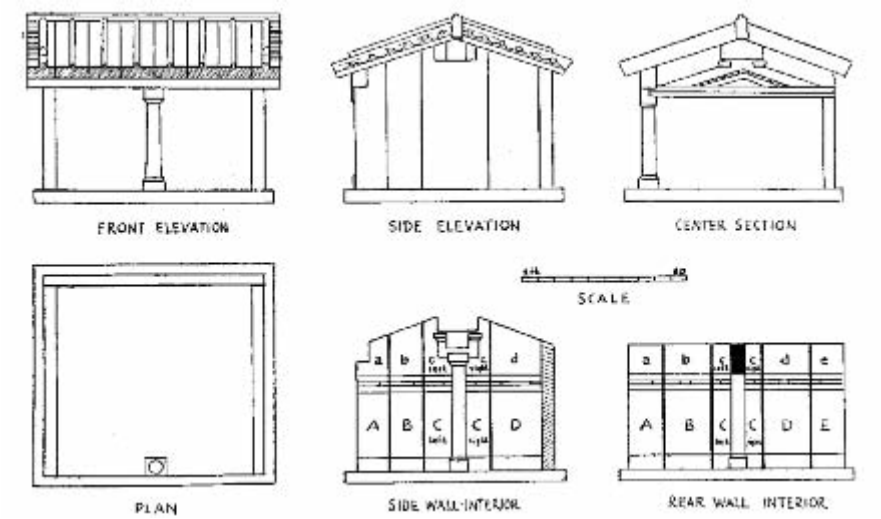
Moreover, both paintings emphasize women's intimate relationship with texts: Yang Guifei is absorbed in reading a scroll, and Su Hui is holding the palindrome she has just created. But what *is* this relationship as represented in the murals? We know from the stories that the scroll bears *The Heart Sutra* and the palindrome contains hundreds of love poems, but these texts are not shown in the paintings: the words on Yang Guifei's scroll are illegible while the brocade in Su Hui's hand shows only coloured patterns. What the murals represent is thus not the specific content of the texts, but the *act* of reading or writing. Students of Chinese art are familiar with the many 'reading women' images in Ming–Qing paintings, which portray refined female figures holding or contemplating books with blank pages. The Baoshan murals allow us to trace this tradition to the tenth century and even earlier.

Finally, both paintings depict a fantasy world populated by fashionable women among exotic plants. Rarely do we find female images in tomb art so exquisitely and seductively portrayed. The ladies in the murals are themselves works of art: they have painted eyebrows and tiny red lips, and their tall *coiffures* are complex sculptural forms embellished with flowers and gold jewellery. No two ladies wear the same clothes; each displays a different combination of colours and patterns. In both paintings, these court ladies are accompanied by rare plants, shown prominently in the spaces between the figures. Most of these plants, including a palm tree, a banana tree and bamboos, grew in the south. The Qidan patron of the murals probably never saw them in real life. But this may be exactly why these plants were painted in the tomb in such an exaggerated iconic form.

Based on these observations, we can conclude that these two 'historical' murals in Baoshan Tomb 2 helped construct a particular kind of feminine space for a deceased royal lady. Subject to a contemporary court taste, this space incorporated fashion, luxury, literacy and romantic fantasy as its main components. It was this space of femininity, not images of filial piety and chastity, that constituted the eternal home of the woman buried in this tomb.

Returning to the Ancient

We can begin this section by revisiting Ning Mao's sarcophagus (see illus. 167). In a previous study, I traced the origin of this type of 'house-shaped' sarcophagus and suggested that its reappearance in the fifth and sixth centuries resulted from a contemporary effort to refashion mortuary structures based on ancient models.[73] In particular, Ning Mao's sarcophagus imitated Eastern Han funerary shrines built three to four centuries earlier. As Zheng Yan first noted, although a Northern Wei house-shaped sarcophagus and an Eastern Han funerary shrine had different ritual functions, they



176 The 'Zhu Wei' shrine at Jinxiang, Shandong. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE.

show remarkable similarities in both architectural style and decorative scheme. A comparison between Ning Mao's sarcophagus and the Zhu Wei shrine (illus. 176; also see illus. 1) supports this argument well: both structures were constructed of stone panels and decorated with line engravings, which likewise depict human activities divided by the framework of a timber building. A number of textual references further allowed Zheng Yan to explain how Northern Wei people learned the ancient architectural form: many Han shrines were still standing in the open during the fifth and sixth centuries, which people visited for different reasons. Among these visitors, the Northern Wei geographer Li Daoyuan recorded multiple shrines in his *Commentary on the Classic of Waterways* (*Shuijing zhu*); others treated such buildings as monuments to famous filial paragons and left commemorative inscriptions on them.[74]

What we find here is one of numerous instances in traditional Chinese funerary art, which collectively attest to a continuous trend of 'returning to the ancient' (*fugu*).[75] The conceptual/perceptual scaffolding of this trend consists of three basic elements. The first is a retrospective gaze projected from the present. The second is a historicization of the past to specify a point of return. The third is a psychological 'gap' separating the present and this particular past. Like archaistic trends in other artistic traditions such as painting, architecture and sculpture, the *fugu* practices in funerary art attempted to traverse a chronological divide in an effort to re-embrace the ancients – to embody their values and tastes, and to assume a place among them. It can be argued that such bridging lies at the heart of ancestral worship: it is stressed more than ten times in *The Book of Rites* that the principal function of ancestral worship is to guide people 'to go back to their Origin, maintain the ancient, and not forget those to whom they owe their being'.[76] This and similar passages were written toward the end of the Eastern Zhou, but the idea they convey was a much older one. As evidence, the temple hymns of Shang and Western Zhou have survived in the 'Daya' section of *The Book of Songs*. Without exception, they trace the origins of specific clans to some mythological heroes who emerged from the twilight zone between heaven and the human world.[77]

This general orientation of ancient Chinese ritual art helps explain an important feature of 'spirit vessels' made for the dead. When discussing such objects in chapter Two, I identified a number of their formal and technological features, one of which is to imitate or allude to archaic forms that were no longer in circulation (see p. 96). To their patrons and viewers, the archaistic style of these vessels made them 'images of the ancients' (*gu ren zhi xiang*), a phrase from the 'Yi Ji' chapter in the transmitted version of *The Book of Documents* (*Shu*). This text records a series of instructions that the legendary Emperor Shun gave to Yu, the future founder of the Xia, about how to be a good ruler. In his speech, Shun said that he wished to behold 'images of the ancients' and to have them refashioned in brilliant colours on ceremonial paraphernalia.[78]

Written around the end of the Eastern Zhou, this passage can be read as a confirmation of the time-honoured *fugu* tradition. Together with actual 'spirit vessels' from contemporary tombs (see illus. 95), it testifies to an important phenomenon in Eastern Zhou funerary art, in which 'returning to the ancient' became a standard mode of art making. Related to this archaistic tendency was an attempt to 'historicize' mortuary rites and grave goods – a subject covered in chapter Two. *The Book of Rites* contains multiple passages associating particular funerary rites, as well as specific materials, colours and types of tomb furnishing, with different dynasties. For example:

> [In the time of Shun] of Yu they used earthenware coffins. Under the sovereigns of Xia, they surrounded these with an enclosure of bricks. The people of Yin used wooden coffins, the outer and inner. The people of Zhou added the surrounding curtains and the feathery ornaments.[79]

> Under the sovereigns of Xia, the corpse was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east . . . The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between the two pillars . . . The people of Zhou performed it at the top of the western steps . . .[80]

A series of historical reconstructions provided late Zhou Confucian ritual specialists with standards and references in conducting ritual affairs.[81] They could thus reject certain rites as *feigu* or 'not ancient' – a judgment that appears repeatedly in *The Book of Rites*. They could also choose specific ancient ritual customs for particular occasions and subjects. It is thus said that after Confucius passed away, one of his disciples, Gongxi Chi, made the commemorative ornaments. Following a Xia dynasty custom he arranged flagstaffs bound with white silk and long streamers. He also set up flags with jagged edges after the manner of the Shang, and furthermore adorned the coffin with wall-like curtains, fan-like screens and cords based on Western Zhou ritual conventions.[82] Kong Yingda (574–648) of the Tang dynasty explains that such a combination of ritual customs from all Three Dynasties showed the high esteem Confucius' students held for their teacher.[83]

These Eastern Zhou records deserve serious attention because they reveal significant new dimensions of 'returning to the ancient' in funerary art. First, they show that this trend was now promoted by a group of history-conscious 'professionals' and

connected firmly to the Confucian intellectual and ritual tradition. Second, the reminiscences and reconstruction of the past by these men were no longer confined within the ancestral cult of a particular family or lineage, but began to constitute a general history of ritual and ritual objects. Third, adapting a dynastic framework, this history appears as a linear progression, consisting of self-contained, successive temporal units assigned different political, moral and artistic values. Fourth and perhaps most important, to these Confucian ritualists, their employment of ancient rituals did not mean straightforward adaptation of bygone customs. Rather, as exemplified by Gongxi Chi's use of different rites from the Three Dynasties in designing Confucius' funeral, they modified ancient rituals to suit current situations. More than a thousand years later, when the Song dynasty Neo-Confucian master Zhu Xi drafted a new manual of family rituals, he was guided by the same principle to simultaneously rediscover and update ancient rites. As he states in his introduction to the text:

> Ritual canons were complete in the Three Dynasties. But in the texts that survive today, the regulations on dwellings, utensils, and clothes, and the instructions on matters like coming and going, rising and sitting are no longer suited to our age. Even when contemporary men of virtue accommodate the changes from antiquity to the present to formulate a temporary system for today, they still may not attain the proper balance, with some parts too detailed and some too sketchy. It can reach the point where they omit the fundamental elements and concentrate on the secondary ones, showing indifference to the substance but concern about the elaborations. Thus, even to those scholars who are inspired to commit to rituals, they may still fail to perform the essential parts and be consistent. And those who suffer from poverty of knowledge have the added worry that they will not have the means to fulfill the ritual.[84]

The basis of Zhu's *Family Rituals* remained the prescriptions in *The Book of Rites* and the *Protocols of Ceremonies*. But he did not hesitate to make recommendations based on his own ideas of the past. For example, in discussing tomb types he followed the opinion of another Song Neo-Confucian, Sima Guang, rather than the classical text:

> The venerable Sima said, 'Today there are two methods of burial. One is to dig straight down into the ground to make a grave and lower the coffin into it. The other is to carve out an underground passage to a grave-like room and to bring the coffin into it from the side. Now, among the ancients only the Son of Heaven was allowed to make a passage to the grave; everyone else lowered the coffin directly down into a grave. This is the method that should be used today. The hole dug should be narrow but deep, narrow so it will not cave in, deep so it is difficult for robbers to reach.'[85]

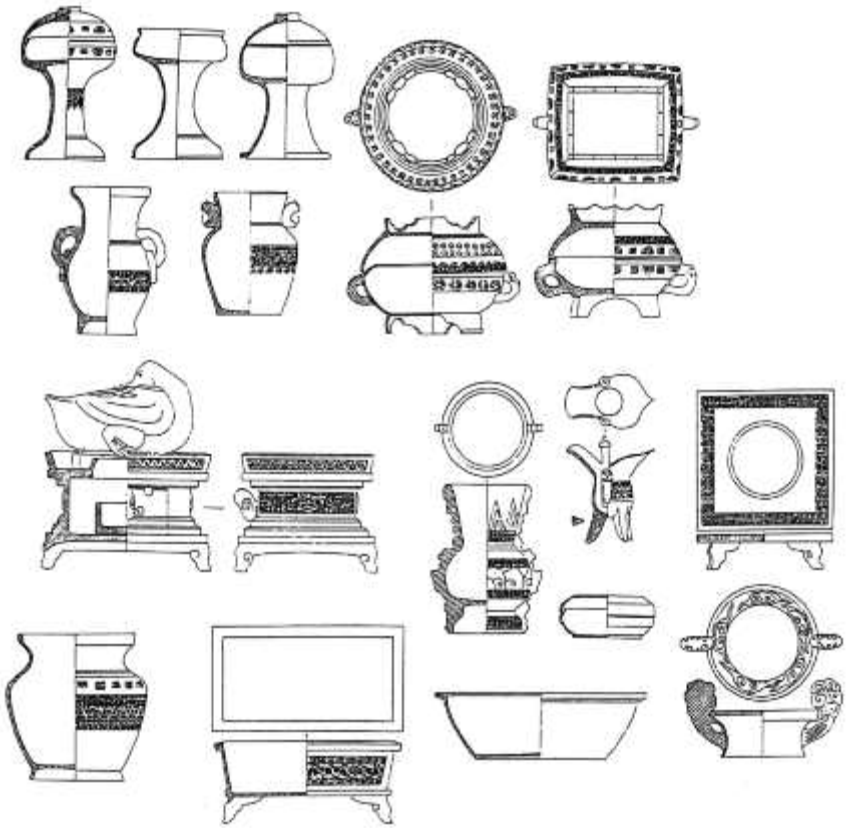
The two kinds of burials Sima Guang specified are clearly the 'casket grave' and 'chamber grave' in our terminology. Instead of continuing the tradition of the chamber grave, which had become the main burial type since the late Western Han,

Sima Guang and Zhu Xi advised their contemporaries to re-embrace the custom of the casket grave. To support such archaistic return, they bestowed this ancient burial type with a radicalized form. This form is not based on reality: we know from archaeological excavations that most casket graves of pre-Han and early Han periods had sloping ramps to facilitate construction, furnishing and interment (see illus. 9). Sima Guang's description of the casket grave, in fact, served to idealize and rationalize an ancient ritual tradition. To make its difference from the chamber grave (or the difference between 'ancient' and 'recent' rituals) absolute, he eliminated any horizontal element from a casket tomb and characterized the structure simply as a 'narrow but deep' hole.

Also from the Song, the study of ancient objects and inscriptions grew into a broad field, and collecting antiques became a widespread intellectual and commercial enterprise. A new pattern of 'returning to the ancient' began to emerge, characterized by a constant dialogue between various social sectors and cultural groups. The rediscovery and refashioning of the past was no longer monopolized by the court or scholars, but became a general cultural convention and even influenced popular culture, producing alternative forms of archaistic representations. 'Following the ancient model' (*zunxun guzhi*) became a cliché in official documents regarding the construction and furnishing of imperial tombs. Song antiquarian bronzes provided models for making new kinds of 'spirit vessels' (illus. 177).[86] Influenced by Sima Guang's and Zhu Xi's teachings, many Song and post-Song scholar-officials fashioned 'austere', vertical graves for themselves (see illus. 84).[87] But rich land owners in inland regions seemed to have also embraced the archaistic trend in their own ways, embellishing their opulent chamber tombs with motifs derived from Han funerary art, including narrative scenes of filial stories and an intriguing image of a woman emerging from the space behind a half-open door (see illus. 81).[88] These phenomena testify to more complex manifestations of the concept of 'returning to the ancient', which now operated on various social levels and in different cultural contexts, constantly reshaping funerary art and architecture with a reinvented past.

Journey

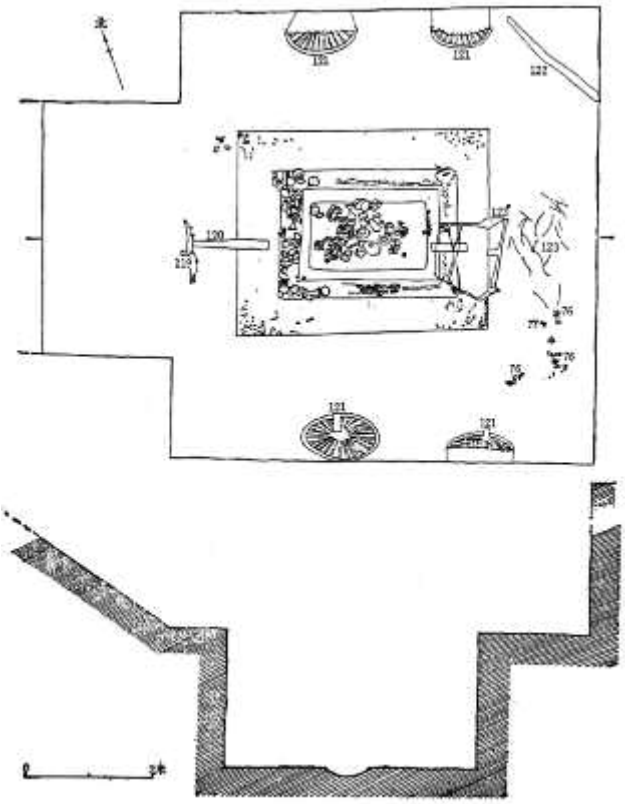
Each of the four types of temporal representation discussed above – cosmological, experiential, historical or archaistic – implies a self-contained visual and spatial system; the temporalities they signify are not directly transferable from one to another. These representations were related in the overall architectural/decorative programme of a tomb in two ways, either through juxtaposition or narrative links. We have encountered many situations which employ the technique of juxtaposition (e.g., a coffined corpse versus the spirit seat of the soul, 'lived objects' versus a posthumous biography, a celestial chart versus historical narratives, etc.). This section focuses on the second method used to bring separate systems of representation into a large programme. Unlike the technique of juxtaposition, which relies on static, dualistic 'pairing', this narrative method connects separate states of being into a continuous process of transformation. The most common visual metaphor for such continuity in Chinese funerary art is a journey.



177 'Ancient-style' pottery sacrificial vessels from the tomb of Saiyinchidahu at Xilümiao near Luoyang, Henan. Yuan dynasty, 1365 CE.

We do not know when the idea of a journey became first associated with the tomb. But an archaeological find enables us to trace the origin of this idea to at least the 5th millennium BCE: a Yangshao Culture pottery coffin was drilled with a hole in its wall to allow the soul to move in and out (see illus. 6).[89] The same belief must have survived into the 5th century BCE and underlain the decoration of Marquis Yi's coffin, on which large painted windows symbolize the entrance and exit of the soul of the deceased (illus. 178). Archaeological excavations have also demonstrated that at least from the Western Zhou, some aristocratic graves used multiple wheels from horse chariots to surround the coffin assemblage.[90] The implication of this design is made explicit by a fifth-century BCE tomb at Changdao Wanggou, Shandong, which had the coffin placed between four wheels, as if the whole grave could move itself to another realm after the entombment (illus. 179).[91] More definite evidence comes from Baoshan Tomb 2 in Hubei. Written records on bamboo slips from this tomb, which belonged to

178 Marquis Yi's inner coffin, from the tomb of the marquis at Suixian, Hubei. Early Warring States period, 5th century BCE.



179 Plan of a tomb at Changdao, Wanggou, Shandong. Mid-Eastern Zhou, 5th century BCE.

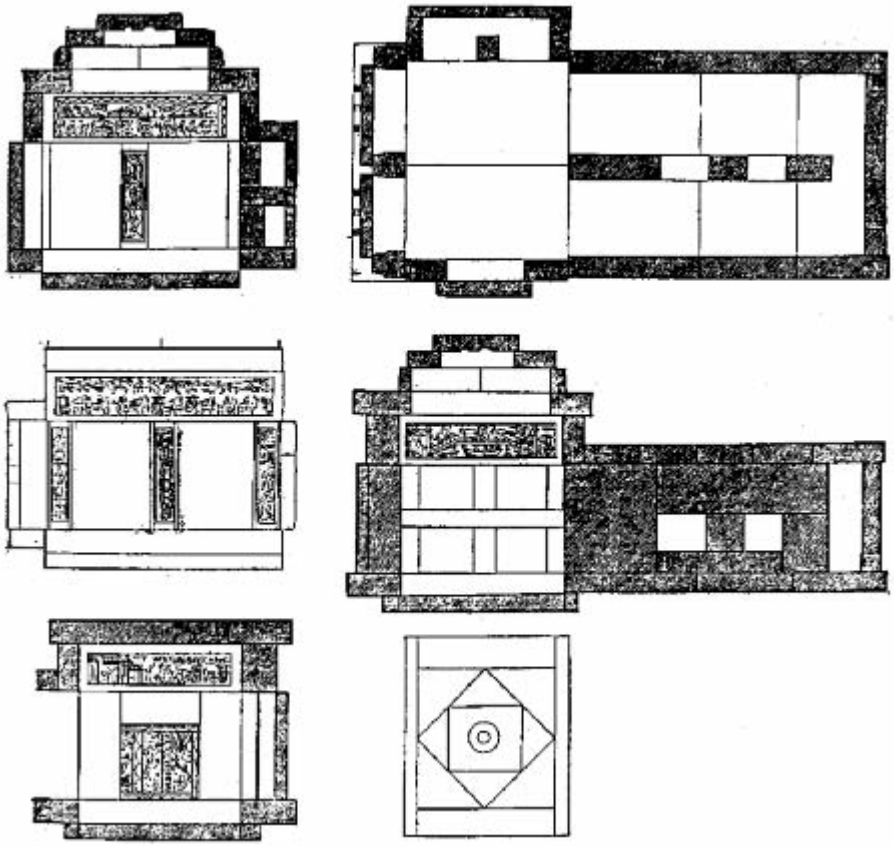
the Chu nobleman Shao Tuo, who died in 316 BCE, identify the functions of objects stored in the tomb's various chambers. Significantly, one large group of objects is defined as 'items used for travelling (*xing*)'. Based on this and other evidence, Constance A. Cook has concluded in her exhaustive study of this grave that 'the southern and western compartments held preparations for the journey (*xing*)'.[92]

Starting from the Eastern Han, abundant images of horses and chariots were painted or carved in chamber tombs to represent two kinds of journeys. The first, as exemplified by the Helingeer tomb discussed earlier, indexes events in the life of the tomb occupant in chronological order, and can be considered a posthumous pictorial biography (see illus. 165). The other kind, the subject of this section, depicts a bipartite journey consisting of a funerary procession and an imaginary tour taken by the posthumous soul. Shifting between life, death and the afterlife, this type of representation connects separate temporal spheres into a continuous process of transformation.

From Funeral to Immortality

The most explicit representation of a bipartite journey – a funerary procession to the grave followed by an imaginary tour in the afterlife – is seen in an Eastern Han stone tomb located at Cangshan in southeastern Shandong (illus. 180). The tomb is securely dated to 151 BCE by an inscription, which also explains the content and symbolism of the tomb's carvings.[93] To summarize, the writer of the text, who was most likely the designer of the tomb,[94] begins his description from the rear chamber where the coffin lay (illus. 181). Images in this section are all mythical in nature and include heavenly beasts and intertwining dragons. He then moves on to identify the pictures in the main chamber. Here, human figures become the main subject of representation, and a funerary journey is depicted in two horizontal compositions above two shallow niches on the east and west walls. The first picture on the west wall shows a chariot procession crossing a river (illus. 182). The corresponding inscription reads:

> Ascending the bridge over the Wei River,
> Here appear official chariots and horsemen.
> The Head Clerk is in front,
> And the Master of Records is behind.



180 Plan and elevation of the Cangshan tomb. Cangshan, Shandong. Eastern Han, 151 CE.

Together with them are the Chief of a Commune,
The Assistant Commandant of Cavalry,
And a Barbarian drawing his crossbow.
Water flows under the bridge;
A crowd of people are fishing.
Servant boys are paddling a boat,
Ferrying (your) wives across the river.

The Wei River was famous during the Han. Flowing north of the Western Han capital Chang'an, it separated the city from the royal mausoleums on the river's north bank. Several Han emperors built bridges across this river to link the capital with their own tombs; imperial guards and hundreds of officials accompanied their departed lords across these bridges; and so the Wei River must have become a general symbol of death. It is therefore not surprising to find recurring images of a 'Wei River bridge' (Wei Qiao or Weishui Qiao) in Han burials. In the Helingeer tomb in Inner Mongolia, this image appears above the passageway from the middle chamber to the rear chamber.[95] As mentioned earlier, pictures in the middle chamber illustrate the towns where the deceased held office during his career; the rear chamber has no such scene but displays images of an ideal afterlife, including a large estate and an immortal 'moon place'.

Pictorial carvings in the Cangshan tomb. Eastern Han, 151 CE, (181) rubbing of the rear wall of the burial chamber, (182) the west wall of the main chamber, (183) the east wall of the main chamber, (184) the lintel on the façade, (185) inside the niche on the east wall of the main chamber.

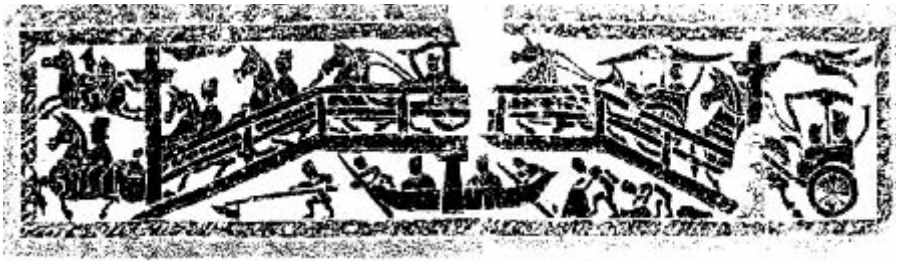
181

The Wei River bridge painted over the entrance to the rear chamber thus both separates and connects life and the afterlife. The chariot procession running across the bridge further supplies a sense of movement from the former to the latter.

In the Cangshan tomb, the chariot procession crossing the bridge consists only of male officials. The wives of the deceased are taking a boat across the river under the bridge. The reason is perhaps that *yin* (female) has to be separated from *yang* (male) and water embodies the *yin*-principle. But as the funerary journey continues and is depicted on the east wall, it becomes more private. The wives take over the main role in the ritual practice, accompanying their deceased husband to the burial ground (illus. 183):

> [The women] then sit in a small *ping*-carriage;
> Following a horseman it gallops to a *ting*-station.
> The awaiting officer Youxi gives them an audience,
> And then apologizes for his departure.
> At the rear [of the chariot procession],
> A 'ram carriage' (*yang che*) symbolizes a hearse;
> Above, divine birds are flying amid drifting clouds.

This passage identifies three components of the funerary procession in the picture: a horseman who guides the procession, a *ping*-carriage for the wives, and a ram-drawn carriage for the dead. Both types of carriages are recorded in transmitted texts. The Han dictionary *Interpreting Names* (*Shi ming*) identifies a *ping*-carriage as a covered sedan for women.[96] The term *yang che* (ram carriage) is a pun for *xiang che*



182

(auspicious carriage), because *yang* (ram) and *xiang* (auspiciousness) are homonyms. (This is also why so many Han tombs are decorated with 'ram' images as lucky symbols.) *Xiang che* is recorded in *The Book of Rites* as a carriage whose 'seat should be left empty' during a funeral.[97] The commentaries explain that this is because this carriage, which was used by the deceased when he was alive, became a 'soul carriage' (*hun che*) during his funeral to transport his invisible spirit. The 'soul carriage' is not a hearse, then; and its image in the Cangshan picture only 'symbolizes' a hearse. This distinction is confirmed by a scene in the Helingeer tomb, which also depicts the deceased being accompanied by his wives on a funerary journey. But here, the wives' *ping*-carriage is followed by a long wagon covered with a vaulted awning.[98] As I will demonstrate later, this is a typical image of a hearse in Han art. 183

The funerary journey in the Cangshan tomb ends at a *ting*-station (see illus. 183), which was a guest house for travellers in real life but is depicted here to symbolize a tomb. Entering the station signifies the burial of the dead: he would live in his underground home for eternity. This is why up to this point the deceased is unseen and only represented by chariots, but the next picture portrays him in human form in an idealized underworld (illus. 185): he is accompanied by immortal jade maidens, enjoying musical and dance performances, and taking a grand outdoor tour. The inscription describes this last scene, shown on the tomb's facade (illus. 184):

The face of the door lintel:
You are now taking a tour.
Chariots are guiding the retinue out,
While horsemen remain at home.
The *Dudu* is in front,
And the *Zeicao* is at the rear.
Above, tigers and dragons arrive with good fortune;
A hundred birds fly over bringing abundant wealth.

184

185

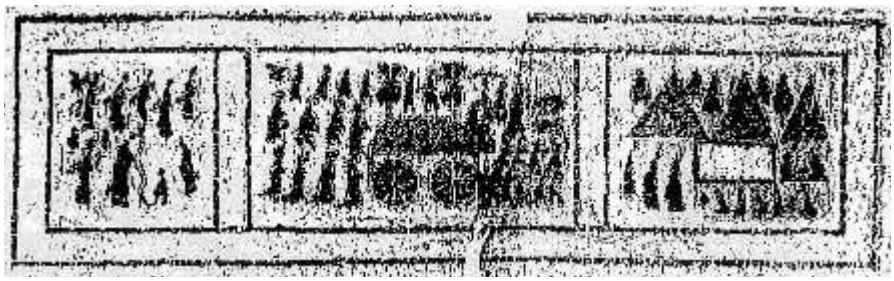
This chariot procession thus differs fundamentally from the previous ones in the middle chamber: instead of representing a funerary ritual it depicts a posthumous journey taken by the deceased's soul. Not coincidentally, this journey reverses the orientation of the funerary procession: running left to right instead of right to left, it aims to reach the Queen Mother of the West, a principal immortal in Han mythology whose image appears on a column supporting the door lintel.

If the funerary procession is represented symbolically in the Cangshan tomb, it is rendered more realistically in other burials. A stone sarcophagus from Weishan,

Shandong, displays the earliest image of this second type of representation. Made in the late Western Han or the early Eastern Han, this and other stone sarcophagi discovered in recent archaeological excavations provide new evidence for the early development of pictorial funerary carvings.[99] Pictures carved on a long side of the Weishan sarcophagus consist of three rectangular compositions divided and unified by wide frames (illus. 186, 187). The left composition shows a tall figure presenting a roll of silk to a child. Although this scene bears some resemblance to the popular motif of Confucius paying respect to the 'boy genius' Xiang Tuo, it more likely represents an important funerary ritual, during which guests visited the deceased's home and offered gifts to his descendants.[100] It is thus logical that the following scene represents a funerary procession centred on a large, four-wheeled hearse. Ten people pulling the hearse are acquaintances of the deceased, while the four men and four women following it are his family members.[101] This funerary procession moves toward a graveyard shown in the third composition, in which a grave pit, perfectly rectangular, has been prepared in front of three triangular tumuli, probably belonging to the ancestors of the family. Groups of gentlemen are sitting or standing next to the grave, either paying homage or offering libations.

Created during an early phase of Han pictorial carvings and in a remote area, this pictorial narrative is naive in both carving technique and pictorial style. But the artist's intention to represent actual funerary rites is unmistakable. The juxtaposition of the three scenes implies a temporal sequence from the world of the living to the world of the dead; the transition between the two realms is established by the funerary procession in the middle. About two centuries later, a set of much more sophisticated representations of funerary rituals was created for a large tomb at Yi'nan in southeast Shandong, not far from Cangshan. I have contended previously that many pictures in its front and middle chambers depict mortuary rites based on descriptions in the *Protocols of Ceremonies*, and that the various buildings at the foci of these scenes are probably ritual structures, such as the ancestral temple, the funerary shrine and the tomb. This contention has been much developed by Lydia Thompson, whose doctoral dissertation provides a comprehensive reading of the pictures in this extraordinary tomb.[102] A discussion of the chariot images in this tomb will supply further evidence for her general interpretation of the tomb's decorative programme.

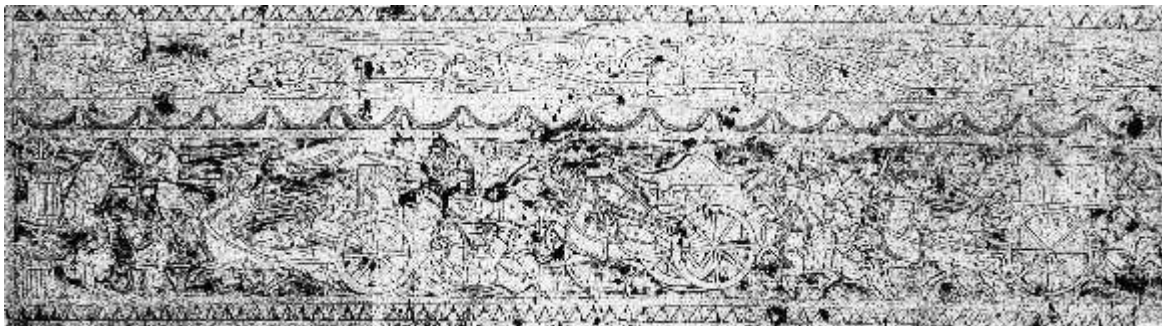
On the north wall of the middle chamber, horses gallop and a chariot procession moves swiftly leftward (illus. 188). Their designation is a *que*-pillar gate, in front of which two officials are greeting the procession. Thompson's idea that this gate marks the entrance to a graveyard is confirmed by an additional piece of evidence: on top of each pillar stands a pole bearing a cross called a *biao*. This is a funerary symbol. It can be seen in an early sixth-century stone carving, which depicts a filial son kneeling between two *biaos* while paying homage to a tomb mound.[103] The scene in the Yi'nan tomb therefore illustrates a funerary procession consisting of three chariots of different typologies. The first, a canopied 'leading carriage,' is followed by a windowless sedan with a sloping roof, and again by a covered wagon, whose long and narrow carriage has a vaulted awning. Both chariots are for the dead; the difference is that one carries his body and the other transports his soul.



Carvings on a stone sarcophagus from Weishan, Shandong. Western Han, 1st century BCE. (186, above) Rubbing, (187, below) drawing.

According to the *Protocols of Ceremonies*, a series of rites would take place in the ancestral temple of the deceased's family on the day before the burial. Two types of carriages would be displayed in the temple courtyard and would include a hearse and one or more chariots used by the deceased when he was alive. The Eastern Han author Zheng Xuan explained this second chariot(s): '[The ritual of displaying it in the temple] is modeled upon the custom that a living person would display his chariot before taking a journey. Nowadays, people call it a 'soul carriage' (*hun che*).'[104] This chariot is therefore identical to the 'auspicious chariot' (*xiang che*) recorded in *The Book of Rites* and depicted in the Cangshan tomb (see illus. 183). Also according to the *Protocols of Ceremonies*, when the hearse delivers the coffin of the deceased to the graveyard the next day, his soul-carriage should also travel to the tomb with its seat unoccupied.[105]

The connection between this record in the *Protocols of Ceremonies* and the Yi'nan procession scene is established by another picture in the tomb. It is a large, horizontal composition on the south wall of the front chamber, which depicts ritual events taking place around a two-storied building (illus. 189). Robed gentlemen, either kneeling or bowing, are paying homage toward the building, while wine jars, sacks of grain and many boxes are placed on the ground. Thompson identifies these objects as mortuary gifts offered to the deceased's family, and the occasion as the 'Mourning Procedures Before the Burial' (*Jixi li*) held the day before the burial in the ancestral temple. This identification can be supported by the two groups of chariots stationed on either side of the building. The group to the right includes a roofed sedan and the group to the left includes a wagon with a vaulted awning. This picture thus corresponds to the specification in the *Protocols of Ceremonies* of displaying the soul-carriage and the hearse in different places in the temple compound. As we have seen, these two chariots reappear in the funerary procession represented in the middle chamber, but the sedan is now covered with curtains on four sides (see illus. 188). The 'temple ritual' scene in the front chamber thus also confirms the identity of the three chariots in the 'funerary procession' scene as a leading carriage, a soul-carriage, and a

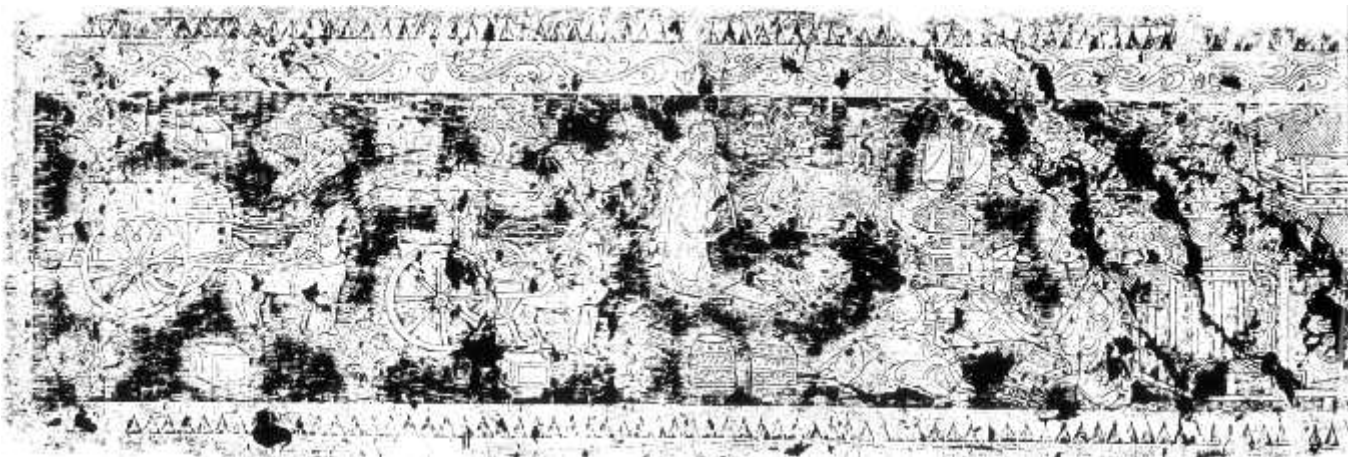


188 'Funerary procession,' carving on the north wall of the middle chamber in the Yi'nan tomb. Late Eastern Han, late 2nd–3rd century CE.

hearse. It should be noted that procession scenes consisting of these three types of chariot are frequently seen in Han funerary carvings, but the 'temple' scene in the Yi'nan tomb is the only such example I know. Because of this scene, however, we are able to conceive the procession as an integral component of a funerary ritual, conveying the body and soul of the deceased from the ancestral temple to his tomb.

As in many other cases, the pictorial images of chariots in the Cangshan and Yi'nan tombs had their prototypes in real chariots buried in tombs. One such tomb is again Mancheng Tomb 1 of Prince Liu Sheng, who ruled the Zhongshan Principality in present-day Hebei from 154 to 113 BCE. As described earlier, the tomb consisted of four 'rooms': a storage room and a stable flanking the entrance, the main chamber as a reception hall, and the stone burial chamber concealing the prince's 'jade body' (see illus. 18). A very important component of the tomb which I have not mentioned, however, is a group of two exceedingly elaborate horse-drawn chariots in the vestibule before the main chamber. The excavators have noticed that in this position, these two chariots were distinguished from those in the stable.[106] They have also produced a drawing showing the remains of the disintegrated chariots (illus. 190), but did not attempt to reconstruct or identify them. To a careful observer, this drawing yields definitive information about the forms of the chariots. In particular, remains of each chariot contain small metal fittings, which originally embellished the wooden framework of their roof or canopy. Though found on the ground in a seemingly chaotic manner, they still outline distinctive shapes (marked with dotted lines in illus. 190), thereby indicating the typology of each chariot. Fifteen such fittings from the first chariot roughly form a circle. Clearly, they decorated the spokes of an umbrella, originally standing on a chariot which must have resembled the leading carriage in the Yi'nan 'funerary procession' scene (see illus. 188). Only eleven fittings are left from the second chariot. Instead of forming a circle, they outline a curved contour, which suggests the front opening of the vaulted awning on a wagon. Again, we find an image of this wagon in the Yi'nan picture.

Another group of chariots was found in Dabaotai Tomb 1 near Beijing, probably belonging to Prince Liu Jian who died in 45 BCE.[107] Unlike the Mancheng tomb, which was built inside a mountain cliff, this tomb was constructed entirely of thick timber. Also differing from the Mancheng tomb, not two, but three chariots were buried before the main chamber (illus. 191). The first and second chariots in this group are identical in typology to the two Mancheng chariots. The first one had an



189 'Funerary ritual in the ancestral temple', relief carving on the south wall of the front chamber in the Yi'nan tomb. Late Eastern Han, late 2nd–early 3rd century CE. Rubbing.

umbrella standing on a very shallow carriage (illus. 192). The third chariot cannot be reconstructed because of insufficient data. But sufficient remains have led the excavators to describe it as 'a large wagon with a vault awning; it was larger than the two chariots in front of it, and the carriage part is especially narrow and deep'.[108] In their opinion, it was very probably a hearse, while the first chariot probably served to guide a funerary procession. Their reconstruction of the second chariot shows a roofed sedan (illus. 193), which they have tentatively identified as the main vehicle of the tomb occupant. It is amazing that these three chariots are almost identical to those depicted in the 'funerary procession' scenes from Yi'nan and other places (see illus. 188). Since the Mancheng tomb lacked the second chariot, it is possible that a 'tripartite' procession consisting of a leading carriage, a soul-carriage and a hearse was introduced in the late Western Han, and was then represented pictorially in funerary art during the Eastern Han.

