

AN EXAMINATION OF THE T-SHAPED PAINTING
FROM THE WESTERN HAN TOMB NO. 1 AT
MA-WANG-TUI, CH'ANG-SHA, HUNAN

by

CLARENCE WILLIAM KELLEY
A.B., Bowdoin College, 1975

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Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date

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ABSTRACT

The excavation in 1972 of Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, which may be dated to the second century B.C. of the Western Han Period, yielded a plethora of materials for the study of early Chinese culture and art. Prominent among the treasures recovered was a T-shaped painting on silk, the focus of this thesis. It is significantly large (205 cm. long, being 92 cm. wide at the top and 47.7 cm. wide at the bottom) and has survived its more than two thousand year burial in a remarkably intact state of preservation. At the time of its discovery, the painting was found placed directly over the shrouded corpse of the deceased, the Marchioness of T'ai. This position of primacy among the tomb's furnishings suggests that it had a similar importance for the deceased during her lifetime.

In general, two contrasting artistic attitudes, that between symbolism and pictorialism, can be distinguished in the history of Chinese art. Within the Ma-wang-tui painting, there are variations of imagery representing the earlier symbolic attitude and also evidence of a nascent pictorialism. Thus, in incorporating both attitudes, the Ma-wang-tui painting may denote the shift in artistic emphasis that emerged with the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. - A.D. 220).

In the course of our examination, many factors beyond the scope of the thesis had to be acknowledged. Concern for such matters as the mythological identity of the figures, the sources of the mythology, principles of decorative patterns, and the T-shape of the painting were pursued only insofar as they aided and complemented a primary focus upon understanding the Ma-wang-tui painting in an art historical context.

The Introduction discusses the literature which has already been published regarding the Ma-wang-tui painting. While several interpretations of the painting have been offered, and while in their broad outline some of these theories are accepted, it is to the particular details and interpretative nuances that objections have been raised. Moreover, no scholar has satisfactorily positioned the Ma-wang-tui painting within the specific context of Chinese art history as has been attempted here.

Chapter One provides a general description of the painting. It establishes the identities of those figures and images that can be accepted without serious question.

Chapters Two, Three and Four deal with the more contentious and controversial identities of the figures and their iconology. These chapters examine the various themes presented within the Ma-wang-tui painting as particularly relevant to the Taoist universe, the *yin* and the *yang*, the *wu hsing*, shamanism and the recalling of the soul.

Finally, Chapter Five examines the contrasts between an

earlier artistic attitude which was concerned for the symbolic and that of a later time which was concerned for the pictorial. This transition from the former to the latter is of fundamental importance in understanding the whole history of Chinese art. It was found that the T-shaped painting from Ma-wang-tui represents a seminal acknowledgement of this shift in artistic attitudes.

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INTRODUCTION

An extraordinary archaeological discovery was made in 1972 at Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆, Ch'ang-sha 長沙, Hunan 湖南. Recovered from what was labelled as the Western Han Tomb No. 1 was a plethora of material for the study of early Chinese culture and art. Prominent among its treasures was a T-shaped painting on silk that survived its more than two thousand year burial in a remarkably intact state of preservation. (*Plate 1*) It is to this painting that this thesis will address itself, examining both the iconography and the iconology of the images presented, and the stylistic qualities exhibited within the painting. In this manner, it is hoped to more accurately determine the position this T-shaped painting enjoys within the broader spectrum of Chinese art and art history.

The discussion of the Ma-wang-tui painting will proceed in three stages. First, it will commence with a general description of the images and scenes on the painting. For this, the painting will be divided into two sections: an upper and a lower. The upper section will consist of those images in what will be referred to as the crossbar. This is the horizontally displaced section of the painting that forms the top, or crossbar, of the "T" shape. The

lower section will consist of images beneath the crossbar on the shaft or the vertical portion of the "T" shape.

Second, following this description, the themes presented within the painting will be carefully discussed and detailed. In general, two substructures operate *in tandem* that together provide the basic framework for a full understanding of the painting and its meanings. On the one hand, the concept of the Chinese universe based upon the *Tao* 道 and Taoism will figure largely. In attempting to understand these, an examination of the constituents comprising the *yin* 陰 / *yang* 陽 theory will be undertaken along with its corollary theory, the *wu hsing* 五行 or five elements theory of Tsou Yen 騶衍 (ca. 350 - 270 B.C.). The former is founded upon a cosmic order based upon principles of a duality in opposition--positive *vs.* negative, heat *vs.* coldness, male *vs.* female--that regulate the order of the universe. The latter theory incorporates a cyclical rotation of what the Chinese understand to be the five primary elements of the cosmos--water, earth, wood, metal, and fire.

Equally important for a full comprehension of the thematic concerns within the Ma-wang-tui painting is the study of the effect of shamans and the primitive sorcery connected with shamanism on early Chinese thought. Shamanism revolves around a world of demons and spectres, and in particular is deeply concerned in the quest for immortality. In the latter, it is related to the Taoist paradise of P'eng Lai 蓬萊, an isle where those who have tasted the

elixir of immortality dwell.

In the third section of this thesis, an attempt will be made to place the painting within a specific context in the larger pageant of Chinese art. Based upon the collaboration of articles recovered from the Ma-wang-tui treasures - (e.g., coins, writing styles, sealing clay impressions, etc.), archaeologists have dated the tomb *ca.* 185 B.C.¹ This dating has been substantiated with the excavations of the two surrounding tombs at the Ma-wang-tui site, Tomb No. 2 and Tomb No. 3.² Thus, 185 B.C. may be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the silk painting under discussion.

The painting evidences two distinctive traditions in Chinese art. While there are variations of well-known symbolic images, there are also instances of a nascent pictorialism. In general, the distinctions between the two can be understood as representing the change in artistic attitude in Chinese art during the Han 漢 Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220). Thus the Ma-wang-tui painting may be a seminal acknowledgement of this shift in artistic attitudes.

Archaeological excavations since the 1960's have revealed that the Ch'ang-sha region was a, if not the, cultural center of the people of Ch'u 楚. Ch'u was one of several feudal kingdoms that formed the network of Chou 周 Dynasty (1030 - 256 B.C.) fiefdoms. A short historical outline from the Chou to the Han period may be helpful.

The dynasty is commonly divided into two periods, the Western Chou (1030 - 771 B.C.) and the Eastern Chou

(770 - 256 B.C.) periods.³ The latter period (*i.e.*, the Eastern Chou period) is then subdivided into two further periods--the Spring and Autumn Period (770 - 464 B.C.), deriving its nomenclature from the historical chronicles, the *Ch'un Ch'iu* 春秋, or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*,⁴ and the Warring States Period (463 - 222 B.C.). This last period actually extends beyond the reign of the Chou dynasty, ending with the establishment of the succeeding Ch'in 秦 Dynasty (221 - 206 B.C.).

The Warring States Period was a time of disunity, discord and chaos. The Chou monarchy had long since virtually lost all control over the feudal princes who, quick to assert their own autonomy and authority, styled themselves as kings.⁵ During this period marked by political intrigue and internecine warfare, the entire fabric of Chinese society was threatened with dissolution.

Throughout this period, Ch'u had managed to secure her borders and her culture flourished extensively. However, the state of Ch'in to the west threatened, until finally in 223 B.C., it sacked the Ch'u capitol, Shou-ch'un 壽春, amalgamating Ch'u's territories. Ch'in then went on to defeat the few resisting Chou principalities to establish the Ch'in Dynasty. It was during this period under Ch'in Shih Huang Ti 秦始皇帝 (259 - 210 B.C.), the "First Emperor of Ch'in," that the great burning of the books occurred. Shih Huang Ti desired to eradicate all references to the earlier Chinese dynasties and, as his name implies,

envisioned a long line of Ch'in emperors descendant from him. The Ch'in rule, however, was marked by cruelty and with Shih Huang Ti's death rebellion broke out. Eventually, Liu Pang 劉邦 prevailed over his adversaries to establish the Han Dynasty, assuming the title, Kao-tsu 高祖 (r. 202 - 195 B.C.).⁶

Since her subjugation in 223 B.C. to Ch'in, Ch'u had never been able to regain her former political authority and easily became a part of the new and longer lasting Han dynasty. Even with these political offsets, however, the vigor of the Ch'u culture did not stagnate, surviving to become a significant element in Han art, as will be seen in the Ma-wang-tui painting.

* * * * *

Consideration of the Ma-wang-tui treasures has appeared in several books. One of the earliest was a collection of short essays issued by the People's Republic of China under the general title, *New Archaeological Finds in China*.⁷ In it, however, only cursory mention was made of the T-shaped painting.⁸ Michael Sullivan, in his *The Arts of China*⁹ and *Chinese Art: Recent Discoveries*,¹⁰ includes fine detail reproductions of a few scenes on the painting but enters into no analysis of the work *per se*. Passing mention of the painting can also be found in William Watson's enlightening book, *Style in the Arts of China*,¹¹ but here again the discussion is all too brief.¹²

Three major Chinese publications have also appeared

that set the basic framework in understanding the ideas behind the Ma-wang-tui painting. They are a brief, preliminary report issued immediately after the tomb's excavation in 1972,¹³ an handsomely bound two volume archaeological report published the following year,¹⁴ and an excellent portfolio of colour reproductions with an accompanying text.¹⁵ These are, however, by no means definitive and only provide the inaugural steps in any attempt to comprehend the painting fully.

Several articles both in Chinese and English have also already been published dealing specifically with the painting itself.¹⁶ While in their broad outline some of these theories are accepted, it is to the particular details and interpretative nuances that objections will be raised. Thus this thesis intends to offer important re-interpretations of several of the scenes and images presented in the Ma-wang-tui painting, to re-examine the painting's contextual and thematic statements, and to fix it firmly within a particular focus in an art historical continuum.¹⁷

* * * * *

In attempting to establish the mythological identity of the figures on the Ma-wang-tui painting, three texts will figure predominantly. They are the *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經, the *Huai Nan Tzu* 淮南子, and the *Ch'u Tz'u* 楚辭. In addition to these, several other classical texts dealing with Taosim and ancient Chinese ritual will

also be cited. They will be discussed later.