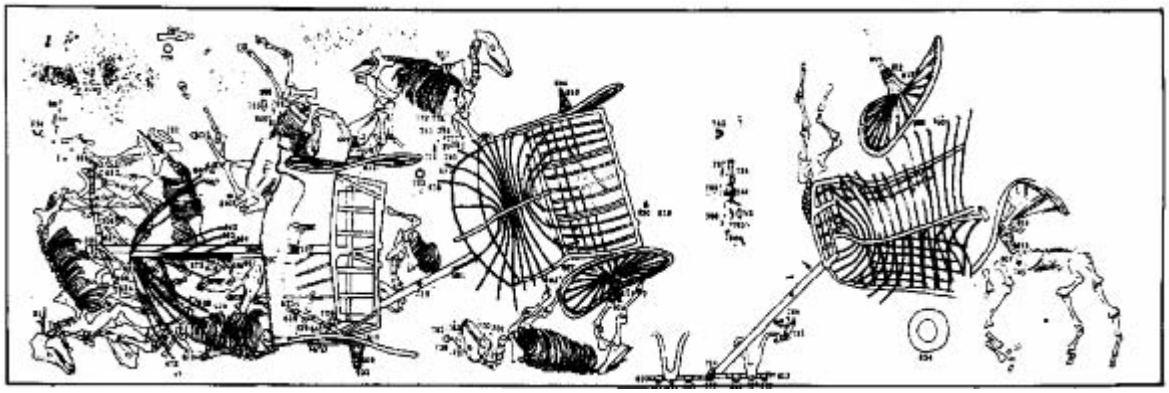
The two groups of chariots in the Mancheng and Dabaotai tombs share a peculiar feature: they were placed facing outward, not inward. In other words, it seems that after the deceased had been sent from his former home to his grave, the chariot procession was turned around to face outside before the tomb was sealed and buried. This final position, therefore, implies an orientation opposite to that of the funerary procession. If this orientation indicates a journey, its designation could not possibly be the tomb, now behind the chariots. Where are they going?

This question is partially answered by the Cangshan inscription: the chariot procession carved above the tomb's entrance represents an imaginary tour taken by the deceased's posthumous soul (see illus. 184). This procession thus differs in essence from the funerary processions represented in the tomb's middle chamber (illus. 182, 183). It, in fact, has nothing to do with a funerary ritual, but depicts the further transformation of the soul in the afterlife. The inscription does not specify the aim of the tour, but it clearly moves toward the 'jade fairy and immortals' portrayed on the right door column. This reading is confirmed by another second-century carving, originally a ceiling stone of a funerary shrine in Jiaxiang, Shandong (illus. 194, 195). A masterpiece of Han funerary art, this carving most vividly represents the soul's posthumous journey. On the

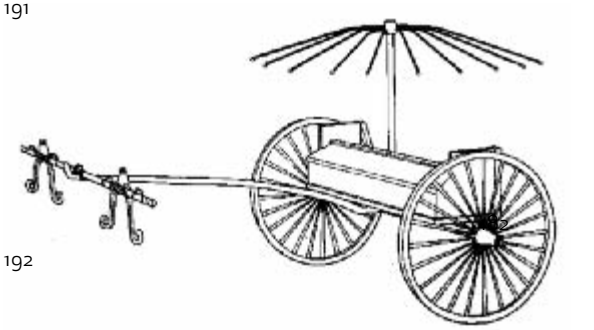
bottom of the composition, three men have just descended from their chariot and horses. These are mourners who carry funerary banners, slowly approaching a group of mortuary structures including a shrine, a *que*-pillar gate and a tomb mound. Their leader raises his head and left arm. Following his motion, we detect a wisp of cloud rising upward from the tumulus. Along the cloud's swirling path, two covered sedans pulled by winged horses are ascending to the sky. Fairies and immortals greet them during their journey. The chariot with a female driver, most probably belonging to a deceased wife, stops before the goddess, the Queen Mother of the West. The chariot with a male driver, probably belonging to the dead husband, stops next to a male deity, the King Father of the East.

The two vehicles undertaking this heavenly journey resemble the second chariot in the Yi'nan procession scene and must denote the soul-carriages of a deceased couple. But in some cases, especially in remote regions in Shaanxi and Sichuan, a hearse with a vaulted awning is depicted as about to approach the Queen Mother or to enter the Gate to Heaven (illus. 196). This is understandable: just as in the Cangshan tomb a soul-carriage can symbolize a hearse, here a hearse may assume a double role as a soul-carriage. The real importance of these carvings is that as pictorial images they give concrete forms to ideas that were only vaguely implied by the chariots buried in the Mancheng and Dabaotai tombs. In these earlier tombs a single group of chariots pertained to two stages of a posthumous journey; the first stage started from the human world and ended at the realm of death; the second stage began in the tomb with the aim of reaching

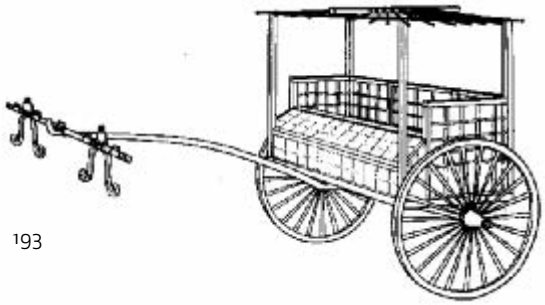
190 Remains of the disintegrated chariots in Mancheng Tomb 1. Western Han, 113 BCE.



191



192



193

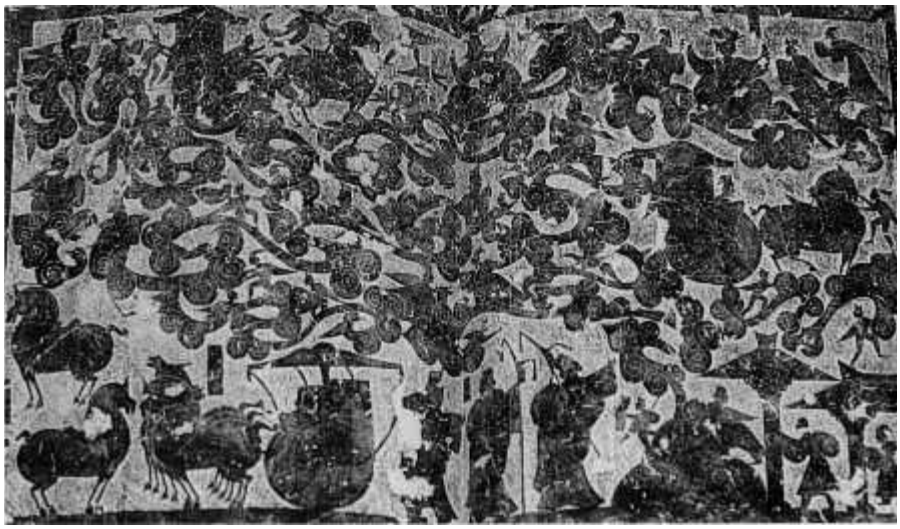
Chariots in Dabaotai Tomb 1 near Beijing, probably belonging to Prince Liu Jian who died in 45 BCE. (191) excavation view, (192) reconstruction of the first chariot, (193) reconstruction of the second chariot.

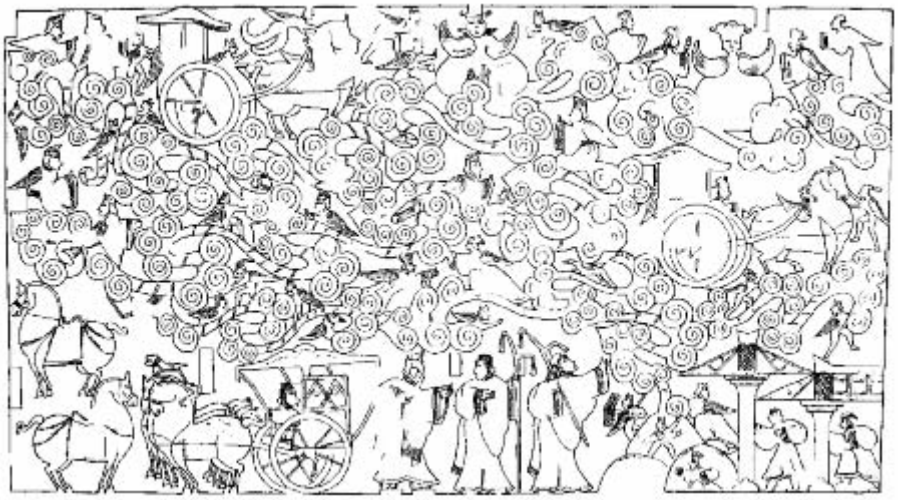
immortal paradise. The shift between the two stages was realized by changing the chariots' orientation from facing inside to facing outside a tomb.

This bipartite journey was not only given explicit pictorial form during the Eastern Han, it actually became a powerful impulse in artistic creation, inspiring artists to invent various images to represent it. Several examples discussed in this section, including the Cangshan carvings and the Jiaxiang ceiling stone, resulted from such invention. As we will see, the idea of a bipartite journey continued to stimulate artistic imagination in tomb decoration after the Han, and was responsible for several important changes in funerary art and architecture from the fifth to thirteenth centuries.

Passageway as a Space of Departure

A new scheme of tomb decoration emerged around the end of the Eastern Han. Unlike the Cangshan carvings which unite a funerary procession and a posthumous ascension into a single, linear progression, the new scheme juxtaposes these two journeys in a symmetrical layout. It is not difficult to imagine the reason behind this development: since the two journeys follow opposite directions – one sending the deceased into his tomb, the other bringing his soul out – a symmetrical composition would reinforce the specific directionality and religious message of each journey. The earliest example of this new composition is seen in a late second or early third-century tomb at Yangzishan in Sichuan. The tomb's three vaulted chambers are built as a continuous tunnel (illus. 197, 198). Pictorial tiles and stone carvings decorate the antechamber and main chamber in two horizontal bands. Once inside the tomb entrance, images of *que*-pillars on





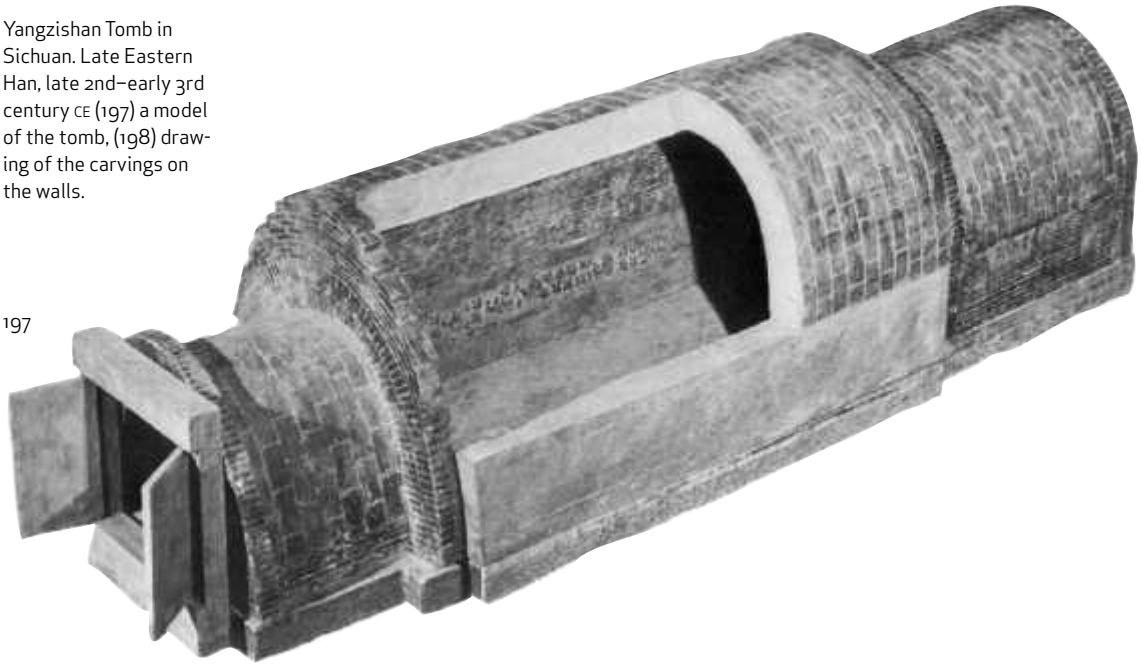
A stone carving from Jiaxiang, Shandong. Eastern Han, mid-second century CE. (194) rubbing, (195) drawing.

the two walls form a symbolic gateway. Each wall of the main chamber depicts a chariot procession; but the two processions move in opposite directions. To the right, a group of horses and chariots have passed the *que*-gate and is now moving toward an elaborate banquet inside the tomb. To the left, a much grander procession occupies the entire length of the wall and is leaving the tomb.

196 Relief carving on a sarcophagus from Sichuan, showing a hearse approaching the Gate to Heaven. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE. Rubbing.

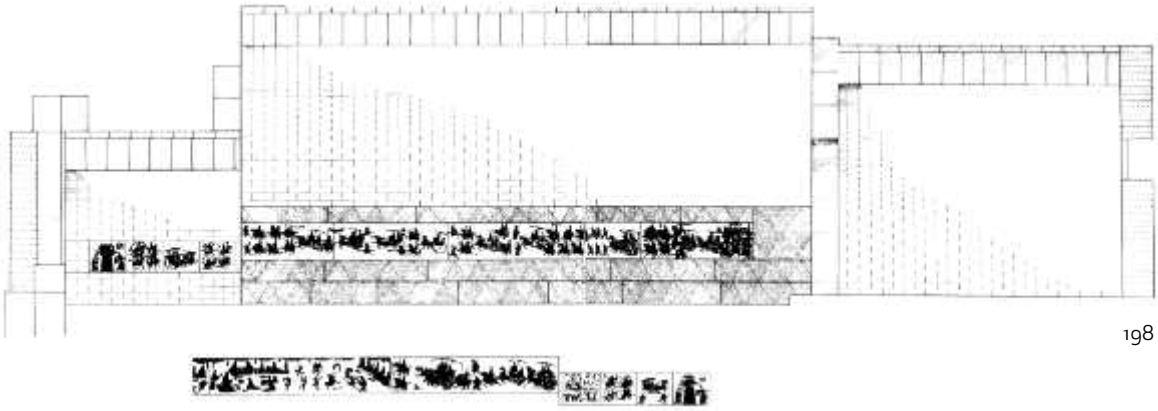
Yangzishan Tomb in Sichuan. Late Eastern Han, late 2nd–early 3rd century CE (197) a model of the tomb, (198) drawing of the carvings on the walls.

197



This pictorial programme, which most graphically conveys the idea of the bipartite division of a posthumous journey, was revived nearly four hundred years later in the design of the tomb of Lou Rui, a high official and relative of the Northern Qi (550–577) imperial family. Lou died in 570 and was buried near Jinyang in present-day Taiyuan, Shanxi.[109] Possibly decorated by famous court painters of the day, his tomb's 21-metre-long entryway appears as a continuous painting gallery, flanked by two enormous compositions on either side. As in the case of the Han tomb at Yangzishan, the theme of this pair of triangular murals is a bipartite journey toward opposite directions. On the right (or east) wall, horsemen have dismounted and are entering the tomb; but on the left (or west) wall, they are galloping on horseback toward the outside, about to disappear in the vast space beyond the dark grave (illus. 199). This second group of images is better preserved, allowing scholars to comprehend its organization: 'The west wall is divided into three registers, the lower register showing four musicians blowing long horns and a group of armed guards followed by three riderless horses being led in a formal procession in the direction of the tomb chamber. The surviving section of the middle register portrays a lively procession exiting the tomb in which two saddled but riderless stallions gallop amid a large group of armed equestrians, some bearing banners on poles (illus. 200, 201). The upper register continues the theme of a journey in wide open spaces, with equestrians and a small number of figures on foot, followed by loaded camels.'[110]

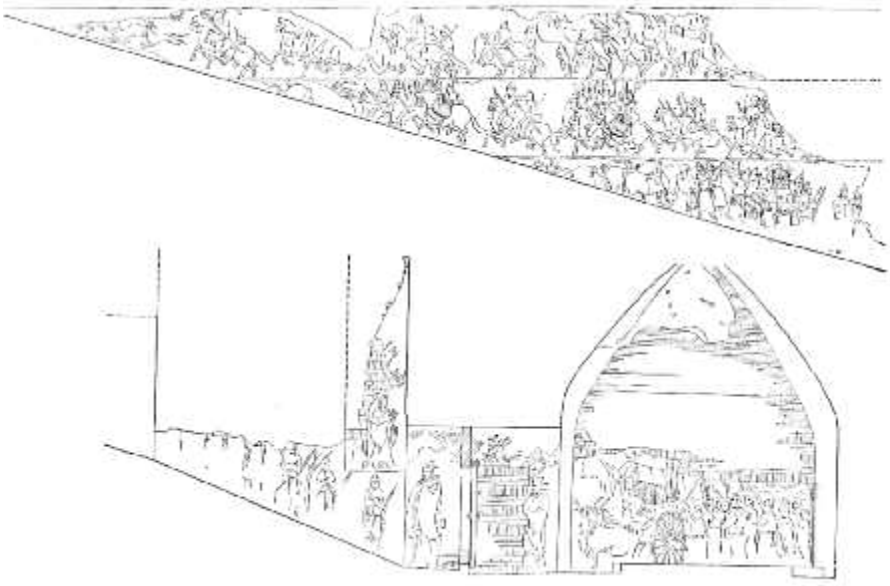
The writer of this passage notices a repeated image in the murals: a riderless horse accompanied by honour guards. Indeed, this image, along with an ox-drawn carriage, had become a major symbol of death by the fifth century, representing the posthumous journey of a deceased couple. This pair of images appears in tomb murals and bas-reliefs, on stone steles, and also as three-dimensional tomb figurines.



198

In many cases, the two images were positioned in the burial chamber of a tomb, in opposite locations but both facing the tomb's entrance and exit. Their orientation thus signifies an outward journey. The precise origin and early history of this iconography still await study, but by the early fifth century murals in the Tokhungri Tomb already demonstrate a sophisticated 'funerary narrative'[111] developed around these two images.

As mentioned earlier, this double-chamber burial near Pyongyang in the Korean Peninsula belonged to a high Koguryo official surnamed Chin, who died in 408. A portrait of him, located above a low altar in the front chamber, marked the spirit seat of his posthumous soul (see illus. 67). This portrait is actually part of an elaborate pictorial programme, which begins from the back wall of the burial chamber. There, behind a large coffin bed, is another portrait of Chin inside a broad tent. The empty space to his left should have been prepared for his wife's portrait, but for unknown reasons this image was never painted. This hypothesis is supported by the two gender-



199 West side of Lou Rui's tomb at Taiyuan, Shanxi. Northern Qi, 570 CE. Drawing.

specific images on either side of the tent – the riderless horse and the ox-drawn carriage accompanied by two separate groups of male and female attendants (illus. 202). These two images reappear on the walls of the corridor between the burial chamber and front chamber (illus. 203). Represented as heading toward the front chamber, the horse and carriage are leaving the deceased's physical remains behind while transporting their souls to another time/space. In so doing, they also define the corridor as a 'liminal' or 'transitional' space, as Jeehee Hong has proposed in her study of the tomb.[112] Chin's spirit seat is constructed immediately beyond this space (see illus. 67, 68). As we have found in the Cangshan tomb, this portrait initiates another journey toward the land of immortality. In the Tokhungri tomb, this second journey appears on the east wall of the front chamber and consists of several large and elaborate chariots; a cartouche defines the main chariot as Chin's vehicle.[113] The destination of the procession is the celestial realm painted on the ceiling comprised of profuse images of stars and constellations, fairies and immortals, and auspicious omens.

200, 201 Details of murals on the west wall of the passageway in Lou Rui's tomb. Northern Qi, 570 CE.

The Tokhungri tomb provides an important link in the development of traditional East Asian funerary art: whereas its decoration closely resembles that of the Cangshan tomb in narrative structure, the 'core' iconographic element of this narrative – a deceased couple flanked by a riderless horse and an ox-drawn carriage – anticipated

202 Back wall of the rear chamber at the Tokhungri Tomb near Pyongyang, North Korea. Koguryo, early 5th century CE.

a decorative programme in late fifth-century to sixth-century funerary art popular in north China. We find this group of images in many places, either painted in tomb chambers or engraved on stone sarcophagi and funerary couches.[114] Lou Rui's tomb followed this trend. According to Su Bai, who visited the tomb when it was first opened, the painting on the back wall portrayed Lou in a tent, and the two main images on the side walls were an ox-drawn carriage and a large horse.[115] The same combination of images decorates the tomb of Xu Xianxiu, another Northern Qi nobleman who died in 571.[116] Constructed only a year after Lou Rui's tomb, it looked brand new when I first visited it in 2002 during the excavation. This second example enables us to examine the pictorial programme in minute detail.

Seated inside an enormous tent, Xu Xianxiu and his wife are portrayed on the north wall of the burial chamber in frontal view (see illus. 70). The tent has a black top. Its front curtains are pulled open, exposing the noble couple sitting formally before a multi-panelled screen. Both figures have oval faces, but the wife's is powdered white while the husband's is brownish. The man wears a white fur coat with black stripes never seen before in funerary painting. This costume, as well as the plate of steaming meat between the couple, may indicate the unique lifestyle of the Northern Qi, a dynasty founded by a branch of Xianbei people from the north. Next to Xu and his wife are two female attendants holding bowls of food or drink, while two groups of musicians are playing various musical instruments on either side of the tent.

Above the coffin bed attached to the west wall, a large horse under a broad canopy forms the centre of a huge pictorial composition (illus. 204).

203 A mural in the corridor of Tokhungri Tomb. Koguryo, early 5th century CE.

The horse is saddled and equipped with a full set of harnesses; but the rider is absent or invisible. Eight honour guards unfurl flags in front of the horse; those behind the horse carry different objects, including a large feather fan. This group of images is balanced by those on the east wall, centred on an ox-carriage under another canopy (illus. 205). While the carriage is again led by a team of male honour guards, only female attendants follow the vehicle. A subtle detail further indicates the relationship between the three compositions: on the back wall, two black canopies next to the deceased couple are still folded up, but they are fully open on the east and west walls above the horse and the ox-carriage. The paintings can thus be read as a continuous narrative: having enjoyed ritual offerings, the husband and wife, symbolized by the horse and ox-drawn carriage, have embarked on their journey, heading outside.

It is unclear whether Xu Xianxiu's wife was actually buried in this tomb – an analysis of the skeletal remains in the burial chamber failed to provide definitive evidence.[117] More likely, by this time this pictorial programme had become a set formula in decorating high-level burials.[118] The architecture of the tomb attests to another convention: like Lou Rui's burial, its single chamber is connected by a short tunnel to an overly long entryway. Some archaeologists have identified the direct predecessors of this burial type to be Northern Wei royal tombs of the late fifth and early sixth centuries (illus. 206).[119] Others have traced its origin all the way back to the Han.[120] While this type of research reveals significant typological continuities in mortuary architecture, it tends to neglect an important departure in Northern Qi funerary art, in which

Murals in Xu Xianxiu's tomb at Datong, Shanxi. Northern Qi, 571 CE. (204) West wall, (205) East wall.

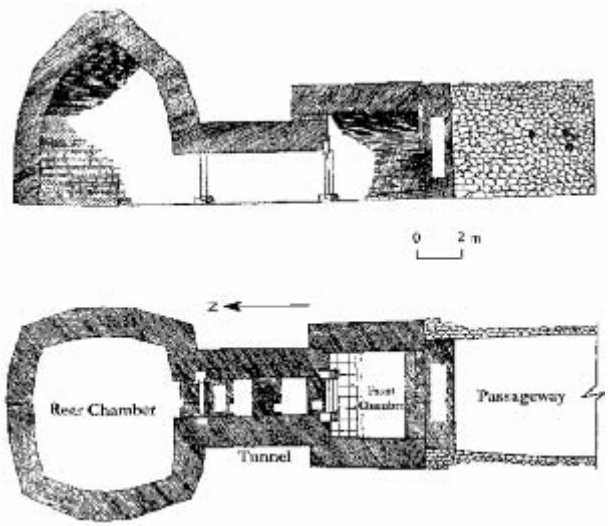
204

the entryway of a tomb assumed an extraordinary importance to display pictorial images. Taking an art historical approach, I would propose that this change resulted from a long development prompted by a growing desire to create an 'exhibition space' outside the tomb chamber.

The initial phase of this development, taking place from the second to fourth centuries, was characterized by making the facade of a tomb a principal (and sometimes the only) area of decoration. In particular, Eastern Han tombs in northern regions displayed elaborate images on their stone gates and door frames. Created first as bas-reliefs, these images were then painted with bright colours to generate a striking visual effect. Frequently, images above a gate depict a journey toward immortal paradise or an empty pavilion (illus. 207).[121] Developing this trend further, tall brick facades, sometimes several metres above a tomb's entrance, appeared in Wei-Jin tombs in Gansu, exhibiting profuse images of heavenly omens and immortal symbols on multiple registers (illus. 208). At the centre of the top register is a 'heavenly gate' (*tianmen*) to signal the passage of the soul's journey to heaven. Erected above a tomb's entrance, such a 'picture facade' had no practical architectural function; its only role was to create the visual allusion that upon entering the tomb, the deceased was simultaneously admitted into the celestial realm.

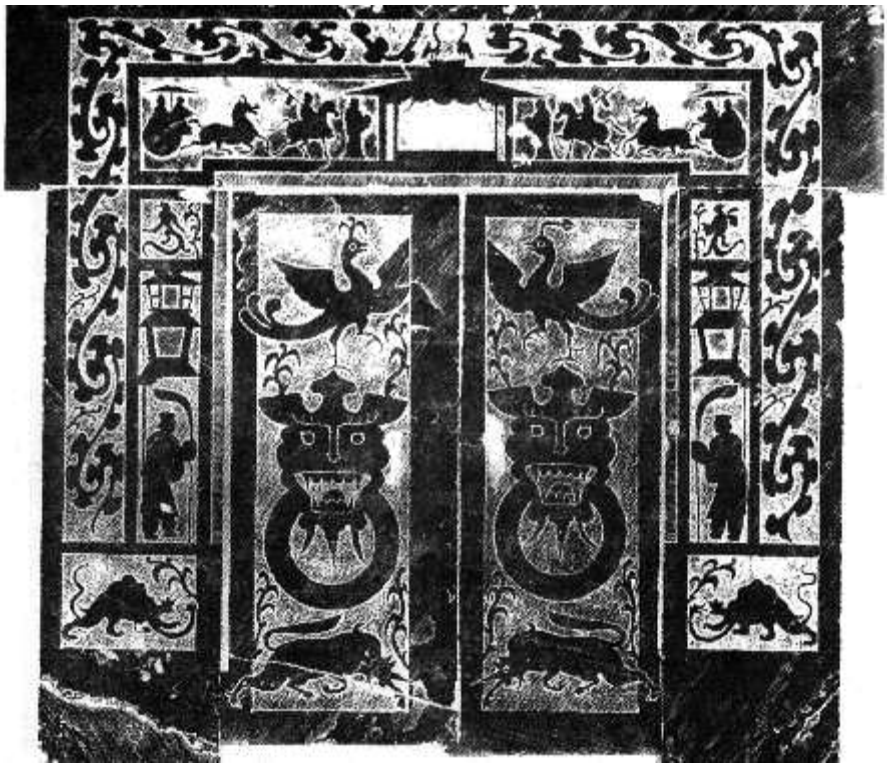
Built below ground level, such a tall facade already implied an elongated sloping entryway. The transformation of this entryway into a picture gallery – the second stage in the development of the 'exhibition space' in front of a tomb – took place after

205



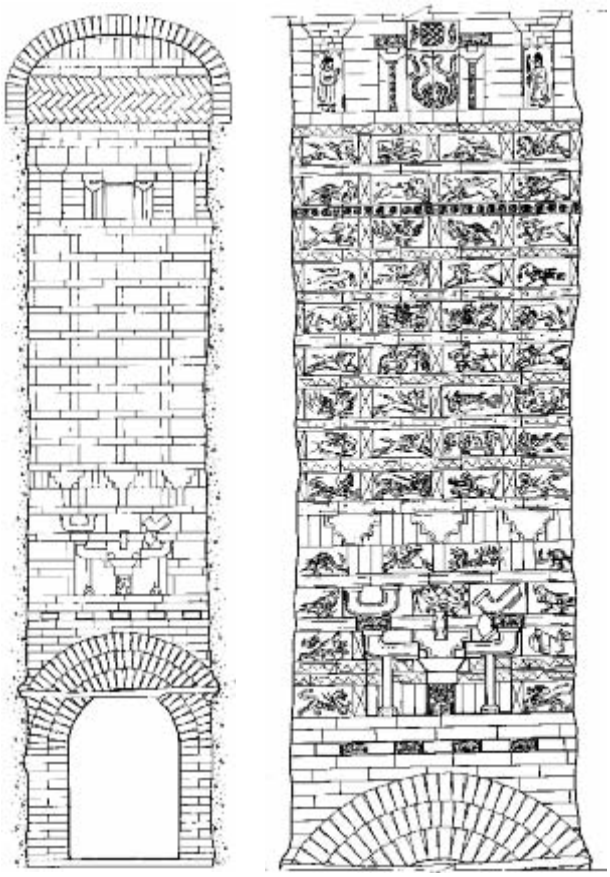
206 Plan and cross-section of the Yonggu Mausoleum at Fangshan, Datong, Shanxi. Northern Wei, 490 CE.

the fall of the Northern Wei in 534. Several regional variations of this space appeared during the remaining decades of the sixth century. Zheng Yan has termed the variation exemplified by Northern Qi royal tombs at Cixian, Hebei, the Yecheng Model (after the name of the dynasty's capital Ye or Yecheng). Consistent with a second group of elite Northern Qi burials at Jinyang, Shanxi (which includes Lou Rui's and Xu Xianxiu's tombs), these Cixian tombs are made up of three architectural/decorative sections, including a descending passage (*mudao* or *xiandao*), a tunnel (*yongdao*) and a square tomb chamber behind one or more stone gates (illus. 209). Elaborate murals decorate all these sections, but the two walls flanking the open passage provided the largest space for painting. To take the Wanzhang Tomb as an example, this imperial burial (possibly belonging to Emperor Wenxuan who died in 559) has a passage 37m long and about 3.5m wide at the bottom, with walls that increase in height from 0.36 to 8.86m. In comparison, the tunnel is a mere 6.7m long and the tomb chamber only about 7.5m square. Within the 'exhibition space' outside the tunnel, the facade above the tomb's entrance no longer functions as the exclusive or even dominant decorative area. Rather, a multitude of



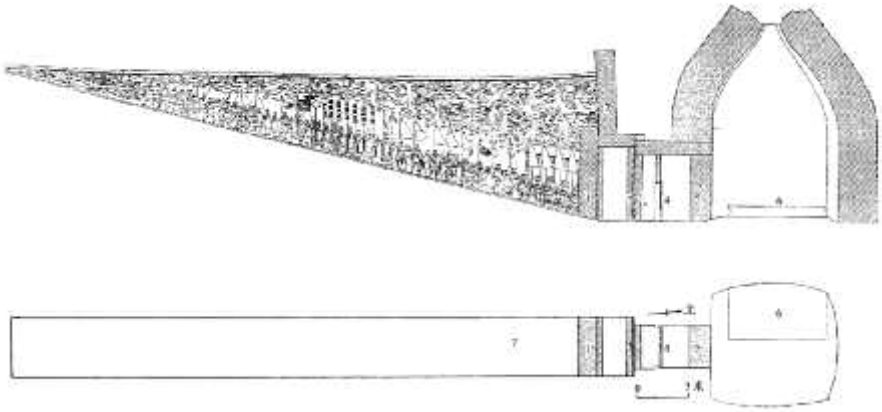
207 Relief carvings on the facade of a Han tomb at Guanzhuang, Mizhi, Shaanxi. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE. Rubbing.

images on the walls, expertly executed with energetic ink lines and rich colours, constitute two enormous paintings unprecedented in Chinese funerary art. At the beginning of the two triangular compositions are the Blue Dragon and the White Tiger (illus. 210). Flying toward the outside, this pair of divine beasts leads forty-one fantastic creatures through the sky in rapid succession. Below these supernatural images are 106 guards of honour. Holding various ceremonial paraphernalia, they form a continuous ritual procession consisting of twenty-two sections. Some scholars have suggested that these guards are portrayed here to receive the deceased. But it seems more likely that they belong to the broad outward movement initiated by the dragon and tiger. In fact, because *every* image in these two murals, including these marching guards, reinforces this outward motion, we can identify this *movement* as the actual subject of the pictorial representations (illus. 211).

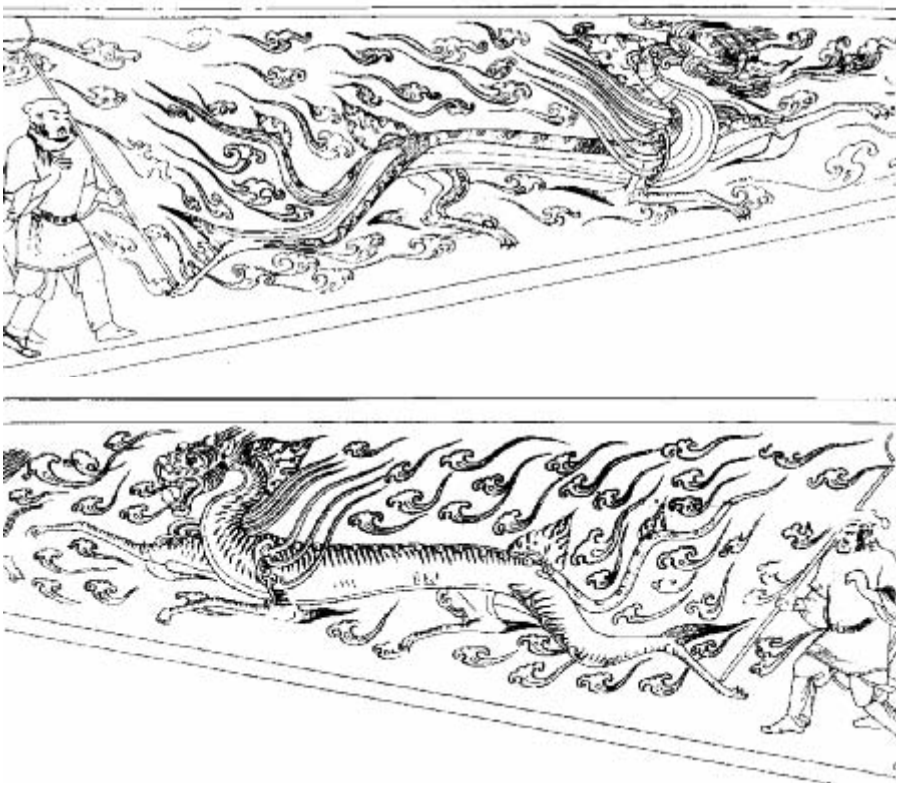


208 Facade of Tomb 133 at Foyemiaowan, Dunhuang, Gansu. Western Jin dynasty, late 3rd century CE. (left) full view, (right) detail.

This interpretation derives additional evidence from Tang tombs of the seventh and eighth centuries, which basically continued the Yecheng model but elaborated it with other regional traditions and contemporary elements.[122] In a number of burials, such as Li Xian's tomb dated to 742, the images of the Blue Dragon and White Tiger are significantly enlarged to dominate the murals along the passageway (illus. 212). Accompanied by immortals and auspicious images, the two forceful divine beasts seem to generate wind around them, indicated by the abundant clouds flying in the same direction. This movement is again reinforced by the ceremonial processions, now reduced to a supporting role behind the dragon and tiger. In other tombs, such as those of Princess Changle (d. 643)

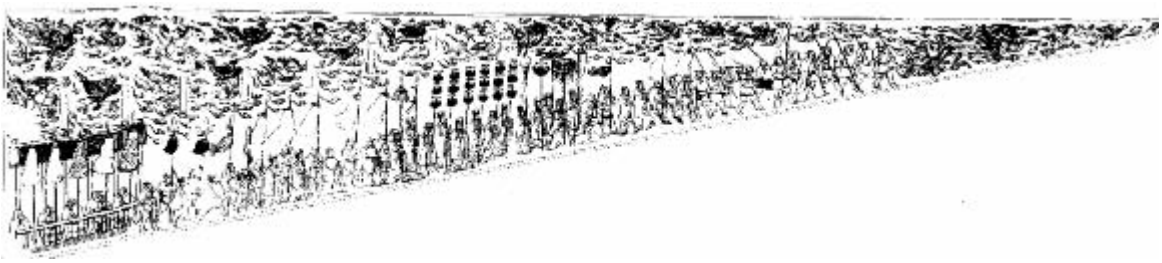


209 Plans of the Wanzhang tomb. Cixian, Hebei. Northern Qi, 560 CE.

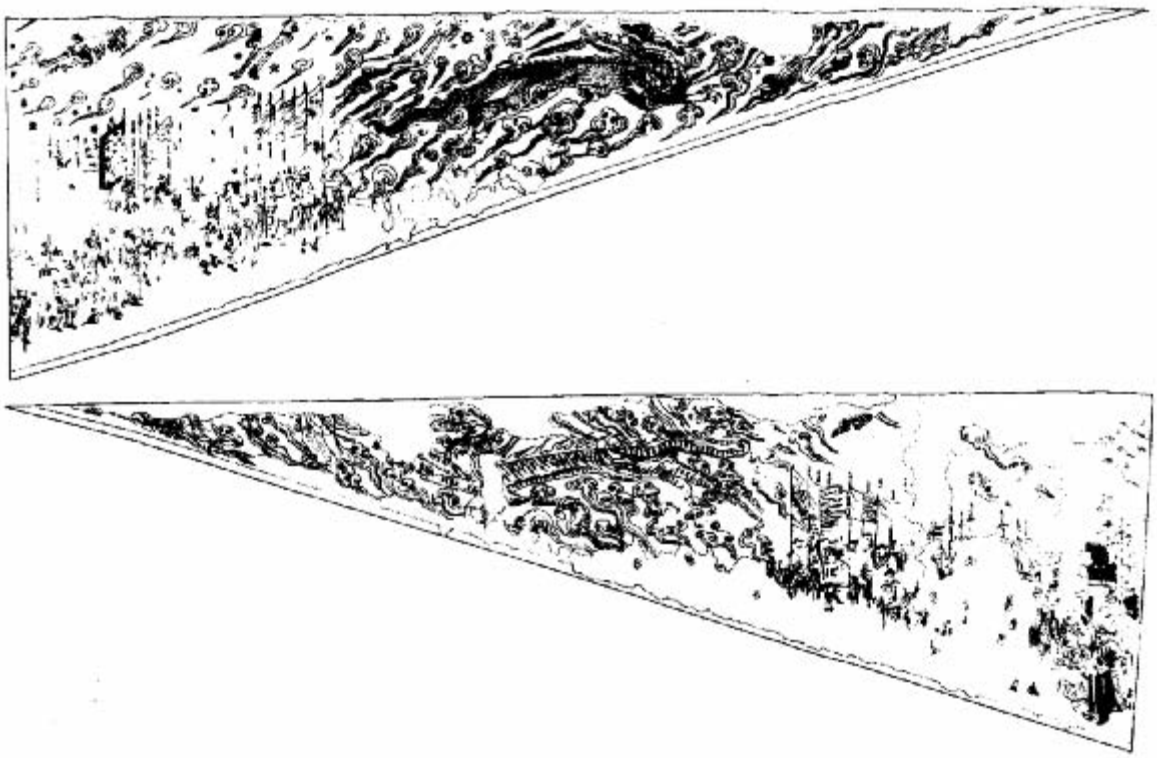


210 Details of the murals in the passageway of the Wanzhang Tomb Cixian, Hebei. Northern Qi, 560 CE: the Blue Dragon on the east wall, the White Tiger on the west wall. Drawing.

and Ashi Nazhong (d. 675), chariots of the departing souls, sometimes on clouds, follow the dragon and tiger.[123] A more complex composition is seen in the tombs of Princess Xincheng and Crown Prince Li Chongrun, dated to 663 and 704, respectively (illus. 213). Once again, the Blue Dragon and White Tiger are followed by ceremonial processions that accompany the 'soul carriages' of the dead, generating an outward movement in the passage. But a gate is painted in the middle of the murals to separate these two groups of images. The gate in Princess Xincheng's tomb is relatively small; but the one in Li Congrun's tomb is formed by two magnificently towers, each 6.5m high and 3.5m wide (illus. 214). It is still unclear why such spatial markers were added to demarcate the scenes. One possible reason is that to the designers of these two tombs the image of a gate would help articulate different stages in the soul's journey to immortality: when accompanied by the ceremonial pageantry the soul is still earthbound; it enters the world of the spirits after leaving the human domain, symbolized by the gate attached to city walls.



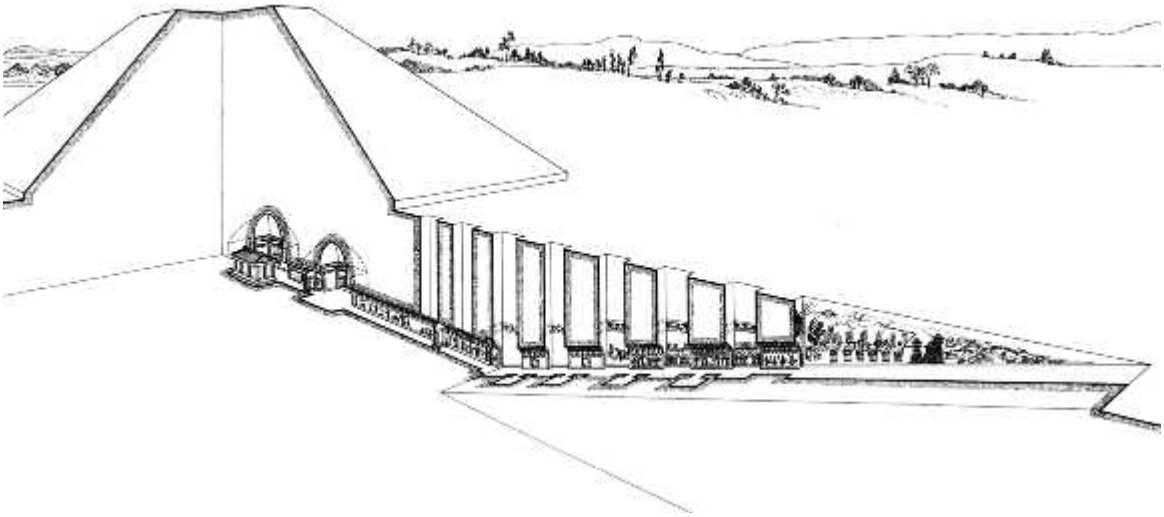
211 The east wall of the passageway of the Wanzhang Tomb. Northern Qi, 560 CE. Drawing.



212 The two walls of the passageway in Li Xian's tomb at Pucheng, Shanxi. Early Tang dynasty, 742 CE. Drawing.

What stimulated and sustained the effort to create pictorial images outside the tomb proper? Earlier I proposed that underlying this effort was a desire to forge an 'exhibition space' beyond the burial chamber. But why did this space attract so much attention from the sixth to eighth centuries? To answer this second question, it is essential to realize that because of its unique architectural position, the passage could convey symbolic messages which no other parts of the tomb could. In other words, located outside the tomb's entrance but below ground level, the passageway belonged to neither the world of the dead nor the world of living. Rather, it connected these two worlds, and this significance bestowed the passageway with rich potential to become a liminal space to exhibit 'passage' images.

It is interesting to note that when this space was developed, the bipartite journey of the dead – first being buried in a tomb and then leaving the tomb in posthumous flight – inspired both pictorial images and literary imagination. We have seen how the decorators of Lou Rui's tomb depicted this journey on the two walls of the passageway. A miracle recorded in the *History of the Northern Dynasties* (*Bei shi*) attests to a similar journey of the soul. It relates that when Empress Yifu, wife of the Emperor Wen of the Western Wei, was buried in 540 in her cave-grave at Maijishan, Gansu: 'Right before her spiritual coffin was entombed, two clouds flew into her grave. Shortly after the coffin was settled in the tomb, one cloud flew out while the other vanished inside. This tomb was then known as the Mausoleum of Silence (Ji ling).'[124] Here, the two clouds clearly allude to the *hun* and *po* souls of the deceased empress. After the burial, her *po* soul stayed in the tomb while her *hun* soul flew to heaven.



213 Cross-section of the tomb of Crown Prince Li Chongrun at Qianxian, Shaanxi. Tang dynasty, 706.

214 The *que*-gate painted in the passageway of Li Chongrun's tomb.

Compared with Lou Rui's tomb, the Northern Qi royal burials at Cixian demonstrate a much stronger emphasis on the second part of the bipartite journey – the soul's ascension to the land of immortality. Consequently, this flight became the dominant theme of their 'passage' murals, and the Blue Dragon and the White Tiger, which had frequently decorated Northern Wei sarcophagi as vehicles of a posthumous ascension, were employed to highlight this theme.[125] The Tang aristocrats inherited this tradition and developed it further, finally casting the space of a passageway as a 'space of ascension'. This symbolism was fully realized after the closing of the tomb, when these passage murals became the only images exposed to the mourners' eyes. What they witnessed was both a visual spectacle and a hoped for miracle: following the lead of the Blue Dragon and White Tiger, the soul carriages have left the grave chamber and are advancing toward the broad sky.

The passageway was then filled with earth and stamped solid. The murals were buried completely. After the soul had ascended to heaven, neither the living nor the dead needed these images any more.

215 The burial chamber of Zhang Wenzao's tomb when the tomb was opened. Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

Coda: Portraying Chinese Tombs

By focusing on three conceptual aspects of traditional Chinese tombs, namely their spatiality, materiality and temporality, this book has attempted to uncover some basic creative impulses underlining the development of an art and architectural tradition over several thousand years. These impulses are not hard and fast rules, of course. On the contrary, as I cautioned in the Introduction, not only did the form and decoration of tombs vary in different regions and constantly change over time, but as an underground structure concealed from the public eye, a tomb was by nature a self-contained architectural and artistic construct disassociated from a visible 'built environment.' Although its design and decoration must have reflected certain prevailing conventions, the designer and decorator could hardly 'consult' other tombs as in planning an above-ground ritual or residential structure. Moreover, the occupant of a tomb may have made special arrangements before he or she died, and the surviving family members may have expressed their emotional attachment and filial devotion through particular images or objects. As a result of these and other factors, even though graves belonging to close family members crowded a family cemetery, no two elite tombs were ever completely identical in content and decoration.

Recognizing this general situation, I faced two possible choices while conceiving this book. The first was to focus on some 'representative' tombs selected from a vast array of archaeological evidence. The chosen examples would be carefully contextualized and historicized, and their similarities and differences would be used to illuminate some general changes in the course of Chinese funerary art. The second choice was to depart from this relatively standard (and hence securer) historical analysis in favour of a more conceptual approach. The discussion would not be guided by chronology and well-defined archaeological sites, but would instead foreground what I view as the fundamental logic of traditional Chinese tombs. As it has become clear, I have taken this second path in developing a general explanation of Chinese funerary art. At the same time, I have been aware of the impediment of this approach in fragmenting historical evidence, as a tomb is often discussed in separate chapters and sections to support an essentially conceptual interpretation. In other words, while this book advocates the methodological proposition that an individual tomb should be 'read' as a whole because it was designed, constructed and decorated as such, the three preceding chapters have only laid the ground work for such reading.

This explains why I plan to conclude this book with succinct 'portraits' of three remarkable examples of Chinese tombs – Mawangdui Tomb 1, Mancheng Tomb 1, and a Zhang family tomb at Xuanhua. Among tens of thousands of excavated burials, these three tombs belong to a small group of examples which were not only richly furnished and fully intact before their discoveries, but whose excavations have been documented in well-written archaeological reports that provide us with invaluable information concerning architecture, decoration, furnishing and even the treatment of the corpse. I have used this information on various occasions to explore the spatiality, materiality, and temporality of traditional Chinese tombs. Here, by synthesizing such explorations into coherent 'portraits' of the three examples, this Coda points to the possible contributions of a conceptual interpretation to contextual and historical studies of individual tombs.

Prescribing a multi-layered casket grave, the author of *The Book of Rites* wrote: 'There should be sufficient clothes to embellish the (dead person's) body; coffins all round about the clothes; a *guo* all round about the coffin; and the earth all round about the *guo*.'[1] We can take this statement as a succinct summary of the structure of Mawangdui Tomb 1, whose three successive 'layers' include the four *guo* chambers, the three outer coffins, and a *jiu* unit consisting of Lady Dai's Name Banner, her innermost coffin, and her physical remains (see illus. 14, 59). These layers did not constitute distinct architectonic spaces. Instead, various objects, figurines and decorative images were used to construct these layers for different purposes. The symbolism of the *guo* as Lady Dai's underground residence was sufficiently expressed by storing utensils, clothes, figurines and actual food in this section. More than 1,000 items of household articles and food were found in the four trunk-like rooms surrounding the central coffin chamber: there were 154 lacquer wares and 48 pottery vessels, many containing cooked dishes and wine; 48 suitcases of clothes, dry food, medicine and clay replicas of household articles; 40 baskets of fake coins; and a collection of string and wind musical instruments. There were also 10 different kinds of grains and 20 varieties of meat. The seven main meats – beef, pork, lamb, horse, venison, dog and rabbit – were each prepared in thirteen different ways. In the eastern and southern rooms, 98 replicas of house servants were led by two administrators called the 'Capped Men' (*Guanren*).[2] Moreover, as discussed earlier, the northern room was equipped with her personal belongings as well as figurines representing her attendants and entertainers. Containing a spirit seat, this space imitated the private quarter of the deceased woman to house her departed soul.

Pictorial forms then took over to decorate the second and third coffins in the next layer. Encased by the outermost coffin which is completely black, the basic colour scheme of the second coffin is also black – the colour of the underworld imagined as a 'long night'; but cloud patterns and strange creatures now emerge, animating a solemn, mysterious space (see illus. 47, 48). The clouds, stylized as fine, intertwining strands, are metaphors of *qi*, or life energy inherent in the cosmos.[3] The creatures protect and bless the deceased in the world of darkness.[4] A tiny human figure is entering this space at the center of the lower edge on the headboard. Sun Zuoyun has suggested that it represents Lady Dai's posthumous soul entering the underworld.[5]

When this coffin was opened, the third coffin amazed the excavators with a radically different colour scheme and imagery: it is now shining red – the colour of *yang*, south, sun-brightness, life and immortality; and the three-peaked immortal mountain Kunlun appears as the central image on two sides of this coffin, flanked by dragons, divine deer, a heavenly horse and a winged immortal (illus. 49, 50).[6] Placed immediately inside this coffin, Lady Dai's Name Banner both connected and separated the second and third layers of the tomb. No more pictorial images were found beyond this point. Instead, her body was preserved and protected in the innermost coffin through both practical and symbolic means: carefully wrapped in layers of cloth and shrouds, it was also protected by talismans made of peachwood.

Once these layers are defined, we can further use this knowledge to determine the position of the Mawangdui Tomb in Chinese art history. We can compare it with earlier and later burials to observe which of its layers continued and modified old traditions, which were original, and which were yet to be transformed into explicit visual forms.

The idea of preparing an underground 'home' for the dead is an old one: even during prehistoric times, vessels containing food and drink were installed in tombs, and an increasing number of everyday artefacts and personal belongings furnished Eastern Zhou graves. The notion of protecting the dead can also be traced to antiquity: the Shang royal mausoleums were guarded by buried soldiers, and many Chu tombs built during the late Zhou were equipped with sculptured and painted 'apotropaic' figures (see illus. 178). The concept of the soul was not a Han invention either. As Ying-shih Yü has pointed out, 'The notion that the departed soul is as conscious as the living is already implied in Shang-Zhou sacrifices.'[7] Two late Eastern Zhou funerary banners both portray the deceased or their souls as animated beings; one of them depicts a gentleman taking a posthumous journey on the back of a dragon.[8]

The Mawangdui Tomb updated and developed these traditional elements of funerary art. Its architectural structure followed the age-old tradition of the casket grave, but bestowed it with a much more balanced, rational form. The content of its *guo*-section continued to symbolize an aristocratic household, but did so through reflecting contemporary fashion and taste. The portrait of the deceased now became the center of a pictorial universe; and the earlier static protective deities were transformed into animated figures in a sweeping underworld scene. More important, this tomb contained new elements not found in previous burials, including the spirit seat arranged in the northern *guo*-chamber, the immortal paradise painted on the third coffin, and the cosmological presentation in the silk painting. Traditional themes were thus modified and again enriched by new images. In this way, this tomb signified a profound desire to synthesize divergent beliefs into a single mortuary setting.

This synthesis, however, was accomplished by multiplying the layers of a funerary structure without establishing narrative connections between them. The result was a 'polycentric' expression of multiple wishes. As I defined in chapter One, a 'polycentric' tomb offered the dead a number of alternative realms to inhabit, including the immortal land, an underground 'happy home' and a cosmic environment. It was at once encyclopaedic and fragmentary – an architectonic and pictorial construct

stimulated not by a coherent philosophical vision but by the hope to please the dead by every possible means. The importance of Mawangdui Tomb 1 (and the related Tomb 3) lies not in adumbrating a systematic theological interpretation of the afterlife – this interpretation never became a goal for tomb designers in traditional China. Rather, through arranging objects and images in multiple layers and sections, these two tombs articulated and brought together a set of concepts, themes and pictorial motifs that had begun to emerge in Eastern Zhou funerary art. These conceptual and pictorial elements would be employed and further developed over the next two thousand years to conjure up infinite images of the afterlife. These later works include Cangshan Tomb of the second century, Dingjiazhai Tomb 5 of the fourth to fifth century, Lou Rui's tomb of the sixth century, Li Chongrun's tomb in the early eighth century, Wang Chuzhi's tomb in the tenth century and many other examples discussed in this volume. Without exception, murals in these underground structures expressed people's longing for postmortem security and eternal happiness. But the distinct pictorial programme of each tomb also reflected changing notions of an ideal afterlife.

Constructed half a century later than Mawangdui Tomb 1, Liu Sheng's tomb at Mancheng marked a new departure in the architecture and symbolism of Chinese tombs (see illus. 18, 87). In planning this early chamber grave for a Western Han prince, the designer developed a symbolic language based exclusively on shifting space and changing materiality, not on pictorial images. As summarized at the beginning of chapter Three, the tomb has a bipartite horizontal structure: it consists of a front section and a rear section constructed of different building materials. The front section, including a carriage house, a storage room, and a sacrificial hall, originally housed free-standing timber structures with tile roofs. In contrast, Liu Sheng's burial chamber, concealed behind a thick stone gate at the rear of the sacrificial hall, was constructed of pure stone slabs and guarded by stone figurines.

The sacrificial hall originally contained two empty seats covered with silk tents. Vessels, lamps, incense burners and pottery figurines representing female servants or consorts were displayed in front of and next to the central seat, framing it as the symbolic station of Liu Sheng's spirit. The counterpart of this symbolic place is Liu Sheng's coffin inside the stone burial chamber, which contained the prince's transformed 'jade body' and many other jade artefacts.

An often neglected but crucial feature of the tomb is its inclusion of two groups of chariots at two 'transitional spaces'. One group included a group of eleven model chariots, placed with a group of miniature vessels before the stone gate of the burial chamber.[9] The other group consisted of two real chariots, stationed in front of Liu Sheng's spirit seat in the sacrificial hall. Only fragmentary metal fittings of the miniature chariots have survived, and it is impossible to determine its shape and orientation. But as I discussed in chapter Three, the two real chariots originally stood facing the entrance as if about to leave the tomb.

None of these arrangements were accidental; the three chapters in this volume have prepared us to explore their underlying concepts. We can begin from the obvious

contrast between the two groups of chariots and related objects: while the chariots and articles placed in front of the spirit seat were real things, the miniature chariot and the lead vessels found behind the seat were *mingqi* surrogates. Their juxtaposition clearly denoted the idea that '*mingqi* are for ghosts; *jiqi* (sacrificial vessels) are those of men.'[10] The association between *mingqi* and ghosts further leads us to speculate on the ritual function of the miniature chariots, constituting a procession and stationed between Liu Sheng's burial chamber and his spirit seat. It is possible that it served to transport the soul of the dead prince to receive offerings in the sacrificial hall. We read in Han history that every month, a special ritual procession brought the cap and robe of a deceased emperor – personal objects which supposedly conveyed his soul – from his tomb to receive offerings in his sacrificial hall. The ritual path of the procession thus acquired the name of the 'Road of Royal Garb' (Yiguan dao). Perhaps not coincidentally, a hole is left at the top of Liu Sheng's jade head to allow his soul to travel in and out (see illus. 216).

216 The hole in the top of another jade head, that of Dou Wan. Mancheng Tomb 2. Western Han, 104 BCE.

No less important, the contrasting building materials of the tomb's front and rear sections indicate a major shift in art and architectural medium in ancient China: before the second century BCE, Chinese temples and tombs were uniformly timber-framed; very few stone works furnished a pre-Han graveyard.[11] From the first century CE on, however, all sorts of funerary structures – grave chambers, pillar gates, memorial tablets, offering shrines and statues in human and animal forms – were customarily made of stone. Inscriptions on these structures contain a standard statement by the patrons: 'We chose excellent stones from south of the southern mountains; we took those of perfect quality with flawless and unyellowed colour. In front we established an altar; behind we erected a [stone] offering shrine.'[12]

Elsewhere I have proposed that this dramatic change indicated a new symbolic system in Han material culture, which was in turn related to new concepts of immortality and death.[13] Briefly, in this system, stone was opposed to wood, and their opposition was understood in symbolic terms. While all the natural characteristics of stone – strength, plainness, and especially endurance – became analogous to eternity, wood, which was relatively fragile and vulnerable to natural elements, was associated with temporal, mortal existence. From this dichotomy emerged two kinds of architecture: structures made of wood used by the living and structures made of stone dedicated to the dead, the gods and immortals.[14] The double association of stone with death on one hand and with immortality on the other strengthened the link between death and immortality. Indeed, as discussed earlier, this was exactly the period during which the idea of postmortem immortality prevailed, preparing a new ground for imagining and constructing the afterlife. Now if we return to the Mancheng Tomb, we realize that the timber-structured front section – the stable, the storage room, and the sacrificial hall – fulfilled basic human needs of travelling, eating and drinking, storing and consuming. No such activities of daily life were connected with the stone burial chamber, which instead held the prince's 'immortalized' jade body.

This further leads us to consider the relationship between stone and jade. In Han language, the term *yu shi*, 'jade and stone', had a metaphorical significance in referring to two homogeneous materials of different quality. Jade was called '*shi zhi mei zhe*' (finest among stones) or '*shi zhi jian zhe*' (hardest among stones).[15] This natural material was idealized against its humble relatives. The abundance of ordinary stone further highlighted the rarity of jade. Logically, if the ideas of eternity and immortality were generally associated with stone because of its strength and endurance, these concepts would be most effectively symbolized by jade, which was considered the 'essence' of stone ('*yu zhe, shi zhi jing ye*'). Furthermore, that jade was the essence of stone could be understood both metaphorically and literally. The ancient Chinese believed that in its natural state, an extraordinarily beautiful jade was 'concealed' inside a stone-like boulder. Many tales and allegories are based on this fascination, the most famous being the story of the legendary *Heshi bi* (Mr He's jade disk). Interestingly, when we return to Liu Sheng's tomb with this concept in mind, we find that its stone burial chamber also served as an 'envelope', enclosing numerous carved jades which transformed the dead prince into a 'prince of jade'.

My third and last example is the tomb of Zhang Wenzao and his wife in the Zhang family cemetery at Xuanhua. Constructed in 1093, it was a product of the last 'golden age' of Chinese tomb construction during the Liao, Song and Jin dynasties.[16] Embellishing a chamber grave with abundant murals, objects and furniture, it also exemplified a complex integration of the two architectural and decorative programmes that the Mawangdui and Mancheng tombs introduced more than a thousand years before.

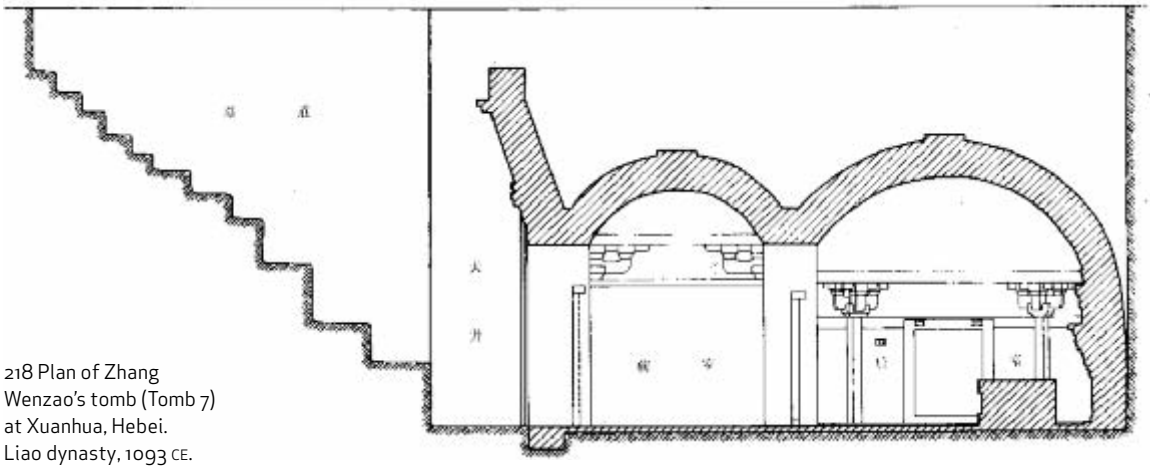
As with many painted tombs from this period, the builders and decorators of Zhang Wenzao's grave made great efforts to create optical illusions by painstakingly imitating a timber structure in a brick building. Combining sculpture and painting, they carved and assembled bricks into posts, *dougong* brackets, rafters and fake windows, and decorated them with intricate patterns in bright colours (illus. 217). Underlying such efforts is again the idea of *mingqi*: 'In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of intelligence, and should not be done.'[17] By transforming a brick tomb into a timber structure, a middle ground between life and death is achieved through 'interbreeding' two types of architecture.

Approached by a steep ramp with eleven steps, the tomb resembles a miniature house 4.3 m below ground level (illus. 218). A visitor is surprised to find that this well-known tomb is so small: the empty rectangular anteroom is merely 1.6 by 1.8 m, and the crowded circular burial chamber is less than 3 m in diameter (illus. 215). Both rooms have domed ceilings, below which the vertical walls are just slightly more than 1 m high, barely reaching the chest of a grown-up person. A fake gate is created at the rear of the burial chamber behind the coffin bed (illus. 219); the height of its door leaves is less than 60cm.

We must not attribute such reduced size to the patron's concern with frugality. Rather, in creating this underground miniature structure the builders were following a

217 Illusionistic architectural decoration in Zhang Wenzao's tomb (Tomb 7) at Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

well-established tradition in mortuary architecture. As discussed in chapter Two, the only person in Chinese history who commissioned life-sized figurines was the First Emperor; the Han rulers immediately switched back to the tradition of miniatures (see illus. 118). The Song Neo-Confucian writers further made it explicit that 'objects [for a tomb] should resemble those used in real life but be smaller.'[18] In terms of architecture, although it has become a cliché in popular Chinese publications to brag about any extravagant burial as an 'underground palace' (*dixia gongdian*), a majority of excavated tombs are deliberately small; to truly realize their dimensions one needs to visit them in person. A famous Eastern Han 'underground palace' at Yi'nan in Shandong, for example, is furnished with a latrine about one third the size of a real one (illus. 220) –



218 Plan of Zhang Wenzao's tomb (Tomb 7) at Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

219 The fake gate at the rear of the burial chamber in Tomb 10 at Xuanhua, Hebei, which is almost identical to the one in Zhang Wenzao's tomb (Tomb 7). Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

the tomb occupant must have considerably 'shrunk' after death. Zhang Wenzao's grave further demonstrates that an essential goal of funerary rites was indeed to facilitate such a transformation: the 'restored bodies' of Zhang Wenzao and his wife inside in their *dhāranī* coffin were merely 90 and 80cm tall, although Zhang Wenzao's epitaph describes him specifically as 'a man of a powerful presence and with a determined disposition. Tall and strong, he could defeat two or three men at once.'[19]

220 A miniature latrine in the Yi'nan tomb at Yi'an, Shandong. Late Eastern Han, late 2nd-early 3rd century CE.

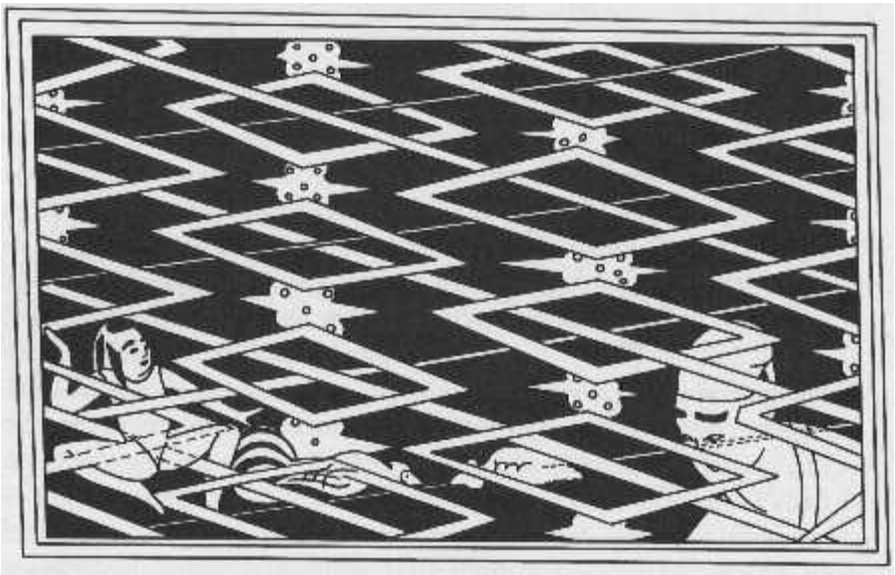
This underground house is not just a miniature structure, but also a 'reversed' one. After constructing the tomb chambers in a deep pit they had dug, the builders buried them with dirt, leaving only the facade exposed to the outside. They then plastered all the walls inside the tomb with a layer of white clay, on which they painted architectural details and daily human activities (see illus. 217). This decorative process transformed the tomb's interior into a representation of an exterior space: the painted timber structure imitated external features of a free-standing building; wall murals represented cranes strolling amidst bamboo groves; and heavenly bodies adorned the ceiling of the rear chamber, against a blue background that clearly alluded to the sky. Indeed, these and other features have led Ellen Johnston Laing and other scholars to identify this chamber as a symbolic 'courtyard' in an underground architectural compound.[20] But as Li Qingquan has correctly argued, this is only partially true because the room's decoration and furnishing simultaneously represent a sacrificial hall, a meditation chamber and a transcendent paradise.[21]

A more complex reading of the tomb can now be achieved based on various observations made by Li Qingquan, Hsüeh-man Shen, Laing and other scholars. Briefly, the whole underground structure was conceived as consisting of three real and implied spaces, with the middle space – the burial chamber – as the core of the entire spatial construct. Several factors convince us that the empty antechamber provided a transitional zone connecting the tomb with the world of living. First of all, this chamber could be omitted in less elaborate burials, as we find in Zhang Gongyou's and Zhang Shiben's tombs in the graveyard (M2 and M3). Burials which do contain this space separate it from the rear chamber with a thick wooden door. In some of these tombs (M1, M4 and M5), this chamber, free from any furnishing, is decorated with murals portraying a large riderless horse, a traditional symbol of the posthumous journey of the dead.[22] In other tombs, such as Zhang Wenzao's burial, paintings on the side walls depict dance and musical performances and people preparing tea (illus. 221). The first subject clearly continues the tradition of representing ceremonial pageantry in tomb passages. As for the second theme, scholars have demonstrated that because of its role of purifying the human body, tea drinking became an important component in medieval Chinese religious practices.[23] In addition to these two conventional pictorial scenes, a unique picture painted above the outer door in Zhang Wenzao's tomb shows five ghostly figures holding various instruments (illus. 222). The writers of the excavation report consider these figures protectors of the tomb but provide no evidence for this view.[24] It seems possible that the picture simply identifies the door as the entrance to the underworld. As we will see, the painting above the next door – the entrance to the rear chamber where the tomb occupants lay – signifies the entrance to an immortal world.

221 A mural in the front chamber of Zhang Wenzao's tomb representing the preparation of tea. Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

222 A mural above the front gate in Zhang Wenzao's tomb, representing five ghosts. Liao dynasty, 1093.

If the antechamber frames the burial chamber at one end, a series of implied spaces encloses it at the other end. These spaces are 'implied' because they are not architecturally realized, but are indicated by fake doors and windows painted and sculpted on the walls. As discussed in various places in this volume, as early as the Eastern Zhou, windows and doors were already created inside tombs to facilitate the



223 Drawing of a mural in Houshiguo Tomb 1 at Mixian, Henan. Eastern Han, mid-2nd century CE.

soul's movement (see illus. 178). Some Eastern Han tomb murals further depicted scenes 'behind the windows' of a grave chamber (illus. 223). This interest in illusionistic architectural decoration reached its height during the Liao, Song, and Jin, as demonstrated by the ubiquitous existence of fake windows and doors in tombs during this period (see illus. 219).

Zhang Wenzao's burial chamber has three doors and a window, of which only the door in the southern wall (i.e., the door connecting this room with the antechamber) is a real one. Opposite to this door is the miniature gate mentioned earlier. Half-blocked by the coffin platform, it is distinguished from a fake door on the west wall by its sculptural form and an ornate, gabled roof (see illus. 219). In contrast, the door on the west wall is painted; a young woman, perhaps a servant, is holding a lock and seems to be locking it up. Next to this scene, another female servant is adding oil to a lantern (illus. 224). As we find in many other places in the tomb, this second image combines a real object with two-dimensional and three-dimensional forms to create an illusionistic image: the girl and the red flame are represented by painting; the tall lantern stand is a relief, and a protruding brick-stand originally supported a real oil lantern. Finally, a window is painted on the east wall, above a desk displaying brushes, an ink stone and an empty piece of paper.

Scholars have long speculated on the meaning of such fake doors and windows in Liao, Song, and Jin tombs. While most explanations remain pure theory, a recent interpretation proposed by Li Qingquan seems to reveal an interesting pictorial programme in relation to representing time. Briefly, he contends that the opening and closing of painted doors – scenes frequently appearing on the east and west walls in the Xuanhua tombs – signify morning and evening.[25] Following him, we indeed find that in some Xuanhua tombs (such as the tomb of Zhang Shiqing), an attendant is entering the rear chamber through the east door while another attendant is leaving the room through the west door (illus. 225, 226). Additional images further reinforce

224 A mural on the west wall in the burial chamber of Zhang Wenzao's tomb. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE.

the temporal significance of the two doors. In several tombs (for example, M6, M7 and M10), pictures next to the east door (or window) portray servant girls holding toilet articles, waiting on the (invisible) tomb occupant in the morning. On an adjacent desk, writing equipment has been prepared for him to begin his daily work of copying religious texts.[26] Next to the door (or window) on the west wall, as noted earlier, a servant girl is lighting a lantern. Not surprisingly, a desk painted here displays a pile of finished scrolls. A final detail clinches the temporal significance of the two groups of images on the side walls: centred on fake doors (or windows), these images are correlated with the east–west orientations of the sun and the moon painted on the ceiling.

This reading enriches the meaning of the burial chamber as a spatiotemporal complex.[27] As we have found in many other cases, this space in Xuanhua tombs realized its symbolic potential through integrating different functions and 'realms'. One of these functions is to present offerings, mainly food and drink, to the dead; the space can thus be considered an underground sacrificial hall. Thus while the anteroom of the tomb was left empty, as many as 96 objects furnished this chamber. In particular, a large table before the coffin displayed 22 ceramic vessels containing fruits, nuts, and cooked dishes (see illus. 215). In contrast to the refined quality of these vessels, the coarse pottery spirit vessels and miniature granaries placed on the ground on either side of the coffin constituted a group of 'ghost articles' made for the dead.

Also, as in many other tombs, here the dead is imagined to be 'living' in an underground residence. This imagination is realized in the Xuanhua tomb by the opening and closing doors painted on the east and west walls, and also through arranging

Murals in the burial chamber of Zhang Shiqing's tomb (Tomb 1) at Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty, 1116 CE. (225, left) east wall; (226, right) west wall.

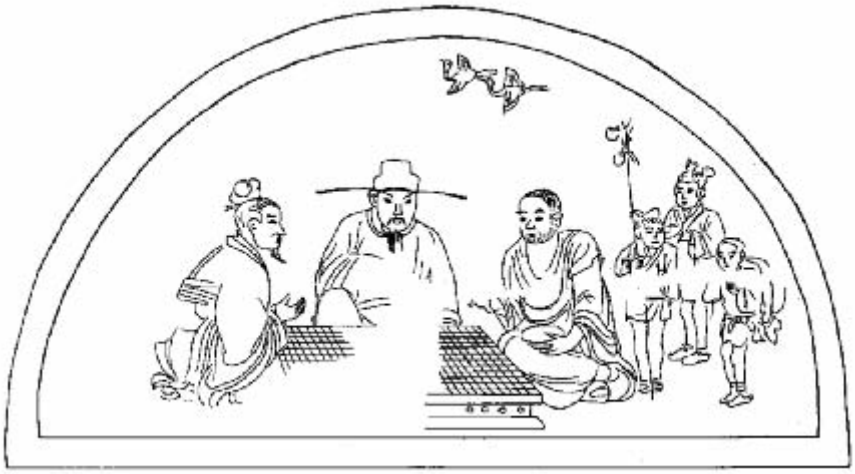
two sets of real furniture and objects along these two walls. Facilitating the daily activities of the tomb occupants, these include chairs, a table with eating utensils on it, several bronze mirrors, a glazed three-colour washbasin, a wooden clothes hanger and stands used to support a mirror and washbasin. That the same objects are also found in the tomb's murals has led Hsüeh-man Shen to propose an interesting theory about a subtle interplay between 'presentation' and 'representation' in this and other Xuanhua tombs.[28] In my view, what this interplay attests to is the desire to create metaphors for an intermediate time/space between life and death and between reality and fiction – a time/space to which the departed soul is supposed to belong.

We can trace many elements of the Xuanhua tombs to the Mancheng and Mawangdui tombs. But in Zhang Wenzao's burial, the deceased couple was no longer represented by empty seats or transformed 'jade bodies', but by two straw manikins containing cremated ashes stored in a *dhāranī* coffin. As devout Buddhists, the Zhangs believed that the ritual of cremation would finally release their attachment to the phenomenonal world, and that the *dhāranī* coffin would further 'bless whoever is cast in its shadow'. On the surface, they found a new method from Buddhism to immortalize the body: it is not difficult to see the conceptual parallels between the straw manikin and a Han dynasty 'jade body'. In a deeper sense, however, through incorporating Buddhist (and other foreign) elements into their graves, the Zhangs were able to develop the tradition of a 'polycentric' tomb to a new level. In fact, enough evidence reveals that in planning the tombs, both the patrons and builders self-consciously integrated different

Details of murals in Zhang Shiqing's tomb: (227, left) a Buddhist sutra (228, right) a Taoist scripture. Liao dynasty, 1116 CE.

religions and cultural traditions. As previous writers have noted, murals in the Xuanhua tombs depict both Buddhist and Taoist sutras as venerable objects (see illus. 227, 228); the epitaphs emphasize that the dead had accumulated merit from practicing not only these two religions but also Confucian loyalty and filial piety; and the various decorative images, including the Buddhist lotus flower, the Taoist white crane and the Babylonian twelve zodiac, are derived from different traditions.

No other image better demonstrates this self-conscious syncretism than the semicircular composition above the entrance to Zhang Wenzao's burial chamber, representing a triad of three figures engaged in a game of chess (illus. 229). Iconographically, this composition integrates two pictorial themes, one depicting immortals or Taoist hermits playing chess; the other representing the harmonious relationship between the 'Three Religions' (*Sanjiao*) of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. The first theme already enjoyed considerable popularity in Han funerary art. Carved on sarcophagi or painted in grave chambers, it symbolized a transcendent world that the deceased wished to enter (illus. 230). Examples of the *Sanjiao* image appeared much later, perhaps during the Tang when 'combining the three religions' became a trend among the social elite, dominating both their intellectual discourse and political rhetoric. As reflections of this trend, traditional painting catalogues record that some Tang and Song painters created



229 A mural above the door of the inner chamber in Zhang Wenzao's tomb. Liao dynasty, 1093 CE. Drawing.

230 Immortals playing the *liubo* game. Carving on a stone sarcophagus from Sichuan. Eastern Han, 2nd century CE.

works titled *Three Religions* (*Sanjiao*) or *A Picture of the Three Religions* (*Sanjiao tu*).[29] Li Qingquan has related the Xuanhua image with this textual information, identifying the three painted figures, from right to left, as a Buddhist monk, a Confucian scholar and a Taoist priest.[30] The position of the image in Zhang Wenzao's tomb, however, reveals its specific ritual significance in the mortuary context: rather than illustrating a general political or ideological agenda, it declares that through practicing the Three Religions one could achieve post-mortem immortality.

This, in turn, offers an explanation for a crucial question that underlies this whole book: How could tomb art enjoy such enduring longevity in traditional China? Unlike Japan whose indigenous traditions of constructing elaborate chamber tombs largely disappeared after the arrival of Buddhism, funerary art and architecture continued to develop in China even after emperors adopted Buddhism or Taoism as state religious. A major reason is, as implied in the 'Three Religions' image in Zhang Wenzao's burial, that the tomb in traditional China had the ability to absorb other religious beliefs and practices to enrich itself. Sustained by the unbroken tradition of ancestor worship and filial piety in Chinese society, it retained a central position in artistic imagination and creation, producing infinite variations of architectural structures, pictorial programs, and installations of objects in the realm of the Yellow Springs. One may argue that even after China entered the modern era, this tradition has continued to influence Chinese architecture and visual culture: the construction of Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum in Nanjing occasioned the first major nationalist movement in the Republic of China,[31] and Mao Zedong's Mausoleum in Tiananmen Square still symbolizes the legacy of the Communist leader thirty years after his demise.[32]

References

Introduction

1 'Wu xing' (Five Elements), in Ban Gu, *Bai hu tong shuzheng*, an annotated version of *Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, annotated by Chen Li (Beijing, 1994), II, p. 182.

2 Wang Chong, *Lun heng* (Disquisitions). See Liu Pansui, ed., *Lun heng jiaoshi* (An Annotated Edition of *Disquisitions*), 4 vols (Beijing, 1990), vol. II, p. 593.

3 James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. V: *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen* (Oxford, 1871), p. 2.

4 Based on Burton Watson's translation, in John Minford and Joseph S. M. Lau, *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations*, vol. I, *From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York, 2000), p. 397.

5 *Li ji* (The Book of Rites), in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Thirteen Classics*) (Beijing, 1980), p. 1292; based on James Legge's translation in *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, 2 vols (New York, 1967), vol. I, pp. 155–6. *Lüshi chunqiu* (Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals), in *Zhuzi jicheng* (Collected Works by Ancient Philosophers), 10 vols (Beijing, 1986), vol. IV, p. 96.

6 The most systematic prescription of the funeral rites before entombment can be found in *Yi li* (Rituals and Propriety) in *Shisanjing zhushu*, pp. 1128–64. Based on new archaeological evidence, Zheng Yan has argued persuasively that during the Eastern Han, mourners could enter a tomb to view its interior before the final burial. 'Guanyu Han dai sangzang huaxiang guanzhe wenti de sikao' (Reflection on the Problem of Audience for Han Dynasty Funerary Pictorial Art), *Zhongguo Han hua yanjiu* (Studies of Han Pictorial Art of China), II (2005), pp. 39–55.

7 During certain periods in Chinese history, a family grave could be reopened to admit newly deceased family members. But it would be immediately resealed in keeping with the principle of 'concealment'.

8 See note 5.

9 Han Yuxiang and Li Chenguang, eds, *Nanyang Han dai huaxiangshi mu* (Han Dynasty Pictorial Stone Tombs at Nanyang) (Zhengzhou, 1998), p. 70.

10 For a full translation of the inscription and a discussion of the tomb, see Wu Hung, *The Monumentality of Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA, 1995), pp. 238–46.

11 A notable exception is Ann Paludan's *The Chinese Spirit Road: The Classical Tradition of Stone Tomb Statuary* (New Haven, CT and London, 1991), which surveys the history of above-ground sculptures from the Han to Song.

12 These works include Wu Hung, 'Art in its Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui', *Early China*, XVII (1992), pp. 111–45; Joy Beckman, 'Layers of Being: Bodies, Objects and Spaces in Warring States Burials', PhD dissertation, University of Chicago (2006); Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period (480–221 BCE)', PhD dissertation, UCLA (2002), chap. 2; and Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden, 2006), chaps 2 and 4.

13 Huang Xinlin, *Zhongguo gudai lingmu kaogu yanjiu* (Studies of Ancient Chinese Tombs and Mausoleums) (Fuzhou, 2005). Earlier summaries of this scholarship can be found in *Xinzhongguo de kaogu faxian he yanjiu* (Archaeological Discoveries and Studies in the People's Republic of China) (Beijing, 1984).

14 For an English summary of this scholarship, see Wu Hung, *Monumentality*, pp. 28–44.

15 For the excavation report, see *Yinxu Fuhao mu* (Tomb of Fuhao at the Ruins of Yin) (Beijing, 1980).

16 See Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade: From the Neolithic to the Qing* (London, 1995), p. 43.

17 For references and an inventory of these excavations, see Wu Hung, 'From Neolithic to the Han', in Angela F. Howard et al., *3000 Years of Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven, CT, and Beijing, 2006), pp. 49–67.

18 Typical examples include the Museum of the Western Han King of Nanyue in Guangzhou, the Museum of King Muryong of the Paekche Kingdom in Kongju and the Takamatsuzuka Kofun Museum in Nara.

19 One of these two cemeteries is that of the Zhongshan royal house during the Warring States period, dating from the fourth century BCE and located near Pingshan county. The

other includes two second-century BCE tombs near Mancheng, belonging to the Western Han prince Liu Sheng and his wife Dou Wan.