The *Shan Hai Ching*, or *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, is a geographical treatise of China as it supposedly was in ancient times, describing mountains, rivers, beings, etc. Allegedly a Chou manuscript, it more likely is a second or third century B.C. collection. Written in eighteen chapters, the commentaries are by Kuo P'u 郭璞 (A.D. 276 - 324).¹⁸

The *Huai Nan Tzu* is an anthology of Taoist philosophical thoughts composed ca. 140 B.C. by various authors under the auspices of Liu An 劉安, King of Huai-nan (d. 122 B.C.).¹⁹ Containing twenty-one chapters and commentaries by Kao Yu 高誘 (fl. A.D. 205 - 212), this slightly posterior work expresses the basic tenets of the Taoist school and may be understood as also reflecting those of an earlier era.

The *Ch'u Tz'u*, or *Songs of Ch'u*, is, like the *Huai Nan Tzu*, an anthology, but of poetry.²⁰ Written by various authors, the poems generally date ca. 300 B.C. to the end of the first century B.C. They are valuable for the light they shed upon the superstitious beliefs of the time and the shamanistic thinking of the Ch'u peoples. The commentaries are by Wang Yi 王逸 (d. A.D. 158), author of the last one of the seventeen poems now comprising this anthology.

Complementary to the *Ch'u Tz'u* is another anthology of poems, the *Shih Ching* 詩經, *Poetry Classic*, although more commonly known as the *Book of Odes*.²¹ In its present state, this work is a collection of three-hundred-five

court and folk songs collected from the various feudal states from the Chou period. The poems date from the beginning of the Chou period up until ca. 600 B.C. According to tradition, there were originally more than 3000 odes that were then collected and compiled by Confucius who discarded the poorer ones.²² They are valuable for the insights they offer on early Chinese customs.

Mention has been made of the Taoist framework of the *Huai Nan Tzu* to which may also be added the *Tao Te Ching* 道德經 and the *I Ching* 易經, both Taoist tomes. The *Tao Te Ching*, or *Classic of the Way and Its Power*, is also known as *Lao-tzu* 老子 (*The Old Master*) after its attributed author, Lao Tan 老聃 of the sixth century B.C.²³ The work, consisting of eighty-one chapters, is actually by an anonymous writer (or writers), ca. 300 B.C. Like the *Huai Nan Tzu*, it is a basic Taoist manuscript.

The *I Ching*, or *Classic of Changes*, but more commonly referred to as the *Book of Changes*, is a divination corpus from the early Chou period. Comprised of sixty-four entries with ten supplemental appendices (known as the "ten wings"), it is of a later Chou date.²⁴ Entries found in this work are based upon linear configurations of six lines that are either broken or unbroken. The former indicates a *yin* aspect; the latter indicates a *yang* aspect. These are then interpreted for the most part in terms of moral, social and political themes.

To the three Taoist works mentioned (*i.e.*, the *Huai Nan Tzu*, the *Tao Te Ching*, and the *I Ching*), a fourth Taoist

source may also be cited, the *Chuang Tzu* 莊子 (*Master Chuang*). This collection of Taoist writings in thirty-three chapters is allegedly the work of the fourth century B.C. Taoist sage, Chuang Chou 莊周 (*ca.* 369 - *ca.* 286 B.C.), but much of it was written by his followers after his death.²⁵

Historical information regarding the various persons mentioned in this thesis has also been obtained from classical Chinese texts of which two works predominate. These are the *Shu Ching* 書經 (*Documents Classic* or, more commonly, *Book of Historical Documents*) and the *Shih Chi* 史記 (*Historical Records*). The *Shu Ching* is an anthology of political speeches and other political documents of both forged, third century A.D. texts and some genuine texts from the beginning of the Chou period to *ca.* 600 B.C.²⁶ It is, however, by no means an history of ancient China, but simply a compilation of historical memoirs.

The *Shih Chi* on the other hand is such an history-- the first general history of China.²⁷ Originally begun by Ssu-ma T'an 司馬談 (d. 112 B.C.), the work, consisting of one-hundred-thirty- chapters, was composed principally by his son, Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (*ca.* 145 - *ca.* 86 B.C.). It covers the period from the reign of the mythological emperor, Huang Ti 黃帝 (the "Yellow Emperor," traditional reign, 2698 -2599 B.C.) to the reign of the Han emperor, Wu Ti 武帝 (140 - 87 B.C.).²⁸

Besides the *Ch'u Tz'u* already discussed, three other ritualistic texts are cited in this thesis concerning ancient

Chinese ceremonies and beliefs. Of these, by far the most important and frequently used is the *Li Chi* 禮記, or the *Books of Rites*, an anonymous collection in forty-six chapters of ceremonial rules from the Chou and early Han periods.²⁹ The subject matter of this important collection varies widely from religious matters (e.g., birth, death, marriage) to social/political matters (e.g., government organization). The commentaries are by Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127 - 200).

Similar in some regards to the *Li Chi* is the *Chou Li* 周禮, or *Institutes of Chou*.³⁰ Comprised of forty-two chapters with commentaries by Cheng Chung 鄭眾 (ca. 5 B.C. - A.D. 83), it is a compendium of various documents on the structure and ritualization of the Chou aristocracy.

The third of the ritualistic texts is the *I Li* 儀禮, or *Observances and Ceremonies*, but more often referred to as the *Book of Etiquette*.³¹ An anonymous collection in seventeen chapters of detailed rituals and rules of etiquette, this work contains little of philosophical merit, but its worth lies in the light it casts on ancient Chinese ceremonial practices.

CHAPTER I

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MA-WANG-TUI

TOMB NO. 1 AND PAINTING

The tomb from which the silk painting was recovered was approximately 4 kilometers from the city of Ch'ang-sha. Excluding the mound that covered it, the actual tomb pit measured 20 meters deep. A sloping passageway on the north end provided a gradual entrance into the pit while the side walls near the mouth were cut into four terraced steps of approximately one to one-and-a-half meters in height. (*Figure 1*) After the fourth step, the walls fell sharply until about 3.8 meters from the floor at which point they were slightly recessed by 30 centimeters so as to house the enormous tomb chamber and sepulcher. The chamber thus formed measured 7.6 meters from north to south and 6.7 meters from east to west.¹

On all four sides and over the lid of the outer coffin enclosure, a layer of charcoal some 30 to 40 centimeters in depth was laid. Surrounding this layer and sealing the rest of the sepulcher space was a white, pasty clay filling. The pit was then filled with what the Chinese have termed "sandy 'five-colour' mixed earth."² Aside from amicable soil, temperature and humidity conditions,

archaeologists feel that the principle cause of the well-preserved objects recovered from the tomb (*e.g.*, lacquer-wares, textiles, wooden statues, silk, the tomb corpse, *etc.*), was the sealing quality of the charcoal and pasty clay. These helped to occlude moisture and air seepage, thus retarding decomposition and decay.

In a complicated burial system, the sepulcher housed three caskets, each fitted snugly within the other. The tomb corpse was found placed within the innermost casket. The three caskets were then enclosed within three outer coffin structures with storage spaces built between the middle and outer coffins. The three coffins were composed of timber planks in dovetail construction with no painted or carved decorations. The three caskets, on the other hand, were painted with various designs.

The interiors of the caskets were coated with cinnabar lacquer, and the four exterior walls and lids of the outer and middle caskets were also lacquered with varied designs. (*Plate 2*) The exterior of the outer casket has a black lacquer foundation with swirling cloud patterns painted in white, red and yellow. Scattered among this design are numerous beasts and fantastic creatures engaged in earnest activities (*e.g.*, hunting, playing musical instruments, dancing, *etc.*).³ The border design along the edges was done in a geometric pattern.⁴

The middle or central casket has a red lacquer foundation also with coloured designs. Its lid is set with a

pair of fighting dragons, tigers and grotesque animals. A *pi* 璧 (a circular disc with a perforated center) with attached ribbons and interweaving dragons is painted on the end panel. On the head panel, two unicorns (?) flank a mountain peak.⁵

The lid and walls of the inner casket were covered in silk and stitched with feather appliqué. The former has a design of geometric patterns; the latter, with gold, black and other coloured feathers, is set to a design of lozenges.⁶ Draped over the lid of this casket with its painted side down was the T-shaped painting. Significantly large (205 centimeters long, being 92 centimeters wide at the top and 47.7 centimeters wide at the bottom), its placement directly over the inner casket suggests that it may have enjoyed a primacy within the tomb furnishings and possibly also during the occupant's lifetime.

* * * * *

The remainder of this chapter will present a basic description of the painting's images. This will begin with those images on the crossbar and then proceed to those on the shaft. (*Figure 2*)

Beginning at the upper right corner of the crossbar section, there is the image of the red sun with its symbol and personification, the raven within. (*Plate 3*) Opposite, in the upper left corner, is the crescent moon with its symbols and personifications, the hare and the toad, the latter of which holds a cloud bar in its mouth. Between

the sun and the moon is a seated human figure with a snake's tail coiled about itself. Flanking this last figure are five cranes--two to the left and three to the right.

Beneath the sun/raven image is a dragon who threads its way through the *fu-sang* 扶桑 tree with eight little suns interspersed throughout its branches. These branches extend upward to the sun/raven image and down to the lower right corner of the crossbar. Similarly positioned beneath the hare/toad/moon image on the left is another dragon in the same posture as that beneath the sun. The former, however, is winged and on it sits a bare-legged woman who touches the moon with her hands directly above her head. In the lower left corner is another cloud motif, similar in design to that held by the toad in the moon.

The two dragons, with lips and fangs barred and tongues protruding, rise toward the snake-tailed figure in the top-center of the crossbar. Under the latter and between the two dragons is a *chung* 鐘, or bell, with black bows dangling from its lower extremities. Above the bellhandle are five circular balls crowned by an incense burner (?) with vapors rising. Two cranes, in flights of ecstasy, inhale these vapors. On either side of the bell, horse riders with beastly faces astride quadruped creatures with leopard spots pull on ropes that are attached to the bell/incense burner.