20 Doctoral dissertations of this kind include Jean James, 'An Iconographic Study of Two Late Han Funerary Monuments: The Offering Shrines of the Wu Family and the Multichamber Tomb at Holingor', PhD dissertation, Iowa University (1983); Lydia D. Thompson, 'The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25–220 CE)', PhD dissertation, New York University (1998); Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb'; Li Qingquan, 'Liao dai Hanren bihuamu yanjiu – yi Xuanhua Zhangshi jiaozu bihuaquan wei zhongxin' (A Study of Liao Dynasty Painted Tombs of Chinese Families – Focusing on a Group of Painted Tombs of the Zhang family in Xuanhua), PhD dissertation, Zhongshan University (2003). Research articles on single tombs include Wu Hung, 'Art in its Ritual Context'; 'The Prince of Jade Revisited: Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in the Mancheng Tomb', in *Chinese Jade*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, XVIII (London, 1997), pp. 147–70; Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province', *Artibus Asiae*, LXV/1, pp. 99–141. Constance Cook's new book, *Death in Ancient China*, provides arguably the fullest study of a single Chinese tomb.

21 Three typical examples of such synthetic studies are Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu* (A Study of Painted Tombs of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Beijing, 2002); Li Xingming, *Tang dai mushi bihua yanjiu* (A Study of Tang Tomb Murals), (Xi'an, 2005); and Tonia Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618–907: The Politics of Paradise* (London, 2005).

22 This goal is also reflected in a series of papers by Jessica Rawson, including 'Changes in the Representation of Life and the Afterlife as Illustrated by the Contents of Tombs of the T'ang and Sung Periods', in, *Art of Sung and Yuan*, ed. M. Hearn and J. Smith (New York, 1996); 'Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China between the Han and Tang Periods', in *Han Tang zhijian wenhua yishu de hudong yu jiaorong* (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period), ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2001), pp. 113–52; 'Cosmological Systems as Sources of Art, Ornament, and Design', *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, LXXII (2000), pp. 133–89; 'Han Dynasty Tomb Planning and Design', in *Actes des Symposiums Internationaux le Monde Visuel Chinois*, *Cang Jie*, ed. Chrystelle Maréchal and Shun-chiu Yau, special issue no. 2 (Paris, 2005) pp. 103–16.

23 See Wei-cheng Lin, 'Wooden Architectural Structure in Brick: A Case Study of Northern Song Cupola-like Corbelled Dome Tombs.' Unpublished manuscript.

24 This kind of comprehensive survey is the purpose of several existing books. Among them, Xu Jijun's *A History of Chinese Funerals and Burials* (*Zhongguo sanzang shi*) (Nanchang, 1998) includes sections on 'minority burial customs' during the different historical periods. His *Funeral and Burial Systems in the Yangzi River Region* (*Changjiang liuyu de sangzang*) (Wuhan, 2004) provides even more detailed accounts of various burial customs in south China, including 'hanging coffin burials' (*xuanguan zang*), 'boat-coffin burials' (*chuanguan zang*), 'cave burials' (*yadong zang*), 'heavenly burials' (*tian zang*), 'water burials' (*shui zang*), 'tree burials' (*shu zang*), 'stupa burials' (*ta zang*), 'wind burials' (*feng zang*) and others. Expanding the scope of observation beyond China, Gina L. Barnes has surveyed the main tomb types up to 800 CE in her *China, Korea and Japan: The Rise of Civilization in East Asia* (London, 1993).

1 Spatiality

1 *Yi Jing* (The Book of Changes), in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu* (An Annotated Edition of the Thirteen Classics) (Beijing, 1980), p. 87.

2 Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han) (Beijing, 1965), pp. 1314–15. Quotation at p. 1315. The 'Three Springs' (*san quan*) means the underground world and is an alternative term for the Yellow Springs.

3 For a second-century view of the Yellow Emperor and his position in ancient Chinese history, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, CA, 1989), pp. 156–67.

4 Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 1315.

5 See Chen Huawen, *Sangzang shi* (A History of Burials) (Shanghai, 1999), pp. 137–8.

6 See Zhang Changshou, 'Qiangliu yu huangwei' (The *Qiangliu* and *Huangwei* Coffin Decoration), *Wenwu*, 4 (1992), pp. 49–52; Sun Hua, 'Xuanyu yu zhengrong' (The Xuanyu and Zhenrong in Western Zhou Coffin Decoration), *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* (Chinese Texts and Culture), 1 (2000), pp. 90–96.

7 See Wu Hung, 'The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period', in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds, *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 651–744, esp. 708–27.

8 Sima Qian, *Shi ji* (Historical Records) (Beijing, 1959), p. 265.

9 Ibid. See Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty* (New York, 1993), pp. 63–4.

10 Extensive archaeological work has continued in the emperor's mausoleum for nearly thirty years and many amazing discoveries (such as the underground army) have been made. But actual excavations have only been conducted in the area surrounding the burial chamber under the tumulus. On 28 July 2006 the *New China Internet* (Xinhua wang) published an unofficial report about the finding of an 'enormous underground palace' beneath the tumulus in the Lishan Mausoleum. According to the reporter, local archaeologists detected this structure by employing

advanced sensor technology. 170m east–west and 145m north–south, it is surrounded by a continuous stone wall and contains a tomb chamber in the middle. These discoveries have recently been published in the latest volume of *Qin Shihuangdi lingyuan kaogu boagao (2001–3)* (Beijing, 2007), p. 101.

11 Three tombs, all with celestial images on the ceiling and located near Luoyang in Henan, have been dated to the first century BCE. For their dating, see Yang Zhefeng, 'Guanyu Luoyang sanzuo bihuamu de niandai xulie wenti' (Problems Concerning the Chronological Sequence of Three Han Dynasty Painted Tombs at Luoyang), *Wenwu*, 3 (2003), pp. 59–62.

12 The terms *guo mu* (casket grave) and *shi mu* (chamber grave) were coined by Huang Xiaofen in her exhaustive study of early Chinese tombs, *Han mu de kaoguxue yanjiu* (An Archaeological Study of the Han Dynasty Tombs) (Changsha, 2003).

13 Erecting a burial mound over a tomb became a popular practice only from the Eastern Zhou period. Before that moment, a tomb either had no above-ground structure or was marked by a small shrine. For a discussion, see Wu Hung, 'From Temple to Tomb', *Early China*, XIII (1988), pp. 78–115.

14 For discussions of the development of casket tombs from prehistoric times to the Warring States period, see Huang Xiaofen, *Han mu de kaoguxue yanjiu*, pp. 26–42; Li Yujie, 'Shilun woguo gudai guanguo zhidu' (A Preliminary Study of Ancient Chinese Systems of Inner and Outer Coffins), *Zhongyuan wenwu*, 2 (1990), pp. 83–6; Zhao Huacheng, 'Zhoudai guanguo duochong zhidu yanjiu' (A Study of the System of Multi-layered Inner and Outer Coffins), *Guoxue yanjiu*, 5 (1998), pp. 27–74; and Luan Fengshi, 'Shiqian guanguo de chansheng, fazhan he guanguo zhidu de xingcheng' (The Emergence and Development of Coffins in Prehistoric Times and the Establishment of the *Guan-Guo* System), *Wenwu*, 6 (2006), pp. 49–55.

15 For example, a number of large tombs belonging to the Dawenkou culture in Shandong surrounded the coffin with timber frames. A Liangzhu tomb at Huiguanshan in Yuhang, Zhejiang, originally contained a coffin inside a wooden encasement 3.9m long and 1.8m wide. See *Dawenkou: Xinshiqu shidai muzang fajue baogao* (A Report of the Excavation of Neolithic Burials at Dawenkou) (Beijing, 1974); *Wenwu*, 7 (1997), pp. 4–33.

16 For excavation reports, see *Kaogu*, 7 (1990) pp. 587–94; 'Linzi xian Xizhufeng Longshan Wenhua chongguomu de qingli' (The Excavation of a Double-casket Longshan Culture Tomb at Xizhufeng in Linzi County), *Hai Dai kaogu*, 1 (1989), pp. 219–24. For a discussion of large Longshan burials, see Yu Haiguang, 'Shandong Longshan wenhua de daxing muzang fenxi' (An Analysis of Large-scale Burials of the Shandong Longculture Culture), *Kaogu*, 1 (2000), pp. 61–7.

17 Li Chi, *Anyang* (Seattle, WA, 1977), pp. 85–7. It should be noted, however, that the ramp at the south side is much longer than the other three, which are more steep. The cross-shaped plan of the tomb may therefore also convey certain symbolic meaning.

18 Alain Thote, 'Burial Practices as Seen in Rulers' Tombs of the Eastern Zhou Period: Patterns and Regional Traditions', in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. J. Lagerwey, 2 vols (Hong Kong, 2004), I, pp. 65–108.

19 This tomb contained an inventory of the grave goods stored in various sections of the *guo*, including 'the head of the *guo*' (*guo shou*), 'the foot of the *guo*' (*guo wei*), 'the left of the *guo*' (*guo zuo*), and 'the middle of the *guo*' (*guo zhong*). The arrangement of the grave goods was therefore guided by a clear spatial scheme.

20 See Susanne Greife and Yin Shenping, *Das Grab des Bin Wang: Wandmalereien der Östlichen Han-zeit in China* (Mainz, 2002), p. 77. For a discussion of this and the viewership of Han funerary art, see Zheng Yan, 'Guanyu Han dai Sangzang huaxiang guanzhe wenti de sikao' (Reflection on the Problem of Audience for Han Dynasty Funerary Pictorial Art), *Zhongguo Han hua yanjiu* (Art of the Han Dynasty), 2 (2005), pp. 39–55.

21 Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 3152. Also see Karl A. Wittfogel and Chia-sheng Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., vol. XXXVI (Philadelphia, PA, 1949), pp. 278–83.

22 'Cui Wei', in *Taiping guangji* (Extensive Cleanings of the Reign of Great Tranquility), juan 34.

23 Translation by Karl S. Kao, *Classical Chinese Tales of the Supernatural and the Fantastic* (Bloomington, IN, 1985), p. 343.

24 Ibid., p. 349. Slightly modified.

25 The chamber yielded four seals, identifying the four women as *furen* or 'royal consorts'. *Xihan Nayuewang mu* (The Tomb of a Nanyue King of the Western Han), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991), I, pp. 219–21.

26 For the excavation report, see *Mangdangshan Xihan Liang wang mudi* (The Royal Cemetery of the Liang Principality of the Western Han at Mt Mangdang), (Beijing, 2001), pp. 40–75.

27 A burial at Beidongshan near Xuzhou, Jiangsu, for example, belonged to a ruler of the Chu principality who died before 118 BCE. The tomb consists of a 55-metre-long passageway and nineteen chambers covering an area of 350 square metres, including a 'music and dance hall' and two lavatories. *Wenwu*, 2 (1988), pp. 2–18.

28 Based on a tomb excavated at Xiangbizui near Changsha, which probably belonged to Prince Wu Zhu of Changsha principality, Chinese archaeologists have dated the appearance of this second kind of chamber grave to the mid-second century BCE. For the excavation report, see *Kaogu xuebao*, 1 (1981), pp. 111–30. This tomb has a paved passageway that leads to a door over 2m tall. The coffin chamber at the centre is surrounded by a corridor consisting of interconnected

rooms. Huang Xiaofen has noted similar circular corridors in some contemporary cliff tombs, indicating shared elements of the two types of early chamber grave. Huang Xiaofen, *Han mu de kaoguxue yanjiu*, pp. 75–82.

29 *Kaogu xuebao*, 9 (1955), pp. 109–10.

30 Archaeological information shows that the hollow-brick graves were mainly distributed in eastern Henan in the late Warring States period, while the cave-chamber graves first emerged in southern Shaanxi around the middle of the Warring States period. Once having developed into the dominant burial structure in the Qin kingdom, the cave-chamber type spread eastward into Henan; but there it could never challenge the traditional vertical-pit structure. See Wu Hung, 'The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period', p. 719.

31 Huang Xiaofen, *Han mu de kaoguxue yanjiu*, pp. 90–93.

32 I have discussed these issues in the following books and articles: concerning: 'From Temple to Tomb'; 'Art in Ritual Context'; 'Beyond the Great Boundary: Funerary Narrative in Early Chinese Art', in *Boundaries in China*, ed. J. Hay (London, 1994), pp. 81–104, and others.

33 *Li ji*, 1292; translation based on James Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, 2 vols (New York, 1967), I, pp. 155–6.

34 *Li ji*, 'Jiao tesheng' chapter, in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjingzhushu*, pp. 1444ff. 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*, XXVII (1987), pp. 374–5; Michael Loewe, 'The Religious and Intellectual Background', in Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge and New York, 1986), vol. I, p. 718. These two authors use the evidence from *Li ji* to reconstruct a general belief in ancient China. In my view, however, what the textual passage described is a particular belief in pre-Qin China.

35 *S*ee Wu Hung, 'From Temple to Tomb', pp. 83–90.

36 *Li ji*, pp. 1595–6.

37 Ken E. Brashier, 'Han Thanatology and the Division of Souls', *Early China*, XVI (1996), pp. 1–35. Other textual evidence is discussed by Anna Seidel and Mu-Chou Poo. See Anna Seidel, 'Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves', *Numen*, XXIX (1982), p. 107; 'Traces of Han Religion in Funerary Texts Found in Tombs', in *Dōkyōto shūkyō bunka* (Taosim and Religious Culture), ed. Akizuki Kan'ei, (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 21–57; Poo Mu-chou, *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo dudai zongjiao zhi xingsi* (Burials and Life/Death: Reflections on Ancient Chinese Religion) (Taipei, 1993), p. 216.

38 See Isabelle Robinet, 'Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism', *History of Religions*, XIX/1 (1979), pp. 57–70; Anna Seidel, 'Post-Mortem Immortality or: The Taoist Resurrection of the Body', in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, ed. Shaked D. Shulman and G. G. Strousma (Leiden, 1987), pp. 223–37. Other important studies of *shi jie* include: Michel Strickmann, 'The Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching', in *Facets of Taoism*, ed. H. Welch and A. Seidel (New Haven, CT, 1979), pp. 180–85; Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, V/2 (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 301–4.

39 This Han text is cited in Ge Hong, *Baopu zi*, 'Lun xian' (On Immortals). See Wang Ming, *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi* (collated and annotated *Inner Chapters of Baopu zi*) (Beijing, 1980), p. 20.

40 Chen Mengjia, *Yinxu buci zongshu* (A Comprehensive Introduction to Divinatory Inscriptions from the Ruins of Yin) (Beijing, 1988), pp. 561–603.

41 *Zhou li*, in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu*, pp. 757–8. See ibid., p. 562.

42 Li Ling, 'Kaogu faxian yu shenhua chuanshuo' (Archaeological Finds and Legends), in *Liling zixuan ji* (Li Ling's Essays Selected by the Author Himself) (Guilin, 1998), pp. 61–4; Chen Wei, *Baoshan Chu jian chutan* (A Preliminary Exploration of the Chu Bamboo Slips from Baoshan) (Wuhan, 1996), p. 173. See Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period (480–221 BCE)', PhD dissertation, UCLA (2002), p. 147.

43 Constance Cook and Guolong Lai have both discussed at length the meaning of 'xing' as a posthumous journey taken by the dead. Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 79–128; Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb'.

44 Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin, *Zhongguo Taojiao kaogu* (Archaeology of Chinese Taoism), 3 vols (Beijing, 2006), I, pp. 54–264; esp. 263–4.

45 Delin Lai discussed these two concepts in his paper, 'An Object-determined Design or an Architectonic-structure-determined Design?: Tomb Designs from Leigudun to Mawangdui', written for a seminar I taught at the University of Chicago.

46 One of the exceptions is the tomb of Marquis Yi of the Zeng at Suixian, Hubei province. As I will discuss later in this book, this fifth-century BCE casket grave has room-like chambers.

47 *Xunzi jijie*, in *Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. II (Beijing, 1954), p. 245. Translation based on Burton Watson, *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu* (New York, 1963), 'Hsün Tzu' p. 105. Watson translated the Chinese term *xiang* as 'to imitate'. I have changed it to 'to represent.'

48 Other passages in the same essay make it explicit that Xunzi is talking about this type of burial.

49 Zheng Yan, 'Jiuquan Dingjiazha Shiliuguo mu sheshu buhua kao' (On a Mural Depicting a Tree of the Land God in a Sixteen Kingdoms Tomb at Dingjiazha, Jiuquan), *Gugong bowuyuan wenwu yuekan*, XII/11 (February 1995), pp. 44–52.

50 See Wu Rongzeng, 'Zhenmuwen zhong suojiandao de Dong Han daowu guanxi' (The Relationship between Taoism and Shamanism during the Eastern Han as Seen in Tomb Ordinance Texts), *Wenwu*, 3 (1981), pp. 56–63, esp. 60; Zhang Xunliao, 'Dong Han muzang chutu de jizhuqi cailiao he

Tianshidao de qiyuan' (Evidence for Objects Used in Acquittal Rituals from Eastern Han Tombs and the Origin of Heavenly Master Taoism), *Daojiao wenhua yanjiu*, 9 (1966), pp. 253–66, esp. 260.

51 For an excellent study of such pictures and stories, see Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu, HI, 1994).

52 See *Yi li*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, pp. 1142–3; *Li ji*, p. 1293.

53 Although this tomb was looted once, the robbers only pierced the northeast corner of the tomb's central chamber and took few, if any, objects out. For the excavation report, see *Zenghou Yi mu* (The Tomb of Marquis Yi of the State of Zeng) (Beijing, 1989); for an English introduction to the tomb, see Robert L. Thorp, 'The Sui Xian Tomb: Re-thinking the Fifth Century', *Artibus Asiae*, XLIII/5 (1981), pp. 67–92.

54 In fact, the bell and chimestone sets are the centrepieces of 115 musical instruments found in this chamber. The Chinese scholar Tan Weisi believes that the whole assemblage closely imitated a band used by the Zeng royal house to play formal ritual music. See Tan Weisi, *Zeng Hou Yi mu* (The Tomb of Marquis Yi of the State of Zeng) (Beijing, 2001), p. 119.

55 See Lothar von Falkenhausen, 'Chu Ritual Music', in Thomas Lawton, ed., *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period* (Washington, DC, 1991), p. 82. Also see Tan Weisi, *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, p. 119.

56 See Alain Thote, 'The Double Coffin of Leigudun Tomb no. 1: Iconographic Sources and Related Problems', in *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period*, ed. Lawton, pp. 26–7.

57 *Li ji*, pp. 1595–6; Legge, *Li Chi*, II, pp. 220–21.

58 Although some scholars, such as Zhang Changshou and Sun Hua, suggest that coffin decoration during the Zhou aimed to imitate a real residence, such 'imitation' in a casket grave was mainly symbolic, not literal. See Zhang Changshou, 'Qiangliu yu huangwei'; Sun Hua, 'Xuanyu yu zhengrong'; Alain Thote, 'Continuities and Discontinuities: Chu Burials during the Eastern Zhou Period', in *Exploring China's Past: New Discoveries and Studies in Archaeology and Art*, ed. R. Whitfield and Wang Tao (London, 2000), pp. 189–204; Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb', p. 46.

59 For the excavation report, see *Baoshan Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Baoshan), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991). For a detailed discussion of this tomb, see Cook, *Death in Ancient China*.

60 Scholars have compared the grave goods and inventories from this tomb. While some have found that in many cases they corresponded to each other in distribution, others have paid more attention to irregularities and discrepancies. See Chen Wei, *Baoshan Chu jian chutan*, pp. 181–2; Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb', p. 41.

61 These items were accompanied by an inventory list written on 312 bamboo slips. Although the objects in this list are not entirely identical with the actual tomb furnishings, the discrepancies only provide us with additional information in studying the tomb: the inventory identifies the objects which were *intended* to be buried with the dead woman, while the discovered items signify the actual arrangement of the woman's underground household.

62 For the excavation report of the tomb, see *Wenwu*, 7 (1974), p. 43. Some scholars have translated the two official titles as 'Assistant Administrator of Funeral Goods' and 'Lord Administrator of Funeral Goods'. While *cang* can mean funeral goods, it is also a standard term for 'tomb' and is used this way in many Han funerary inscriptions.

63 The excavation of the tomb is reported in *Wenwu*, 4 (1960), pp. 51–2 and 10 (1972), pp. 49–55.

64 For the excavation report on this tomb, see *Wangdu Han mu bihua* (Murals in a Han Tomb at Wangdu) (Beijing, 1955).

65 For the excavation report on this tomb, see *Anping Dong Han bihua mu* (A Eastern Han Painted Tomb at Anping) (Beijing, 1990).

66 Zhao Zhong, a native of Anping, was the most powerful eunuch in Emperor Ling's reign (168–189 CE).

67 Ten tombs, nine at Xincheng and one at Jiuquan, belong to this group. For the excavation reports, see *Jiayu Guan bihuamu fajue baogao* (An Excavation Report of Painted Tombs at Jiayu Guan) (Beijing, 1985); *Wenwu*, 10 (1959), pp. 73–9; 6 (1978), pp. 20–23; 8 (1982), pp. 7–15. This type of tomb decoration continued to develop in the northwest during the fourth century and was adopted by people in the Turfan region in Chinese Turkistan. The fourth-century examples include the Zhai Zongying tomb at Dunhuang and a group of burials at Turfan. Reports are in *Kaogu tongxun*, 1 (1955), pp. 2–8 and *Wenwu*, 6 (1978), pp. 61–73.

68 See Feng Shi, 'Henan Puyang Xishuipo 45 hao mu de tianwenxue yanjiu' (An Astronomical Interpretation of Tomb no. 45 at Xishuipo in Puyang, Henan Province), *Wenwu*, 3 (1990), pp. 52–60.

69 We know from archaeology that this structure had emerged before the third century BCE and underlay the decoration of some pre-Qin objects. Three-dimensional representations of the universe appeared by at least the fifth century BCE. A lacquer suitcase from Leigudun Tomb 1 in Suixian, Hubei – an object very probably made for the funerary occasion – bears an astronomical drawing on its top while exhibiting animal and human figures on its body. The design clearly indicates the opposition as well as correlation between heaven and earth.

70 These include three tombs from Luoyang and one from Xi'an. For a concise introduction to these tombs and their murals, see He Xilin, *Gumu danqing: Han dai mushi bihua de faxian yu yanjiu* (Painting in Ancient Graves: Discoveries and Studies of Han Dynasty Tomb Murals) (Xi'an, 2001), pp. 18–41.

71 A detailed discussion of this tomb in English can be found in Lan-ying Tseng, 'Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China', PhD dissertation, Harvard University (2001), pp. 137–239.

72 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 12 (1974), pp. 53–5.

A stone fragment, left behind by looters but retrieved by archaeologists, helps to identify the tomb occupant, as its engraved patterns are identical to those on the cover of Yuan Yi's epitaph unearthed in 1925.

73 See Te-k'un Cheng, 'Yin-Yang Wu-Hsing and Han Art', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XX/1–2 (1957), pp. 162–86.

74 For a folk song about this legend, see A. Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs* (London, 1937), p. 319.

75 Lan-ying Tseng proposed this interpretation in her 'Picturing Heaven', p. 178.

76 Translated by Arthur Waley in *Chinese Poems* (London, 1982), pp. 53–4, with minor changes.

77 Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, pp. 76–92.

78 See Wu Hung, *The Monumentality of Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA, 1995), pp. 76–96.

79 *Helingeer Han mu bihua* (Murals in the Helingeer Tomb of the Han) (Beijing, 1978), p. 25.

80 As Wolfgang Bauer has suggested, in Han thought immortal lands are often connected with the east and the west. *China and the Search for Happiness*, trans. M. Shaw (New York, 1976), pp. 95–100.

81 Yuan Ke, *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*) (Shanghai, 1980), p. 45.

82 For the changing representations of this goddess, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, pp. 108–41.

83 See Wu Hung, 'Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd century AD)', *Artibus Asiae*, XLVII/3/4 (1986), pp. 263–347; esp. 264–5.

84 Lydia Thompson, 'The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25–220 CE)', PhD dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (1998), p. 175.

85 *Shenyi jing* (Canon of Spirits and Oddities), cited in *Taiping yulan*, 187 *juan*; see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, p. 125.

86 For these examples, see Wu Hung, 'Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art'.

87 The only exception may be a group of Koguryo tombs dating from the fifth to early sixth centuries, when Buddhism became the dominant religion in this northern kingdom. See Li Qingquan, 'Muzang zhong de foxiang – Changchuan yihao bihuamu shidu' (Buddhist Images in Burials: The Murals from Changchuan Tomb no. 1), in *Han Tang zhijian de shijue wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua* (Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period), ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2003), pp. 471–508.

88 Han Yunxiang and Niu Tianwei, 'Qilingang Han huaxiangshi mu qianshi muding huaxiang kaoshi' (An Interpretation of the Pictorial Images on the Ceiling of the Front Chamber of a Han Dynasty Pictorial Stone Tomb at Qilingang), in Han Yuxiang, *Nanyang Handai tianwen huaxiangshi yanjiu* (A Study of Han Dynasty Pictorial Stones Representing Astronomical Images from Nanyang), (Beijing, 1995), pp. 23–5.

89 See Tang Yijie, *Wei Jin Nanbei Chao shiqi di daojiao* (Daoism During the Period of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Xian, 1988), pp. 84–5.

90 Wang Ming, *Taiping jing hejiao* (A Collated and Edited Version of Taiping Jing) (Beijing, 1960), p. 450. This teaching developed a theory in *Writings of Master Huainan* (*Huinan zi*), a second BCE text that later became a Daoist canon: 'The heavenly vital energies become the *hun*-soul, and the earthly vital energies become the *po*-soul. If they return to the mysterious abode, each to occupy its dwelling, and if they are kept and never lost, then one can rise up to penetrate the Grand Unity (Taiyi).' Liu Wendian, *Huannan honglie jijie* (An Annotated Version of *Huainan zi*) (Taipei, 1992), pp. 270–71. Translation based on Roger T. Ames, *The Art of Rulership: A Study of Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (Albany, NY, 1994), p. 169.

91 One such text is written on a pottery vessel from a tomb at Zhujiabao in Huxian, Shaanxi. See Li Ling, 'An Archaeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship', *Early Medieval China*, II (1995–6), pp. 1–39. Anna Seidel, 'Traces of Han Religion in Funerary Texts Found in Tombs', in *Dokyo to shukyo bunka* (Daoism and Religious Culture), ed. Akizuki Kan'ei (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 21–57.

92 In a later Taoist ritual based on an 'ancient ceremonial code', Taiyi was placed at the centre of the altar and flanked by the North Dipper and the South Dipper. The Qilin'gang carving shows a similar composition. Jin Yunzhong, *Shangqing Lingbao dafa*, in *Daozang*, XXXI, p. 410. See Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao zhaijiao fuzhou yishi* (Daoist Ceremonies) (Chengdu, 1999), pp. 30–31. It is also worth noting that the tomb was located in the area of Taiping Tao, a major Taoist organization from the second to third centuries. It is recorded that after Zhang Jiao founded Taiping Dao, 'all people in Qin, Xu, You, Ji, Jing, Yang, Qiu, and Yu responded to his call. [In order to follow him] some sold or abandoned their properties. Traveling to join him they filled the roads; more than ten thousand fell ill and died before reaching their destinations.' Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (Beijing, 1956), *juan* 58, V, p. 1864). The Qilin'gang tomb was located in the region of Yu.

93 Liu Xiang, *Liexian zhuang* (Annotated Biographies of Immortals), annotated by Wang Shumin (Beijing, 2007), pp. 65–8.

94 Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (Records of Famous Paintings of All the Dynasties), *juan* 9, in Lu Fusheng, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (A Complete Collection of Writings on Chinese Painting and Calligraphy) (Shanghai, 1993), I, p. 154.

95 An outstanding example of this second placement is Wang Chuzhi's tomb of the tenth century. See *Wudai Wang Chuzhi Mu* (Wang Chuzhi's Tomb of the Five Dynasties Period) (Beijing, 1998).

96 For a general discussion of bird symbolism in Song, Liao and Jin tombs, see Ellen Johnston Laing, 'Auspicious Motifs in 9th–13th-Century Chinese Tombs', *Ars Orientalis*, XXXIII (2003), pp. 45–63.

97 Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province', *Artibus Asiae*, LXV/1, pp. 99–141; quotation from p. 134.

98 Ibid., p. 110.

99 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 1 (1962), pp. 34–42.
100 Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), p. 1.
101 See Xin Lixiang, *Han dai huaxiangshi zonghe yanjiu* (A Synthetic Study of the Han Dynasty Pictorial Carvings) (Beijing, 1999), pp. 203–22.
102 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 3 (1991), pp. 20–25. Also see Lei Jianjin, 'Jianyangxian Guitoushan faxian bangti huaxiang shiguan' (The Finding of an Inscribed Pictorial Sarcophagus from Guitoushan in Jianyang County), *Sichuan wenwu*, 6 (1988), p. 65; Zhao Dianzeng and Yuan Shuguang, "Tianmen" kao – jianlun Sichuan Han huaxiang zhuan(shi) de zuhe yu zhuti' (An Examination of 'the Gate of Heaven' – Interpreting Motifs and Motif-combinations of Han Dynasty Pictorial Stones (and Bricks) from Sichuan), *Sichuan wenwu*, 6 (1990), pp. 3–11.
103 For references, see Wu Hung, 'From Temple to Tomb', pp. 96–100.
104 Lu Ji, *Lu Shiheng ji* (Collected Writings of Lu Ji), ed. Sibu Beiyao (Shanghai, 1930), 7.3b–41; trans. from A. R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1983), I, pp. 168–70.
105 Cited in Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 3195.
106 See Du You, *Tong dian* (Beijing, 1988), pp. 2346, 2701–4.
107 Wu Hung, 'The Prince of Jade Revisited: Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in the Mencheng Tombs', in *Chinese Jades*, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, XVIII, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London, 1997), pp. 147–70; esp. 152.
108 Ban Gu, *Han shu*, (Book of the Han) (Beijing, 1962), p. 3952.
109 Ibid., p. 3955.
110 Lukas Nickel, 'Some Han Dynasty Paintings in the British Museum', *Artibus Asiae*, LX/1 (2000), p. 73.
111 For the excavation report, see *Dunhuang Foyemiaowan Xi Jin huaxiangzhuan mu* (Western Jin Brick Tombs with Murals at Foyemiaowan in Dunhuang) (Beijing, 1998), pp. 31–8.
112 For example, an early Eastern Han tomb at Tietashan, Xin'an, Henan, is painted with a frontal portrait of the deceased on the back wall. For a report of the tomb, see Huang Minglan and Guo Yinqiang, *Luoyang Han mu bihua* (Han Dynasty Tomb Murals near Luoyang) (Beijing, 1996), pp. 181–6.
113 This tomb had been robbed before the excavation. But the excavators still found two stone low tables on the altar and fragments of a stone structure around the altar. See Henan Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics, *Mixian Dahuting Han mu* (Han Tombs at Dahuting in Mixian County) (Beijing, 1993), p. 16.
114 For a general introduction to these tombs, see Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu* (A Study of Painted Tombs of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Beijing, 2002), pp. 23–33.
115 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 6 (1984), pp. 29–45. Some scholars consider this a Yan tomb, not an Eastern Jin one.
116 Zheng Yan, 'Muzhu huaxiang yanjiu' (A Study of Portraits of Tomb Occupants), in *Liu Dunyuan xiansheng jinian wenji* (A Collection of Papers in Memory of Mr Liu Dunyuan) (Ji'nan, 1997), pp. 450–68; esp. 465.
117 Andrey Spiro, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley, CA, 1990), pp. 39–41.
118 One section of this inscription reads: 'These thirteen commandaries belong to Yuju. A total of seventy-five counties were under their jurisdiction.'
119 Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 99.
120 Jee-hee Hong, 'Path to the Other World: A Funerary Narrative Rendered in Tokhungri Tomb Murals', MA thesis, University of Chicago (2001), p. 17.
121 A fourth image in this group is found in a fourth-century tomb at Shangwangjia village near Liaoyang. Like Dong Shou's portrait, it is painted in a side chamber of the tomb. For a line drawing of the portrait, see *Wenwu*, 7 (1959), p. 61.
122 At least six large tombs constructed between 550 and 576 contained such posthumous portraits. These include the tombs of 1) the Ruru princess Lüchadilian (d. 550), 2) Lou Rui (d. 570), 3) a nobleman with the given name Daogui (d. 571), 4) Xu Xianxiu (d. 571), 5) Gao Run (d. 576), and 6) an undated Northern Qi tomb located in the Taiyuan no. 1 Electric Plant.
123 Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu*, p. 190.
124 One exception is a Northern Qi tomb located in the Taiyuan no. 1 Electric Plant, in which the coffin platform is connected to the back wall. This structure is therefore similar to the back chamber of the Tokhunri Tomb.
125 Wang Yintian and Liu Junxi, 'Datong Zhijiabao Beiwei mu shiguo bihua' (Murals on a Northern Wei Stone Sarcophagus found at Zhijiaobao near Datong), *Wenwu*, 7 (2001), pp. 40–51. Another small stone tomb discovered in 1997 near Beijing also bears a frontal portrait of the deceased on the back wall. Two female attendants on either side of him wear a hairstyle that is also seen in the Tokhunri tomb. An ox-drawn chariot is painted on the right wall. The excavators have tentatively dated the tomb to the Wei-Jin period, that is, the third to fourth century. This date seems too early. Considering its similarities with Koguryo tombs from the fourth to early fifth century, it was more likely constructed in the late fourth century in the territory of the Northern Wei. For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 4 (2001) pp. 54–9.
126 To my knowledge, the only exception is the tomb of Gao Yuangui (d. 756), where the portrait of the deceased is painted on the back wall. For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 8 (1959).
127 For a detailed discussion of the symbolism and representation of the screen in Chinese art and literature, see Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (London, 1996).
128 For general surveys of screen images in Tang tombs, see Zhang Jianlin, 'Tang mu bihua zhong de pingfenghua' (Screen Paintings in Tang Tombs), in, *Tang mu bihua yanjiu*

wenji, ed. Zhou Tianyou, pp. 227–39; Li Xingming, *Tang-dai mushi bihua yanjiu* (A Study of Tang Tomb Murals), (Xi'an, 2005), pp. 162–7.

129 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu*, 1 (1960), pp. 30–36. A similar example is Li Xian's tomb dated to 742; see *Tang Li Xian mu fajue baogao* (A Report of the Excavation of Li Xian's Tomb of the Tang Dynasty) (Beijing, 2005).

130 *Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu*, colour plates 33–57.

131 In a number of Liao tombs near Datong, Shanxi, a three-panel screen is painted on the back wall behind the remains of the deceased. For the excavation reports, see *Kaogu*, 10 (1960), pp. 37–42, 8 (1963), pp. 432–6. In a group of tombs at Xuanhua, Hebei, the deceased husband and wife are symbolized by tables in front of screens with different objects placed on top. See Li Qingquan, 'Lun Xuanhua Liao mu bihua chuangzuo de youguan wenti' (On Issues Related to the Creation of Murals in Liao Tombs at Xuanhua), in *Liu Dunyuan xiansheng jinian wenji,* 489–502; esp. figs 4, 11, 13, 16.

132 Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu* (Song Tombs at Baisha) (Beijing, 1957), pp. 48–9.

133 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 1 (1983), pp. 45–63.

134 Sima Guang, *Sima shi shuyi* (Letters and Ceremonies of the Sima Family). 'Conshu jicheng' edn (Shanghai, 1936), p. 54.

135 Dieter Kuhn, *A Place for the Dead: An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)*, (Heidelberg, 1996), especially chaps 1 and 2.

136 For the excavation report of the tomb, see *Kaogu*, 9 (1959), pp. 485–7.

137 Sima Guang, *Sima shi shuyi*, p. 78.

138 For the excavation report, see *Ding ling* (The Dingling Mausoleum) (Beijing, 1990).

2 Materiality

1 Sima Qian, *Shi ji* (Historical Records) (Beijing, 1959), p. 2753.

2 For a discussion of this historical development, see Wu Hung, 'Mingqi de lilun he shijian – Zhanguo shiqi liyi meishu zhong de guannianhua qingxiang' (The Theory and Practice of 'Spirit Vessels' – A Conceptual Tendency in Warring States Ritual Art), *Wenwu*, 6 (2006), pp. 71–81. It is possible that during the Eastern Zhou, discourses on spirit vessels were developed by more than one philosophical school. See Jeffery Riegel, 'Do Not Serve the Dead as You Serve the Living: The *Lüshi chunqiu* Treatises on Moderation in Burial', *Early China*, xx (1995), pp. 301–30. But it was the Confucian discourse that finally dominated common mortuary practices.

3 Wang Xiangian, *Xunzi jijie* (*Xunzi* with Synthetic Annotations), 'Lilun' chapter, in *Zhuzi jicheng* (Collected Works by Ancient Philosophers), 10 vols (Beijing, 1954), ii. See Burton Watson, trans., *Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York, 1963), p. 104.

4 *Yi li* (Rituals and propriety) in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Thirteen Classics*) (Beijing, 1980), pp. 1148–9.

5 See Zheng Xuan's commentary on the *Yi li*, p. 1149.

6 For this significance of the ancestral temple, see Wu Hung, *The Monumentality of Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, ca, 1995), pp. 79–88.

7 *Li ji* (The Book of Rites), in *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 1290; James Legge, trans., *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, 2 vols (New York, 1967), i, p. 151.

8 *Li ji*, p. 1289; Legge, *Li Chi*, i, p. 148.

9 *Xunzi*, p. 245. See Watson, trans., *Hsün Tzu*, p. 104. Numerous authors in later Chinese history repeated this idea. For example, Huan Kuan of the Eastern Han summarized the idea into an even shorter formula: 'Spirit articles of ancient times have form but no substance, in *Yantie lun* (Discourses on Salt and Iron) 'Sanbuzu' chapter, in *Zhuzi jicheng*, 7.

10 For an illustration of this vessel and a discussion of this pottery tradition, see Wu Hung, *Monumentality*, illus. 1.5, pp. 24–7.

11 Wu Ruzuo, 'Cong heitaobei kan Dawenkou-Longshan wenhua fazhan de jiuduanxing jiqi zhongxin fanwei' (Investigating the Developmental Stages and Central Regions of Dawenkou-Longshan Cultures based on Black Pottery Cups), in Su Bingqi, ed., *Kaoguxue wenhua lunji* (Essays on Archaeological Cultures), vol. ii (Beijing, 1989), pp. 31–43; esp. 39–41.

12 Yu Haiguang, 'Shandong Longshan Wenhua Muzng qianxi' (A Preliminary Analysis of Burials from the Shandong Longshan Culture), in *Shandong Longshan wenhua yanjiu wenji* (A collection of papers on Shandong Longshan culture), ed. Cai Fengshu and Luan Fengshi (Ji'nan, 1992), pp. 301–12. Haiguang, 'Shandong Longshan wenhua muzang fenxi' (An Analysis of Burials from the Shandong Longshan Culture), *Kaogu*, 1 (2000), pp. 61–7.

13 Anne Underhill, *Craft Production and Social Change in Northern China* (New York, 2002), p. 158.

14 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu xuebao*, 2 (1965), pp. 79–102.

15 One opinion holds that the tomb originally contained a set of bronze vessels which, however, had been looted before excavation.

16 For reports on these sites, see *Wenwu*, 9 (1959), pp. 53–5. *Kaogu*, 5 (1961), p. 244.

17 See *Luoyang Zhongzhoulu* (Beijing, 1959), pp. 78, 129; Robert L. Thorp, 'The Mortuary Art and Architecture of Early Imperial China', PhD dissertation, University of Kansas (1979), pp. 54–8.

18 See Cai Yonghua, 'Suizang mingqi guankui' (A Brief Look at Spirit Vessels in Grave Furnishings), *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 2 (1986), pp. 74–8.

19 Lothar von Falkenhausen, 'Sources of Taoism: Reflections on Archaeological Indicators of Religious Change in Eastern Zhou China', *Taoist Resources*, v/2 (1994), pp. 1–12.

20 For the excavation reports, see *Wenwu*, 8 (1994), pp. 4–21,

and 7 (1995), pp. 4–39.

21 For the excavation report, see *Sanmenxia Guoguo mu* (The Guo State Tombs at Sanmenxia) (Beijing, 1999).

22 Okamura Hidenori, 'Shin bunka no bennen' (A Chronology of Qin culture), *Loshi shunjū*, 2 (1985), pp. 53–74, illus. 1; Lothar von Falkenhausen, 'The Waning of the Bronze Age: Material Culture and Social Developments, 770–481 BCE', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge and New York, 1986), p. 489.

23 In addition to these objects from Tianma-Qucun, a bronze *hu* vessel from a tomb at Baimasi, Luoyang, has a sealed mouth and cannot be actually used. See *Quanguo jiben jianshe gongcheng zhong chutu wenwu zhanlan tulu* (Exhibition Catalogue of Cultural Relics Unearthed during the Nationwide Basic Constructions), pl. 146.

24 See *Kaogu*, 1 (1979), pp. 23–6. In addition, similar Western Zhou bronzes have been found at Qiangjiacun, Fufeng, Shaaxi. See *Wenbo*, 4 (1987), pp. 5–20. I want to thank Li Feng for directing me to these two references.

25 *Baoshan Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Baoshan), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991), I, p. 96.

26 One group of examples of this type of bronze is found in the Jin cemetery at Tianman-Qun; see von Falkenhausen's discussion in 'The Waning of the Bronze Age', p. 489. Bronzes from Marquis Yi of the Zeng, though often ornate and even bearing traces of use, again keep the traces of casting and welding unpolished.

27 *Baoshan Chu mu*, I, pp. 330–33. This classification has been challenged by Guolong Lai, who considers that 'the difference that the excavators perceived is an etic construction rather than an emic classification'. Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period (480–221 BCE)', PhD dissertation, UCLA (2002), p. 86. I have consulted researchers in the Hubei Provincial Museum (which housed the excavated objects from the tomb) on this matter. They insist on their conclusion in the excavation report.

28 *Wenwu*, 7 (1995), pp. 25–6; figs 43–7. For a discussion of these vessels, see Jessica Rawson, 'Western Zhou Archaeology', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Loewe and Shaughnessy, pp. 440–41. Also see *Sanmenxia Guoguo mu*, pls. 19–20 (M-2001), pp. 95–9, M2012; Wang Hongxing and Hu Yali, 'You Baoshan Erhaomu kan Chuxi gaoji guizumu de yongding zhidu – jianlun Zhoudai dingzhi de fazhan' (The Regulations in using Ding-tripods in the Tomb of High-level Aristocrats of the Chu Culture Based on Baoshan Tomb 2, and a Related Discussion on the Development of the Zhao Regulations of using Ding-tripods), *Baoshan Chu mu*, I, p. 96.

29 It is important to realize that other materials were also used in producing spirit vessels. For example, among the 25 wood vessels from Baoshan Tomb 2 that were used in the Dazhao ceremony before the burial, only one example is a practical object; 'others are all coarsely made and un-lacquered. These are clearly spirit vessels.' Wang Hongxing, 'Baoshan er hao Chum u qiqiqun yanjiu' (A Study of Lacquer Wares from Baoshan Tomb 2 of the Chu), in *Baoshan Chu mu*, I, p. 488. Because of their perishable material, however, very few wood spirit vessels have survived. It is also worth noting that sometimes pottery *mingqi* vessels are painted with lacquer patterns. See *Wenwu*, 9 (1959), pp. 53–5.

30 For the excavation report, see *Jiangling Wangshan Chu mu* (Chu tombs at Wangshan, Jiangling), (Beijing, 1996).

31 *Baoshan Chu mu*, I, pp. 26–8.

32 Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 125.

33 Ibid., I, p. 139.

34 Wu Hung, 'Mingqi de lilun he shijian'.

35 See Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 139–40.

36 Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles, CA, 2006), p. 304.

37 Li Zhiyan, 'Zhongshan wangmu chutu de taoqi', *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 2 (1979), pp. 93–4.

38 See Zhang Xuan's commentary on the *Yi li*, p. 1149.

39 See Wu Hung, 'From the Neolithic to the Han', in Angela F. Howard et al., *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2006), pp. 40–41.

40 *Cuo mu – Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu* (The Mausoleum of Cuo – A Zhongshan Kingdom Royal Tomb of the Warring States Period), 2 vols (Beijing, 1996), I, p. 505. See Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 125–6.

41 For selected examples from different periods, see Cao Zhezhi and Sun Binggen, *Zhongguo gudai yong* (Ancient Tomb Figurines from China) (Shanghai, 1996).

42 See James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. II: *The Work of Mencius* (Oxford, 1861–72), pp. 133–4. Legge's translation of the passage reads: 'Chung-ni (Confucius) said, 'Was he not without posterity who first made wooden images to bury with the dead? So he said, because that man made the semblances of men, and used them for that purpose – what shall be thought of him who causes his people to die of hunger.' It is still unclear when tomb figurines first appeared. The earliest known examples were found in an early Spring and Autumn burial at Bianjiazhuang, Shaanxi, in which two crudely hewn, partially painted wooden figures were attached to the yoke bar of a human-drawn chariot. For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 11 (1988), p. 15. But this seems an isolated case and does not indicate a prevailing phenomenon.

43 See Sun Xidan, annotated, *Li ji jijie* (Book of Rites with Synthetic Annotations), 3 vols (Beijing, 1989), I, p. 265; Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 172–3. Legge's translation of the passage reads: 'Confucius said, 'He who made the vessels which are so (only) in imagination, knew the principles underlying the mourning rites. There were complete (to all appearance), and yet could not be used. Alas! if for the dead they had used the vessels of the living, would there not have been a danger of this leading to the interment of the living with the dead?

They were called 'vessels in imagination' (the dead), being thus treated as spiritual intelligences. From of old there were the carriages of clay and the figures of straw – in accordance with the idea in these vessels in imagination. Confucius said that the making of the straw figures was good, and that the making of the (wooden) automaton was not benevolent. – Was there not a danger of its leading to the use of (living) men?'

44 For more detailed discussion of this problem, see Wu Hung, 'On Tomb Figurine', in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge, MA, 2005) pp. 13–48; Huang Zhanyue, *Zhongguo gudai de rensheng renxun* (Human Sacrifices in Ancient China) (Beijing, 1990), p. 293.

45 This tomb is located at Changzi in Shanxi, For the excavation report, see *Kaogu xuebao*, 4 (1984), pp. 504–7.

46 This is Wangshan Tomb 2 in Hubei, see *Wenwu*, 5 (1966), pp. 33–55. Another inventory of grave goods from Changtaiguan Tomb 2 records eight 'spirit servants' (*mingtong*); see *Xinyang Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Xinyang), (Beijing, 1986), pp. 114–16, 130.

47 Located at Guodian, Hubei, the tomb is dated by an inscription to 173 BCE. For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 8 (1993), pp. 13–20.

48 Wang Mengou, *Tangren xiaoshuo yanjiu er ji* (A Study of Tang Short Stories, the Second Compilation) (Taipei, 1973), pp. 143–7.

49 Li Fang, *Taiping guangji* (Beijing, 1961), pp. 2950–60.

50 Ibid., p. 2951.

51 Jin Weinuo, 'Tan Changsha Mawangdui sanhao Han mu bohua' (On the Silk Paintings from Mawangdui Tomb 3 of the Han Dynasty), *Wenwu*, 11 (1974), pp. 44–8; Liu Xiaolu, 'Lun bohuayong: Mawangdui sanhaomu dongxibi bohua de xingzhi he neirong' (On Painted Tomb Figurines: The Nature and Content of the Silk Paintings Hung on the East and West Walls in Mawangdui Tomb 3), *Kaogu*, 10 (1995), pp. 937–41.

52 *Xinyang Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Xinyang) (Beijing, 1986), pp. 18–20. The excavators have dated this tomb to the early Warring States period, around the middle and late fifth century BCE.

53 It should be noted that the mundane domestic scenes staged in these four side rooms are complemented by a mystical one: the room directly behind the coffin chamber houses a sculpture representing a long-tongued creature with deer antlers. Conventionally known as a 'Tomb Guardian Beast' (*zhenmushou*), it occupies the centre of the room and is surrounded by figurines at the four corners. Unlike other figurines in the tomb, these four figures have no robes and their bodies are crudely carved. Most intriguingly, one of them has a bamboo needle piercing the chest. This feature identifies these figures as evil spirits to be quelled through ritual practices, not 'companions in death' who are supposed to be functional in the underground world.

54 Representative examples of such figures include those from Langjiazhuang and Zhangqiu, both in Shandong, and from Fenshuiling in Changzhi, Shanxi. See *Kaogu xuebao*, 1 (1957), p. 116; *Huixian fajue baogao* (A Report of the Excavation at Huixian), (Beijing, 1956), p. 45; *Kaogu*, 12 (1959), p. 656; 7 (1960), p. 71; 10 (1962), p. 516.

55 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 5 (1996), pp. 1–8. Also see Li Jian, ed., *Eternal China: Splendors from the First Dynasties* (Dayton, OH, 1998), pp. 68–9. Another Qin tomb from a nearby location, on the other hand, yielded clay models of an ox-drawn carriage and a granary, images which reflect specific concerns with economic life. 'Shaanxi Fengxiang Baqitun Qin guo muzang fajue jianbao' (A Brief Report on the Excavation of Qin State Tombs at Baqitun, Fengxiang, Shaanxi), *Wenwu ziliao congkan*, 3 (1980), pp. 67–85.

56 In addition to the 'underground army' discovered at Yangjiawan, a similar 'army' of over 6,000 figures was found in subsidiary pits near the tomb of a Chu prince at Shizishan in Xuzhou. See Wang Kai, 'Han Terra-cotta Army in Xuzhou', *Orientations* XXI/10 (October 1990), pp. 62–6.

57 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 10 (1977), pp. 10–21.

58 The excavation report records 162 figurines from this tomb. But 33 of them are wood talismans tied together as a single piece.

59 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 2 (1988), pp. 2–18, 68. Also see Li Yinde, 'The "Underground Palace" of a Chu Prince at Beidongshan', *Orientations*, XXI/10 (October 1990), pp. 57–61.

60 Some examples excavated in Baijiakou near Xi'an are very similar to the one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For illustration and information about this piece, see Jessica Rawson, ed., *Mysteries of Ancient China* (New York, 1996), p. 206.

61 *Cixian Wanzhang Beichao bihuamu* (A Northern Dynasties Painted Tomb at Wanzhang, Cixian) (Beijing, 2003), pp. 33–138.

62 For a summary of the development of Tang tomb figurines, see Cao Zhezhi and Sun Binggen, eds, *Zhongguo gudai yong* (Ancient Chinese Tomb Figurines) (Shanghai, 1996), pp. 236–40. For discussions of Tang figurines representing deities and cosmological symbols, see Xu Pingfang, 'Tang Song muzang zhong de "mingqi shensha" yu "muyi" zhedu – du *Da Han yuanling mizang jing* zhaji' (The 'Mingqi' and 'Shensha' Figurines and the 'Muyi' System in Tang and Song Tombs – Reading *The Secret Burial Classic of the Original Sepulchres of the Great Han*), *Kaogu*, 2 (1963), pp. 87–106. Hao Hongxing, Zhang Qian and Li Yang, 'Zhongyuan Tang mu zhong de mingqi shensha zhidu' (The System of 'Shensha' Figurines in Tang Tombs in Central China), *Huaxia kaogu*, 4 (2000), pp. 100–7.

63 Interestingly, these 'actor figurines' in Song-Jin tombs are staged not only in front or the images of the tomb occupants, but also sometimes above them. For an excellent discussion of different positions of the figurines and their

implications, see Jeehee Hong, 'Theatricalizing Death: Performance Images of Mid-Imperial China in Mortuary Contexts (11th–13th centuries)', PhD dissertation, University of Chicago (2008); especially chap. 2, 'Staging Death and Life: Five Actor Figurines and a Miniature Theater from Houma Tomb no. 1.'

64 See *Kaogu xuebao*, 1 (1957), p. 116; *Huixian fajue baogao*, p. 45; *Kaogu*, 12 (1959), p. 656; 7 (1960), p. 71; 10 (1962), p. 516.

65 An interesting feature of the underground army is that although the soldiers and horses are made of clay and should be qualified as 'representations', the bronze weapons found together with these statues are all real. Lothar Ledderose has contended that 'the wish to equip the clay soldiers with real weapons that had proven their usefulness in earlier battles must have been the main reason why the figures were made life-size.' *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), p. 68. This theory, however, fails to explain why the bronze chariots buried next to the First Emperor's grave, including the two drivers and their weapons, are all half-sized.

66 Wang Renbo, 'General Comments on Chinese Funerary Sculpture', in *The Quest for Eternity*, ed. George Kuwayama, (Los Angeles, CA, 1987), pp. 39–61; esp. 41–4.

67 For information about the excavation of this pit, see *Qin Shihuang ling bingma yongkeng: Yihaokeng fajue baogao, 1974–1984* (A Report on the Excavation of Warrior and Horse Pit 1 of the Tomb of the First Qin Emperor, 1974–1984), 2 vols (Beijing, 1988).

68 For information about the excavation of this pit, see *Wenwu*, 5 (1978), pp. 1–19.

69 For information about the excavation of this pit, see *Wenwu*, 12 (1979), pp. 1–12.

70 Bonnie Cheng, 'Attending the Dead: Shifting Needs of the Dead and Modes of Presentation of Figurines in Sixth-Century Northern Dynasty Tombs', in *Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2003), pp. 425–69.

71 Ibid.

72 Such 'gendered' spaces had already appeared in Han tombs. In the Yi'nan Tomb dating from the late second or early third century, the two burial chambers, supposedly belonging to a husband and a wife, are decorated with images of male solders and an arsenal in one room and female servants and indoor furnishing in the other room.

73 These texts include: *Da Tang liu dian* (*juan* 25), *Tong dian*, *Da Tang Kaiyuan li*, and *Song huiyao jigao* (Li 29–31).

74 *Yongle dadian*, *juan* 8199, 19 gen. For the date and authorship of the text, see Xu Pingfang, 'Tang Song muzang zhong de "mingqi shensha" yu "muyi" zhedu'.

75 This figure is based on the diagram. Combined information from the diagram and the accompanying text indicate that a royal tomb would actually contain 183 figures representing 42 kinds of officials and five kinds of concubines.

76 *Han Yangling* (The Yangling Mausoleum of the Han), (Chongqing, 2001), p. 2. Also see Wang Xueli, 'The Pottery Figurines in Yangling Mausoleum of the Han Dynasty: Melodic Beauty of Pottery Sculpture', in *The Coloured Figurines in Yang Ling Mausoleum of Han in China*, in Chinese, English and Japanese (Xi'an, 1992), pp. 8–13.

77 See Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC, 1993), p. 65.

78 Wang Zili and Sun Fushan, *Tang Jinxiang Xianzhu mu* (The Tombs of Princess Jinxiang of the Tang Dynasty) (Beijing, 2002).

79 Ibid., p. 119.

80 *Tang liu dian*, 'Zhenguanshu',

81 Patricia B. Ebrey, trans. and annotator, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Capping, Wedding, Funeral, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), p. 109. This passage introduces the 'Making Spirit Articles' ('Zao mingqi').

82 Sima Guan, *Shu yi*, 'Congshu jicheng' edition (Shanghai, 1936), p. 81.

83 Qu You, *Jiandeng xinhua* (New Tales Written while Trimming the Wick), juan 2, pp. 49–54.

84 *Li ji*, 'Tangong. xia', Zheng Xuan's commentary.

85 Ladislav Kesner, 'Likeness of No One: (Re)presenting the First Emperor's Army', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXVII/1 (March 1999), pp. 126, 129.

86 Huan Kuan, *Yan tie lun*, in *Zhuzi jicheng*, VII, p. 34.

87 Representative examples of this type of figurine include those from a well-preserved late Eastern Zhou tomb at Mashan in Hubei, and Mawangdui Tomb 1 in Hunan.

88 So far such naked figurines, mainly male but also a limited number of female images, have been found in several burials associated with members of the royal family. Unfinished and abandoned examples of such figures have also been excavated in a group of twenty-one official kilns immediately outside the Western Han capital Chang'an. Judging from the dates of the burials and kilns which have yielded such examples, this type of figurine may have been invented around the mid-second century BCE, as exemplified by those from Yangling. It remained in limited use till the mid-first century BCE, as represented by those from a sacrificial pit (Pit 1) near Emperor Xuan's (73–48 BCE) mausoleum, Duling.

89 All these naked figurines are armless; next to each shoulder is a flat circular surface, with a round hole in the center running through the chest. Scholars believe that this hole allowed movable arms be installed on the body, which have completely decayed due to their perishable material.

90 Yin Shao (*c.* 140–*c.* 206 CE), *Fengsu tongyi fu yiwen* ('Explanations of Social Customs' with Fragments Found in Other Texts) (Beijing, 1943), I, p. 83. My translation here is based on those by Derk Bodde, 'Myths of China', in Samuel Noah Kramer, *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (Garden City, NY, 1961), pp. 64–5; Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology* (Baltimore, MD, 1983), p. 35.

91 See Wang Yucheng, 'Zhongguo gudai renxing fangshu jiqi dui Riben de yingxiang' ('Human-shaped Magical Instruments and their Influence in Japan), *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 2 (1996), pp. 32–56; esp. 41–3.
92 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 6 (1989), pp. 35–46, 77.
93 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 11 (1975), pp. 75–93.
94 Among archaeological evidence, Mawangdui Tomb 1 yielded two types of figurines. While those in the *guo*-caskets all represent attendants and servants in a realistic style, crude figurine-like talismans are found in the innermost coffin with the corpse. For a discussion of these and other 'magical' figurines, see Wang Yucheng, 'Zhongguo gudai renxing fangshu jiqi dui Riben de yingxiang', pp. 45–51.
95 Ikeda, Ikeda On, 'Chūgoku rekidai boken ryakko' *Tōyō-bunka Kenyujo Kiyō* , 86 (1981), p. 272, no. 5; 275, no. 12; 224, no. 23. Translation from Seidel, 'Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in the Tombs', in Akizuki Kan'ei, *Taoism and Religious Culture* (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 21–57; quotation from p. 42.
96 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu cankao ciliao*, 7 (1958), pp. 62–5.
97 This idea is declared in *Awakening to Perfection* (*Wuzhen pian*) by Zhang Boduan (*c.* 983–1082): 'In a vision, I visited the innermost power of the west and ascended to the ninth heaven; / A perfected gave me a scripture about the origin of things. / The text was simple and easy, not too many words; / Just teaching how to refine true mercury and lead. In the simplest formulation, the true lead is the *yin* in the *yang*, and the true mercury is the yang in the yin.' Livia Kohn, ed., The *Taoist Experience: An Anthology* (Albany, NY, 1993), p. 316.
98 Jiang Sheng and Tang Weixia, ed., *Zhongguo Daojiao kexue jishushi: Han Wei Liang Jin juan* (History of Science and Technology in Daoism: Han, Wei and Two Jins), (Beijing, 2002), p. 356.
99 For examples, see *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 1 (1986), pp. 39–40; *Kaogu*, 6 (1977), p. 402; *Wenwu*, 5 (1980), pp. 29.
100 See Ban Gu, *Han shu* (Book of the Han) (Beijing, 1962), p. 2844, as well as Yan Shigu's (581–645) commentary, p. 2856.
101 'Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa', *Zhengtong daozang*, 3: 922–3. I want to thank Liu Cong for directing me to this text.
102 For such an example, see Shen Lingyi et al., 'Shanghai xijiao Zhuxingxiang faxian Song mu' (Song tombs at Zhuxingxiang in the Western Suburbs of Shanghai), *Kaogu*, 2 (1959), p. 110.
103 For the Chinese text, see Zhang Xunliao, 'Shilun woguo nanfang diqu Tang Song muzang chutu de Taojiao "bairen yong" he "shi zhen" (A Preliminary Discussion of Taoist 'Cypress Figures' and 'Stone True Body' Figures from Tang and Song Burials in the South), *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* (Studies of Taoist Cultures), XII (1995), pp. 312–22, quotation from 314–15.
104 Zhang Xunliao, 'Shishuo Qian Shu Wang Jian Yongling fajue cailiao zhong de Daojiao yiji' (A Preliminary Discussion of Taoist Remains Found in the Yong Mausoleum of Wang Jian of the Former Shu Kingdom), *Sichuan kaogu lunwenji* (Beijing, 1966), pp. 213–23.
105 Ye Sheng, *Shuidong riji*, vol. X, 'Siku biji xiaoshuo congshu' edn (Shanghai, 1991).
106 Ban Gu, *Baihu tong shuzheng* (Beijing, 1994), p. 556.
107 Translation based on James Legge, trans., *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucius*, Part III: *The Li Ki* (Delhi, 1885) I, p. 177.
108 *Gui zang*, cited in Guo Pu's commentary on the *Shanhai jing*. See Yuan Ke, comp., *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*) (Shanghai, 1980), p. 473. In another version of the legend, Gun transformed into a bear after death. Because the characters of *long* (dragon) and *xiong* (bear) are close in shape and pronunciation, this second version may have resulted from an error in the transmission of the text. For a discussion of this myth, see Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany, NY, 1991), pp. 69–70.
109 For example, see *Shanhai jing jiaozhu*, p. 419.
110 Ge Hong, *Baopu zi, juan* 2, p. 6. This record is an elaborate version of a passage in Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 1386.
111 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, p. 1396.
112 *Li ji*, p. 1576.
113 *Yi li,* p. 1129.
114 Ibid.
115 Zheng Xuan explains the funerary banner: '*Ming* means to inscribe the dead person's name (*ming*) on the banner.' Therefore, a commentary to the *Rites of the Zhou* reads: 'Nowadays people also write the character *ming* ('inscription' or 'inscribed') as *ming* (name).' *Yi li,* p. 812. Here I translate the term as 'Name Banner' because what is 'inscribed' on it should be a dead person's 'name'. This translation reflects the nature of this funerary object more precisely than 'inscribed Banner'. Zheng Xuan's other explanation of the banner, '*Ming* means a "banner of distinction" (*mingjing*)', also agrees with this translation. *Yi li*, p. 1130.
116 Ibid., p. 1130.
117 Zheng Xuan's comment in ibid., p. 1130.
118 *Li ji*, pp. 1139–40. See Ma Yong, 'Lun Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han-mu chutu bohua de mingcheng he zuoyong' (On the Name and Function of the Silk Painting Unearthed from the Mawangdui Tomb no.1 in Changshan), *Kaogu*, 2 (1973), pp. 118–25.
119 *Li ji*, p. 1269; based on translation by Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 117.
120 Ban Gu, *Baihu tong shuzheng* (Beijing, 1994), p. 556.
121 Ibid., p. 557.
122 Zheng Xuan says: 'The Name Banner is a banner inscribed with the name of the deceased. Nowadays people call it a *jiu*.' *Zhou li*, in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu*, I, p. 812. *Xiao erya*: 'An empty coffin is called a *qin*; when it contains the corpse it is called a *jiu*.' *Yu pian*: 'A *qin* is the coffin which directly contains the corpse.' See Lin Yin and Gao Ming, eds, *Zhongwen dacidian* (A Comprehensive Chinese Dictionary),

10 vols (Taibei, 1973), V, pp. 7071, 7479. The term *jiu* thus refers only to the innermost coffin, not to outer coffins.

123 See n. 34. For a description and analysis of the other coffins, see the Coda in this volume.

124 For a summary of these various opinions, see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise* (London, 1979), p. 34. Loewe himself divides the painting into two sections and thus follows the opinion of Shang Zhitan and Ma Yong. See Shang Zhitan, 'Mawangdui yihao Hanmu "feiyi" shishi' (A Tentative Interpretation of the 'Flying Garment' from the Mawangdui Tomb no.1 of the Han), *Wenwu*, 9 (1972), pp. 43–7; Ma Yong, 'Lun Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han-mu chutu bohua', pp. 122–3.

125 In reviewing the scholarship on the painting, Silbergeld also follows this four-level division. 'Mawangdui, Excavated Materials, and Transmitted Texts: A Cautionary Note', *Early China*, XIII (1982–3), p. 79.

126 See Ma Yong, 'Lun Changshan Mawandui yihao Han-mu chutu bohua', pp. 121–2.

127 See D. Hawkes, trans., *The Songs of the South* (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp. 74, 225.

128 For more detailed analyses of this section, see Sun Zuoyun, 'Changshan Mawangdui yihao Han-mu chutu huafan kaoshi' (An Interpretation of the Painted Banner from Mawangdui Tomb no.1 of the Han in Changsha), *Kaogu*, 1 (1973), pp. 54–61; Loewe, *Ways to Paradise,* pp. 47–59.

129 Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, p. 265.

130 For the existence of such a dualistic structure in pre-Han art and cosmology, see K. C. Chang, 'Some Dualistic Phenomena in Shang Society', in *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), pp. 93–114; *Art, Myth, and Ritual* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 56–80. Such a static structure also characterizes the composition of the carvings on the famous Wu Liang Shrine. See Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, CA, 1989), pp. 218–21.

131 This opinion, first proposed by William Watson, is elaborated by Loewe in his *Ways to Paradise,* pp. 45–6.

132 According to written evidence from Mawangdui Tomb 3, which belonged to a son of Lady Dai's who died in 168 BCE, a retainer from the family informs the underworld Assistant Administrator of the Tomb that he herewith sends the latter a list of the possessions of the dead and requests its transmission to the Lord Administrator of the Tomb. See *Wenwu*, 7 (1974), p. 43.

133 Ban Gu, 'Huo Guang zhuan', in *Han shu*; Fan Ye, 'Li fu zhi', in *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han) (Beijing, 1965).

134 For a summary of the excavations and researches on the Liangzhu culture, see An Zhimin, 'Guangyu Liangzhu wenhua de ruoguan wenti' (Some Issues Concerning the Liangzhu Culture), *Kaogu*, 3 (1988), pp. 236–45.

135 *Kaogu*, 2 (1984), pp. 109–29.

136 Fanshan Excavation Team of the Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Archaeological and Cultural Relics (1988), pp. 1–31. Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics, see *Wenwu*, 1 (1988), pp. 32–51. For an English summary of these two excavations, see Jean James, 'Images of Power: Masks of the Liangzhu Culture', *Orientations*, XXII/6 (1991), pp. 46–55.

137 Some tombs had been looted before the excavation. Tombs that still contained 'jade face covers' include M8, M31, M62, M64, M91, M92 and M93. The occupant of M8 had double face covers. For a general introduction to these finds, see Wang Tao and Liu Yu, 'The Face of the Other World: Jade Face-Covers from Ancient Tombs', in *Chinese Jades*, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, XVIII, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London, 1997) pp. 133–46.

138 The term *fu mian* appears in Zheng Xuan's commentaries on the 'Shisang li' chapter of the *Yi li*, p. 1131.

139 Tombs that have yielded such jade masks include M157 and M303 at Zhangjiaopo in Chang'an, M2001 and M2006 at Shangcunling in Sanmenxia, and D9M1 at Zhenshan near Suzhou. For references, see Zhang Changshou, 'Xi Zhou de zangyu – 1983–1986 nian Fengxi fajue zailiao zhi ba' (Burial Jades of the Western Zhou – The Eighth Set of Comments on Materials Found during the Excavations at Fengxi from 1983 to 1986), *Wenwu*, 3 (1993), pp. 55–9; 'Shangsunling Guoguo mudi M2006 de qingli' (The Excavation of Tomb M2006 in a Cemetery of the Guo State at Shangcunling), *Wenwu*, 1 (1995), pp. 4–31; 'Sanmenxia Shangcunling Guoguo mudi M2001 fajue jianbao' (A Brief Report on the Excavation of Tomb M2001 in a Cemetery of the Guo State at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia), *Huaxia kaogu*, 3 (1992), pp. 104–13; Suzhou Museum, *Zhenshan Dong Zhou mudi* (An Eastern Zhou Cemetery at Zhenshan) (Beijing, 1999). For an English summary of the finds at Zhangjiapo and Shangcunling, see Wang and Liu, 'The Face of the Other World', pp. 134–5.

140 The terms *yu yi* (jade suit) and *yu xia* (jade box) are found in *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu* (History of Latter Han); for sources, see Shi Wei, 'Guanyu "jinlü yuyi" de ziliao jianjie' (A Short Introduction to the Historical Information Regarding the 'Jade Suit with Gold Threads'), *Kaogu*, 2 (1972), pp. 48–50, 27. Other studies of this type of burial jades include: Jeffrey Kao and Yang Zuosheng, 'On Jade Suits and Han Archaeology', *Archaeology*, XXXVI/6, (November/December 1983), pp. 30–37; R. Thorp, 'Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits: Preparations for Eternity in the Western Han', in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), pp. 26–39.

141 See Lu Zhaoyin, 'Shi lun liang Han de yuyi' (A Preliminary Investigation of the Jade Suits of the Western and Eastern Han', *Wenwu*, 1 (1981), pp. 51–8; 'Zailun Liang Han de yu yi' (A Further Discussion of Jade Suits of the Western and Eastern Han', *Wenwu*, 10 (1989), pp. 60–67. Lu's list includes several 'jade face covers', which, in my view, continued and developed the Zhou tradition to form a particular category of burial jades.

142 'Shandong Linyi Xi Han Liu Ci mu' (The Western Han Tomb of Liu Ci at Linyi, Shandong), *Kaogu*, 6 (1980), pp. 493–5.

143 There are different opinions regarding the identity of this

tomb. For a summary, see *Xi Han Nanyuewang mu* (The Tomb of a Nanyue King of the Western Han), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991), I, pp. 320–25.

144 Ibid., I, p. 370.

145 See J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. V, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 2, *Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Magisteries of Gold and Immortality* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 284; also see Thorp, 'Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits', p. 34.

146 *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* (Excavation Reprot of the Han Tombs at Mancheng) (Beijing, 1980), I, p. 37.

147 This opinion is summarized in Thorp, 'Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits', p. 35.

148 See S. J. Tambiah, 'The Magical Power of Words', *Man*, 3 (1968), pp. 175–267; 189.

149 In a well-known formula, Roman Jakobson distinguishes the *metonymic* and *metaphoric* as two different devices or operations in language. The *metonymic* is based on the principles of contiguity and sequence; the *metaphoric* is involved with the principles of similarity and substitution. R. Jakobson, 'Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances', in R. Jakobson and M. Hale, *Fundamentals of Language* (The Hague, 1956), esp. pp. 109–14. As Paul Friedrich has pointed out, 'Jakobson took Bühler's crucial discovery of the axiom that contiguity and similarity constitute the two fundamental dimensions of meaning. Jakobson generalized this by relating it to the Saussurian dichotomy between the syntagmatic (relations of alignment in terms of contiguity) and the paradigmatic (relations of substitution in terms of similarity).' P. Friedrich, 'Polytropy', in *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology*, ed. J. W. Fernandes (Stanford, CA, 1991), p. 44.

150 It is also possible to interpret this figure as playing a protective role. Evidence for this argument can be also derived from Mawangdui: some peachwood figurines, conventional images with an apotropaic function, were found between Lady Dai's two innermost coffins.

151 Translation from B. Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, 1968), 33; translation slightly modified. Ying-shih Yü remarks: 'The only difference between the *hun* (soul) and the *hsien* (immortal) is that while the former leaves the body at death, the latter obtains its total freedom by transforming the body into something purely ethereal, that is, the heavenly *ch'i* (breath, ether, etc.).' 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*, XXVII (1987), p. 387.

152 *Hou Wei shu*, cited in Li Fang, *Taiping yulan* (Imperially Reviewed Encyclopedia of the Taiping Era) (Beijing, 1960), p. 3572.

153 These are lines from the Han folk song 'Bu chu Ximen xing' (Strolling out the Western Gate).

154 Translation from A. Birrell, *Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China* (London, 1988), p. 75.

155 See Frantz Grenet, *Les Pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sedentrire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Paris, 1984), pp. 123–8, 157–86, 235–9.

156 Luo Feng, 'Sogdians in Northwest China', in *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China*, ed. Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (New York, 2001), pp. 239–45.

157 According to the epitaph, An Qie held the office of *sabao*, the local official in charge of the affairs of Sogdians and other foreigners, as well as Area Commander-in-Chief.

158 *Wenwu*, 1 (2001), pp. 4–25; esp. 25.

159 These tombs include the tomb of Song Shaozu, a Northern Wei official who died in 477, and that of Yu Hong who died in 592. In Song's tomb, most of the skeleton remains of a deceased couple were not found inside the sarcophagus, but on its roof. In Yu's case, fragmentary bones were found at different spots in the tomb, not only inside and outside the sarcophagus but also under the platform base of the sarcophagus. For a discussion of these and other examples, see Wu Hung, 'A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties', *Orientations*, XXXIV/5 (May 2002), pp. 4–41.

160 Patricia Ebrey, 'Cremation in Sung China', *American Historical Review*, XCV/2 (April 1990), pp. 406–28.

161 For excavation reports, see *Xuanhua Liao mu* (Liao Dynasty Tombs at Xuanhua), (Beijing, 2001); 'Hebei Xuanhua xin faxian liangchu Liao Jin bihua' (Two Newly Discovered Liao and Jin Painted Tombs in Xuanhua, Hebei), in *1998 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* (Important Chinese Archaeological Finds in 1998) (Beijing, 2000), pp. 105–10.

162 Yan Cheng, 'Liaodai zhenrong ouxiang zangsu zouyi' (A Discussion of the Liao Mortuary Custom of using True-image Statues), *Wenwu chunqiu*, 3 (2004), pp. 24–7, 65; Yang Jing, 'Liao dai huozang mu' (Liao Dynasty Cremation Burials), *Liao Jin shi lunji*, III (1987) pp. 213–19; Li Qingquan, 'Zhenrong ouxiang yu duoxiaoxing muzang – cong Xuanhua Liao mu kan Zhonggu sangzang liyi meishu de yici zhuanbian' (Idols of the 'True-image' and Octagonal or Hexagon Tomb Chambers: Detecting a Transformation of Funerary Rites in Medieval China through Tombs of the Liao Dynasty at Xuanhua), *Yishushi yanjiu*, 8 (2006), pp. 433–82.

163 *Xuanhua Liao mu*, I, pp. 88–90, II: colour plate 24.

164 'Hebei Xuanhua xin faxian liangchu Liao Jin bihua', p. 110.

165 See Xiang Chunsong, *Liaodai lishi yu kaogu* (History and Archaeology of the Liao Dynasty) (Huhehaote, 1996), p. 258; *Linhuang shiji* (Huhehaote, 1999), pp. 91–2. For discussions, see Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province', *Artibus Asiae*, LXV/1, p. 101; Li Qingquan, 'Zhenrong ouxiang yu duojiaoxing muzang', p. 440.

166 Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters', p. 101.

167 *Xuanhua Liao mu*, I, p. 238. Translated in ibid., p. 101; slightly modified.

168 See *Daban niepan jing* (*Mahāparinirvānasūtra*), *Taishū*

1:7.194c.

169 Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi* (The Writings of the *Rong* studio) (Shanghai, 1987), p. 274. Translation from Ebrey, 'Cremation in Sung China', p. 410.

170 Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters', p. 137.

171 *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 773b. For a related discussion, see Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), p. 171.

172 See Huo Jiena, 'Liaomu zhong suojian fojiao yinsu' (Buddhist Elements Seen in Liao Tombs), *Wenwu shijie*, 3 (2002), pp. 15–20. Li Qingquan, 'Zhenrong ouxiang yu duoxiaoxing muzang', pp. 441–7.

173 One possible example is Zhang Shiben's tomb at Xuanhua (M3). See *Xuanhua Liao mu*, I, p. 139.

174 Wen Weijian, 'Luting shishi', in Tao Zongyi, comp., *Shuo fu* (Taipei, 1972), *juan* 8, 49a. Translation from Jan Fontain and Tung Wu, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston, MA, 1973), p. 192. Slightly modified.

175 For the excavation report, see *Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu* (Tomb of the Princess of the State of Chen of the Liao Dynasty) (Beijing, 1993).

176 Ji Chengzhang, 'Haoqianying diliuhao Liao mu ruogan wenti de yanjiu' (A Study of Several Problems Concerning Tomb 6 of the Liao Dynasty at Haoqianying), *Wenwu*, 9 (1983), pp. 9–14; quotation from 9. For a discussion of this tomb in English, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honululu, HI, 1997), pp. 318–20.

177 Li Qingquan, 'Zhenrong ouxiang yu duoxiaoxing muzang', p. 439.

178 *Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu*, p. 143. According to other authors, 'more than thirty' such funerary objects have been found. See Li Qingquan, 'Zhenrong ouxiang yu duojiaoxing muzang', p. 438 and n. 16.

179 The other two materials, straw and clay, may have also originated in Chinese traditions. As mentioned earlier in this book, Confucius advocated equipping tombs with 'straw figures' called *chu ling*, whereas 'ash icons' of eminent monks were conventionally clay statues.

180 Richard B. Mather, tran., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*, by Liu Yijing (Minneapolis, MN, 1976), p. 361.

181 For the excavation report of this figure and a transcription of the inscription, see *Kaogu*, 6 (1977), p. 402.

182 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, V (1980), p. 29.

183 I consulted Hsüeh-man Shen's translation in 'Body Matters', p. 106. For a different translation, see Tansen Sen, 'Astronomical Tomb Paintings from Xuanhua: Mandalas?' *Ars Orientalis*, XXIX (1999), pp. 29–54.

184 Zhang Baosheng, 'Xuanhua Liao mu tuoluoni kao' (An Examination of the *dhāranī* Inscriptions from Liao Tombs at Xuanhua), in *Xuanhua Liao mu*, I, pp. 352–60; especially 353.

185 *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* is well known for its efficacy in saving people from hell. It is included in the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*, where salvation and rebirth in heaven is promised to those who duplicate and distribute the *dhāranī*. The sutra specifically encourages transcription of the *dhāranī* on pillars, and promises salvation to those who stand in the shadow of the pillars, as well as to those who touch the dust from the pillars. Salvation is also given to those who have fallen into hell, provided that their descendants sprinkle consecrated earth (by this particular *dhāranī*) over their tombs. Writing this text on top of the cover may have been a variant of the same practice. See *Taishō* 19:967.351c. See also Liu Shufen, '*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* yu Tang dai Zunsheng jingchuang de jianli–jingchuang yanjiu zhi yi', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, LXVII/1 (1996), pp. 145–93.

186 See *Taishō* 19: 967.351b–351c.

187 These include the tomb of Dong Xiang and his wife Zhang in Beijing (dated 1097), the tomb of Ma Zhiwen and his wife Zhang in Beijing (dated 1113), and a tomb at Chaoyang Xishangtai in Liaoning. For references and a brief discussion, see Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters', p. 105.

188 'Aohanqi Lamagou Liaodai bihua mu' (A Painted Tomb at Lamagou, Aohanqi), *Neimenggu wenwu kaogu* (Inner Mongolia Archaeology and Cultural Relics), 1 (1999), pp. 90–97.

189 *Taisho Tripitaka 08: 251:0848a–c*.

3 Temporality

1 Zhou Xingsi, *A Thousand Character Essay, Qian Zi Wen*, trans. and annotated by Nathan Sturman, available at www.angelfire.com/ns/pingyaozhuan/tce.html.

2 Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. K. Blamey and D. Pellauer (Chicago, IL, 1985), vol. III.

3 Ibid.

4 For a detailed report of this tomb, see 'Luoyang Xin Mang shiqi de bihua mu' (A Painted Tomb of the Xin Dynasty Period in Luoyang), in *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 9 (1985), pp. 163–73.

5 For excavation reports, see *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 4 (1990), pp. 57–63; *Xi'an Jiaotong Daxue Xi-Han bihuamu* (A Painted Western Han Tomb at Xi'an Transportation University), (Xi'an, 1991). The tomb has been dated to the late Western Han to Xin dynasty, see ibid., p. 21.

6 These studies include Hu Lingui, 'Xi'an Jiaoda Xi Han mu ershiba xu xingtu yu "Shiji Tianguanshu"' (The Depiction of the Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges in the Western Han tomb at Xi'an Transportation University and the "Treatise of Celestial Officials" in the *Historical Records*), *Renwen zazhi*, 2 (1989), pp. 85–7; Luo Qikun, 'Xi'an Jiaotong Daxue Xi Han muzang bihua ershiba xu singtu kaoshi' (A Study of the Painted Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges in the Western Han Tomb at Xi'an Transportation University), *Studies in the History of Natural Sciences*, X/3 (1991), pp. 236–45. Lan-ying Tseng, 'Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China', PhD dissertation, Harvard University (2001).

7 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu xuebao*, 2 (1964), pp. 107–13. For a discussion of the astronomical drawing, see Xia Nai, 'Luoyang Xi Han bihuamu zhong de xingxiangtu' (The Star Map in the Western Han Painted Tomb at Luoyang), *Kaogu*, 2 (1965), pp. 80–90. Lan-ying Tseng's doctoral dissertation, 'Picturing Heaven', provides a thorough discussion of astronomical drawings from early China.

8 Te-k'un Cheng, 'Yin-Yang Wu-Hsing and Han Art', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XX/1–2 (1957), p. 175.

9 The text also corresponds to the Lunar Lodges and the Nine Districts on earth. See John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi* (Albany, NY, 1993), p. 127.

10 Original note: for discussion and Han illustrations of the Four Palaces either in the form of constellations or symbols of sishen, see Chen Jiangfeng, 'Nanyang tianwen huaxiangshi kaoxi', *Handai huaxiangshi yenjiu* (Studies of Han Pictorial Carvings), (Beijing, 1987), pp. 141–54.

11 Original note: see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Eternity* (London, 1979), pp. 60–85, for the analogy between the diviner's board and TLV mirror.

12 Original note: See Umehara Sueji, *O-bei ni okeru Shina kokyo* (Tokyo, 1936), pp. 17–18; Te-K'un Cheng, in 'Yin-Yang Wuhsing and Han Art', p. 176, suggests two alternative readings of the inscription – either wishing one's sons and grandsons well or wishing that a grandson will be born each hour of the day; also see Bernhard Kalgren, 'Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, VI (1934), pp. 9–72.

13 Original note: see John Major, 'The Five Phases, Magic Squares, and Schematic Cosmography', *Journal of the Association of Asian Religions*, Thematic Studies L/2 (1986), pp. 133–66.