At the foot of the crossbar where the shaft intersects it and on a vertical axis with the snake-tailed figure and

bell/incense group is the last of the figures in the cross-bar. At the base of two towers shaped like inverted "T"'s (that actually extend down into the shaft portion of the painting proper), two elegantly robed men wearing black caps sit facing each other. The base of the towers do not touch each other, thereby leaving a small portal that provides a passageway between the crossbar and shaft portions of the painting. Behind the two men, a pair of leopards, their heads reversed, remount the towers. The leopard on the left has an open mouth while that of the leopard on the right is closed.

On the shaft in its center, a *pi* serves to divide the area into two parts, an upper and a lower, with one scene above the *pi* and two below. In all, therefore, there are three individual scenes along the shaft. The scene above the *pi* will precede the discussion of the two lower ones.

Before discussing these, however, note should be made of the two dragons on the shaft that pass through the center of the *pi*. One is red with a gray head, while the other is bluish/gray with a light beige head. In general, their silhouettes can be appreciated as two elongated "S" figures, symmetrically interlaced. Their tails begin in the lower corners of the painting with the red dragon ascending from the left and the bluish/gray from the right. A directional change in the dragons' ascent occurs, however, at the *pi*, so that the red dragon, formerly on the left, now continues along the right edge and vice versa for the bluish/gray

dragon. Using the red dragon as a reference point, as it approaches the level of the *pi*, it arches its back ever so slightly above the *pi* before passing over its face and dipping down to create a sinuous, serpentine dance. It then continues its ascent along the right edge of the shaft.

In rhythmic undulation, the bluish/gray dragon, ascending from the lower right, crosses over the body of the red dragon on the right side of the *pi* and loops its way behind it before once again passing over the body of the red dragon at the perforation of the *pi*. Here, never actually crossing the face of the *pi*, it emerges from the rear, dipping slightly to move in unison with the dip of the red dragon, and then continues its ascent on the left. Where the bodies of the dragons intersect each other and the *pi*, they form a laterally displaced figure eight. In design and pattern, these dragons are similar to the two dragons above in the crossbar, only here they look outwards. As a cohesive design pair, these lower dragons also visually unite the individual scenes placed on the shaft along its vertical axis.

In the scene above the *pi*, an elderly woman wears an elaborately embroidered robe with a similarly patterned design as the cloud bar motifs found in the crossbar (*e.g.*, that held in the mouth of the toad within the moon, and in the lower left corner of the crossbar). (*Plate 4*) Leaning on a walking stick, she stands on a white platform. This figure is believed to be a representation of the tomb's

occupant, the Marchioness of T'ai 太. ⁷ As mentioned above, the sealing of the tomb had been so successful that many of the tomb's furnishings, including the corpse, survived intact, and it was possible to exhume the body. An autopsy indicated that the Marchioness had a deformed back and died from cardiac problems sometime during her fifties. The Chinese claim that a facial resemblance between the corpse and the painted figure is recognizable. ⁸

Along with the Marchioness, five other figures also are seen on the white platform. The platform is attached to the chests of the two shaft dragons by cloud-like hooks projecting from the side ends of the platform. These hooks are also similar in design to the cloud images in the cross-bar and on the Marchioness' robe. The face of the platform is decorated with a series of fret designs. Of the five figures joining the Marchioness on the platform, two men with black caps kneel obeisantly in front of her. They appear to offer her articles (food ?) from trays that they hold. Both are finely robed, the left figure wearing a bluish/gray robe and the right figure wearing a red robe. Behind the Marchioness, dressed in white, red and beige robes, three female attendants with a similar *coiffure* as the Marchioness stand and wait.

Connecting the platform to the *pi* is a red panel set at a slight angle to the left and divided into sixteen decorative fields also with fret designs. On either side, two guardian leopards stand with reversed heads looking

outward in the opposite direction from the two leopards surmounting the towers above in the crossbar.

These images (*i.e.*, the guardian leopards, Marchioness *et al.*) form the core of the scene above the *pi* median. Another secondary group, however, completes this scene. Above the platform figures is a large, open space in which a bat-like creature hovers. At the apex of the shaft between this bat-like figure and the two seated men at the towers of the crossbar is a canopy with a *fleur-de-lis* motif, flanked on both sides by phoenixes.

Passing now to the first of the two scenes below the *pi*, several strands of varicoloured ribbons are suspended from it, the ends of which flare to the sides. (*Plate 1*) Perched atop these ribbons are two white-feathered birds with human heads who wear caps of a type different from that noted above. Hanging between the flared ribbons is a *ch'ing* 磬, or sounding stone.⁹ Ribbon streamers (now barely visible) dangle from the two inside corners. (*Plate 5*)

The *ch'ing* and varicoloured ribbons form a covering for a group of seven men, similarly dressed as the two kneeling men before the Marchioness, and various eating vessels on a second white platform. This second platform is also decorated, but with a different scheme from the platform above with the Marchioness and her group of figures. Six of the men sit opposite each other in two rows of three. The seventh figure is behind the group on the left. In front of these figures are two *hu* 壺 and three *ting* 鼎

vessels;¹⁰ in the background, several bowls and dishes are on a shelf. Between the two rows of men is an object decorated with elaborate swirl patterns also fashioned like those on the embroidered robe of the Marchioness. In a later chapter, it will be demonstrated that this object is the casket of the Marchioness with its shroud on a catafalque.

At either side of this second platform with the seven men are two turtles who likewise hold cloud bars in their mouths. An owl stands on each of the turtle's backs. They are part of the last scene found on the Ma-wang-tui painting that includes the remaining figures beneath the second platform. Supporting the platform is a rotund caryatid figure standing on the backs of two leviathans. (*Plate 6*) These have long pug noses and bifurcated tails, off of which step two beasts like the two horse riders on the crossbar section, only in this instance horned and also with tails. They look back at each other waving. Completing this scene, a red snake with a black bow ribbon tied to its neck passes between the legs of the caryatid figure.

While a vast array of images and motifs are depicted in the Ma-wang-tui painting, confusion is mitigated by a visual unity achieved through a superb compositional design. Note should be made of a symmetry that, while not entirely intact bilaterally (*e.g.*, the three cranes on the right of the human/snake figure in the crossbar section *vs.* the two cranes on the left of this figure), still provides

a complementary symmetry along a vertical axis. This is established at the top of the painting from the human/snake figure, down along the image of the Marchioness to the caryatid figure at the foot of the painting standing on the two leviathans. The sun/raven image balances the moon/hare/toad in this symmetry, as do, among others, the two men at the base of the towers, the two phoenixes flanking the *fleur-de-lis* motif, the two white-feathered birds with human heads perched atop the varicoloured ribbons, and the waving, horned beasts stepping off the tails of the two leviathans.

Compositional unity is also aided by a repetition of similar shapes that not only reflect a symmetry, but also integrate the vertical and horizontal portions of the painting. The circle of the sun is suggested, for instance, in the sweep of the crescent moon. Three distinctive circular images complementary to the sun and crescent moon can also be noted that form a major part of the vertical axis. These are the tail of the human/snake figure, the *pi* in the center of the shaft, and the entwined leviathans below. Together these circular forms are placed along an outline that forms the "T" of the painting.

Specific images are also repeated throughout the painting that visually unite the compositional scheme too, integrating the horizontal and the vertical (*i.e.*, integrating the cross-bar with the shaft). The dragons and leopards in the cross-bar can be paired with the dragons and leopards on the shaft.

But there are subtle differences in posture.

Along the shaft, the repetition of three platform motifs should be noted. These are the lowest with the two rows of men in the funerary scene supported by the caryatid figure, in the middle of the shaft with the Marchioness and her attendants, and above this group of figures, the two phoenixes flanking the *fleur-de-lis* motif can also be seen as standing on a platform-like motif.

One final device uniting the composition should be noted. This is the 2:3 ratio scheme repeated thrice in the painting. At the top in the crossbar, the five cranes flanking the human/snake figure make a 2:3 statement. On the shaft in the Marchioness' group, the two men and three women figures restate this ratio. Lastly, the two *hu* and three *ting* vessels on the lowest platform also acknowledge this numerical pairings.

Thus while a plethora of images and motifs inhabit the Ma-wang-tui painting, compositionally it is a well integrated work of art. The repetition of images and similar motifs throughout the painting gives it a strong visual unity that, as will emerge in this thesis, also plays a decisive role in the thematic and conceptual statements of the Ma-wang-tui painting.

CHAPTER II

THE DUAL NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE:

THE *YIN* AND THE *YANG*

The Ma-wang-tui painting can be interpreted within the framework of several theories, but no single one can be taken to embody exclusively the ideas presented. Instead, the painting is best understood as an incorporation on multiple levels of these theories, the first of which will be discussed here.

This chapter will examine the *yin/yang* theory and its application within the Ma-wang-tui painting. The *yin/yang* discussion is undertaken first so as to study a few basic Taoist concepts of the universe prevalent in ancient China and as manifested in the painting. It will also afford the opportunity to lay the foundations for subsequent suggestions to follow in later chapters, both in terms of the identity of the images within the painting and thematic concepts, particularly, for example, the *wu hsing*, or five elements theory. Both it and the *yin/yang* theory are closely allied within the Taoist concepts of the universe. This chapter and the next, which will examine the *wu hsing* theory, are to be seen as a pair. Both theories are interdependent, but both are also sufficiently important in their respective

merits to warrant separate investigations. The *yin/yang* theory is given precedence as it is from it that the Chinese concept of the ordering of the universe is derived. A subtheme of interpreting the painting as representing the three realms of the universe--the heavens, the earth, and the subterranean--will also be discussed in this chapter.

In order to understand the *yin/yang* theory and its application to the Ma-wang-tui painting, the figures and scenes outlined in the preceeding chapter will be more concretely identified with the aid of literary sources. This will have a direct bearing upon perceiving the elements of the *yin* and the *yang*, its symbols and manifestations as found in the painting. Towards this end, the various, and at times conflicting, opinions of Sinologists who have dealt with this painting will be compared and contrasted so as to indicate the richness and variety of interpretations that this painting offers.

The *yin/yang* theory is associated with Tsou Yen, a scholar from the Chou state of Ch'i. According to the *Shih Chi*, Tsou Yen embarked upon the elucidation of "the phenomena of increase and decrease of the *yin* and the *yang*" at a time when he perceived that the rulers of Ch'i were failing to govern the state with merit.¹ The system described by Tsou Yen within the *yin* and the *yang* incorporated a thesis of the mutual interaction between man and nature, particularly their structures and operations.