14 For summaries of the excavation reports of these tombs, see Yang Xiaoneng, ed., *New Perspectives on China's Past: Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT, 1999), II, pp. 436–44.

15 Among numerous studies of this mural in different languages, Xia Nai's essay, 'Cong Xuanhua Liao mu de xingtu lun ershiba xiu he huangdao shiergong' (A Discussion of the Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges and the Twelve Palaces Based on a Star Map in a Liao Tomb at Xuanhua), is best known. *Kaogu xuebao*, 2 (1976), pp. 35–58.

16 This type of study is best represented by Li Qingquan's 2005 essay, 'Xuanhua Laodai bihuamu zhong de shijian yu kongjian wenti' (Problems Concerning Time and Space in the Liao Dynasty Painted Tombs at Xuanhua), *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (Studies of Chinese History), XXXIV (205), pp. 77–104.

17 Li Qingquan divides these tombs into two groups, one with flower images surrounding the sky map (M3 and M6); the other without such flower images (M4, M7 and M10). Ibid.

18 In explaining the symbolism of the western zodiac in this tomb, Nancy Steinhardt has made an interesting suggestion by connecting the mural with the Star (Big Dipper) Mandala in Hōryū-ji, Nara, in which the Buddha enshrined on a lotus is surrounded by Babylonian zodiac signs and the twenty-eight lunar lodges in two separate circles. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honululu, HI, 1997), p. 347.

19 C. M. Lai, 'The Art of Lamentation in the Works of Pan Yue', *Journal of American Oriental Society*, CXIV/3 (1994), pp. 409–25; translation from 423.

20 One list of such objects can be found in *Yi li* (Rituals and Propriety), in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Thirteen Classics*) (Beijing, 1980), pp. 1148–9.

21 For the excavation report, see *Yinxu Fuhao mu* (Tomb of Fuhao at the Ruins of Yin) (Beijing, 1980).

22 David N. Keightley, 'The Quest for Eternity in Ancient China: The Dead, Their Gifts, Their Names', in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), pp. 12–25; quotation from p. 17.

23 Hayashi Minao, 'Concerning the Inscription "May Sons and Grandsons Eternally Use This [Vessel]"', trans. Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, *Artibus Asiae*, LIII/1–2 (1993), pp. 51–8.

24 Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles, CA, 2006), p. 299.

25 *Xunzi*, *Zhuzi jicheng* (Beijing, 1954), II, p. 245; Burton Watson, trans., *Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York, 1963), p. 104.

26 Alain Thote, 'Continuities and Discontinuities: Chu Burials during the Eastern Zhou Period', in *Exploring China's Past: New Discoveries and Studies in Archaeology and Art*, ed. R. Whitfield and Wang Tao (London, 2000), pp. 189–204.

27 In the inventory of grave goods found in Baoshan Tomb 2, these articles are classified as 'xing qi' – objects for travelling. See Guolong Lai, 'The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period (480–221 BCE)', PhD dissertation, UCLA (2002), pp. 69–70.

28 *Xunzi*, *Zhuzi jicheng*, II, p. 245; Watson, *Hsün Tzu*, p. 104.

29 Ibid.

30 *Changsha Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Changsha), 2 vols (Beijing, 2000), I, pp. 422, 426; II, plate 162. Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xigui interpret the record as 'a pair of new shoes and a pair of old shoes' in 'Zhanguo wenzi yanjiu liuzhong' (Six Studies of Warring States Texts), *Kaogu xuebao*, 1 (1972), pp. 73–89. But Guolong Lai argues that because of the lack of the measure word 'pair' (*liang*), it more probably means that a new shoe and an old shoe were paired together. 'The Baoshan Tomb', p. 85, n. 44. Here I followed the first opinion.

31 Dunhuang manuscript s.5381, British Library. I want to thank Zhang Zong for bringing my attention to this text.

32 *Han Wudi neizhuan* (Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty), see Wang Zijin, *Zhongguo daomu shi* (A history of tomb robbery in China) (Beijing, 2000), pp. 84–5.

33 'Wen Tao zhuan', *Jiu Wudai shi* (Old History of the Five Dynasties) (Beijing, 1976).

34 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III, pp. 119–20.

35 This opinion is confirmed by a scientific study of the skeletal

remains in Tomb 3, which identifies the occupant as a man of thirty to forty years old. See *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu* (Tombs 2 and 3 of the Han Dynasty at Mawangdui, Changsha), 2 vols (Beijing, 2004), I, p. 267.

36 Ibid., I, pp. 238–9.

37 Using Mawangdui Tomb 3 and other examples as evidence, Cao Yannong suggests that books found in Han tombs were often hand-written copies made or commissioned by the tomb occupants. 'Cong Mawangdui Han mu boshu kan Han dai zangshu xisu' (On the Han Custom of Burying Books Based on the Silk Manuscripts from the Han Tomb at Mawangdui), *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, 23 November 1997, p. 3.

38 These jades originated from Hongshan, Liangzhu, Shandong, Longshan and Shijiahe cultures.

39 See Lin Si Nai Fu (Hayashi Minao), *Zhongguo guyu yanjiu* (A Study of Ancient Chinese Jades), trans. Yang Mei-li (Taipei, 1997), pp. 35–97.

40 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu*, 4 (1984), pp. 302–32, 348. Another example of this type of 'husband and wife' burial is that of Lord Fan and Mrs Fan at Xinyang, Henan. See *Wenwu*, 1 (1981), pp. 9–14.

41 Based on James Legge's translation in *The Chinese Classics*, vol. IV: *The She King* (Oxford, 1899), p. 121. There are radically different readings of the poem. Arthur Waley, for example, considers that 'The theme [of the poem] is . . . a double suicide following upon a misunderstanding between two lovers. The man comes, as arranged, to elope with the lady. She is prevented from turning up punctually and he, thinking she has repented of her decision, goes away in despair and kills himself. Whereupon the lady also commits suicide. The people of the place, moved to pity by their tragic story, bury them in the same grave.' *The Book of Songs* (New York, 1978), pp. 56–7. But the phrase *tong xue er zang* remains the same meaning in these different readings.

42 It is clear that the wife died before the lord because he dedicated many bronze vessels to her, and also because the wood ties supporting his burial casket overlapped that of the wife's, suggesting the constructive sequence of the two graves.

43 The inscriptions on these bronzes read: 'Meng, Lord of the state of Huang, has made this travelling vessel for himself. Future generations will forever treasure it.'

44 See Lin Jilai, 'Lun Chunqiu Huang Jun Meng fufu mu chutu de yuqi' (On the Jade Carvings from the Tomb of Huang Jun Meng and his Wife of the Spring and Autumn Period', *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 6 (2001), pp. 71–4, 57.

45 See *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* (A Report on the Excavation of the Han Tombs at Mancheng), 2 vols (Beijing, 1980), I, pp. 255–61.

46 Found during the Cultural Revolution, the tomb was not scientifically excavated. For a brief report on this tomb, see *Wenwu*, 5 (1972), pp. 27–38. A few years later, another Ming dynasty tomb at Wuxian, Jiangsu, yielded a group of paintings and calligraphic works by the Ming master Wen Zhengming. See Su Huaping, 'Wuxian Dongtingshan Ming mu chutu de Wen Zhengming shuhua' (Paintings and Calligraphic Works by Wen Zhengming Unearthed from a Ming Tomb at Dongtingshan, Wuxian), *Wenwu*, 3 (1977), pp. 65–8.

47 *Xunzi*, *Zhuzi jicheng*, II, p. 245; Watson, *Hsün Tzu*, p. 104.

48 For a summary of these theories, see *Zhao Chao, Zhongguo gudai shike gailun* (A General Discussion of Ancient Chinese Stone Carvings) (Beijing, 1997), pp. 33–4.

49 For examples of 'underground steles' during the Jin, see ibid., pp. 39–41. It should be noted, however, that this type of carving had already appeared in the Eastern Han, as demonstrated by a stele from Fei Zhi's tomb.

50 The earliest dated example of this form is Liu Huaimin's epitaph of 464, discovered at Yidu in Shandong.

51 For example, Judy Chungwa Ho writes: 'The square epitaph can be understood as a miniature version of the tomb. The domed cover and square bottom are analogous to tomb structure.' 'The Twelve Calendrical Animals in Tang Tombs', in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), p. 71.

52 *Helingeer Han mu bihua* (Murals in a Han Tomb at Helingeer) (Beijing, 1978). For an English introduction to this tomb, see Jean James, 'An Iconographic Study of Two Late Han Funerary Monuments: The Offering Shrines of the Wu Family and the Multi-chambered Tomb at Holingor', PhD dissertation, University of Iowa (1983), pp. 287–332.

53 The epitaph was established in 527, 25 years after Ning Mao's death. It is possible that after Ning Mao's wife died in 527, as the epitaph records, a new epitaph for the couple was made to replace an old one.

54 See Kojiro Tomita, 'A Chinese Sacrifical Stone House of the Sixth Century AD', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, CCXLII (December 1942), pp. 98–110. My translation is partially based on Tomita's translation.

55 For a long period scholars considered this structure an actual shrine. But based on a series of new archaeological excavations, we can now securely identify this structure as a sarcophagus. See Wu Hung, 'A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties', *Orientations*, XXXIV/5 (May 2002), pp. 4–41.

56 Huang Minglan, *Luoyang Bei Wei shisu shike xiankehua* (A Collection of Northern Wei Secular Stone Engravings from Luoyang) (Beijing, 1987).

57 For discussions of these carvings, see Kojiro Tomita, 'A Chinese Sacrifical Stone House of the Sixth Century AD'; Guo Jianbang, 'Bei Wei Ning Mao shishi he muzhi' (The Stone Chamber and Epitaph of Ning Mao of the Northern Wei Dynasty), *Henan wenbo tongxun*, 1 (1980), pp. 33–40.

58 According to inscriptions on the sarcophagus, it was commissioned by Ning Mao's sons Ning Wanshou and Ning Shuangshou.

59 James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. XVII, part 1, *Zhong Yong*.

60 There are difference versions of the story. Although transmitted texts often identify the statue as Ding Lan's mother's image, a scene on the Wu Liang Shrine changes it to his father's portrait. For a discussion of this legend and related images, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, CA, 1989), pp. 282–5.
61 See M. L. Makra, trans., *The Hiso Ching* (Washington, DC, 1961), pp. 2–3, 15.
62 For a general study of this sarcophagus, see Ikuro Okumura, *Kaka* (Kaka Kenkyûjo, 1939), pp. 359–82.
63 See Alexander Soper, 'Life-motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art', *Art Bulletin*, XXX/3, pp. 167–86.
64 Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han) (Beijing, 1965), p. 2124.
65 See Shi Zhecun, *Shuijing zhu beizhu* (Stone Monuments Recorded in the Annotated Canon of Waterways) (Tianjin, 1987), p. 405.
66 For the excavation report, see *Yi'nan gu huaxiangshi mu fajue baokao* (A Report of the Excavation of an Ancient Tomb with Pictorial Carvings at Yi'nan) (Shanghai, 1956). For an insightful study of these images, see Lydia Thompson, 'The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25–220 CE)', PhD dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (1998).
67 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 1 (1988), pp. 73–94.
68 For a discussion of the definition of 'feminine space', see Wu Hung, 'Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Qing Court Art and *The Dream of the Red Chamber*', in *Ming Qing Women and Literature*, ed. E. Widmer and K.I.S. Chang (Stanford, CA, 1997).
69 *Minghuang zalu* (Miscellaneous Records of Emperor Minghuang), (Beijing, 1994), p. 58.
70 There are several versions of the story. Another version presents Su Hui as a jealous wife who quarrelled with her husband over his favourite concubine, Zhao Yangtai, and refused to reconcile. But after Dou Tao departed for his post she missed him deeply and composed the circular poem for him.
71 See Wu Yugui, 'Neimenggu Chifeng Baoshan Liaomu bihua "songjingtu" kao' (A Study of the 'Sutra Chanting Picture' in the Painted Tomb of the Liao Dynasty at Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia), *Wenwu*, 2 (1999), pp. 81–3; 'Neimenggu Chifeng Baoshan Liao mu bihua "jijintu" kao' (A Study of the 'Sending a Brocade Picture' in the Painted Tomb of the Liao Dynasty at Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia), *Wenwu*, 3 (2001), pp. 92–6.
72 *Wenwu*, 1 (1998), p. 94.
73 Wu Hung, 'A Case of Cultural Interaction'.
74 Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu* (A Study of Painted Tombs of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Beijing, 2002), pp. 248–50.
75 For a general discussion of *fugu* in Chinese visual culture, see Wu Hung, 'Patterns of *Fugu* (Returning to the Ancients) in Chinese Art and Visual Culture', forthcoming.
76 *Li ji* (The Book of Rites), in *Shisanjing zhushu*, pp. 1439, 1441, 1595.
77 Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (New York, 1978), pp. 239–80; see too, K. C. Chang, *Art, Myth and Ritual* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 10–15. Additional evidence comes from Shang divinatory inscriptions, which demonstrate that in the minds of the late Shang kings there was a remote era prior to even the predynastic period. Figures belonging to this mythical past transcended chronology or any systematic temporal and spatial order, as they were not accorded 'temple names' (*miao hao*), and thus did not have scheduled places in the late Shang ritual calendar. Roughly grouped together by modern historians as Former Lords (Xian gong), some of them may have emerged from the ranks of natural deities and human heroes, while others had picture-like names alluding to certain mythological animals. A third group includes figures more closely related to the ancestor cult of the Shang royal house, since late Shang kings called them their 'High Ancestors' (Gao zu) and placed them before the earliest predynastic ruler, Shangjia Wei. For these groups in Shang religion, see David N. Keightley, 'The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Loewe and Shaughnessy, pp. 253–6.
78 Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjingzhushu* (Beijing, 1980), pp. 141–4.
79 James Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, 2 vols (New York, 1967), I, p. 125.
80 Ibid., I, p. 139.
81 Wu Hung, 'Mingqi de lilun he shijian – Zhanguo shiqi liyi meishu zhong de guannianhua qingxiang' (The Theory and Practice of 'Spirit Vessels' – A Conceptual Tendency in Warring States Ritual Art), *Wenwu*, 6 (2006), pp. 71–81.
82 Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 139–40.
83 *Li ji*, p. 1284.
84 Patricia B. Ebrey, trans. and annotated, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Capping, Wedding, Funeral, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), p. 3; translation modified.
85 Ibid., p. 107.
86 See Xu Yahui, '*Xuanhe bogu tu* de "jianjie" liuchuan – yi Yuan dai Saiyinchidahu mu chutu de taoqi yu *Shaoxi zhouxian shidian yitu* weili' (The 'indirect' Transmission of the *Xuanhe bogu tu* – Earthernware from the Tomb of Saiyinchidahu and the *Shaoxi zhouxian shidian yitu*), *Taida Journal of Art History*, XIV (March 2003), pp. 1–26; Li Ling, *Ligu zhujin – Kaogu faxian he fugu yishu* (Re-casting Antiquity – Archaeological Discoveries and Archaism in Chinese Art) (Hong Kong, 2005), pp. 58–65.
87 Dieter Kuhn, *A Place for the Dead: An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)* (Heidelberg, 1996).
88 Ellen Laing, 'Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration', *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XVI (1978), pp. 3–20.

89 This object is published in Tokyo National Museum, *Kōga bummei tenran* (The Exhibition of Cultural Relics from the Yellow River Region) (Tokyo, 1986), illus. 29.
90 For the excavation report, see *Zhangjiaobo Xi Zhou mudi* (A Western Zhou Cemetery at Zhangjiabo) (Beijing, 1999), esp. Tomb 170 (illus. 21) and Tomb 196 (illus. 32). See Wu Xiaojun, 'Xi Zhou shiqi chema maizang zhongde lizhi yihan' (The Ritual Significance of Chariot Burials during the Western Zhou), *The National Place Museum Research Quarterly*, XXII/4 (Summer 2005), pp. 1–30.
91 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu xuebao*, 1 (1993), pp. 58–88.
92 Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden, 2006), p. 55. For translation of the related inventory texts, see pp. 219–24 in the same book. Guolong Lai has also examined this group of 'paraphernalia used for travel', and speculated on the possible 'apotropaic function' of some objects. 'The Baoshan Tomb', pp. 91–9.
93 For the excavation report, see *Kaogu*, 2 (1975), pp. 124–34.
94 For a fuller discussion of this inscription, see Wu Hung, 'Beyond the Great Boundary: Funerary Narrative in Early Chinese Art', in *Boundaries in China*, ed. J. Hay (London, 1994).
95 For illustration, see *Helingeer Han mu*, p. 142.
96 Wang Xianqian, *Shi ming shuzheng bu* (complemented and annotated *Interpreting Names*) (Shanghai, 1984), *juan* 7, pp. 22–3, *ping che*.
97 *Li ji*, p. 1253.
98 For illustration, see *Helingeer Han mu*, p. 13.
99 For a good discussion of the development of such stone sarcophagi and their relationship with the origin of Han pictorial carvings, See Xin Lixiang, *Han dai huaxiangshi zonghe yanjiu* (A Synthetic Study of the Han Dynasty Pictorial Carvings) (Beijing, 1999).
100 This rite is described in detail in *Yi li*. See *Shisanjingzhushu*, pp. 1128ff.
101 Wang Sili et al., 'Shandong Weishanxian Handai huaxiangshi tiaocha baogao' (An Investigation Report on the Han Dynasty Pictorial Carvings from Weishan County, Shandong Province), *Kaogu*, 8 (1989), pp. 699–709; 707.
102 Thompson, 'The Yi'nan Tomb'.
103 See Wu Hung, *The Monumentality of Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA, 1995), illus. 5.8.
104 Zheng Xuan's commentary on soul carriage in *Yi li*, *Shisanjinzhushu*, p. 1147.
105 *Yi li*, pp. 1147–9.
106 *Mancheng Han mu*, vol. 1, p. 179.
107 For the excavation report, see *Dabaotai Han mu* (Han Dynasty Tombs at Dabaotai), (Beijing, 1989).
108 Ibid., p. 85.
109 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 10 (1983), pp. 1–23.
110 Tonia Eckfeld's summary of a description in the excavation report, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618–907: The Politics of Paradise* (London, 2005), p. 107.
111 For the concept of 'funerary narrative', see Wu Hung, 'Beyond the Great Boundary', pp. 98–104.
112 Jeehee Hong, 'Path to the Other World: A Funerary Narrative Rendered in Tokhongri Tomb Murals', MA thesis, University of Chicago (2001).
113 This cartouche reads: 'The moment when this nobleman (Chin) goes on a journey.' See ibid., p. 36.
114 Some examples include: A Northern Wei tomb at Zhijiabao near Datong, *Wenwu*, 7 (2001), pp. 40–51; Daogui's tomb in Shandong, *Wenwu*, 10 (1985) pp. 42–8; Ning Mao's sarcophagus; a tomb in the Taiyuan No. 1 Thermal Power Plant, *Wenwu*, 12 (1990), pp. 1–10; Gao Run's tomb, *Kaogu*, 3 (1979), pp. 235-43, 234.
115 Su Bai, 'Taiyuan Bei Qi Lou Rui mu canguan ji', (Visiting Lou Rui's Tomb of the Northern Qi in Taiyuan), *Wenwu*, 10 (1983), p. 26.
116 For the excavation report, see *Wenwu*, 10 (1993), pp. 4–40.
117 Ibid., p. 7.
118 Zhao Yonghong has proposed a similar opinion in 'You mushi dao mudao – Nan Bei Chao muzang suojian zhi yizhang biaoxian yu sanzang kongjian de bianhua' (From Tomb Chambers to Passageway – Representations of Guards of Honour in Northern and Southern Dynasties Tombs and Changes in Funerary Space), in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2001), p. 435.
119 See Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu*, pp. 185–6.
120 See Li Xingming, *Tang dai mushi bihua yanjiu* (A Study of Tang Tomb Murals), (Xi'an, 2005), pp. 14–21.
121 For a related discussion, see Zheng Yan, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu*, pp. 161–2.
122 Although published before the recent excavations of some extraordinary pre-Tang tombs, Mary H. Fong's essay, 'Antecedents of Sui-Tang Burial Practices In Shaanxi' (*Artibus Asiae*, XLIX1/2 (1988), pp. 5–38), offers a good summary of the development of tomb structure from the Northern Dynasties to Tang.
123 For the excavation reports, see *Wenbo*, 3 (1988), pp. 10–30; *Kaogu*, 2 (1977), pp. 132–8, 80.
124 Li Yanshou, *Bei shi* (History of Northern Dynasties) (Beijing, 1974), p. 507.
125 For Northern Wei sarcophagi carved with such images, see He Xilin, 'Beichao huaxiangshi zangju de faxian yu yanjiu' (The Excavations and Research of Northern Dynasties Period Stone Coffins and Funerary Couches with Pictorial Carvings), in *Han Tang zhijiande shijue wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua*, ed. Wu Hung, pp. 342–76.

Coda

1 *Li ji* (The Book of Rites), in Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu* (An Annotated Edition of the *Thirteen Classics*) (Beijing, 1980), 1292; James Legge, trans., *Li Chi: Book of*

Rites, 2 vols (New York, 1967), vol. 1, p. 156.

2 Gao Ming has identified these two male images as the chief eunuchs in Lady Dai's family. 'Changsha Mawangdui yihao mu "guanren" yong' (The 'Capped Men' Figurines from Mawangdui Tomb no.1 in Changsha), *Kaogu*, 4 (1973), pp. 255–7.

3 For a discussion of the Han concept and depiction of *qi*, see Wu Hung, 'The Sanpan Shan Chariot Ornament and the Xiangrui Design in Western Han Art,' *Archives of Asian Art*, XXXVII (1984), pp. 46–8. I have classified the figures and animals painted on this coffin into two categories: 'protective' and 'auspicious' images. See Wu Hung, 'Art in its Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui', *Early China*, XVII (1992), pp. 111–45.

4 Sun Zuoyan, 'Mawangdui yihao Han-mu qiguanhua kaoshi' (Study on the Painted Lacquer Coffins from Mawangdui Tomb 1), *Kaogu*, 1 (1973), pp. 54–61.

5 Ibid.

6 These images are identified as Kunlun by Sōfukawa Hiroshi, 'Konronzan to Shōsenzu' (Kunlun Mountain and Pictures of Ascending to Immortality). *Tōhōgakuhō*, LI (1979), pp. 87–102.

7 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*, XXVII (1987), p. 378.

8 For illustrations and a discussion of these two paintings, see Wu Hung, 'The Origin of Chinese Painting', in *3000 Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven and Beijing, 1997), pp. 22–3.

9 See Zheng Shaozong, *Mancheng Han mu* (A Han Dynasty Tomb at Mancheng) (Beijing, 2003), p. 107.

10 *Li ji*, p. 1290; Legge, trans., *Li Chi*, I, p. 151.

11 To my knowledge, the only pre-Han funerary stone inscription is found in the mausoleum of a Zhongshan king. But since the stone retains its natural shape and the inscription has nothing to do with the deceased, it is difficult to identify it as a 'memorial stele'. See *Wenwu*, 1 (1979), pp. 11–31. The only significant pre-Han stone works made for tombs was the stone armour from a pit near the First Emperor's tomb. But scholars are still debating its meaning and function. For the appearance of the stone stele, see Fan Bangjin, 'Dong Han mubei suyuan' (The Origin of Eastern Han Funerary Steles), in Zou Zhenya et al., *Han bei yanjiu* (Studies of Han Steles) (Ji'nan, 1990), pp. 49–63, 52.

12 Passage from the inscription on Wu Liang's memorial stele; see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, CA, 1989), p. 25. A similar statement is found in a long inscription from Songshan, Shandong.

13 See Wu Hung, *The Monumentality of Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA, 1995), pp. 122–6.

14 These supernatural beings include the Queen Mother of the West and deities of sacred mountains. Sima Qian recorded a 'stone chamber' of the Queen Mother of the West in *Shi ji* (Historical Records) (Beijing, 1959), pp. 3163–4. Extant stone structures dedicated to gods and immortals include pillar gates at Dengfeng in Henan, one forming the entrance to the sacred mountain Shaoshi and the other belonging to the temple of a legendary figure Qimu (the Mother of Qi). See Chen Mingda, 'Han dai de shique' (Stone *Que* Pillar Gates of the Han Dynasty), *Wenwu*, 12 (1961), pp. 9–23; 10–11.

15 Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* (Annotated *Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters*), annotated by Duan Yucai (Hangzhou, 1999), p. 10.

16 This is not to say that the Chinese stopped constructing large, elaborate tombs after this period. Rather, grand burials of Ming and Qing emperors and princes followed rigid formulas and rarely reflected new kinds of artistic imagination.

17 *Li ji*, p. 1289; Legge, *Li Chi*, I, p. 148.

18 Patricia B. Ebrey, trans. and annotated, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Capping, Wedding, Funeral, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), p. 109. This passage introduces 'Making Spirit Articles' ('Zao mingqi').

19 *Xuanhua Liao mu* (Liao Dynasty Tombs at Xuanhua) (Beijing, 2001) I, p. 123.

20 Ellen Laing, 'Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration'; 'Chin 'Tartar' Dynasty (1115–1234) Material Culture,' *Artibus Asiae*, XLIX1/2 (1988/89), pp. 73–126.

21 Li Qingquan, 'Xuanhua Liaodai bihuamu zhong de shijian yu kongjian wenti' (Problems Concerning Time and Space in the Liao Dynasty Painted Tombs at Xuanhua), in *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (Studies of Chinese History), XXXIV (2005), pp. 77–104; esp. 100.

22 For a discussion of these images, see Li Qingquan, 'Huihua ticai zhong yiyihe neihan de yanbian – yi Xuanhua Liao mu bihua zhong de chema chuxingtu weili' (Changing Meaning and Content of Painting Subjects as Exemplified by the Horse Images in the Liao Dynasty Tomb Murals at Xuanhua), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)*, 2 (2003), pp. 97-102.

23 Yang Hong, 'Liao mu bihua diancha tu' ('Tea Preparation' Murals in Liao Tombs), *Wenwu tiandi*, 2 (1989); Li Qingquan, *Xuanhua Liao mu yanjiu* (A Study of Liao Tombs at Xuanhua) (Beijing, 2007), pp. 183–211.

24 Li Qingquan, *Xuanhua Liao mu*, I, p. 90.

25 Li Qingquan, 'Xuanhua Liaodai bihuamu zhong de shijian yu kongjian wenti', pp. 87–92.

26 See Li Qingquan, 'Xuanhua hanren bihuamu yanjiu', pp. 74–6.

27 Unfortunately, we still do not understand the miniature gate on the north wall, although its focus position and elaborate form must imply some specific significance. Li Qingquan has recently explained this gate based on a new discovery: during his investigation of M10 at Xuanhua, he found a small door painted on the back of the coffin platform, directly facing the fake gate on the north wall. Based on this and other evidence, he has suggested that the space behind this gate is the 'bedroom' (*qin*) of the tomb occupant, while

the burial chamber symbolizes the formal audience hall in a household. See, 'Xuanhua Liaodai bihuamu zhong de shijian yu kongjian wenti,' pp. 96–9. It still remains a question, however, whether we can generalize about other tombs from the M10 case, and whether the hidden space behind the gate can be identified precisely as the *qin*.

28 Hsüeh-man Shen, 'Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei province', *Artibus Asiae*, LXV/1, pp. 99–141.

29 These artists include Sun Wei of the Tang and Tian Jing of the Song, see *Xuanhe huapu*, in Yu Anlan, comp., *Huashi congshu*, 2 vols (Shanghai, 1963), II, pp. 20–21; Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwenzhi (Paintings Seen and Heard)*, I, p. 46.

30 Li Qingquan, *Liaodai Han ren bihuamu yanjiu*, p. 98.

31 For a thorough discussion of this monument, see Delin Lai, 'Chinese Modern: Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum as a Crucible for Defining Modern Chinese Architecture', PhD dissertation, University of Chicago (2007).

32 For the construction and symbolism of this mausoleum, see Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* (Chicago, IL, 2005).

Works Cited

Western Languages

Allan, Sarah, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany, NY, 1991)

Ames, Roger T., *The Art of Rulership: A Study of Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (Albany, NY, 1994)

Barnes, Gina L., *China, Korea and Japan: The Rise of Civilization in East Asia* (London, 1993)

Bauer, Wolfgang, *China and the Search for Happiness*, trans. M. Shaw (New York, 1976)

Beckman, Joy, 'Layers of Being: Bodies, Objects and Spaces in Warring States Burials', PhD dissertation, University of Chicago (2006)

Birrell, Anne, *Chinese Mythology* (Baltimore, MD, 1983)

Birrell, A., *Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China* (London, 1988)

Bodde, Derk, 'Myths of China', in Samuel Noah Kramer, *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (Garden City, NY, 1961)

Brashier, Ken E., 'Han Thanatology and the Division of 'Souls'', *Early China*, XVI (1996), pp. 1–35

Chang, K. C., *Art, Myth, and Ritual* (Cambridge, MA, 1983)

—, 'Some Dualistic Phenomena in Shang Society', in *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), pp. 93–114

Cheng, Te-k'un, 'Yin-Yang Wu-Hsing and Han Art', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XX/1–2(1957), pp. 162–86

Cheng, Bonnie, 'Attending the Dead: Shifting Needs of the Dead and Modes of Presentation of Figurines in Sixth-Century Northern Dynasty Tombs', in *Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2003), pp. 425–69

Cook, Constance A., *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden, 2006)

Davis, A. R., *T'ao Yüan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1983)

Ebrey, Patricia B., *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals* (Princeton, NJ, 1991)

—, 'Cremation in Sung China', *The American Historical Review*, XCV/2 (April 1990), pp. 406–28

Eckfeld, Tonia, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618–907: The Politics of Paradise* (London, 2005)

Faure, Bernard, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton, NJ, 1994)

Fong, Mary H., 'Antecedents of Sui-Tang Burial Practices In Shaanxi', *Artibus Asiae*, XLIX (1988), pp. 5–38.

Fontain, Jan, and Wu Tung, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston, MA, 1973)

Friedrich, P., 'Polytropy', in *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology*, ed. J. W. Fernandes (Stanford, CA, 1991)

Greife, Susanne, and Yin Shenping, *Das Grab des Bin Wang: Wandmalereien der Östlichen Han-zeit in China* (Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz, 2001)

Grenet, Frantz, *Les Pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sedentrire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Paris, 1984)

Harper, Donald, 'Resurrection in Warring States Popular Religions', *Taoist Resources*, V/2 (1994), pp. 13–28

Hayashi, Minao, 'Concerning the Inscription "May Sons and Grandsons Eternally Use This [Vessel]"', trans. Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, *Artibus Asiae*, LIII/1–2, pp. 51–8

Ho, Judy Chungwa, 'The Twelve Calendrical Animals in Tang Tombs', in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), pp. 60–83

Hong, Jeehee, 'Theatricalizing Death: Performance Images of Mid-imperial China in Mortuary Contexts (11th–13th centuries)', PhD dissertation, University of Chicago (2008)

—, 'Path to the Other World: A Funerary Narrative Rendered in Tokhungri Tomb Murals', MA thesis, University of Chicago (2001)

Jakobson, R., 'Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances', in R. Jakobson and M. Hale, *Fundamentals of Language* (The Hague, 1956)

James, Jean, 'An Iconographic Study of Two Late Han Funerary Monuments: The Offering Shrines of the Wu Family and the Multi-chambered Tomb at Holingor', PhD dissertation, University of Iowa (1983)

—, 'Images of Power: Masks of the Liangzhu Culture', *Orientations*, XXII/6 (1991), pp. 46–55

Kalgren, Bernhard, 'Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, VI (1934), pp. 9–72

Kao, Jeffrey, and Yang Zuosheng, 'On Jade Suits and Han Archaeology', *Archaeology* XXXVI/6 (November/December 1983), pp. 30–37

Kao, Karl S., *Classical Chinese Tales of the Supernatural and the Fantastic* (Bloomington, IN, 1985)
—, 'The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Cambridge, 1999), ed. Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, pp. 232–91
Keightley, David N., 'The Quest for Eternity in Ancient China: The Dead, Their Gifts, Their Names', in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), pp. 12–25
Kesner, Ladislav, 'Likeness of No One: (Re)presenting the First Emperor's Army', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXVII/1 (March 1995), pp. 115–32
Kleeman, Terry F., 'Land Contracts and Related Documents', in *Religion, Thought and Science in China: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Ryôkai Makio On His Seventieth Birthday* (Tokyo, 1984), pp. 1–34.
Kohn, Livia ed., *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology* (Albany, NY, 1993)
Kuhn, Dieter, *A Place for the Dead: An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)*, (Heidelberg, 1996), especially chaps 1 and 2.
Kuwayama, George, ed., *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China* (Los Angeles, CA, 1991)
—, *The Quest for Eternity* (Los Angeles, CA, 1987)
Lai, C. M., 'The Art of Lamentation in the Works of Pan Yue', *Journal of American Oriental Society*, CXIV/3 (1994), pp. 409–25
Lai, Delin, 'Chinese Modern: Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum as a Crucible for Defining Modern Chinese Architecture', PhD dissertation, University of Chicago (2007)
Lai, Guolong, 'The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period (480–221 BCE)', PhD dissertation, UCLA (2002)
Laing, Ellen Johnston, 'Auspicious Motifs in 9th–13th-Century Chinese Tombs', *Ars Orientalis*, XXXIII (2003), pp. 45–63
—, 'Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration', *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XVI (1978), pp. 3–20
Ledderose, Lothar, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, NJ, 2000)
Legge, James, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. II: 'The Work of Mencius' (Oxford, 1861–72)
—, trans. *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucius*. Part III: *The Li Ki* (Delhi, 1885)
—, *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, 2 vols (New York, 1967)
—, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. V: *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen* (Oxford, 1871)
Li, Chi, *Anyang* (Seattle, WA, 1977)
Li, Jian, ed., *Eternal China: Splendors from the First Dynasties* (Dayton, OH, 1998)
Li, Ling, 'An Archaeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship', *Early Medieval China*, II (1995–6), pp. 1–39
Li, Yinde, 'The 'Underground Palace' of a Chu Prince at Beidongshan', *Orientations*, XXI/10 (October 1990), pp. 57–61
Lin, Wei-cheng, 'Wooden Architectural Structure in Brick: A Case Study of Northern Song Cupola-like Corbelled Dome Tombs.' Unpublished manuscript
Loewe, Michael, 'The Religious and Intellectual Background', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. I: *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221BC–AD 220*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge and New York, 1986)
—, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Eternity* (London, 1979)
—, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds, *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
Luo, Feng, 'Sogdians in Northwest China', in *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China*, ed. Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (New York, 2001), pp. 239–45
Major, John S., 'The Five Phases, Magic Squares, and Schematic Cosmography', *Journal of the Association of Asian Religions, Thematic Studies*, I/2 (1986), pp. 133–66
—, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi* (Albany, NY, 1993)
Mather, Richard B., trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*, by Liu Yijing (Minneapolis, MN, 1976)
Minford, John, and Joseph S. M. Lau, *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations,* vol. I: *From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York, 2000)
Needham, J., *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, pt. 2, 'Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Magisteries of Gold and Immortality' (Cambridge, 1974)
On, Ikeda, 'Chūgoku rekidai boken ryakukō' (A Preliminary Examination of Tomb Documents from Successive Chinese Dynasties), *Tōyō-bunkakenkyūjo kiyō*, LXXXVI.
Paludan, Ann, *The Chinese Spirit Road: The Classical Tradition of Stone Tomb Statuary* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1991)
Qu, Yuan, *The Songs of the South,* trans. David Hawkes (Harmondsworth and New York, 1985)
Rawson, Jessica, 'Changes in the Representation of Life and the Afterlife as Illustrated by the Contents of Tombs of the T'ang and Sung Periods', in *Art of Sung and Yuan*, ed. M. Hearn and J. Smith (New York, 1996)
—, 'The Power of Images: The Model Universe of the First Emperor and its Legacy', *Historical Research*, LXXV/188 (May 2002), pp. 123–54
—, 'Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China between the Han and Tang Periods', in *Han Tang zhijian wenhua yishu de hudong yu jiaorong (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and artistic interaction in a transformative period)*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2001)
—, 'Cosmological Systems as Sources of Art, Ornament, and Design', *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, LXXII (2000), pp. 133–89
—, 'Western Zhou Archaeology', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 440–41
—, ed., *Mysteries of Ancient China* (New York, 1996)
—, *Chinese Jade: From the Neolithic to the Qing* (London, 1995)
—, 'Han Dynasty Tomb Planning and Design', in *Actes des Symposiums Internationaux le Monde Visuel Chino's, Cang Jie,*

special issue no. 2, ed. Chrystelle Maréchal and Yau Shun-chiu (Paris, 2005), pp. 103–6.

Riegel, Jeffery, 'Do Not Serve the Dead as You Serve the Living: The Lüshi chunqiu Treatises on Moderation in Burial', *Early China*, XX (1995), pp. 301–30

Ricoeur, Paul, *Time and Narrative*, trans. K. Blamey and D. Pellauer (Chicago, IL, 1985)

Robinet, Isabelle, 'Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism', *History of Religions*, XIX/1 (1979), pp. 57–70

Seidel, Anna, 'Post-mortem Immortality, or: the Taoist Resurrection of the Body', in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, ed. S. Shaked, D. Shulman and G. G. Stroumsa (Leiden, 1987), pp. 223–37

—, 'Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts in Tombs', *Dōkyō to shōkyō bunka*, ed. Akitsuki Kan'ei (Taoism and Religious Culture) (Tokyo, 1987), pp. 679–714

—, 'Tokens of Immortality in Han Graves', *Numen* 29 (1982): 107

Sen, Tansen, 'Astronomical Tomb Paintings from Xuanhua: Mandalas?' *Ars Orientalis*, XXIX (1999), pp. 29–54

Shen, Hsüeh-man, 'Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province', *Artibus Asiae*, LXV/1, pp. 99–141

Silbergeld, Jerome, 'Mawangdui, Excavated Materials and Transmitted Texts: A Cautionary Note', *Early China*, VIII (1982–1983), pp. 79–92

Soper, Alexander, 'Life-motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art', *Art Bulletin*, XXX/3, pp. 167–86

Spiro, Andrey, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley, CA, 1990)

Steinhardt, Shatzman Nancy, *Liao Architecture* (Honululu, HI, 1997)

Stewart, Susan, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC, 1993)

Strickmann, Michel, 'The Alchemy of T' ao Hung-ching', in *Facets of Taoism*, ed. H. Welch and A. Seidel (New Haven, CT, 1979), pp. 123–92

Tambiah, S. J., 'The Magical Power of Words', *Man*, 3 (1968), pp. 175–267

Teiser, Stephen, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu, HI, 1994)

Thompson, Lydia, 'The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25-220 C.E.)', PhD dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (1998)

Thorp, Robert L., 'Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits: Preparations for Eternity in the Western Han', in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), pp. 26-39.

—, 'The Sui Xian Tomb: Re-thinking the Fifth Century', *Artibus Asiae*, XLIII/5 (1981)

—, 'The Mortuary Art and Architecture of Early Imperial China', PhD dissertation, University of Kansas (1979)

Thote, Alain, 'Burial Practices as Seen in Rulers' Tombs of the Eastern Zhou Period: Patterns and Regional Traditions', in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. J. Lagerwey, 2 vols (Hong Kong, 2004), pp. 65–108

—, 'Continuities and Discontinuities: Chu Burials during the Eastern Zhou Period', in *Exploring China's Past: New Discoveries and Studies in Archaeology and Art*, ed. R. Whitfield and Wang Tao, Saffron International Series in Chinese Archaeology and Art (London, 2000)

—, 'The Double Coffin of Leigudun Tomb no, 1: Iconographic Sources and Related Problems', in Thomas Lawton, *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period* (Washington, DC, 1991), pp. 23–46

Tomita, Kojiro, 'A Chinese Sacrifical Stone House of the Sixth Century AD', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,* no. 242 (December 1942), pp. 98–110

Tseng, Lan-ying, 'Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China', PhD dissertation, Harvard University (2001)

Underhill, Anne, *Craft Production and Social Change in Northern China* (New York, 2002)

von Falkenhausen, Lothar, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles, CA, 2006)

—, 'Sources of Taoism: Reflections on Archaeological Indicators of Religious Change in Eastern Zhou China', *Taoist Resources*, V/2 (1994), pp. 1–12

—,'Chu Ritual Music', in *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period*, ed. Thomas Lawton (Washington, DC, 1991), pp. 47–106

—, 'The Waning of the Bronze Age: Material Culture and Social Developments, 770-481 BCE', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, pp. 450–544.

Waley, Arthur, trans., *The Book of Songs: Supplement containing Textual Notes* (London, 1937)

—, *Chinese Poems* (London, 1982)

Wang, Tao and Liu Yu, 'The Face of the Other World: Jade Face-Covers from Ancient Tombs', in *Chinese Jades*, ed. R. E. Scott (London, 1997), pp. 133–46

Wang, Kai, 'Han Terra-cotta Army in Xuzhou', *Orientations*, XXI/10 (October 1990), pp. 62–6

Wang, Renbo, 'General Comments on Chinese Funerary Sculpture', in *The Quest for Eternity*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles, CA, 1987), pp. 39–61.