In the cosmological order defined by the *yin* and the

yang, the ordering of the macrocosm is achieved through the interaction of these two forces, symbolized primarily by the moon and the sun respectively. These are the underlying forces of nature that in governing the cosmos regulate the seasons and maintain order over the various points of the universe. Based upon a dualistic system of opposition, the *yin* embodies the concepts and essences of coldness, darkness, the night, malevolence, and female. Antithetical to it is the *yang*--warmth, light, the day, benevolence, the male.² Together, however, "One Yin and one Yang, that is the Tao,"³ *i.e.*, that is the way of the universe. The moon and the sun are the manifestations of the *yin* and the *yang*, and all elements within the universe are guided and influenced by their "negative" and "positive" reciprocity:⁴

The sun goes and the moon comes; the moon goes and the sun comes; -the sun and moon thus take the place each of the other, and their shining is the result. The cold goes and the heat comes; the heat goes and the cold comes; -it is by this mutual succession of the cold and heat that the year is completed. That which goes becomes less and less, and that which comes waxes more and more; -it is by the influence on each other of this contraction and expansion that the advantages (of the different conditions) are produced.⁵

* * * * *

Beginning with the sun-bird image, the earliest literary reference known comes from the *Huai Nan Tzu*. According

to it, "within the sun is the three-legged crow,"⁶ symbol of perfection of the male, or *yang*, principle. In the Ma-wang-tui painting, however, the sun-bird image has only two legs, but this is not in itself unusual. Similar sun-bird images also with only two legs have been found, *e.g.*, on a relief tile from Szechwan,⁷ and a Western Han tomb with a painted ceiling at Loyang depicts this image as legless, *i.e.*, flying.⁸ Another silk painting from Chin-ch'üeh-shan 金雀山 in Shantung was recovered in 1974. It too depicts the sun-bird with only two legs,⁹ and like the Ma-wang-tui painting, it also dates from the Western Han period. (Figure 3) Prior to the discovery of the Chin-ch'üeh-shan painting, An Chih-min has proposed that the image of the sun-bird with three legs did not become a codified one until the Eastern Han period (A.D. 25 - 220).¹⁰ The Chin-ch'üeh-shan painting clearly lends more conclusive credence to An Chih-min's theory and likewise indicates two possible reasons for this discrepancy between the literature and the art. On the one hand, during the Western Han period, the iconography of the sun and the *yang* had yet to be firmly established, and thus artists may have been free to experiment with various images; here in the case of the Ma-wang-tui painting based upon the observation of nature. On the other hand, these images may also indicate examples of an art form which underwent a process of evolution, changing into a new art form and image in order to coincide with later literary dicta as expressed,

e.g., in the *Huai Nan Tzu*, and its passage relating the three-legged crow within the sun.

Beneath the sun/bird image, the *fu-sang* tree with the eight smaller sun images illustrates the legends from the *Shan Hai Ching*. According to these legends, the tree grew in T'ang Ku 湯谷 (the "Valley of T'ang") and was "bathed in [the light of] ten suns...nine [suns] dwelling beneath [i.e., among] its branches, one [sun] dwelling above."¹¹ By climbing the *fu-sang* tree, the suns mounted the skies during the day and also descended in the evening along its branches. Thus in the continual workings of the universe, the *fu-sang* tree is associated with the continual changes between night and day, two respective orders of the *yin* and the *yang*.

The emergence of all the suns, however, upset the course of the universe, causing destruction and chaos on the earth. The nature of the mayhem wrought by this event is expressed in the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Chao Hun*" 招魂: "And ten suns that come out together melting metal, dissolving stone."¹² In response to this dilemma, the Emperor Yao (2357 - 2255 B.C.) employed the services of the archer Hou I 后羿 to disperse the nine false luminaries.¹³

Instead of the nine false luminaries, the Ma-wang-tui painting has only eight. In attempting to explain this discrepancy between the work of art and the literature, most Chinese scholars are of the opinion that the ninth sun may be hidden by the boughs or leaves of the *fu-sang* tree.¹⁴

While this is not implausible, as one of the sun discs is partially obscured, it would be better perhaps to perceive this as another early Chinese artistic experiment in dealing with its legends and myths, just as the two-legged sun-bird found in the Ma-wang-tui painting (instead of the three-legged crow of the *Huai Nan Tzu*) may also be an experimental image.

An interesting alternative to the hidden sun solution has been offered by Lo K'un 羅琨.¹⁵ His contention is that the eight smaller discs are not sun images, but rather the stars of the Northern Dipper of the Ursa Major constellation.¹⁶ The citing of a relief image of this very constellation from the offering shrines at Wu Liang Tz'u 武梁祠 (second century A.D.) in Shantung is most provocative in supporting Lo K'un's thesis. However, the obvious associations between these discs, the *fu-sang* tree and the sun-bird in the Ma-wang-tui painting are difficult to ignore. Moreover, like the largest sun disc, all of the smaller discs are coloured red, a *yang* element and therefore befitting of the sun, principal symbol of the positive, *yang* force. The corresponding colour of the *yin* is white, as for instance in the crescent moon of the Ma-wang-tui painting. If the discs beneath the sun were representative of the Northern Dipper, then they should have been associated with the moon, the *yin* element to which the Ursa Major constellation belongs.¹⁷

Fortunately, the moon and its associated images are

not so discrepant with the available literature. The *Huai Nan Tzu* states that "within the moon is the toad,"¹⁸ and like the sun, there are numerous images of this from the Han period.¹⁹ According to tradition, the hare is also an inhabitant of the moon, and images are extant from the Han period of these two animals dwelling within the moon.²⁰

Beneath the moon is a narrative scene illustrating the ancient Chinese story from the *Huai Nan Tzu* of Ch'ang O 嫦娥 fleeing to the moon. She had stolen the pill of immortality from her husband, Hou I²¹--the same figure called upon by the Emperor Yao to disperse the false luminaries.²²

After fleeing from her husband, Ch'ang O "entrusted her body to the moon, [and] it became a toad."²³ The moon, the hare, and the toad are *yin* symbols, and Ch'ang O can thus be likened unto it also. As the symbol of the moon, the toad is believed to swallow it during an eclipse, thus clarifying the passage from the *Huai Nan Tzu*, "When the moon illuminates the earth, it is slowly eaten by the toad."²⁴ These associations between the moon, the toad, the *yin*, and the evening--a time of *yin* ascendancy--clearly indicates the rhetorical nature of the following questions from the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "T'ien Wen" 天問 :

What is the peculiar virtue of the
moon, the Brightness of the night,
which causes it to grow once more
after its death? What does it advance
it to keep a frog in its belly?²⁵

The "peculiar virtue" of the moon is the *yin*, represented by the figure of Ch'ang O who now dwells in the lunar palace. She, in her metamorphosis as the frog, is the *yin* and its "advantage."

In this context, it should be noted that the hare is emblematic of longevity. An association between it and the story of Ch'ang O, as the partaker of the pill of immortality, is a sound, conceptual theme. Although not so shown in the Ma-wang-tui painting, the hare is often illustrated as pounding with mortar and pestle the drugs that compose the magical elixir of life--with which Ch'ang O is associated.²⁶ Thus, there are closely related ties between the hare, the toad, the moon, Ch'ang O, and the *yin* presented within the Ma-wang-tui painting.

The metamorphosis of Ch'ang O is distinctly manifested in the Ma-wang-tui painting, and several portions of the narration relating to her legends are depicted simultaneously. She appears in her anthropomorphic state of being, fleeing to the moon upon the wings of a dragon. Above this and within the moon, she reappears in her zoomorphic state as the toad. But, the association between these two separate states of being is visually reinforced by Ch'ang O's grasping of the moon with her support, thereby graphically uniting the two.

The contrasting images of the moon, the sun and their secondaries (*e.g.*, Ch'ang O and the *fu-sang* tree *et al.*) typify the dualism of the *yin* and the *yang*. In their

contrasts, these symbols embody the underlying forces of Taoism that govern the universe in the mutual opposition of constant change. They are the respective constituents of the *yin* and the *yang* principles and serve to establish the doctrines of this theory within the Ma-wang-tui painting.

At the center-top of the crossbar section, the human/snake figure has been variously identified as either Fu Hsi 伏羲 or Nü Kua 女媧, the former's sister/consort. Fu Hsi (2953 - 2828 B.C.) is the first of the so-called Five Emperors of ancient China.²⁷ He is accredited with the construction of the Eight Diagrams from which the *I Ching* is derived.²⁸ Nü Kua, according to one account, succeeded Fu Hsi, setting the ordinances of marriage.²⁹

In some instances of Chinese artistic imagery, Fu Hsi and Nü Kua are depicted as holding aloft the sun disc and the moon circle, respectively,³⁰ or, more often, as holding the mason's square and compass, respectively.³¹ According to the *Ch'u Tz'u*, they are human headed; Fu Hsi has a dragon's body while Nü Kua has a snake's.³² They are usually portrayed as a pair, their tails mutually entwined.³³

Based upon the image actually presented in the Ma-wang-tui painting, the identification of this figure at the center-top of the crossbar section as either Fu Hsi or Nü Kua is unsatisfactory. While it is serpent-tailed, there are no other instructions that would lend support to this identification. It would be possible to view this figure as either Fu Hsi or Nü Kua, however, in an early

experimental stage of Chinese imagery as with the sun-bird and *fu-sang* tree, but this is slightly mitigated by a more concrete identification offered for this enigmatic figure by the archaeological report.³⁴

The report suggested that this image represents the Chu Lung 燭龍,³⁵ or, in Hawkes' translation from the *Ch'u Tz'u*, the Torch Dragon.³⁶ This last identification will be demonstrated to be a more viable one given the image itself and the thematic content such an identification permits within the parameters of the *yin/yang* theory.

According to the *Shan Hai Ching*, the Chu Lung was a spirit with a human face and the body of a red snake. It maintained a constant vigil over the universe, regulating the continual order of the macrocosm:

Beyond the (north) western seas to the north of the Red River is Mt. Chang Wei 章尾山. There a genie with a human face and the body of a red snake dwells. Looking forward, it ascends. When it closes its eyes it is dark i.e., the night; when it sees it is the brightness i.e., the day. It does not eat, sleep or breathe i.e., rest. The wind and the rain are its subordinates. It illuminates the Chiu Yin 九陰 literally, the "Nine Yin," i.e., the Darkest of the Dark confines of the universe; it is the so-called Chu Lung.³⁷

As the illuminator of the Chiu Yin, the Chu Lung

fulfills the role of the *yang* principle and is its epitome. This may seem somewhat contradictory given the ostensibly female character of the Chu Lung image in the Ma-wang-tui painting with its long braid, thereby suggesting the female, or *yin* element. The problems that this conundrum presents must be delayed, however, until a later chapter where the concept of death and the soul will be examined.

As for the Chiu Yin, the Darkest of the Dark regions, it is a place (and time) where the malevolent forces of the *yin* are on the ascent. But, by the purifying qualities of the Chu Lung (*i.e.*, the *yang*), it is held in check. Thus the Chu Lung is understood as the guardian of the universe maintaining the harmony of the cosmos. As the *yin/yang* theory is founded upon the concept of a mutual interaction of the positive and the negative, the Chu Lung can be further comprehended as emblematic of this dualism, representing the positive as well as the negative that acts upon it and upon which it itself reacts.

Representing the forces of the *yin* and the *yang* are the moon and the sun. Together they are a pair symbolizing the fundamental concept of the workings of the Chinese universe, the *Tao*. What is the *Tao*? It is,

The Way is like an empty vessel
That yet may be drawn from
Without ever needing to be filled.
It is bottomless; the very progenitor
of all things in the world.
In it all sharpness is blunted,

All tangles untied,
All glares tempered,
All dust /i.e., the hassels, confines
and rigors of everyday life /
smoothed.

It is like a deep pool that never dries.
Was it too the child of something else?
We cannot tell.

But as a substanceless image it existed
before the ancestor /i.e., the
Yellow Ancestor who separated Earth
from Heaven and thus destroyed the
Primal Unity /.

38

The *Tao* permeates the universe; it lies within all things.

It is ubiquitous. From it all things descend:

Tao gave birth to the One; the One gave
birth successively to two things, three
things, up to ten thousand /i.e., all
things /. These ten thousand creatures
cannot turn their backs to the shade
without having the sun on their bellies,
and it is on this blending of the
breaths /i.e., the warm breath of the suns
and the cold breath of the shade, or the
yin and the *yang* / that their harmony
depends....

39

This harmony is the harmony of the universe in the workings
of the *yin* and the *yang*--i.e., the *Tao*--that can be seen
in the Chu Lung. It, with the sun and the moon, is part
of a tripartite assemblage that suggests the continual
workings of the Taoist universe--its fluxes, its order, its
structure.

Flanking the Chu Lung, five cranes, their long necks elegantly arched backwards, join in a chorus of ecstasy.⁴⁰ These birds, being long lived, are celebrated in Chinese legends and mythology as a symbol of longevity. Moreover, it is a celestial steed used for the transportation and ascension to the heavens of immortals.⁴¹ Such is its favor within the universe that when "the crane /sings/ in the Nine Marshes, its voice (is heard in:) carries up to heaven...."⁴²

Up to this point within this thesis, the opposition of the *yin* and the *yang* has been seen along a symmetrical role of images presented within the Ma-wang-tui painting. At least one Chinese scholar, Chang An-chih, constructed his interpretation of this painting along formalistic lines, an endeavor based upon a symmetrical foundation supposedly inherent in the painting. This approach by Chang An-chih, however, could not account for the odd number of cranes flanking the Chu Lung.⁴³ Rectification of this apparent conundrum can nonetheless be easily resolved.

It will be noted that there are three cranes to the right of the Chu Lung, allied with the image of the sun. To the left, allied with the image of the moon, are two cranes. In Chinese numerology, odd numbers are symbols of the *yang*, and conversely even numbers are *yin*. According to the *I Ching*, "the number 3 was assigned to heaven / and this is of the *yang* /, 2 to earth / and this is of the *yin* /, and from these came the (other) numbers."⁴⁴ It is

from heaven and earth, from the *yin* and the *yang*, that all things are nourished.⁴⁵

The cranes therefore also represent the workings of the *yin* and the *yang*, restating the dualism of this order. It is entirely within the parameters of the *yin/yang* theory that with the sun image there should be three cranes while with the moon only two.

Just as the Chu Lung embodies both the *yin* and the *yang* in one figure, so too do these cranes. By their 2:3 ratio, they represent the *yin* and the *yang*. But as a homogenous group, they also collectively represent the *yang*. The number five alone is of *yang* merit and as such symbolizes both the heavens and the emperor.⁴⁶ In this context, the Chu Lung may be understood as an allusion to the Lord of Heaven, or his personification, with the cranes as his divine attendants.

Beneath the sun among the leaves of the *fu-sang* tree is a dragon, symbol of the east. In the spring, it mounts the skies to herald the vernal season, the season of rebirth and rejuvenation. As such, the dragon represents the reproductive forces of nature that awaken after the death of winter. It is a time of *yang* ascendancy, and this dragon represents this ascendancy.

Like the crane, the dragon is also an heavenly steed:

With a faint flush I start to come out
of the east,
Shining down on my threshold, Fu-sang.
As I urge my horses slowly forward,

I ride a dragon car and chariot on
the thunder,
With cloud-banners fluttering upon the
wind.⁴⁷

Legend says that the Yellow Emperor, Huang Ti, was resurrected on the back of a dragon. The beast is also said to be the chariot of the sun that "emerges from the Valley of Yang 陽谷, bathing at Hsien Ch'ih 咸池 [a star in the Virgo constellation] and flutters against the Fu-sang tree. It is the morning brightness."⁴⁸

The counterpart to the sun dragon is beneath the moon with Ch'ang O riding upon its wings. An Chih-min identifies this particular type of dragon with wings as the Ying Lung 應龍 from a passage in the *Huai Nan Tzu*⁴⁹ ("...riding upon the Thunder Chariot, harnessed to the Ying Lung") where, according to the gloss, the Ying Lung is a winged dragon.⁵⁰ But who is it that rides the Ying Lung? The *Huai Nan Tzu* seems to imply that the dragon may be understood as representing the *te* 德 (the virtue) of its driver. According to the text, this is Nü Kua.

In the creation of the universe, the *yin* and the *yang* are said to have been born by the incestuous commingling of Nü Kua and Fu Hsi. Nü Kua, the female element, is the *yin*, and her virtue is water. The moon symbolizes the *yin*, and Ch'ang O, as the anterior being of the toad (*i.e.*, the *yin*), may also be reckoned as a *yin* element. These figures all belong to the forces of the *yin*, and, as it is Nü Kua who

rides upon the Ying Lung in the *Huai Nan Tzu*, it can be deduced that the virtue of the Ying Lung is a *yin* element also. Its placement beneath the moon in the Ma-wang-tui painting further endorses this idea.

With the Ying Lung representing the *yin* beneath the moon and the dragon beneath the sun representing the *yang*, it is now clear that these two dragons are more than just a formal design pair. Conceptually they are the *yin* and the *yang*, and as such they, like the sun, the moon, the cranes, and the Chu Lung, embody the quintessences of the Taoist universe--the cosmic order of the Chinese reality. The sun dragon represents the time of universal rebirth and can be deemed as indicating the vernal equinox. The Ying Lung signifies the *yin* and may likewise be understood as possibly indicating the autumnal equinox, the time of the ascent of the forces of the *yin*. Thus there is an allusion to the seasonal continuum of the universe and, on another level, the life and death processes therein.

Beneath the Chu Lung and between the two dragons, two more cranes inhale incense vapors rising from above a bell. The two fantastic creatures who pull on the ropes attached to the bell may be musicians whose actions cause the bell to sound. The purpose of the bell and the imagery of the incense burner will figure in a later thematic context.

Turning now to the last remaining scene in the cross-bar section with the two seated men and a pair of leopards climbing the towers, a specific reference to illustrate

this scene can be found from the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Chao Hun*":

"O soul come back! Climb not to the heavens / For tigers and leopards guard the nine gates, with jaws ever ready to rend up mortal men...."⁵¹

By reading this pair of leopards as guardians of one of these nine celestial gates, the two men can also be seen as guardian figures. This scene would thus be a representation of a gateway into the celestial domain beyond. The particular gateway depicted here can be identified from the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Li Sao*" 離騷 as the Ch'ang Ho 閭闔, or the Gate of Heaven. As the poet/narrator of the "*Li Sao*" approached the Ch'ang Ho in his celestial sojourn, he "asked Heaven's porter to open up for me / But he leant across Heaven's gate and eyed me churlishly."⁵² Not only does the commentator of the *Ch'u Tz'u*, Wang I, identify the Ch'ang Ho as the Gate of Heaven, but the same reference is given in the *Huai Nan Tzu* and the *Shuo Wen Chieh-tzu* 說文解字 (*Script Explained and Characters Elucidated*).⁵³ The two men sitting at the Ch'ang Ho are "Heaven's porters,"⁵⁴ and the two leopards with an open and closed mouth express "the eternal sequence of cosmic breathing."⁵⁵ Moreover, the leopards' open and closed mouths may also be understood as an expression of the idea of sound *vs.* silence respectively, thereby once again symbolizing the perpetual operation of the *yin* and the *yang*.

With this scene as the Ch'ang Ho, the images within the crossbar section can be interpreted as a diagram of the

heavens from whence is descendant the influences of the cosmic order of the *yin* and the *yang*. This section of the painting is founded upon the concept of this dual opposition and a precept of "universalism"⁵⁶ by which all beings, sentient or not, animate or inanimate, are influenced. They are dirigibles, guided by the mutual reciprocity of the *yin* and the *yang* in the eternal sequence of life and death.

The crossbar section is universally agreed as a representation of the heavens and celestial domain with the scenes along the shaft as being a representation of the earth and the subterranean worlds.⁵⁷ But, an argument will be put forth in this thesis that the scene on the shaft above the *pi* median with the Marchioness is also within the heavenly domain. Such an interpretation of this scene with the Marchioness was alluded to by Sun Tso-yün, but he did not pursue the matter fully.⁵⁸ In this thesis, we will draw upon literary as well as artistic evidences to support Sun Tso-yün's original suggestion.