Wang, Xueli, 'The Pottery Figurines in Yangling Mausoleum of the Han Dynasty: Melodic Beauty of Pottery Sculpture', in *The Coloured Figurines in Yang Ling Mausoleum of Han in China*, (Xi'an, 1992), pp. 8–13

Watson, Burton, *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu* (New York, 1963)

—, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty* (New York, 1993)

—, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, 1968)

Wittfogel, Karl A. and Chia-sheng Feng, 'History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., XXXVI (Philadelphia, PA, 1949), pp. 278–83

Wu, Hung, 'The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period', in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*), ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, pp. 651–744
—, 'Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui', *Early China*, XVII (1992), pp. 111–44.
—, 'Beyond the Great Boundary: Funerary Narrative in Early Chinese Art', in *Boundaries in China*, ed. J. Hay (London, 1994), pp. 81–104
—, 'Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Qing Court Art and The Dream of the Red Chamber', in *Ming Qing Women and Literature*, ed. E. Widmer and K.I.S. Chang (Stanford, CA, 1997), pp. 306–65
—, 'Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd century AD)', *Artibus Asiae*, XLVII/3–4 (1986), pp. 263–347; esp. 264–5
—, 'A Case of Cultural Interaction: House-shaped Sarcophagi of the Northern Dynasties', *Orientations*, XXXIV/5 (May 2002), pp. 34–41
—, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (London, 1996)
—, *The Monumentality of Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA, 1995)
—, 'From the Neolithic to the Han', in Angela F. Howard et al., *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 40–41
—, 'Patterns of *Fu gu* (Returning to the Ancients) in *Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, forthcoming.
—, 'The Prince of Jade Revisited: Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in the Mancheng Tomb', in *Chinese Jade, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia 18*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London, 1997), pp. 147–70
—, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* (Chicago, IL, 2005)
—, 'The Sanpan Shan Chariot Ornament and the Xiangrui Design in Western Han Art', *Archives of Asian Art*, XXXVII (1984), pp. 46–8
—, 'From Temple to Tomb', *Early China*, XIII (1988), pp. 78–115
—, 'On Tomb Figurines', in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge, MA, 2005), pp. 13–48
—, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, CA, 1989)
Yang, Xiaoneng, ed., *New Perspectives on China's Past. Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (Kansas City and New Haven, 1999), 2 vols
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*, XXVII (1987), pp. 363–95

Chinese and Japanese Languages

Anping Dong Han bihua mu (A Eastern Han Painted Tomb at Anping) (Beijing, 1990)
An Zhimin, 'Guangyu Liangzhu wenhua de ruoguan wen ti' (Some Issues Concerning the Liangzhu Culture), *Kaogu* 3 (1988), pp. 60–83
Ban Gu, *Baihu tong shuzheng* (Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall) (Beijing, 1994)
Baoshan Chu mu (Chu Tombs at Baoshan), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991)
Beijing Dabaotai Han mu (Han Dynasty Tombs at Dabaotai, Beijing) (Beijing, 1989)
Beijing lishi bowuguan and Hebei Sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, ed., *Wangdu Han mu bihua* (Murals in a Han Tomb at Wangdu) (Beijing, 1955)
Cai Yonghua, 'Suizang mingqi guankui' (A Brief Look at Spirit Vessels in Grave Furnishings), *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 2 (1986), pp. 74–8
Cao Yannong, 'Cong Mawangdui Han mu boshu kan Han dai zangshu xisu' (On the Han Custom of Burying Books Based on the Silk Manuscripts from the Han Tomb at Mawangdui), *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, 23 November 1997, p. 3
Cao Zhezhi and Sun Binggen, eds, *Zhongguo gudai yong* (Ancient Chinese Tomb Figurines) (Shanghai, 1996)
Chen Huawen, *Sangzang shi* (A History of Burials) (Shanghai, 1999)
Chen Jiangfeng, 'Nanyang tianwen huaxiangshi kaoxi', *Handai huaxiangshi yenjiu* (Studies of Han Pictorial Carvings) (Beijing, 1987), pp. 141–54
Chen Mengjia, *Yinxu buci zongshu* (A Comprehensive Introduction to Divinatory Inscriptions from the Ruins of Yin) (Beijing, 1988), pp. 561–603
Chen Mingda, 'Han dai de shique' (Stone Que Pillar Gates of the Han Dynasty), *Wenwu*, 12 (1961), pp. 9–23; 10–11
Chen Wei, *Baoshan Chu jian chutan* (A Preliminary Exploration of the Chu Bamboo Slips from Baoshan) (Wuhan, 1996)
Cixian Wanzhang Beichao bihuamu (A Northern Dynasties Painted Tomb at Wanzhang, Cixian) (Beijing, 2003)
Cuo mu: Zhanguo Zhongshanguo guowang zhi mu (The Mausoleum of Cuo – A Zhongshan Kingdom Royal Tomb of the Warring States Period), 2 vols (Beijing, 1996)
Dai Chunyang, ed., *Dunhuang Foyemiaowan Xi Jin huaxiangzhuan mu* (Western Jin Brick Tombs with Murals at Foyemiaowan in Dunhuang) (Beijing, 1998), pp. 31–8
Dawenkou: Xinshiqi shidai muzang fajue baogao (A Report of the Excavation of Neolithic Burials at Dawenkou) (Beijing, 1974)
Ding ling (The Dingling Mausoleum), (Beijing, 1990)
Du You, *Tong dian* (Comprehensive Institutions) (Beijing, 1988)
Fan Bangjin, 'Dong Han mubei shuoyuan' (The Origin of Eastern Han Funerary Steles), in Zou Zhenya et al., *Han bei yanjiu* (Studies of Han Steles) (Jinan, 1990), pp. 49–63, 52
Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han) (Beijing, 1965)
Feng Shi, 'Henan Puyang Xishuipo 45 hao mu de tianwenxue yanjiu' (An Astronomical Interpretation of Tomb no. 45

at Xishuipo in Puyang, Henan Province), *Wenwu*, 3 (1990), pp. 52–60, 69

Gao Ming, 'Changsha Mawangdui yihao mu "guanren" yong' (The 'Capped Men' Figurines from Mawangdui Tomb no. 1 in Changsha), *Kaogu*, 4 (1973), pp. 255–7

Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwenzhi* (Paintings Seen and Heard), in Yu Anlan, comp., *Huashi congshu*, vol. 1 (Shanghai, 1963)

Han Yuxiang and Li Chenguang, eds, *Nanyang Han dai huaxiangshi mu* (Han Dynasty Pictorial Stone Tombs at Nanyang) (Zhengzhou, 1998)

Han Yuxiang and Niu Tianwei, 'Qilingang Han huaxiangshi mu qianshi muding huaxiang kaoshi' (An Interpretation of the Pictorial Images on the Ceiling of the Front Chamber of a Han Dynasty Pictorial Stone Tomb at Qilingang), in Han Yunxiang, *Nanyang Handai tianwen huaxiangshi yanjiu* (A Study of Han Dynasty Pictorial Stones Representing Astronomical Images from Nanyang) (Beijing, 1995), pp. 23–5

Hao Hongxing, Zhang Qian, and Li Yang, 'Zhongyuan Tang mu zhong de mingqi shensha zhidu' (The System of 'Shensha' Figurines in Tang Tombs in Central China), *Huaxia kaogu*, 4 (2000), pp. 100–7

Hayashi Minao, *Zhongguo guyu yanjiu* (A Study of Ancient Chinese Jades), trans. Yang Mei-li (Taipei, 1997), pp. 35–97

Helingeer Han mu bihua (Murals in the Helingeer Tomb of the Han) (Beijing, 1978)

He Jiejun, *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu* (Tombs 2 and 3 of the Han Dynasty at Mawangdui, Changsha), 2 vols (Beijing, 2004)

He Xilin, Gumu danqing: *Han dai mushi bihua de faxian yu yanjiu* (Painting in Ancient Graves: Discoveries and Studies of Han Dynasty Tomb Murals) (Xi'an, 2001)

—, 'Beichao huaxiangshi zangju de faxian yu yanjiu' (The Excavations and Research of Northern Dynasties Period Stone Coffins and Funerary Couches with Pictorial Carvings), in *Han Tang zhijiande shijue wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2001) pp. 342–76

Hidenori Okamura, 'Shin bunka no bennen' (A Chronology of Qin Culture), *Loshi shunjū*, 2 (1985), pp. 53–74, fig. 1

Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi* (The Writings of the *Rong* Studio) (Shanghai, 1987)

Hu Lingui, 'Xi'an Jiaoda Xi Han mu ershiba xu xingtu yu "Shiji Tianguanshu"' (The Depiction of the Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges in the Western Han Tomb at Xi'an Transportation University and the 'Treatise of Celestial Officials' in the Historical Records), *Renwen zazhi*, 2 (1989), pp. 85–7

Huan Kuan, *Yan tie lun* (Disourses on Salt and Iron), in *Zhuzi jicheng*, 7.

Huang Minglan and Guo Yinqiang, *Luoyang Han mu bihua* (Han Dynasty Tomb Murals near Luoyang) (Beijing, 1996)

Huang Minglan, *Luoyang Bei Wei shisu shike xiankehua* (A Collection of Northern Wei Secular Stone Engravings from Luoyang) (Beijing, 1987)

Huang Xiaofen, *Han mu de kaoguxue yanjiu* (Changsha, 2003).

Huang Xinlin, *Zhongguo gudai lingmu kaogu yanjiu* (Studies of Ancient Chinese Tombs and Mausoleums) (Fuzhou, 2005)

Huang Zhanyue, *Zhongguo gudai de rensheng renxun* (Human acrifices in Ancient China) (Beijing, 1990)

Huixian fajue baogao (A Report of the Excavation at Huixian) (Beijing, 1956)

Huo Jiena, 'Liaomu zhong suojian fojiao yinsu' (Buddhist Elements Seen in Liao Tombs), at www.jianwangzhan.com

Ji Chengzhang, 'Haoqianying diliuhao Liao mu ruogan wenti de yanjiu' (A Study of Several Problems Concerning Tomb 6 of the Liao Dynasty at Haoqianying) *Wenwu*, 9 (1983), pp. 9–14

Jiang Sheng and Tang Weixia, eds, *Zhongguo Daojiao kexue jishushi: Han Wei Liang Jin juan* (History of Science and Technology in Daoism: Han, Wei, and Two Jins) (Beijing, 2002)

Jiangling Wangshan Shazhong Chu mu (Chu Tombs at Wangshan, Jiangling) (Beijing, 1996)

Jiao Yanshou, *Jiao shi Yi lin* (A Forest of Changes by Mr Jiao). References are to Shang Binghe and Chang Bingyi, eds, *Jiao shi Yi lin zhu* (annotated 'A Forest of Changes by Mr Jiao') (Beijing, 2005)

Jiayuguan bihuamu fajue baogao (An Excavation Report of Painted Tombs at Jiayu Guan), (Beijing, 1985)

Jin Weinuo, 'Tan Changsha Mawangdui sanhao Han mu bohua' (On the Silk Paintings from Mawangdui Tomb 3 of the Han dynasty), *Wenwu*, 11 (1974), pp. 44–8

Jin Yunzhong, *Shangqing Lingbao dafa*, in *Daozang*, XXXI, p. 410.

Lei Jianjin, 'Jianyangxian Guitoushan faxian bangti huaxiang shiguan' (The Finding of an Inscribed Pictorial Sarcophagus from Guitoushan in Jianyang County', *Sichuan wenwu*, 6 (1988), p. 65

Li Fang, *Tai ping yu lan* (Extensive Records of the Taiping Era) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960)

—, *Tai ping guang ji* (Beijing, 1961)

Li Ling, *Shuogu zhujin – Kaogu faxian he fugu yishu* (Re-casting Antiquity: Archaeological Discoveries and Archaism in Chinese Art) (Hong Kong, 2005)

—, 'Kaogu faxian yu shenhua chuanshuo' (Archaeological Finds and Legends), in *Liling zixuan ji* (Li Ling's Essays Selected by the Author Himself) (Guilin, 1988), pp. 61–4

Li Qingquan, 'Muzang zhong de foxiang – Changchuan yihao bihuamu shidu' (Buddhist Images in Burials: The Murals from Changchuan Tomb No. 1), in *Han Tang zhijian de shijue wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua* (Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period), ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2003), pp. 471–508

—, 'Xuanhua Liaodai bihuamu zhong de shijian yu kongjian wenti' (Problems Concerning Time and Space in the Liao Dynasty Painted Tombs at Xuanhua), in *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (Studies of Chinese History), XXXIV (2005), pp. 77–104

—, 'Lun Xuanhua Liao mu bihua chuangzuo de youguan wenti' (On Issues Related to the Creation of Murals in Liao Tombs at Xuanhua), in *Liu Dunyuan xiansheng jinian wenji* (Ji'nan, 1997), pp. 489–502.

—, 'Zhenrong ouxiang yu duoxiaoxing muzang – cong Xuanhua

Liao mu kan Zhonggu sangzang liyi meishu de yici zhuanbian'(Idols of the 'True-image' and Octagonal or Hexagon Tomb Chambers: Detecting a Transformation of Funerary Rites in Medieval China through Tombs of the Liao Dynasty at Xuanhua), *Yishushi yanjiu*, VIII (2006), pp. 433–82

—, *Xuanhua Liao mu yanjiu* (A Study of Liao Tombs at Xuanhua) (Beijing, 2007)

Li Xingming, *Tang dai mushi bihua yanjiu* (A Study of Tang Tomb Murals) (Xi'an, 2005)

Li Yanshou, *Bei shi* (History of Northern Dynasties) (Beijing, 1974)

Li Yujie, 'Shilun woguo gudai guanguo zhidu' (A Preliminary Study of Ancient Chinese Systems of Inner and Outer Coffins), *Zhongyuan wenwu*, 2 (1990), pp. 81–4

Li Zhiyan, 'Zhongshan wangmu chutu de taoqi', *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 2 (1979), pp. 93–4

Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu (Tomb of the Princess of the State of Chen of the Liao Dynasty) (Beijing, 1993)

Lin Jilai, 'Lun Chunqiu Huang Jun Meng fufu mu chutu de yuqi' (On the Jade Carvings from the Tomb of Huang Jun Meng and his Wife of the Spring and Autumn Period', *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 6 (2001), pp. 71–4, 57.

Lin Yin and Gao Ming, eds, *Zhongwen dacidian* (A Comprehensive Chinese Dictionary), 10 vols (Taibei, 1973)

Liu Shufen, 'Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing yu Tang dai Zunsheng jingchuang de jianli – jingchuang yanjiu zhi yi', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, LXVII/1 (1996), pp. 145–93

Liu Wendian, *Huannan honglie jijie* (An Annotated Version of *Huainan zi*) (Taipei, 1992)

Liu Xiang, *Liexian zhuan* (Annotated Biographies of Immortals), annotated by Wang Shumin (Beijing, 2007)

Liu Xiaolu, 'Lun bohuayong: Mawangdui sanhaomu dongxibi bohua de xingzhi he neirong' (On Painted Tomb Figurines: The Nature and Content of the Silk Paintings Hung on the East and West Walls in Mawangdui Tomb 3), *Kaogu*, 10 (1995), pp. 937–41

Lu Buwei, *Lüshi chunqiu* (Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals), vol. IV of *Zhuzi jicheng* (Collected Works by Ancient Philosophers), 10 vols (Beijing, 1986)

Lu Ji, *Lu Shiheng ji* (Collected Writings of Lu Ji), Sibu beiyao edn (Shanghai, 1930)

Lu Zhaoyin, 'Shi lun liang Han de yuyi' (A Preliminary Investigation of the Jade Suits of the Western and Eastern Han', *Wenwu*, 1 (1981), pp. 51–8

Luan Fengshi, 'Shiqian guanguo de chansheng, fazhan he guanguo zhidu de xingcheng' (The Emergence and Development of Coffins in Prehistoric Times and the Establishment of the Guan-guo System), *Wenwu*, 6 (2006), pp. 49–55

Luo Qikun, 'Xi'an Jiaotong Daxue Xi Han muzang bihua ershiba xu singtu kaoshi' (A Study of the Painted Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges in the Western Han Tomb at Xi'an Transportation University), *Studies in the History of Natural Sciences*, X/3 (1991), pp. 236–45

Luoyang Zhongzhou lu: xi gong duan (Archaeological Excavations at the Zhongzhou Road, Luoyang, the West Section) (Beijing, 1959)

Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao (Excavation Report of the Han Tombs at Mancheng) (Beijing, 1980), 2 vols

Ma Yong, 'Lun Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han-mu chutu bohua', *Kaogu*, 2 (1973), pp. 118–25

Mixian Dahuting Han mu (Han Tombs at Dahuting in Mixian County) (Beijing, 1993)

Okumura Ikuro, *Kaka: Oji daiichi* (Kyoto, 1939)

Poo Mu-chou, *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo dudai zongjiao zhi xingsi* (Burials and Life/death: Reflections on Ancient Chinese Religion) (Taipei, 1993)

Qin Shihuang ling bingma yongkeng: Yihaokeng fajue baogao, 1974–1984 (A Report on the Excavation of Warrior and Horse Pit 1 of the Tomb of the First Qin Emperor, 1974–1984), 2 vols (Beijing, 1988)

Qin Shihuangdi lingyuan kaogu baogao (2001–3) (An Archaeological Report of the First Emperor Qin Shihuangdi's Mausoleum, 2001–3) (Beijing, 2007)

Qu You, *Jiandeng xinhua* (New Tales Written while Trimming the Wick) (Changchun, 2001)

Quanguo jiben jianshe gongcheng zhong chutu wenwu zhanlan tulu (Exhibition Catalogue of Cultural Relics Unearthed during the Nationwide Basic Constructions) (Beijing, 1955)

Ruan Yuan, comp., *Shisanjing zhushu* (Thirteen Annotated Classics) (Beijing, 1980)

Sanmenxia Guoguo mu (The Guo State Tombs at Sanmenxia) (Beijing, 1999)

Shang Zhitan, 'Mawangdui yihao Hanmu "feiyi" shishi' (A Tentative Interpretation of the 'Flying Garment' from the Mawangdui Tomb no.1 of the Han), *Wenwu*, 9 (1972), pp. 43–7

Shen Lingyi and Xie Zhiliu, 'Shanghai xijiao Zhuxingxiang faxian Song mu' (Song Tombs at Zhuxingxiang in the Western Suburbs of Shanghai), *Kaogu*, 2 (1959), p. 110

Shi Wei, 'Guanyu 'jinlü yuyi' de ziliao jianjie' (A Short Introduction to the Historical Information regarding the 'Jade Suit with Gold Threads'), *Kaogu*, 2 (1972), pp. 48–50, 27

Shi Zhecun, *Shuijing zhu beizhu* (Stone Monuments Recorded in the Annotated Canon of Waterways) (Tianjin, 1987)

Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government)

—, *Sima shi shuyi* (Letters and Ceremonies of the Sima Family), 'Conshu jicheng' edn (Shanghai, 1936)

Sima Qian, *Shi ji* (Historical Records) (Beijing, 1959)

Sōfukawa Hiroshi, 'Konronzan to Shōsenzu' (Kunlun Mountain and Pictures of Ascending to Immortality), *Tōhōgakuhō*, LI (1979), pp. 87–102

Su Bai, 'Taiyuan Bei Qi Lou Rui mu canguan ji' (Visiting Lou Rui's Tomb of the Northern Qi in Taiyuan), *Wenwu*, 10 (1983), pp. 24–8

Su Huaping, 'Wuxian Dontingshan Ming mu chutu de Wen Zhengming shuhua' (Paintings and Calligraphic Works by Wen Zhengming Unearthed from a Ming Tomb at

Dongtingshan, Wuxian), *Wenwu*, 3 (1977), pp. 65–8
—, *Baisha Song mu* (Song Tombs at Baisha) (Beijing, 1957)
Sun Hua, 'Xuanyu yu zhengrong' (The Xuanyu and Zhenrong in Western Zhou Coffin Decoration), *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* (Chinese Texts and Culture), 1 (2000), pp. 90–96
Sun Xidan, annotated, *Li ji jijie* (Book of Rites with Synthetic Annotations), 3 vols (Beijing, 1989)
Sun Zuoyun, 'Changshan Mawangdui yihao Han-mu chutu huafan kaoshi' (An Interpretation of the Painted Banner from Mawangdui Tomb no.1 of the Han in Changsha), *Kaogu*, 1 (1973), pp. 54–61
Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku ed., *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* (Tokyo, 1924–32)
Tan Weisi, *Zeng Hou Yi mu* (The Tomb of Marquis Yi of the State of Zeng) (Beijing, 2001)
Tang Li Xian mu fajue baogao (A Report of the Excavation of Li Xian's Tomb of the Tang Dynasty) (Beijing, 2005)
Tang Yijie, *Wei Jin Nanbei Chao shiqi di daojiao* (Daoism During the Period of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Xian, 1988)
Tokyo National Museum, *Kôga bummei tenran (The Exhibition of Cultural Relics from the Yellow River Region)* (Tokyo, 1986)
Umehara Sueji, *O-bei ni okeru Shina kokyo* (Tokyo, 1931)
Wang Chong, *Lun heng* (Disquisitions). See Huang Hui, ed., *Lun heng jiaoshi* (An Annotated Edition of *Disquisitions*), 4 vols (Beijing, 1990)
Wang Hongxing, 'Baoshan er hao Chumu qiqiqun yanjiu' (A Study of Lacquer Wares from Baoshan Tomb 2 of the Chu), in *Baoshan Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Baoshan), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991), I, pp. 488–500
Wang Hongxing and Hu Yali, 'You Baoshan Erhaomu kan Chuxi gaoji guizumu de yongding zhidu – jianlun Zhoudai dingzhi de fazhan' (The Regulations in Using Ding-tripods in the Tomb of High-level Aristocrats of the Chu Culture based on Baoshan Tomb 2, and a Related Discussion on the Development of the Zhao Regulations of using Ding-tripods), in *Baoshan Chu mu* (Chu Tombs at Baoshan), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991), I, pp. 477–87
Wang Mengou, *Tangren xiaoshuo yanjiu er ji* (A Study of Tang short Stories, the Second Compilation) (Taipei, 1973)
Wang Ming, *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi* (Annotations of the Inner Chapters of *Baopu zi*) (Beijing, 1980)
—, *Taiping jing hejiao* (A Collated and Edited Version of *Taiping jing*) (Beijing, 1960)
Wang Sili et al., 'Shandong Weishanxian Handai huaxiangshi tiaocha baogao' (An Investigation Report on the Han Dynasty Pictorial Carvings from Weishan County, Shandong Province), *Kaogu*, 8 (1989), pp. 699–709
Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie* (The Synthetic Annotations of *Xunzi*), in *Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. II (Beijing, 1954)
Wang Yintian and Liu Junxi, 'Datong Zhijiabao Beiwei mu shiguo bihua' (Murals on a Northern Wei Stone Sarcophagus found at Zhijiabao near Datong), *Wenwu*, 7 (2001), pp. 40–51
Wang Yucheng, 'Zhongguo gudai renxing fangshu jiqi dui Riben de yingxiang' (Human-shaped Magical Instruments and their Influence in Japan) *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 2 (1996), pp. 32–56
Wang Zijin, *Zhongguo daomu shi* (A History of Tomb Robbery in China) (Beijing, 2000)
Wang Zili and Sun, Fushan, *Tang Jinxiang Xianzhu mu* (The Tombs of Princess Jinxiang of the Tang Dynasty) (Beijing, 2002)
Wen Wenjian, 'Luting shishi', in *Shuo fu*, comp. Tao Zongyi (Taipei, 1972)
Wu Hong (Wu Hung), 'Mingqi de lilun he shijian – Zhanguo shiqi liyi meishu zhong de guannianhua qingxiang (The Theory and Practice of 'Spirit Vessels' – A Conceptual Tendency in Warring States Ritual Art), *Wenwu*, 6 (2006), pp. 71–81
Wu Rongzeng, 'Zhenmuwen zhong suojiandao de Dong Han daowu guanxi' (The Relationship between Taoism and Shamanism during the Eastern Han as seen in Tomb Ordinance Texts), *Wenwu*, 3 (1981), pp. 56–63
Wu Ruzuo, 'Cong heitaobei kan Dawenkou-Longshan wenhua fazhan de jiuduanxing jiqi zhongxin fanwei' (Investigating the Developmental Stages and Central Regions of Dawenkou-Longshan Cultures based on Black Pottery Cups), in *Kaoguxue wenhua lunji (Essays on archaeological cultures)*, ed. Su Bingqi, vol. II (Beijing, 1989), pp. 31–43
Wu Xiaojun, 'Xi Zhou shiqi chema maizang zhongde lizhi yihan' (The Ritual Significance of Chariot Burials during the Western Zhou), *The National Place Museum Research Quarterly*, XXII/4 (Summer 2005), pp. 1–30
Wu Yugui, 'Neimenggu Chifeng Baoshan Liao mu bihua "jijintu" kao' (A Study of the 'Sending a Brocade Picture' in the Painted Tomb of the Liao Dynasty at Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia), *Wenwu*, 3 (2001), pp. 92–6
—, 'Neimenggu Chifeng Baoshan Liaomu bihua "songjingtu" kao' (A Study of the 'Sutra Chanting Picture' in the Painted Tomb of the Liao Dynasty at Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia), *Wenwu*, 2 (1999), pp. 81–3
Wudai Wang Chizhi Mu (Wang Chuzhi's Tomb of the Five Dynasties Period) (Beijing, 1998)
Xi Han Nayuewang mu (The Tomb of a Nanyue King of the Western Han), 2 vols (Beijing, 1991)
Xia Nai, 'Luoyang Xi Han bihuamu zhong de xingxiangtu' (The Star Map in the Western Han Painted Tomb at Luoyang), *Kaogu*, 2 (1965), pp. 80–90
—, 'Cong Xuanhua Liao mu de xingtu lun ershiba xiu he huangdao shiergong' (A Discussion of the Twenty-eight Lunar Lodges and the Twelve Palaces based on a Star Map in a Liao Tomb at Xuanhua), *Kaogu xuebao*, 2 (1976), pp. 35–58
Xi'an Jiaotong Daxue Xi-Han bihuamu (A Painted Western Han Tomb at Xi'an Transportation University) (Xi'an, 1991)
Xiang Chunsong, *Liaodai lishi yu kaogu* (History and Archaeology of the Liao Dynasty), (Huhehaote, 1996)
Xin Lixiang, *Han dai huaxiangshi zonghe yanjiu* (A Synthetic Study of the Han Dynasty Pictorial Carvings) (Beijing, 1999)
Xinyang Chu mu (Chu Tombs at Xinyang) (Beijing, 1986)
Xinzhongguo de kaogu faxian he yanjiu (Archaeological Discoveries and Studies in the People's Republic of China) (Beijing, 1984)

Xu Jijun, *Funeral and Burial Systems in the Yangzi River Region (Changjiang liuyu de sangzang)* (Wuhan, 2004)

—, *A History of Chinese Funerals and Burials (Zhongguo sanzang shi)* (Nanchang, 1998)

Xu Pingfang, 'Tang Song muzang zhong de "mingqi shensha" yu "muyi" zhedu – du Da Han yuanling mizang jing zhaji' (The "Mingqi" and "Shensha" Figurines and the 'Muyi' System in Tang and Song Tombs – Reading The Secret Burial Classic of the Original Sepulchres of the Great Han), *Kaogu*, 2 (1963), pp. 87–106

Xu Shen, S*huowen jiezi zhu* (Annotated Explaining Simple and Analyzing Complex Characters), annotated by Duan Yucai (Hangzhou, 1999)

Xu Yahui, 'Xuanhe bogu tu de 'jianjie' liuchuan – yi Yuan dai Saiyinchidahu mu chutu de taoqi yu Shaoxi zhouxian shidian yitu weili' (The 'Indirect' Transmission of the *Xuanhe bogu tu* – Earthernware from the Tomb of Saiyinchidahu and the Shaoxi *zhouxian shidian yitu*), *Taida Journal of Art History*, XIV, March 2003, pp. 1–26

Xuanhe huapu, in *Huashi congshu*, comp. Yu Anlan, 2 vols (Shanghai, 1963)

Xuanhua Liao mu (Liao Dynasty Tombs at Xuanhua) (Beijing, 2001)

Xue Juzheng, ed., *Jiu Wudai shi* (Old History of the Five Dynasties) (Beijing, 1976)

Yan Cheng, 'Liaodai zhenrong ouxiang zangsu zouyi'(A Discussion of the Liao Mortuary Custom of using True-image Statues), *Wenwu chunqiu*, 3 (2004), pp. 24–7

Yan Genqi, Mangdangshan Xihan Liang wang mudi (The Royal Cemetery of the Liang principality of the Western Han at Mt Mangdang) (Beijing, 2001), pp. 40–75

Yang Hong, 'Liao mu bihua diancha tu' (Tea Preparation Murals in Liao Tombs), *Wenwu tiandi* 2 (1989), pp. 12–14

Yang Jing, 'Liao dai huozang mu' (Liao Dynasty Cremation Burials), *Liao Jin shi lunji*, III (1987)

Yang Zhefeng, 'Guanyu Luoyang sanzuo bihuamu de niandai xulie wenti' (Problems Concerning the Chronological Sequence of Three Han Dynasty Painted Tombs at Luoyang), *Wenwu*, 3 (2003), pp. 59–62

Ye Sheng, *Shuidong riji* (Diaries of Shuidong), vol. X, 'Siku biji xiaoshuo congshu' edn (Shanghai, 1991)

Ying Shao, *Fengsu tongyi fu yiwen* ('Explanations of Social Customs' with Fragments Found in Other Texts) (Beijing, 1943)

Yinxu Fuhao mu (Tomb of Fuhao at the Ruins of Yin) (Beijing, 1980)

Yu Haiguang, 'Shandong Longshan wenhua de daxing muzang fenxi' (An Analysis of Large-scale Burials of the Shandong Longshan Culture), *Kaogu*, 1 (2000), pp. 61–7

—, 'Shandong Longshan Wenhua Muzng qianxi' (A Preliminary Analysis of Burials from the Shandong Longshan Culture), in *Shandong Longshan wenhua yanjiu wenji (A collection of papers on Shandong Longshan culture)*, ed. Cai Fengshu and Luan Fengshi (Ji'nan, 1992), pp. 301–12

Yuan, Ke, *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* (An Annotated Edition of the Classic of Mountains and Seas) (Shanghai, 1980)

Zan Ning, *Song gao seng zhuan* (Song biographies of eminent monks) (Beijing, 1987)

Zhang Baosheng, 'Xuanhua Liao mu tuoluoni kao' (An Examination of the Dhāranī Inscriptions from Liao Tombs at Xuanhua), in *Xuanhua Liao mu*, I, pp. 352–60

Zhang Changshou,'Xi Zhou de zangyu – 1983–1986 nian Fengxi fajue ziliao zhi ba' (Burial Jades of the Western Zhou – The Eighth Set of Comments on Materials Found During the Excavations at Fengxi from 1983 to 1986), *Wenwu*, 9 (1993), pp. 55–9

—, 'Qiangliu yu huangwei' (The Qiangliu and Huangwei Coffin Decoration), *Wenwu*, 4 (1992), pp. 49–52

Zhang Jianlin, 'Tang mu bihua zhong de pingfenghua' (Screen Paintings in Tang Tombs), in *Tang mu bihua yanjiu wenji*, ed. Zhou Tianyou (Xi'an, 2001), pp. 227–39

Zhang Xunliao and Bai Bin, *Zhongguo Taojiao kaogu* (Archaeology of Chinese Taoism), 6 vols (Beijing, 2006)

Zhang Xunliao,'Dong Han muzang chutu de jizhuqi cailiao he Tianshidao de qiyuan' (Evidence for Objects Used in Acquittal Rituals from Eastern Han Tombs and the Origin of Heavenly Master Taoism), *Daojiao wenhua yanjiu*, 9 (1966), pp. 253–66

—, 'Shilun woguo nanfang diqu Tang Song muzang chutu de Taojiao "bairen yong" he "shi zhen"' (A Preliminary Discussion of Taoist 'Cypress Figures' and 'Stone True Body' Figures from Tang and Song Burials in the South), *Daojiao wenhua yanjiu (Studies of Taoist cultures)* VII (1995), pp. 312–22

—, 'Shishuo Qian Shu Wang Jian Yongling fajue cailiao zhong de Daojiao yiji' (A Preliminary Discussion of Taoist Remains Found in the Yong Mausoleum of Wang Jian of the Former Shu Kingdom), *Sichuan kaogu lunwenji* (Beijing, 1966), pp. 213–23

Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (Records of Famous Paintings of all the Dynasties), juan 9, in *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* (A Complete Collection of Writings on Chinese Painting and Calligraphy), ed. Lu Fusheng (Shanghai, 1993)

Zhang Zehong, *Daojiao zhaijiao fuzhou yishi* (Daoist Ceremonies) (Chengdu, 1999)

Zhao Chao, *Zhongguo gudai shike gailun* (A General Discussion of Ancient Chinese Stone Carvings) (Beijing, 1997)

Zhao Dianzeng and Yuan Shuguang, 'Tianmen' kao – jianlun Sichuan Han huaxiang zhuan(shi) de zuhe yu zhuti' (An Examination of 'the Gate of Heaven' – Interpreting Motifs and Motif-combinations of Han Dynasty Pictorial Stones (and Bricks) from Sichuan), *Sichuan wenwu*, 6 (1990), pp. 3–11

Zhao Huacheng, 'Zhoudai guanguo duochong zhidu yanjiu' (A Study of the System of Multi-layered Inner and Outer Coffins), *Guoxue yanjiu*, 5 (1998), pp. 27–74

Zhao Yonghong 'You mushi dao mudao – Nan Bei Chao muzang suojian zhi yizhang biaoxian yu sanzang kongjian de bianhua' (From Tomb Chambers to Passageway – Representations of Guards of Honour in Northern and Southern Dynasties Tombs and Changes in Funerary Space), in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in*

a Transformative Period, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing, 2001), pp. 427–62
Zheng Shaozong, *Mancheng Han mu* (A Han Dynasty Tomb at Mancheng) (Beijing, 2003)
Zheng Yan, 'Jiuquan Dingjiazha Shiliuguo mu sheshu buhua kao' (On a Mural Depicting a Tree of the Land God in a Sixteen Kingdoms Tomb at Dingjiazha, Jiuquan), *Gugong bowuyuan wenwu yuekan*, XII/11 (February 1995), pp. 44–52
—, 'Muzhu huaxiang yanjiu' (A Study of Portraits of Tomb Occupants), in *Liu Dunyuan xiansheng jinian wenji* (A Collection of Papers in Memory of Mr Liu Dunyuan) (Ji'nan, 1997), pp. 450–68
—, 'Guanyu Han dai Sangzang huaxiang guanzhe wenti de sikao' (Reflection on the Problem of Audience for Han Dynasty Funerary Pictorial Art), *Zhongguo Han hua yanjiu* (Art of the Han Dynasty), 2 (2005), pp. 39–55
—, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bihuamu yanjiu* (A Study of Painted Tombs of the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Beijing, 2002)
Zheng Zhaoyu, Jiang Baogeng and Li Zhongyi, *Yi'nan gu huaxiangshi mu fajue baokao* (A Report of the Excavation of an Ancient Tomb with Pictorial Carvings at Yi'nan) (Shanghai, 1956)
Zhangjiapo Xi Zhou mudi (A Western Zhou Cemetery at Zhangjiabo) (Beijing, 1999)
Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xigui, 'Zhanguo wenzi yanjiu liuzhong' (Six Studies of Warring States Texts), *Kaogu xuebao*, 1 (1972), pp. 73–89

Acknowledgements

Illustrations 16, 17, 40, 41, 80, 173 and 206 are reproduced with permission from Xiaoneng Yang, ed., *New Perspectives on China's Past: Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (Kansas City and New Haven, CT, 1999), volume 2.

Index

Tombs are listed as main headings in the General index, under locations in the Locations index, and under periods in the Periods index, which are in date order. Illustration numbers are in *italics*.