Beneath the Ch'ang Ho, two phoenixes (*feng-huang* 鳳凰) stand on both sides of a *fleur-de-lis* motif atop a canopy platform. Phoenixes are, like the crane, auspicious birds. The term *feng-huang* is the combined character for the monosyllabic characters *feng*, denoting the male phoenix, and *huang*, the female.⁵⁹ The prerogative of the bird is so immense that, according to the *Shuo Wen*, not only is the *feng-huang* a genie, but the messenger of heaven as well who only alights at places of virtue and therefore deserving

of its merit.⁶⁰ Its dominion is the southern quadrant, the region of the *yang*, and it symbolizes the powers of the sun. From its nomenclature, however, *i.e.*, *feng* and *huang*, it is seen that like the Chu Lung and the cranes, this image not only symbolizes the *yang*, but the dual forces of the *yin* and the *yang* together as one homogenous entity.

None of the critics who have examined the Ma-wang-tui painting has offered any extensive commentary or investigation regarding the *fleur-de-lis* motif. An examination of it here will reveal its celestial connection and in so doing buttress Sun Tso-yün's suggestion.

An image very similar to the Ma-wang-tui *fleur-de-lis* motif does appear at the ancient tombs of the former state of Kao-kou-li 高句麗 (*i.e.*, the Kao-kou-lian tombs) in the modern district of Chi-an 輯安 on the plains of T'ung-hua 通化, Manchuria. These tombs date between the third and fourth centuries A.D.⁶¹ (Plate 7)

The illustration in this text comes from the domical ceiling from the *Tomb of the Dancing Figures* (Buyô-zuka 舞踊塚). The pictorial scheme of this tomb and the placement of the *fleur-de-lis* image within that scheme are particularly rewarding in identifying the significance of the *fleur-de-lis* motif within the Ma-wang-tui painting.

Along the walls of the *Tomb of the Dancing Figures* are painted *genre* scenes, *e.g.*, hunting, dancing and feasting. These are painted within a trapezoidal, architectonic framework. The posts occupy the arris of the chamber, and lintels

with supportive brackets are painted across the tops. The latter clearly function to differentiate the celestial and the terrestrial domains with the former above and the latter below. The abundance of this *fleur-de-lis* motif in the heavenly zone and the complete absence of it from below in the terrestrial zone specifically mark this image as unique to the heavens. It can be interpolated from this that the *fleur-de-lis* motif in the Ma-wang-tui painting may likewise indicate the heavenly spheres. Indeed, what would be a more fitting place to find the auspicious phoenixes than on the canopy of heaven with this flower of heaven?

Hovering beneath the canopy of heaven is a bat-like creature believed by Sun Tso-yün to be Fei Lien 飛廉, the Wind God.⁶² According to Wang I (the commentator of the *Ch'u Tz'u*), this god is described as having a hybrid body--a deer's trunk with a serpent's tail and the head of a bird with stag's horns. It belongs to the bird-genie species.⁶³

In the celestial wanderings of the "*Li Sao*" poet, Fei Lien was his companion:

I sent Wang Shu [the charioteer of
the moon] ahead to ride before
me;
The Wind God went behind as my outrider;
The Bird of Heaven gave notice of my
comings;
And the Thunder God told me when all
was not ready.⁶⁴

As a celestial companion, Fei Lien makes a second appearance in the *Ch'u Tz'u*. In the "*Yüan Yu*" 遠遊, a poem of

spiritual triumph in having achieved the *Tao*, the poet narrates, "We crossed the eastern heaven, wheeling to the right hand / I sent Fei Lien on ahead to clear the way."⁶⁵

Beyond the identification of this hovering creature as the Wind God, the image confronted is remarkably bat-like in appearance. Without detracting from identifying the figure as the Wind God, note should be made of the possible rebus it conjures. The Chinese word for bat is *fu* 蝠, but the homophone *fu* 福 also means happiness and blessings. Thus this single image can be read on two levels. As a celestial companion and the Wind God, its posture beneath the canopy of heaven is secure. As a pun, it is emblematic of a particular state of being, of a specific ambience--*i.e.*, blissfulness. It would indeed seem logical that such an association between this image and happiness can be assumed, particularly given the iconological interpretations of the *fleur-de-lis*, the phoenixes, and the canopy of heaven as representing various aspects of heaven. Nothing would, after all, be more peaceful for the Taoist than to be in joyous communion with the heavens. This notion is beautifully rendered in the *Tao Te Ching*:

Push far enough towards the Void,
Holdfast enough to Quietness,
And of the thousand things none but can
 be worked on by you.
I have beheld them, whither they go back.
See, all things howsoever they flourish
Return to the root from which they grew.
This return to the root is called Quietness;

Quietness is called submission to Fate;
What has submitted to Fate has become
part of the always-so.
To know the always-so is to be Illumined;
Not to know it, means to go blindly to
disaster.
He who knows the always-so has room in
him for everything;
He who has room in him for everything
is without prejudice.
To be without prejudice is to be kingly;
To be kingly is to be of heaven;
To be of heaven is to be in Tao.
Tao is forever and he that possesses it,
Though his body ceases, is not destroyed. 66

This group of figures beneath the Ch'ang Ho clearly evidences ties that identify it as representing parts of the heavens. The *fleur-de-lis* (here symbolic of the flower of heaven), the phoenixes, the canopy of heaven, and Fei Lien are all celestial figures. Thus, like the crossbar images, these can conclusively be understood as also representative of the heavens. Beneath this ambience of bliss suggested by Fei Lien and its *fu* rebus stands the Marchioness of T'ai.

The two leopards guarding the ramp leading to the platform on which the Marchioness stands are to be compared with the two leopards above in the crossbar at the Ch'ang Ho. Whereas the Ch'ang Ho leopards look inwards, those along the ramp look outwards. These leopards are a metaphoric reference to the concept of the duality of the *yin* and the *yang* that so impregnates the Ma-wang-tui painting. Not

only are there two leopards at each station, but the two pairs of leopards are contrasted in their gazes which further states this dualism. To take the point even further, an argument could perhaps be made that by having the two pairs of leopards gaze in opposite directions, they not only symbolize the dualism of the *yin* and the *yang*, but also allude to the four cardinal points of the universe. In this context, the leopards would signify the all-embracing powers of the *yin* and the *yang*. Finally, this concept of duality is once again restated by the individual leopards themselves with their reversed heads, creating a dichotomous contrast between the head and the body.

The same duality of pairs representing the forces of the *yin* and the *yang* can be seen in the dragons. As has already been noted, the two in the crossbar section represent this dualism as do the two on the shaft. In a similar manner to the leopards, these two pairs with their reversed heads and opposite gazes may also be an allusion to the points of the universe.

From the "*Chao Hun*," it is known that there are nine celestial gateways to the dominions of the heavens that are guarded by leopard sentinels. Given the associations on the Ma-wang-tui painting between the Ch'ang Ho and such celestial figures as the sun, the moon, *etc.*, it is reasonable to assign the Ch'ang Ho as representing the ninth and final gateway. To substantiate this idea and to possibly identify which of the nine gateways is represented by the lower

pair of leopards guarding the ramp progressing to the Marchioness and her group, there must be a discussion of the two shaft dragons, their relationship to each other, the *pi*, and the two dragons in the crossbar with the sun and the moon.⁶⁷ This group of figures can be understood as expressing the idea of opposition in conflict, resolution and ultimate harmony.

The red, *yang* dragon begins its ascent from the bottom left, that side of the painting associated with the moon and the *yin*. This is conflict. The *yin* dragon ascends conversely from the lower right side of the painting associated with the sun and the powers of the *yang*. This is conflict. The change in directional ascent at the *pi*, however, aligns these two dragons with their corresponding forces and the proper *yin* and *yang* dragons in the crossbar section. The former conflict is resolved. Thus, beneath the *pi* there is an element of conflict, whereas at the *pi* and above, with the change of sides along the shaft by the dragons, there is an harmony with the *yin* and the *yang* forces as expressed in the relationships between the shaft dragons with the images on the crossbar that represent the respective forces of the *yin* and the *yang*.

In the artistic language of China, a commonly understood symbol of the heavens is the *pi*, an ancient and auspicious object to the Chinese.⁶⁸ According to the *Chou Li*, "*Avec la tablette ronde (Pi) de couleur bleu-clair, il rend hommage au ciel.*" The gloss also notes this symbolism:

"*Le Pi est rond et figure le ciel.*"⁶⁹ In this context, the conflict embodied by the shaft dragons is resolved within the dominion of the heavens as symbolized by the *pi*. Since the *pi* is symbolic of the heavens, it is deduced that the scenes above it, particularly that including the Marchioness and her attendants, take occasion within the heavens. Those below are therefore defined as either terrestrial or as belonging to the subterranean. Sun Tso-yün's passing suggestion that the scene with the Marchioness occurs in the heavens is now confirmed, and the lower pair of leopards who guard the Marchioness just above the *pi* can likewise be understood as sentinels of the first gateway related in the "*Chao Hun.*"

The images on the Ma-wang-tui painting from the *pi* upwards all represent various aspects of the heavens. One possible incongruous point may be the relative positioning of the canopy of heaven with the *fleur-de-lis* beneath the ninth gateway, the Ch'ang Ho. There are, however, sound thematic reasons for this that also takes into account the particular configuration of this painting--*i.e.*, the T-shape.

It has been demonstrated that the scenes on the crossbar provide a vision of the heavens with the Ch'ang Ho. If these are understood as representing the inner sanctum of the celestial palace, then in a thematic context the crossbar scenes would define a region (or perhaps even a state of being) where the Taoist adept finds eternal quietude, harmony and blissful repose. An allusion to an

ambience of this beatitude is suggested in the rebus of Fei Lien as *fu*. As such, the crossbar would be a place of refuge, a sanctuary for the Taoist, and as the region of eternal bliss, passage through the Ch'ang Ho can be likened as the crossing of the final threshold to this peace.

This principle of peace is also incorporated within the particular configuration of the T-shape. Horizontal elements, by their intrinsic and inherent properties, are illustrative of elements of peace, or an entity at rest and repose. As such, the idea conveyed is one of calmness, very much as that suggested by the images within the crossbar section (*i.e.*, the horizontal section), symbolic of the heavens. In contrast, verticality suggests motion and principles of thrust. This can be assigned to the shaft of the Ma-wang-tui painting. Moreover, as suggestive of motion, there is an allusion to the transient and the ephemeral, whereas in contrast, horizontal, suggestive of repose, alludes to an eternity--an eternity of peace here envisaged in the crossbar and the heavens of a Taoist paradise.

For the Taoist, communion with the One, with the *Tao*, is such a final threshold to spiritual peace embodied within the Ch'ang Ho. This communion is the expansion of the individual self to achieve the enlightened rapport with the universal Self, the omnipotent *Tao*. Thus the passage on the painting from the shaft to the crossbar section through the Ch'ang Ho may symbolize this expansion, and the

expansion of the self for the union with the One is graphically stated in the greater width, or the expansion in width, of the crossbar.

The passage through the *pi* and the subsequent change of sides by the dragons is important in outlining not only the interdependency of the *yin* and the *yang*, but also in delineating the junction between heaven and earth. The resolution of these opposites represented by the dragons can thus be further interpreted as the purification of the cosmic order. By resolving these conflicts, the universe is set on a course of harmony. Thus the *pi* can be understood not only as symbolic of the heavens, but also as the path of a divine flow that unites the cosmic realms of the universe. It is through such an opening that an intercommunication between the cosmic realms is realized.

This type of imagery (*i.e.*, a passageway of divine flow) also possesses reflective properties. In the Ma-wang-tui painting and within the context of the *yin* and the *yang*, the reflective property is the discord of the universe beneath the *pi*, symbolized by the dragons rising from their polemic beginnings. This discordance is the inverse reflection of the harmony of the universe achieved by the change of sides of the shaft dragons at the *pi--i.e.*, achieved by the passage of the shaft dragons along the path of divine flow.

Suspended from the *pi* are varicoloured ribbons on which two human headed birds with raised headgear perch.

These images are two emanations of Kou Mang 句芒, tutelary god of the east. According to the *Shan Hai Ching*, this deity possesses "the body of a bird and a human face, and rides upon two dragons."⁷⁰ It is also mentioned in the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "Yüan Yu" ("I held my reins and adjusted the whip / And decided that I would go to visit Kou Mang"⁷¹) where the gloss notes that this deity wears a white robe--as the Ma-wang-tui images do.⁷² This deity and these figures will be discussed in a later chapter at greater length.

Hanging beneath the varicoloured ribbons with the two images of Kou Mang is a *ch'ing*.⁷³ It also will be viewed in conjunction with the bell of heaven above later in another chapter. However, attention should be drawn at this instance to a similar set of images from another Western Han tomb at Ch'ang-sha from Sha-tzu-t'ang 砂子塘.⁷⁴ The importance of music, particularly the bell and *ch'ing*, will be a central concern in assessing the significance of these images and how they affect the iconology of these paintings.

The congregation scene beneath the *ch'ing* has been generally identified as a banquet scene of some sort and therefore representative of the earth.⁷⁵ Bulling, however, interprets this as a scene of divination that takes place in a downstairs room.⁷⁶ Both viewpoints are supported by the various eating and kitchen utensils present,⁷⁷ but the pivotal clue to an accurate reading of this scene is contingent upon the proper identification of the object in the center of this scene with its multicoloured design.

A comparison between the swirl patterns here and the embroidered designs on the Marchioness' robe above reveals striking similarities. Both exhibit the same motif. The contrasts between the red, black and white flourishes give to these patterns an highly ornamental quality that enlivens the decorative effects of the two.

At the Ma-wang-tui site, this design can be specifically related to the Marchioness. Besides the two examples found within the painting itself, the same design was used for the silk robes that were wrapped around the corpse.⁷⁸ Moreover, the reader will recall that this design was first encountered at Ma-wang-tui on the largest casket with the black foundation and white swirl patterns.⁷⁹ Certainly in light of these instances, the object on the painting between the two rows of men must be connected with the Marchioness personally. The object can thus be viewed as the catafalque of the tomb's occupant, possibly with its shroud. The entire scene is, therefore, understood as one of a funeral ceremony--not as a banquet or feast as otherwise suggested. As such, it represents an event on earth and is therefore its representation on the painting.

Two of the three universal realms have so far been identified within the Ma-wang-tui painting--heaven and earth. The images in the crossbar provide a diagram of the heavens, and the scene along the shaft above the *pi* represents the first entrance into the heavens. Beneath the *ch'ing*, the funeral scene represents the terrestrial sphere.

Supporting the earth, the caryatid figure who straddles a snake as he stands on the backs of two leviathans has been identified as Yü Ch'iang 禺疆, the supporter of the isle of immortals, P'eng Lai. According to tradition, Yü Ch'iang undertakes this feat with the aid of sea turtles. In this context, the two turtles from the Ma-wang-tui painting have been drawn upon.⁸⁰ Other identifications regarding this caryatid figure include Kun 鯀, father of Yü 禹 (the founder of the Hsia 夏 Dynasty),⁸¹ and as Chu Ju 侏儒, a dwarf who, according to the gloss of the *Huai Nan Tzu*, "Chu Shu" 主術 could support an heavy beam that would otherwise break the back of a man.⁸²

A fourth possibility in identifying this figure is P'an Ku 盤古. According to Chinese cosmogony, out of the turbid waters of chaos, P'an Ku created the universe. He was the offspring of the *yin* and the *yang* who gave form and substance to the Chaos, fashioning the heavens and the earth, summoning into existence the sun and the moon. This task required eighteen thousand years of labour.⁸³ Upon his death, P'an Ku's body dissolved into various aspects of his creation--his breath became the wind and clouds, his voice the thunder, his blood the rivers, his flesh the soil, his hair the trees, his teeth and bones the gold and stones of the earth, and his sweat the rain.⁸⁴

In conjunction with the canopy of heaven motif above, An Chih-min has likened this supportive, caryatid figure as a manifestation of the expression, "the covering of

Heaven and the carrying of Earth."⁸⁵ In the legends of P'an Ku, as the primordial creator of the heavens and the earth, the caryatid figure may be assigned to P'an Ku who fashioned the universe, establishing the order that is heaven and earth.⁸⁶ In a metaphorical statement, however, "the covering of Heaven and the carrying of Earth" refers to the *Tao*,⁸⁷ and he who adheres to the teachings of the *Tao* will be at peace with himself and with the universe. The Taoist "lives happily without anxieties: his outlook is without fears because he feels Heaven is a covering, the Earth is a chariot, the four seasons his steeds, [the] Yin and [the] Yang his drivers."⁸⁸

The two leviathans on which Yü Ch'iang (*et al.*) stands are also difficult to identify with certainty. Shang Chih-t'an⁸⁹ interprets these figures to be Ao 鰲, "a large turtle who dwells in the seas, possessing the strength to carry the three mountains [where the immortals dwell], P'eng, Ying 瀛, and Fang 方."⁹⁰ Ao was later transformed into a giant fish and thus Shang Chih-t'an's thesis. The opening line, however, to the writings of Chuang-tzu, the fourth century B.C. Taoist sage, offers another possibility that is more apropos in a Taoist context:

In the Northern Ocean there is a fish,
the name of which is Khwān [i.e., Kun]....
It changes into a bird...(that when it)
rouses itself and flies, its wings are
like clouds all round the sky. When
the sea is moved...it prepares to
remove to the Southern Ocean. The

Southern Ocean is the Pool of Heaven.⁹¹

There is a liason between this story and that of Kun, father of Yü. According to the *Shu Ching*, the Emperor Yao, in his lamentations over the chaos of the universe, exclaimed,

'Oh! (Chief of) the four mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In the vast extent they embrace the mountains and overtop the hills, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that inferior people groan and murmur. Is there a capable man, to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?' All (in the court) said, 'Oh! there is K'wan [*i.e.*, Kun].⁹²

But alas, Kun failed and was put aside. One legend states that Kun's corpse, after three years, changed into a fish.⁹³ Thus this scene on a second level may be an allusion to Kun and his metamorphosis.

The point of interest here is the connection between these figures and water, the element of *yin*, and the north. The northern quadrant is the "Sombre Capital,"⁹⁴ the domain of the winter season and the *yin*. The entire lower scene therefore is a *yin* emblem.

This is further substantiated by the two turtles with owls on their backs. Although these turtle/owl images are rejected by An Chih-min as representing Hsüan Wu 玄武, the Dark Warrior,⁹⁵ they are directly linked to Kun in the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "T'ien Wen":

If Kun was not fit to allay the flood,
why was he given this charge. All said,
'Never fear! Try him out and see if he
can do it.' When the bird-turtles linked
together, how did Kun follow their sign?⁹⁶

Moreover, Hsüan Wu rules over the northern region of the universe. The emergence of these turtle/owl figures from the watery habitats below may therefore signify the migration of Chuang-tzu's leviathan from the northern quarter to the south. This would also link these images with the legends of P'an Ku, who, out of the waters of chaos, devised order.

In this context, this region at the bottom of the Ma-wang-tui painting represents the third of the universal realms, the subterranean. This is to be contrasted with the celestial paradise at the top of the painting. The leviathans and associated figures representing this realm are synonyms for the powers of the *yin* and its associations of coldness, darkness, water, malevolence, *etc.* The crossbar figures, particularly the Chu Lung, represent the heavens and the forces of the *yang*. Thus along a vertical axis, there is a juxtaposition between the subterranean and the heavens, between the *yin* and the *yang*.

On a horizontal axis, the sun and the moon, and the two crossbar dragons are contrasting elements of the *yin* and the *yang*. Likewise, the five cranes flanking the Chu Lung repeat this horizontal rendition of the dualism of the Taoist concept of the universe.

Finally, the dragons on the shaft, by their polemic beginnings, intersection at the *pi*, and eventual alignment with the sun and the moon figures above draw attention to a diagonal scheme. From lower right to upper left, *yin* corresponds to *yin*. From lower left to upper right, *yang* corresponds to *yang*. In these regards, the painting is also representative of an *axis mundi*. The images and concepts outlined above, in particular regards to the *yin* and the *yang*, are symmetrical complements--thus the order that is the *yin* and the *yang*.