General index

Anak Tomb 3 (of Dong Shou), Oguk, North Korea *66*, 71, 74
ancestral worship 30–32, 67, 76, 174, 189
Anhui, jade-furnished burials 131–2
astronomical drawings 51, 153–5, 158–60

Baizicun Tomb, Xunyi, Shaanxi 26
Baisha Tombs 1, 2 and 3, Yuxian, Henan 79, *80–2*, 81, 82
Balinzuoqi Tomb, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia 140, 141
Baoanshan Tomb 2, Yongcheng, Henan *17*, 28
Baoshan Tomb 1, Jiangling, Hubei 96
Baoshan Tomb 2, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia *173–5*, 185–8
Baoshan Tomb 2, (of Shao Tuo), Jiangling, Hubei 33, 40, 94, 96, *117*, 120, 121, 193–4
Beidongshan Tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu 103, *103*, 105
Beizhuang Tomb (of Liu Yan), Dingzhou, Hebei *131*, 134, 135
The Book of Rites 8, 9, 18, 32, 88, 97, 99, 118, 127, 128, 131, 189, 190, 191, 197, 200, 220
Bo Qianqiu's tomb, Luoyang, Henan *146*, 154, 155, 157
bronze, use of 93–9, 132, 164–5
Buddhism
  ash icon 142
  Buddha-like figures on pillar, Yi'nan, Shandong *52*, 56–7
  and cremation 139–40, 141–2, 144
  dhāranī coffin and transcending death 146–8, 227, 231
  and religious harmony *229–30*, 232–3
  sutra *227*, 232

calendrical animals 156–7, 158
Cangshan Tomb, Shandong 9, *180–84*, 194–7, 200, 202, 203, 204, 208–9, 222
Changchuang Tomb 1, Jilin 58
Changtaiguan Tomb 1, Xinyang, Henan *101*, 102, 103, 106–8
chariots, buried 201–2, 203–4
Confucius/Confucianism
  body preservation and transformation 126–7, 142
  Book of Rites see Book of Rites
  and casket graves 29, 83
  cremation, against 139, 141
  on Emperor Shun 180
  and filial piety 180, 181, 182, 183
  heavenly mandate 52
  posthumous portraiture 80–2
  and religious harmony *229–30*, 232–3
  and 'returning to the ancient' 190–91
  spirit articles 97, 174
  and spirits and ghosts 32, 88–9
  tomb figurines 99, 100, 117
  Zhao Qi's tomb, as living grave 182–3
cosmic/mythical time *see* tombs and cosmic/mythical time
cremation 139–45
Cui Fen's tomb, Linqu, Shandong *171*, 182, 183

Dabaotai Tomb 1 (of Prince Liu Jian), Beijing *191–3*, 201–2, 203–4
Dahuting Tomb 1, Mixian, Henan 68
Dahuting Tomb 2, Mixian, Henan *31*, 41–2, 44
Dali Cemetery, Shaanxi 53
Dingjiazha Tomb 5, Jiuquan, Gansu *21–6*, 34–8, 44, 53, 56, 63, 70, 222
Ding Lan, legend of 180
Ding Mausoleum (of Emperor Wanli), Beijing 84, *85*
Dong Ming's tomb, Houma, Shanxi *5*, 15, 79–80, 83, *83*, *105*, 106, 108
Dong Shou's portrait, *66*, 71, 74
Dou Wan's tomb *see* Mancheng Tomb 2

Feng Daozhen's tomb, Datong, Shanxi *57*, 61
Feng Rujiu's tomb, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan 9
Fenshuiling Tomb, Changzhi, Shanxi 108
figurines *see* tombs, figurines
First Emperor's mausoleum (The Lishan Mausoleum)
  description 18–20, 48–9, 53–4, 64, 131, 150
  life-sized figures *4*, 11, 13, 103, *107–9*, 108, 109–11, 114, *114–16*, 118–19, 120
  workers entombed 18
Foyemiaowan Tomb 39, Dunhuang, Gansu *35–6*, 44–5
Foyemiaowan Tomb 133, Dunhuang, Gansu *63*, 68, 69, *208*, 211–12, 213
Fu Hao's tomb, Yinxu Tomb 5, Anyang, Henan *3*, 11, 12, 164, 168

Guangwu, Emperor, spirit seat 73
Guanzhuang Tomb, Mizhi, Shaanxi *207*, 211, 212
Guitoushan Sarcophagus, Jianyang, Sichuan *58*, 62–3

Han 11, 17, 33, 55, 89, 139–40, 225
casket and grave construction 20, 30, 40, 45–7, 192
cliff tombs 19, 27–9
and cosmology 152–3, 155–6, 157–8, 161, 162
funerary journeys 194–212
History of the Later Han 26
jade-furnished burials 131–3, 224
Old Ceremonies of the Han 64
tomb figurines 93, 103, 114
Yangjiawan, tomb figurines, Xi'an, Shaanxi 103
see also Eastern Han; Western Han (in Periods index)
Helingeer Tomb, Inner Mongolia *165*, 176, 177, 194, 195–6
historical narratives *see* tombs, historical narratives
Historical Records see Sima Qian
Houjiazhuang Tomb 1001, Anyang, Henan *46*, 53
Houjiazhuang Tomb 1004, Anyang, Henan *13*, 21–2, 24
Houshiguo Tomb 1, Mixian, Henan *223*, 229
Hsüeh-man Shen 60, 141, 142, 227, 231
Huang Xiaofen *20*, 30, 31

jade elixir 137–8
jade-furnished burials 11, 86, 131–8, 222–4, 229
Jiangxi, Nanchang, cypress wood figure 145–6
Jiaohuachang Tomb, Taiyuan, Shanxi *44*, 50, 52
Jiayuguan Tomb 7, Jiayuguan, Gansu *37*, 45
Jin (Jurchen) 45, 46–7, 78–81, 139, 182
Jin (state) 132
Jinguyuan Tomb, Luoyang, Henan *141–3*, 151–3

Kangling Mausoleum, Lin'an, Zhejia *150*, 157, 158
Koguryo 70–72, 74

Lady Dai's tomb *see* Mawangdui Tomb 1
Lamagou Tomb, Aohanqi, Inner Mongolia 147
Langjiazhuang Tomb 1, Zhangqiu, Shandong 108
Li Qingquan 144, 227, 229, 233
Li Xian's tomb, Pucheng, Shaanxi *212*, 213–14
Li Xizong and Lady Cui's tomb, Cixian, Hebei, Eastern Wei *110*, 112, 212
Lishan Mausoleum *see* First Emperor's mausoleum
Liu Ci's tomb, Linyi, Shandong 132–3, 136
Liu Yan's jade head, Dingzhou, Hebei *131*, 134, 135
Liulige Tomb 140, Huixian, Henan 108
Liu Sheng's tomb *see* Mancheng Tomb 1
lived objects 40–41, 87–8, 99, 150, 163–73, 222
Lou Rui's tomb, Taiyuan, Shanxi *149*, 157, 158, *199–201*, 206–7, 209, 212, 222
Lu Ji, 'Mourner's Songs' 63–4, 150
Lujiazhuang Tomb, Anping, Hebei *33–4*, 42–4, 68–9, 74

Mancheng Tomb 1 (of Liu Sheng), Hebei
buried chariots *190*, 201, 202, 203–4, 222–3
jade objects and suit 86, 91, *129*, *132–5*, 133–7, 138, *216*, 222–4, 229
lived objects 171, 172–3, 222
sacrificial area 67–8, 222, 223
site map and plan *18*, 28–9, 85–7, *86–7*, 222–3
spirit seat 78, 86, 222, 223
stone gate 86, 222, 223
use of different materials 86–7, 223–4
Mancheng Tomb 2 (of Dou Wan), Hebei
jade objects and suit 86, *130*, 133–4, 135, 136–7, 138, 229
lived objects *161*, 171, 172–3
spirit seat 67–8
manikins 140–46
Mao Zedong's mausoleum, Beijing 233
Marquis Yi's tomb, Suixian, Hubei *27–9*, 38–40, *88*, 89, *178*, 193, 229
Mawangdui Tomb 1 (of Lady Dai), Changsha, Hunan
and ancestral worship 65–7
body and image preservation *121–5*, 128–31, 136, 137, 221
construction *14*, 22–4, 25, 40–41, 220–2
cosmology representation 221
Name Banner *124–5*, 129–30, 137, 220, 221
as polycentric tomb 221–2
posthumous 'happy home' 61–2, 77, 78
posthumous soul *47–50*, 54–6, 220
sacrificial scene 131
spirit seat and lived objects 40–41, *59–61*, 64–5, 65–6, 78, *156*, 167–8, 220, 221
tomb figurines *59–61*, 65–6, 103, *110*, 112, 120, 220
Mawangdui Tomb 3, Changsha, Hunan *100*, 101, *157–8*, 168, 169
Meng and his wife's tomb, Guangshan, Henan *159–60*, 170
music and dancers, portrayal of 34, 44, 65, 68, 77, 79, 103–4, 106, 108–9, 114, 197, 227

Name Banner 128, 129–30, 137, 220, 221
Ning Mao's sarcophagus and epitaph, Luoyang, Henan *166–8*, 176–80, 182, 188–9
Northern Liang, lead and tin silhouette figurines 123
Nülangshan Tomb 1, Zhangqiu, Shandong *106*, 108–9
Nüwa, and creationist myth 121–2

Orchid Pavilion Preface, and Emperor Taizong 166–7, 172

Pan Yue, 'Dao wang' (grief for the death of a loved one) poem 163
'The Peony Lantern' 117
Pinglu Tomb, Shanxi *30*, 41
Pixian Sarcophagus, Sichuan *45*, 51–2
Princess Jinxiang's tomb, Xi'an, Shaanxi 116–17
Princess of State of Chen's tomb, Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, Inner Mongolia *139–40*, 144, 145, 146
Princess Yongtai's tomb, Qianxian, Shaanxi *55*, 59
Prince Yide's tomb (of Li Chongrun), Qianxian, Shaanxi 90, *90*
Prince Zhanghuai's tomb, Qianxian, Shaanxi *38*, 46
Protocols of Ceremonies 38, 90–91, 127, 164, 191, 199, 200

Qidan mortuary practice 140, 143–4
Qilihe Tomb, Luoyang, Henan *62*, 68
Qilin'gang Tomb, Nanyang, Henan *53*, 57–8, 184

sacrificial area and vessels 31, 67–8, 87–8, 99, 222, 223, 230
Saiyinchidahu's tomb, Xilümiao, Luoyang, Henan *177*, 192, 193

Sanmenxia Tombs 2001, 2006 and 2009, Henan *127*, 133
screens, multi-panel 43, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76–7
Secret Burial Classic of the Original Sepulchres of the Great Han 111, 113–14, 157–8
Shangma Cemetery, Shaanxi 95
Shaogou Tomb 61, Luoyang, Henan *8*, *15*, 19, 25, *145*, 153–4
Shizhuang Tomb 6, Jingxing, Hebei *39*, 46–7
Shun, Emperor, legend of 180, 190
Sima Guang 82, 83, 117, 191–2
Sima Qian 18, 19–20, 48–9, 50, 53–4, 64, 127, 131, 150, 153, 185
Six Dynasties, Xishanqiao, Nanjing, Jiangsu, filial son images *170*, 182
Sogdians
  body transformation and restoration 139
  as tomb figures 106
Southern Yue Princely Tomb (of Zhao Mo), Guangzhou, Guangdong *16*, 26–7, 28, *128*
'spirit articles' *see* tombs, 'spirit articles'
spirit seats 64–70, 73, 78, 82, 84, 86, 222, 223
Spring and Autumn period
  Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals 7–8, 9, 18
  see also Eastern Zhou (in Dynasties index)
Su Hui legend *175*, 185–8
Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum, Nanjing, Jiangsu, 233
Su Sixu's tomb, Xi'an, Shaanxi *75*, 77

Taizong, Emperor, and lived objects (*Orchid Pavilion Preface*) 166–7, 172
Taoism 182
  acquittal figures 124–5, 145–6
  Archaeology of Chinese Taoism 33
  lead and ritual practices 124
  manikins of cypress wood 145
  and religious harmony *229–30*, 232–3
  Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove *170–71*, 182, 183
  'stone true body' *120*, 124–6
  sutra *228*, 232
  symbols, Northern Wei *54*, 58, 59
  and Taiyi (Supreme One) 57–8
  trees, supernatural powers of 124
  white cranes in murals 58, 60, 61, 232
Thompson, Lydia 56–7, 199, 200
Tianma-Qucun Tomb 93, Shanxi 94, 95, *95*, 96
Tokhungri Tomb (of Chin), Pyongyang, North Korea *67–8*, 71–3, 74–5, 76, *202–3*, 207–9
tombs
  above- and below-ground, relation ship between 8, 14, 15, 20, 150
  and ancestral worship 30–32, 67, 76, 174, 189
  and archaeology of burials 10, 11
  art collections (personal) in 11, 168–70
  and art history 10–14
  body and image preservation 127–31
  body preservation and transforma tion 126–48
  body transformation and restora tion 139–41
  bronze, use of 93–9, 132, 164–5
  burial as social construct, study of 9–10
  casket grave to chamber grave development 20–34, 83, 191–2
  casket graves 20–23, 29, 30, 33, 38–9, 40–41, 65, 193, 229
  chamber graves 24–34, 67, 83–4, 191–2
  chamber graves and symbolic space 34–63
  chariots, buried 201–2, 203–4
  cliff tombs 19, 27–9
  coffin-beds 77, 141
  compositional design of images, improvements in 36, 56
  and cremation 139–45
  cypress wood, use of 124, 140, 145–6
  female figure painting 81, 185, 187, 188
  funerary journey to immortality 32, 151, 194–212, 217
  and grotto-heavens 60, 61
  guardians 53, 104, 116
  illusionistic architectural decoration 20, 80, 160, 224, 225, 228–9
  jade-furnished burials 11, 86, 131–8, 222–4, 229
  lived objects 40–41, 87–8, 99, 150, 163–73, 222
  manikins and body restoration 142–6
  manikins and cremation 140–42
  mass production, lack of 10
  multi-chamber 20, 22, 30, 41, 77–80
  music and dancers portrayed in 34, 44, 65, 68, 77, 79, 103–4, 106, 108–9, 114, 197, 227
  Name Banner 128, 129–30, 137, 220, 221
  omens in pictorial art 52–3
  panoramic landscape, first 41
  paradise imaging and immortality 53–63
  passageway as space of departure 204–17
  permanent sealing of 8–9, 10, 14, 22–4, 25–6
  posthumous 'happy home' construction 38–47, 53, 61–2
  posthumous portraiture 68–84
  and posthumous soul 32, 40, 67, 77, 220, 221, 222
  postmortem transformation of body 127, 131–8
  religious figures in funerary art 56–7
  sacrificial area and vessels 31, 67–8, 87–8, 99, 222, 223, 230
  sarcophagi decoration 62–3
  screens, multi-panel 43, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76–7
  single-chamber 50, 51, 73, 78–9
  soldier guards, entombed 18, 221
  soul representation 63–84, 221
  spirit seats 64–70, 73, 78, 82, 84, 86, 222, 223
  study methods and scholarships 9–14
  and temporality, meaning of 149–50
  windows and doors portrayed in 22, 40, 79, 86, 193, 222, 223, 224, 226, 229–31, 230
tombs and cosmic/mythical time
  and astronomical drawings 51, 153–5, 158–60
  and calendrical animals 156–7, 158
  cosmic movement, diagramming 151–2
  cosmic time and lived time, interaction between 150
  and epitaphs 175–6
  and Five Elements 152–3, 155–6
  heaven, depiction of 47–53
  and Twenty-Eight Lunar Lodges 50, 153, 155, 156, 161–2, 175
  and *yin* and *yang* 62–3, 131, 155–6
tombs, figurines
  'foreigners' as 106, 107
  framing methods 111–14

and funerary inscriptions 123–4
lead and tin silhouettes 123
life-sized *see under* First Emperor mausoleum
magical function of 122–6
and medium of representation 99–126
miniaturization 114–17, 225
miraculous manifestations of 100
puppet–like 101, 120–22
role of 93, 102–6
'stone true body' 124–5
as substitutes for human sacrifice 99, 100
as tableau 106–11
tripartite grouping 104–6, 116
with uncoloured heads 89–90
and verisimilitude 117–22
tombs, historical narratives 150–51, 173–92
and filial piety 180–88
and pictorial biography 176–8, 194
and retrospective biography 173–9
and 'returning to the ancient' 188–92
tombs, and 'spirit articles' 10, 14, 20, 87–99, 164, 230–31
archaistic design 96, 97, 190, 192
bronze 93–9, 164–5
historicizing mortuary rites and grave goods 97
mixed medium assemblages 96–9
pottery 91–3, 94, 96

Wang Chuzhi's tomb, Quyang, Hebei *76–9*, 77–8, 112, 157, 222
Wang Ziqiao legend 58–9
Wangdu Tomb 1, Wangdu, Hebei *32*, 42, 43, 44, 69
Wanggou Tomb 10, Changdao, Shandong *179*, 193, 194
Wang Jian's tomb (Yongling), Chengdu, Sichuan *120*, 125–6
Wangshan Tomb 1, Jiangling, Hubei *9*, *10*, 21, 22, 96, *96*, 97
Wanli, Emperor, Ding Mausoleum, Beijing 84, 85
Wanzhang Tomb, Cixian, Hebei 104, *113*, 116, *209–11*, 212–13
Warring States period 8, 32–3, 100
Chu, lived objects in tombs 165
Nülangshan, Zhangqiu, Shandong, tomb figurines *106*, 108–9
Xianyang, Shaanxi, tomb figurines *102*, 103, 104
see also Eastern Zhou (in Dynasties index)
Weishan Sarcophagus, Shandong *186–7*, 198–9, 200
Wu, Emperor 67, 127, 137, 166
Wu Ding *46*, 53
Wujin jade-furnished burial, Jiangsu, Liangzhu culture *2*, 11, 132
Wu Liang Shrine 184
Wuyang Tomb 16, Yixian, Hebei 92, 93, *94*, 97
Wu Zetian, Empress 58–9

Xianyang Tomb 28057, Shaanxi 104
Xianyu Tinghui's tomb, Xi'an, Shaanxi *104*, 106, 107
Xin *see* Western Han and Xin (in Periods index)
Xishanqiao Tomb, Nanjing, Jiangsu *170*, 182
Xishuipo Tomb 45, Puyang, Henan *40–41*, 47–8
Xuanhua Tomb 1 (of Zhang Shiqing) Xuanhua, Hebei *153*, 160, 162, 163, *225–6*, 229–30, 231
Xuanhua Tomb 2 (of Zhang Gongyou), Xuanhua, Hebei *161-2*
Xuanhua Tomb 7 (of Zhang Wenzao), Xuanhua, Hebei
construction *215*, *217–18*, 218, 224–5, 226
dhāranī coffin 227, 231
ghost articles 230–31
as miniature house 224–7
religions combined *229–30*, 232–3
straw manikins 140, 142, 231
windows and doors *219*, *224*, 226, 229–31, 230
Xuanhua Tomb 10 (of Zhang Kuangzheng), Xuanhua, Hebei *56*, 60, 161
Xu De's tomb, Jiangning, Jiangsu 83, *84*
Xu Xianxiu's tomb, Datong, Shanxi *69–70*, 73, 74, 75, *204–5*, 209–11, 212
Xunzi 33–4, 88, 89, 165, 172

Yang Guifei legend *174*, 185–6, 188
Yangjiawan Tomb 4, Xi'an, Shaanxi 103
Yangling Mausoleum (of Emperor Jing), Xi'an, Shaanxi *112*, 114–15, *118*, 122
Yangtianhu, lived objects in tomb 165–6
Yangzi River region
casket structure, Chu area 22
and Liangzhu jade carvings *2*, 11, 132
Yangzishan Tomb, Sichuan *197–8*, 204–5, 206–7
Yaoshan Cemetery, Zhejiang 132
Yecheng Model 212–17
Yellow Springs, derivation 7–8
Yi'nan Tomb, Shandong
Buddha-like figures on pillar in tomb *52*, 56–7
funerary procession carvings *188–9*, 199–201, 202–3
miniature latrine *220*, 225–7
stone bas relief *172*, 184–5
Yonggu Mausoleum, Fangshan, Datong, Shanxi *206*, 210, 212
Yinxu Tomb 5 (of Fu Hao), Anyang, Henan *3*, 11, 12, 164, 168
Yuantaizi Tomb, Chaoyang, Liaoning *64–5*, 70, 71, 74
Yuan Yi's tomb, Luoyang, Henan *43*, 50, 51, 160

Zhang family
cremations, Xuanhua, Hebei *136*, 140, 141–2, 144–5, 147–8, 160, *215*, 218, 227
tombs and cosmological images, Xuanhua, Hebei *153–5*, 160–63
Zhang Gongyou, Xuanhua Tomb 2, Xuanhua, Hebei *161-2*
Zhang Kuangzheng's tomb *see* Xuanhua Tomb 10
Zhang Shiqing's tomb *see* Xuanhua Tomb 1
Zhang Wenzao's tomb *see* Xuanhua Tomb 7
Zhao Mo's jade body, *16*, 26–7, 28, *128*, 133, 134
Zhao Qi's tomb, as living grave 182–3
Zhijiabao Tomb, Datong, Shanxi *71–4*, 75–6
Zhongshan Tomb 1 (of King Cuo), Pingshan, Hebei *7*, 18, 97–9, *97–9*
Zhou 11, 132
The Rites of Zhou 33
Wang Ziqiao legend 58–9
see also Eastern Zhou; Western Zhou (in Periods index)
Zhu Tan's tomb, Zoucheng, Shandong *162*, 172
Zhu Wei's tomb and shrine, Jinxiang, Shandong *1*, 8, *176*, 189
Zhu Xi 82, 83, 117, 191, 192

Periods index (major tombs in bold)

Neolithic
casket graves, Longshan culture 21
Dawenkou Tomb **10**, Shandong, Dawenkou culture, 4th–3rd millennium BCE *11*, 23
and Liangzhu jade carvings *2*, 11, 132
Longshan burials, Shandong, Longshan culture, 3rd millennium BCE 21, 91–2, *93*
pottery ritual vessels, Longshan culture 91–2, *92*, *93*
pottery spirit articles, Dawenkou culture 91
single-coffin tombs, Yangshao 21
stone and pottery coffins *6*, 17, 18, 193
timber-framed coffins, Dawenkou culture 21
Wujin jade-furnished burial, Jiangsu, Liangzhu culture, c. 3rd millennium BCE *2*, 11, 132
Xishuipo Tomb **45**, Puyang, Henan, Yangshao culture, 5th millennium BCE *40–41*, 47–8
Xizhufeng Tomb **1**, Linqu, Shandong, Longshan culture, 2nd half of the 3rd millennium BCE *12*, 21, 23
Yaoshan Cemetery, Zhejiang, Liangzhu culture, c. 3rd millennium BCE 132
Shang 92, 132, 165, 174, 221
Houjiazhuang Tomb **1001**, Anyang, Henan, c. 13th–12th centuries BCE *46*, 53
Houjiazhuang Tomb **1004**, Anyang, Henan, c. 13th–12th centuries BCE *13*, 21–2, 24
pantheon reconstruction 32–3
Yinxu Tomb **5** (of Fu Hao), Anyang, Henan, 13th century BCE *3*, 11, 12, 164, 168
Western Zhou 17, 31, 92, 96, 123, 132, 164–5, 165
Sanmenxia Tombs **2001**, **2006** and **2009**, Henan, 9th–8th centuries BCE *127*, 133
Tianma-Qucun Tomb **93**, Shanxi, 8th century BCE 94
Yuanshi, Hebei, bronze spirit vessels 94
Eastern Zhou 17, 20, 22, 31, 40, 89, 128–9, 221, 222
Baoshan Tomb **1**, Jiangling, Hubei, 4th century BCE 96
Baoshan Tomb **2**, (of Shao Tuo), Jiangling, Hubei, 4th century BCE 33, 40, 94, 96, *117*, 120, 121, 193–4
Changsha, Yangtianhu, lived objects in tomb 165–6
Changtaiguan Tomb **1**, Xinyang, Henan, 4th century BCE *101*, 102, 103, 106–8
Fenshuiling Tomb, Changzhi, Shanxi, 5th century BCE, 108
Langjiazhuang Tomb **1**, Zhangqiu, Shandong, 6th–5th centuries BCE 108
Liulige Tomb **140**, Huixian, Henan, 4th century BCE 108
Marquis Yi?s tomb, Suixian, Hubei, 5th century BCE *27–9*, 38–40, *88*, 89, *178*, 193, 229
Meng and his wife?s tomb, Guangshan, Henan, 7th century BCE *159–60*, 170
Nanlangshan Tomb **1**, Zhangqiu, Shandong, 4th century BCE *106*, 108–9
and 'returning to the ancient' 189–92
Shangma Cemetery, Shanxi, 9th–5th centuries BCE 95
'spirit articles' 87–8, 92, 94–5, 96
tomb figurines 93, 99, 102, 106–9, 114, 117–18, 120
Wanggou Tomb **10**, Changdao, Shandong, 5th century BCE *179*, 193, 194
Wangshan Tomb **1**, Jiangling, Hubei, 4th century BCE *9*, *10*, 21, 22, 96, *96*, 97
Wuyang Tomb **16** at Yixian, Hebei, 5th century BCE 92, 93, *94*, 97
Xianyang Tomb **28057**, Shaanxi, c. 4th century BCE 104
Zhongshan Tomb **1** (of King Cuo), Pingshan, Hebei, 4th century BCE *7*, 18, 97–9, *97–9*
see also Eastern Zhou; Spring and Autumn (in General index); Warring States (in General index); Western Zhou; Zhou (in General index)
Qin 94
First Emperor?s mausoleum *see* First Emperor's mausoleum (General index)
tomb figurines, Xianyang, Shaanxi 104
Western Han and Xin 67–8, 86, 100, 101, 118, *130*, 133–4, 135, 136–7, 138, *161*, 171, 172–3, 229
Baoanshan Tomb **2**, Yongcheng, Henan, 2nd century BCE *17*, 28
Beidongshan Tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu, 2nd century BCE 103, *103*, 105
Bo Qianqiu?s tomb, Luoyang, Henan, 1st century BCE *146*, 154, 155, 157
Chang'an, tomb with celestial image *42*, 49–50, *144*

Dabaotai Tomb 1 (of Prince Liu Jian), Beijing, 45 BCE, *191–3*, 201–2, 203–4
Feng Rujiu?s tomb, Tanghe, Nanyang, Henan, early 1st century CE 9
The History of the Western Han 67
Jinguyuan Tomb, Luoyang, Henan, 1st century CE *141–3*, 151–3
Liu Ci?s tomb, Linyi, Shandong, 2nd century BCE 132–3, 136
Mancheng Tombs *see* Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2 (in General index)
Mawangdui Tombs *see* Mawangdui Tombs 1 and 3 (in General index)
Shaogou Tomb 61, Luoyang, Henan, 1st century BCE *8*, *15*, 19, 25, *145*, 153–4
Southern Yue Princely Tomb (of Zhao Mo), Guangzhou, Guangdong, 2nd century BCE *16*, 26–7, 28, *128*, 133, 134
and Wei River bridge 194–6
Weishan Sarcophagus, Shandong, 1st century BCE *186–7*, 198–9, 200
Xi?an Transportation University Tomb, Xi?an, Shaanxi, late 1st century BCE *42*, 49–50, *144*, 153–5, 157, 161
Yangjiawan Tomb 4, Xi?an, Shaanxi, early 2nd century BCE 103
Yangling Mausoleum (of Emperor Jing), Xi?an, Shaanxi, 2nd century BCE *112*, 114–15, *118*, 122
see also Han (in General index)
Eastern Han 31–2, 76–7, 102, 123–4
Baizicun Tomb, Xunyi, Shaanxi, 2nd century CE 26
Beizhuang Tomb (of Liu Yan), Dingzhou, Hebei, 1st century CE *131*, 134, 135
Cangshan, Shandong Province, 151 CE 9, *180–84*, 194–7, 200, 202, 203, 204, 208–9, 222
Chengdu, Sichuan, Queen Mother of West on stamped brick *51*, 56
Dahuting Tomb 1, Mixian, Henan, 2nd century CE 68
Dahuting Tomb 2, Mixian, Henan, 2nd century CE *31*, 41–2, 44
Guanzhuang, Mizhi, Shaanxi, 2nd century CE *207*, 211, 212
Guitoushan Sarcophagus, Jianyang, Sichuan, 2nd century CE *58*, 62–3
Helingeer Tomb, Inner Mongolia, 2nd century CE *165*, 176, 177, 194, 195–6
Houshiguo Tomb 1, Mixian, Henan, 2nd century CE *223*, 229
Jiaxiang, Shandong, posthumous journey depiction *194–5*, 202–3, 204, 205
Lujiazhuang Tomb, Anping, Hebei, 176 CE *33–4*, 42–4, 68–9, 74
Luoyang, Henan, Eastern Han royal temple, spirit seat 64
Luoyang, Henan, lead silhouette figurines *119*, 123
Pinglu Tomb, Shanxi, 1st century CE *30*, 41
Pixian Sarcophagus, Sichuan, 2nd century CE *45*, 51–2
Qilihe Tomb, Luoyang, Henan, 2nd century CE *62*, 68
Qilin?gang, Nanyang, Henan, 1st–2nd centuries CE *53*, 57–8, 184
Sichuan, posthumous journey depiction *196*, 203, 205
Songshan, Shandong, mortuary shrine description 63
spirit seat of Emperor Guangwu 73
TLV mirror *148*, 156–7
Wangdu Tomb 1, Wangdu, Hebei, 2nd century CE *32*, 42, 43, 44, 69
Yangzishan Tomb, Sichuan, late 2nd–early 3rd centuries CE *197–8*, 204–5, 206–7
Yi?nan Tomb, Shandong, 2nd century CE *see* Yi'nan Tomb, Shandong (General index)
Zhu Wei?s tomb and shrine, Jinxiang, Shandong, 2nd century CE *1*, 8, *176*, 189
see also Han (in General index); Western Han and Xin
Western Jin
Foyemiaowan Tomb 39, Dunhuang, Gansu, 3rd century CE *35–6*, 44–5
Foyemiaowan Tomb 133, Dunhuang, Gansu, 3rd century CE *63*, 68, 69, *208*, 211–12, 213
Jiayuguan Tomb 7, Jiayuguan, Gansu, 3rd–4th century CE *37*, 45
see also Eastern Jin; Jin
Eastern Jin
Yuantaizi Tomb, Chaoyang, Liaoning, first half of the 4th century *64–5*, 70, 71, 74
see also Jin; Western Jin
Sixteen Kingdoms Period
Dingjiazha Tomb 5, Jiuquan, Gansu, 4th–5th centuries CE *21–6*, 34–8, 44, 53, 56, 63, 70, 222
Eastern Wei 104
Li Xizong and Lady Cui?s tomb, Cixian, Hebei, Eastern Wei, mid-6th century CE *110*, 112, 212
Northern Qi
fan painting, Southern Song 172
Cui Fen?s tomb, Linqu, Shandong, 557 CE *171*, 182, 183
Lou Rui?s tomb, Taiyuan, Shanxi, late 6th century CE *149*, 157, 158, *199–201*, 206–7, 209, 212, 222
Hebei royal tombs, Cixian 212, 217
Shanxi elite burials, Jinyang 212
Wanzhang Tomb, Cixian, Hebei, 560 CE 104, *113*, 116, *209–11*, 212–13
Xu Xianxiu?s tomb, Datong, Shanxi, 571 CE *69–70*, 73, 74, 75, *204–5*, 209–11, 212
Yecheng Model 212–13

Northern Song 78–80
Baisha Tomb 1, Yuxian, Henan 79, *80–82*, 81, 82
Baisha Tombs 2 and 3, Yuxian, Henan 79
Xu De?s tomb, Jiangning, Jiangsu 83, *84*
see also Song
Northern Wei
fan painting, Southern Song 172
Ning Mao?s sarcophagus and epitaph, Luoyang, Henan, early 6th century CE *166–8*, 176–80, 182, 188–9
Taoist symbols *54*, 58, 59
Yonggu Mausoleum, Fangshan, Datong, Shanxi, 490 CE *206*, 210, 212
Yuan Yi?s tomb, Luoyang, Henan, 526 CE *43*, 50, 51, 160
Zhijiabao Tomb, Datong, Shanxi, late 5th century CE *71–4*, 75–6
Southern Dynasties
fan painting, Southern Song 172
posthumous portraiture, Southern Song 78–9
Xishanqiao Tomb, Nanjing, Jiangsu, c. 5th century CE *170*, 182
Koguryo Period
Anak Tomb 3 (of Dong Shou), Oguk, Koguryo Period, 357 CE *66*, 71, 74
Changchuang Tomb 1, Changchuan, Jilin, late 5th century CE 58
Tokhungri Tomb (of Chin), Pyongyang, North Korea, 408 CE *67–8*, 71–3, 74–5, 76, *202–3*, 207–9
Tang 26, 27, 74, 76, 76–7, 127–8, 174, 187
aristocratic tombs and court life illustrations *38*, 45, 46
Buddhist cremation 139
calendrical animals *151–2*, 157, 158–9
cypress wood figure, Nanchang, Jiangxi 145–6
figurines with uncoloured heads 89–90, *89–90*
Jiaohuachang Tomb, Taiyuan, Shanxi, 8th century CE *44*, 50, 52
'stone true body' and magical function 124–5
Li Xian?s tomb, Pucheng, Shaanxi, 742 CE *212*, 213–14
Prince Yide?s tomb (of Li Chongrun), Qianxian, Shaanxi, 704 CE 90, *90*
Prince Zhanghuai?s tomb, Qianxian, Shaanxi, 706 CE *38*, 46
Princess Jinxiang?s tomb, Xi?an, Shaanxi, 690 CE 116–17
Princess Yongtai?s tomb, Qianxian, Shaanxi, 705 CE *55*, 59
Su Sixu?s tomb, Xi?an, Shaanxi, 745 CE *75*, 77
Taizong, Emperor, and lived objects (*Orchid Pavilion Preface*) 166–7, 172
Taoist influence 58
tomb figurines 100, 104, 106, 107, 112–13, 116–17
Wang Ziqiao legend 58–9
white cranes in murals 60
Wu Zetian, Empress 58–9
Xianyu Tinghui?s tomb, Xi?an, Shaanxi, 723 CE *104*, 106, 107
Five Dynasties
Hanxian, Jiangsu, epitaph of Madam Wang *164*, 173, 175
Hongbian statue, Dunhuang, Gansu *138*, 142, 143
Kangling Mausoleum, Lin?an, Zhejiang, 939 CE *150*, 157, 158
Old History of the Five Dynasties 167
Wang Chuzhi?s tomb, Quyang, Hebei, 924 CE *76–9*, 77–8, 112, 157, 222
Wang Jian?s tomb (Yongling), Chengdu, Sichuan, early 10th century CE *120*, 125–6
white cranes in murals 60
Song 45, 74, 80–82, 81, *81*, 106, 112–13, 117, 174, 182, 191, 192, 225
Baisha Tombs 1, 2 and 3, Yuxian, Henan, 1099 CE 79, *80–2*, 81, 82
and Buddhist cremation 139
female figure painting 81, *81*, 187
porcelain pillow with theatre sculpture 90, *91*
Xu De?s tomb, Jiangning, Jiangsu, 1045 CE 83, *84*
see also Northern Song
Liao Dynasty 45, 78–9, 139–40, 143–5
Balinzuoqi Tomb, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, 11th–12th centuries CE *137*, 140, 141
Baoshan Tomb 2, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, 930 CE *173–5*, 185–8
Lamagou Tomb, Aohanqi, Inner Mongolia, 12th century CE 147
Princess of State of Chen?s tomb, Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, Inner Mongolia, 1018 CE *139–40*, 144, 145, 146
Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, Inner Mongolia, burial of princess of State of Chen *139–40*, 144, 145, 146
Zhang family tombs *see under* Xuanhua; Zhang (in General index)
Jin Dynasty
Dong Ming?s tomb, Houma, Shanxi, 1210 CE *5*, 15, 79–80, 83, *83*, *105*, 106, 108
History of Jin 186
Shizhuang Tomb 6, Jingxing, Hebei, 12th century CE *39*, 46–7
see also Eastern Jin; Western Jin
Yuan 182
Buddhist cremation 139
Feng Daozhen?s tomb, Datong, Shanxi, 1265 CE *57*, 61
Saiyinchidahu?s tomb, Xil miao, Luoyang, Henan, 1365 CE *177*, 192, 193
Ming Dynasty
Ding Mausoleum (of Emperor Wanli), Beijing, late 16th century CE 84, *85*
Zhu Tan?s tomb, Zoucheng, Shandong, 1389 CE *162*, 172
Qing Dynasty 165
Dali Cemetery, Shaanxi, 19th century 58
Republican Period
Sun Yat-sen?s mausoleum,

Nanjing, Jiangsu, 1926–1931 233
People's Republic of China
Mao Zedong?s mausoleum, Tiananmen Square, Beijing, 1976–1977 233

Locations index (major tombs in bold)

Beijing
Dabaotai Tomb 1 (of Liu Jian), Western Han, 45 BCE *191–3*, 201–2, 203–4
Ding Mausoleum (of Emperor Wanli), Ming, late 16th century CE 84, *85*
Mao Zedong?s mausoleum, Tiananmen Square, 1976–1977 233
Chu
casket structure 22
lived objects in tombs 165
posthumous 'happy home' construction 40
tomb figures 120, *178*, 221
Gansu
Dingjiazha Tomb 5, Jiuquan, Sixteen Kingdoms period, 4th–5th centuries CE *21–6*, 34–8, 44, 53, 56, 63, 70, 222
Dunhuang, Hongbian statue *138*, 142, 143
Foyemiaowan Tomb 133, Dunhuang, Western Jin, 3rd century CE *63*, 68, 69, *208*, 211–12, 213
Foyemiaowan Tomb 39, Dunhuang, Western Jin, 3rd century CE *35–6*, 44–5
Jiayuguan Tomb 7, Jiayuguan, Western Jin, 3rd–4th century CE *37*, 45
Guangdong
Southern Yue Princely Tomb (of Zhao Mo), Guangzhou, Western Han, 2nd century BCE *16*, 26–7, 28, *128*, 133, 134
Hebei
Beizhuang Tomb (of Liu Yan), Dingzhou, Eastern Han, 1st century CE *131*, 134, 135
Cixian, royal tombs 212, 217
Li Xizong and Lady Cui?s tomb, Cixian, Eastern Wei, mid-16th century CE *110*, 112, 212
Liu Yan's jade head, Dingzhou *131*, 134, 135
Luanhezhen tomb furnishings, Yan 92
Lujiazhuang Tomb, Anping, Eastern Han, 176 CE *33–4*, 42–4, 68–9, 74
Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2 (of Dou Wan) *see* Mancheng Tombs 1 and 2 (General index)
Provincial Museum 12
Wang Chuzhi?s tomb, Quyang, Five Dynasties, 924 CE *76–9*, 77–8, 112, 157, 222
Wangdu Tomb 1, Wangdu, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE *32*, 42, 43, 44, 69
Wanzhang Tomb, Cixian, Northern Qi, 560 CE 104, *113*, 116, *209–11*, 212–13
Wuyang Tomb 16, Yixian, Eastern Zhou, 5th century BCE 92, 93, *94*, 97
Xuanhua, Zhang family tombs *see under* Xuanhua; Zhang (in General index)
Yuanshi, bronze spirit vessels 94
Zhongshan Tomb 1 (of King Cuo), Pingshan, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE *7*, 18, 97–9, *97–9*
Henan
Baisha Tombs 1, 2 and 3, Yuxian, Song, 1099 CE 79, *80–2*, 81, 82
Baoanshan Tomb 2, Yongcheng, Western Han, 2nd century BCE *17*, 28
Bo Qianqiu?s tomb, Luoyang, Western Han, 1st century BCE *146*, 154, 155, 157
Changtaiguan Tomb 1, Xinyang, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE *101*, 102, 103, 106–8
Dahuting Tomb 1, Mixian, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE 68
Dahuting Tomb 2, Mixian, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE *31*, 41–2, 44
Feng Rujiu?s tomb, Tanghe, Nanyang, Eastern Han, early 1st century CE 9
Houjiazhuang Tomb 1001, Anyang, Shang, c. 13th–12th centuries BCE *46*, 53
Houjiazhuang Tomb 1004, Anyang, Shang, c. 13th–12th centuries BCE *13*, 21–2, 24
Houshiguo Tomb 1, Mixian, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE *223*, 229
Huixian, tomb figurines 108
Liulige Tomb 40, Huixian, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE 108
Luoyang *see* Luoyang, Henan
Meng and his wife?s tomb, Guangshan, Eastern Zhou, 7th century BCE *159–60*, 170
Ning Mao?s sarcophagus and epitaph, Luoyang, Northern Wei, early 6th century CE *166–8*, 176–80, 182, 188–9
Qilihe Tomb, Luoyang, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE *62*, 68
Qilin?gang Tomb, Nanyang, Eastern Han, 1st–2nd centuries CE *53*, 57–8, 184
Saiyinchidahu?s tomb, Xil miao, Luoyang, Yuan, 1365 CE *177*, 192, 193
Sanmenxia Tombs 2001, 2006 and 2009, Western Zhou, 9th–8th centuries BCE *127*, 133
Shaogou Tomb 61, Luoyang, Western Han, 1st century BCE *8*, *15*, 19, 25, *145*, 153–4

Xishuipo Tomb 45, Puyang, Neolithic, Yangshao-culture, 5th millennium BCE *40–41*, 47–8
Yinxu Tomb 5 (of Fu Hao), Anyang, Shang, 13th century BCE *3*, 11, 12, 164, 168
Yuan Yi?s tomb, Luoyang, Northern Wei, 526 CE *43*, 50, 51, 160

Hubei
Baoshan Tomb 1, Jiangling, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE 96
Baoshan Tomb 2, (of Shao Tuo), Jiangling, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE 33, 40, 94, 96, *117*, 120, 121, 193–4
Marquis Yi?s tomb, Suixian, Eastern Zhou, 5th century BCE *27–9*, 38–40, *88*, 89, *178*, 193, 229
Wangshan Tomb 1, Jiangling, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE *9*, *10*, 21, 22, 96, *96*, 97

Hunan
Mawangdui Tombs 1 and 3 (of Lady Dai) *see* Mawangdui Tombs 1 and 3 (General index)

Inner Mongolia
Balinzuoqi, Chifeng, 11th–12th centuries CE *137*, 140, 141
Baoshan Tomb 2, Chifeng, Liao, 930 CE *173–5*, 185–8
Helingeer Tomb, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE *165*, 176, 177, 194, 195–6
Lamagou, Aohanqi, Liao, 12th century CE 147
Princess of State of Chen's tomb, Qinglongshan, Naimanqi, Liao, 1018 CE *139–40*, 144, 145, 146

Jiangsu
Beidongshan, Xuzhou, Western Han, 2nd century BCE 103, *103*, 105
cliff tombs 28
Hanxian, Madam Wang epitaph *164*, 173, 175
jade-furnished burials 132
Sun Yat-sen?s mausoleum, Nanjing, Republican period, 1926–1931 233
Wujin jade-furnished burial, Neolithic, Liangzhu culture, c. 3rd millennium BCE *2*, 11, 132
Xishanqiao Tomb, Nanjing, Six Dynasties, c. 5th century CE *170*, 182
Xu De?s tomb, Jiangning, Song, 1045 CE 83, *84*

Jilin
Changchuang Tomb 1, Changchuan, Koguryo period, late 5th century CE 58

Liaoning
Yuantaizi Tomb, Chaoyang, Eastern Jin, first half of 4th century *64–5*, 70, 71, 74

Luoyang, Henan
Eastern Han royal temple, spirit seat 64
filial piety depiction on sarcophagus *169*, 181–2
Jinguyuan Tomb, Luoyang, Eastern Han, 1st century CE *141–3*, 151–3
lead silhouette figurines *119*, 123
tomb figurines 108
see also Henan

North Korea
Anak Tomb 3 (of Dong Shou), Oguk, Koguryo period, 357 CE *66*, 71, 74
Tokhungri tomb (of Chin), Pyongyang, Koguryo period, 408 CE *67–8*, 71–3, 74–5, 76, *202–3*, 207–9

Shaanxi
Baizicun Tomb, Xunyi, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE 26
Dali Cemetery, Qin, 19th century 33
Fengxiang, tomb figurines 108
First Emperor?s mausoleum, 3rd century BCE *see* First Emperor's mausoleum (General index)
Guanzhuang Tomb, Mizhi, Eastern Han, 2nd century CE *207*, 211, 212
Hanzhong, lead and tin silhouette figurines 123
Houma foundry 95
Jiaohuachang, Taiyuan, tomb murals *44*, 50, 52
Jinyang, elite burials 212
Linyi, pottery vessels 91
Lishan Mausoleum *see* First Emperor mausoleum
Pinglu, panoramic painting *30*, 41
Prince Yide?s tomb (of Li Chongrun), Qianxian, Tang, 704 CE 90, *90*
Prince Zhanghuai?s tomb, Qian County, Tang, 706 CE *38*, 46
Princess Yongtai?s tomb, Qianxian, Tang, 705 CE *55*, 59
Shangma, bronze spirit articles 95
Tianma-Qucun, 'dysfunctional' bronzes 94
Tianma-Qucun, jade-furnished burials *126*, 132, 133
Xi'an *see* Xi'an, Shaanxi
Xianyang Tomb 28057, Eastern Zhou, 4th century BCE 104
Xianyang, tomb figurines *102*, 103, 104
Yangjiawan Tomb 4, Xi?an, Western Han, early 2nd century BCE 103

Shandong
Cangshan Tomb, Eastern Han, 151 CE 9, *180–4*, 194–7, 200, 202, 203, 204, 208–9, 222
Changdao, Wanggou, coffin between wheels *179*, 193, 194
cliff tombs 28
Cui Fen?s tomb, Linqu, North Qi, 557 CE *171*, 182, 183
Dawenkou Tomb 10, Neolithic, Dawenkou culture, 4th–3rd millennium BCE *11*, 23
egg-shell potteries 92
Jiaxiang, posthumous journey depiction *194–5*, 202–3, 204, 205
Langjiazhuang Tomb 1, Zhangqiu, Eastern Zhou, 6th–5th centuries BCE 108
Liu Ci?s tomb, Linyi,