In all, therefore, the Ma-wang-tui painting is a consummate statement along several levels of meanings of the *yin* and the *yang*, and of the establishment of the Taoist cosmos. The following chapter will explore the corollary theory of the *wu hsing*, or five elements, which is also concerned with the continual workings of the established universe.

CHAPTER III

THE *WU HSING*, OR FIVE ELEMENTS, THEORY OF THE TAOIST UNIVERSE

The last chapter demonstrated that it is possible to interpret the Ma-wang-tui painting as an expression of the cosmic order of the *yin* and the *yang*. Within the Taoist framework, however, the *yin/yang* theory of Tsou Yen has a supportive corollary, the *wu hsing*, or five elements, theory. Both the *yin/yang* and the *wu hsing* theories are closely related to each other and operate within the cosmic order of the universe *in tandem*.

The constituents of the *wu hsing* theory are found in the *Shih Ching*. They are water, earth, wood, metal, and fire.¹ Like all things within the universe, they are the products of the *yin* and the *yang*, and as such promote the the universe as the natural agents of the dual forces of the cosmos.² Moreover, an imbalance of the *wu hsing* is indicative of discord within the *yin/yang* structure. This too leads to chaos. Thus, when the Emperor Yao commanded Kun to allay "the waters of the inundation," a factor in Kun's failure was his neglect of the *wu hsing*:

The Viscount of Ke therefore replied,
'I have heard that of old time K'wan

[/i.e., Kun/] dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements [/i.e., in attempting to allay the waters, Kun, dealing wrongly with one of the elements, caused the others to go amiss/]. God was thereby roused to anger, and did not give him "the great Plan with its nine Division" [/i.e., the mandate of heaven/] whereby the proper virtues of the various relations [/of the *wu hsing*/] were left to go to ruin, K'wan [/i.e., Kun/] was then kept a prisoner till his death....'³

This passage clearly indicates that, as with the *yin/yang* progenitors, the mutual accordances of the *wu hsing* are tantamount to universal harmony. Without such considerations, chaos and discordances arise and man, in conflict with the universe, upsets the balance of the universe.

The individual elements of the *wu hsing* also correspond to various other entities, *e.g.*, the directions, seasons and colours. The following chart lists these interrelations:⁴

| ELEMENTS | DIRECTION | SEASON | COLOUR |
|----------|-----------|--------|--------|
| Water | North | Winter | Black |
| Earth | Center | | Yellow |
| Wood | East | Spring | Green |
| Metal | West | Autumn | White |
| Fire | South | Summer | Red |

Whereas the order of the *yin* and the *yang* is dualistic, that of the *wu hsing* is cyclical. In this manner, the powers or essences of the elements are in a constant state of fluctuation, of rising and falling, of subduing their

predecessors only to succumb to their beneficiaries.

This constant rotation is attested in the *Huai Nan Tzu*:

Wood excels over earth, earth excels over
water, water excels over fire, fire excels over
metal, metal excels over wood.⁵

This Taoist concept signifies a beginning and an end, which in itself is a beginning.

According to the doctrines of the *wu hsing*, these elements, as the natural agents of the universe, move through periods of rise and decay. This concept is applicable to every event and occurrence within the universe, and thus changes within the social/political order of China (*i.e.*, within human history and experience) were also viewed as specific manifestations of the changes within the *wu hsing* order. In this manner, Ch'in Shih-huang (246 - 210 B.C.), believing that the newly established Ch'in Dynasty was ruled by the element water,

changed the beginning of the year and the congratulations to be made at court, both of these to begin from the first day of the tenth month. He honored black as the color [sic] for clothing, and for pennons and flags. He made six the standard number. Contract tallies and official hats were all of six inches, while the chariots were six feet. Six feet made one pace, and each equipage had six horses. The name of the (Yellow) river was changed to that of Powerful Water (Te Shui 德水), because it was supposed that this marked the beginning of the power of the element water. With hardness and

violence, and an extreme severity, everything was decided by law. For by punishing and oppressing, by having neither human-heartedness nor kindness, but conforming only to a strict justice, there would come an accord with the Five Powers.⁶

The constituent elements of the *wu hsing* theory can be attributed to various parts of the Ma-wang-tui painting. By beginning at the foot of the painting and gradually working upwards until the Chu Lung figure is reached, it will be demonstrated that the cyclical nature of the *wu hsing* theory is fulfilled along the lines outlined in the chart above--i.e., water, earth, wood, metal, and fire. This will also take into account the directional quadrants and seasonal periods assigned. In so doing, the vertical, axial alignment already discussed in the preceeding chapter will reemerge as a consideration.

The reader will recall that the scene at the foot of the painting represents the subterranean realm. Its attributes include the two leviathans of Chuang-tzu who dwell in the north and, as denizens of the watery depth, signify the *yin*. Appended to this are the bird/turtle images representing Hsüan Wu, Lord of the North, and the *yin* quadrant. These are aided by the caryatid figure both as Kun who changed into a fish and as Yü Ch'iang. The latter, according to the *Shan Hai Ching*, was a genie of the northern seas.⁷ It was also from the primordial waters of Chaos that P'an Ku fashioned the universe, and he is thus likened.

These figures all share in common some relationship to the element water, the first of the primordial elements within the *wu hsing* structure, the northern quadrant and the *yin*.

Ascending to the next level, there is the scene of the funerary ceremony identified by the bier and its shroud. This is the realm of man, the terrestrial domain that corresponds to the element earth.

Perched above this scene on the varicoloured ribbons are the two emanations of Kou Mang, Lord of the East. As next in the *wu hsing* hierarchy, these figures should be emblematic of the element wood. Referring to the *Shan Hai Ching*, "*Hai Wai Tung Ching*," the gloss supports this consideration, noting that Kou Mang is a genie of the element wood.⁸ Thus, with water represented at the foot of the painting by the two leviathans *et al.*, the funerary ceremony representing earth, and Kou Mang as wood, the first three elements of the *wu hsing* structure are manifested in the Ma-wang-tui painting.

In addressing the fourth element of metal, attention should be drawn firstly to the Bell of Heaven in the painting, but secondly, and perhaps more importantly, to the general paucity of metal objects recovered from the Ma-wang-tui tomb. In all, there were only twenty metal pieces: three knives with rounded heads, one bronze mirror, and sixteen tin bells.⁹ The tin bells were quite small, measuring only 4.6 cm. in length and 2.9 cm. at its widest.¹⁰ They are of a similar type as the painted bell, and thus the latter

may be reckoned as representing the virtue of metal.¹¹

Judging from the number of bells recovered from Chinese tombs, the bell would seem to have held a particularly prominent position in ancient Chinese music. Many of these bells are now known to form a set, some numbering as many as twelve, as, *e.g.*, those excavated from the tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai 蔡 (a small principality near the Huai River), near Shou-hsien, Anhwei in 1955.¹² These bells are of a similar type as that found on the Ma-wang-tui painting and as also found engraved on a *hu*, formerly in the Werner Jannings collection and now in Peking.¹³

The final element is fire. To this can be assigned the Chu Lung. As the illuminator of the earth and those regions that the sun does not reach, it is a fire god, or the god of light.

Reading the painting in this sequence from foot to head not only fulfills the order of the *wu hsing* doctrine, but does so in a manner that adheres to its cyclical orientation as defined above. Thus as water succumbs to earth, earth to wood, wood to metal, metal to fire, and fire to water, this theory is made manifest in the Ma-wang-tui painting. Moreover, its manifestation, by beginning at the foot of the painting and rising through the various scenes, is *in tandem* with the resolution of the universe as exemplified by the *yin/yang* pairings already assembled.

Besides fire, the Chu Lung can be further associated

with the south, as related in the story of migration by Chuang-tzu. This corresponds to the summer period. This is contrasted with the watery abode of the fishes and the elements of *yin* at the foot of the painting that correspond to winter. With the earth representing the center, wood east, and metal west, read along a vertical axis, the *wu hsing* theory is complete.¹⁴ This same axial interpretation can also be applied toward the seasonal changes that are by their nature cyclical. Thus, the *wu hsing* theory is well illustrated in the Ma-wang-tui painting, and the cosmic order of the universe in its perpetual rotation between life, death and rebirth continues.

Towards this end, the following chapter will examine the Chinese beliefs in recalling the soul of the deceased. This stems from the idea of a dualistic theory of humans as possessing two souls that, due to a disharmony within, causes the separation of the two souls, giving rise to illness and, if not rejoined, death. The ceremony of recalling the soul is an attempt to reunite the two separated souls and therefore cause the rebirth of the deceased. The next chapter will examine this relevant theory, and discuss the function and name of this magnificent painting.

CHAPTER IV

THE NAME AND FUNCTION OF THE MA-WANG-TUI PAINTING

When the Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui was opened, an inventory of its furnishings was included on a set of 312 bamboo slips. Originally bound when placed in the tomb, only fragments of the bindings have survived. The slips are uniform in size, measuring 27.6 cm. long and 0.7 cm. wide.¹

From the entries on these slips, it was determined that the silk painting was the *fei-i* 非衣,² a term that etymologists have translated as "flying garment."³ Scholars now believe that the painting was a banner or wall hanging, and this idea is substantiated by the painting itself.⁴ Besides the black tassels that were suspended from the four lower corners, along the top of the painting silk cords were attached from either end. These were tied together over the center of the painting so as to allow it to be hung. The archaeological report cites several passages from classical Chinese texts regarding funerary banners among which this painting surely belongs.⁵

As a funerary banner, the painting was used in a very

particular function to recall the soul of the deceased Marchioness. This chapter will explore this function, once again examining new levels of meanings of the images on the Ma-wang-tui painting. This will also draw upon previous concepts already outlined to corroborate the theme of recalling the soul.

* * * * *

In the Chinese concept of the human body, each person possesses two types of souls, the physical or *p'o* 魄 group, and the spiritual or *hun* 魂 group. The former is representative of the female/*yin* element; the latter represents the male/*yang* element.⁶

As derivations of the *yin/yang* order, a harmonious balance between the *p'o* and the *hun* groups must be maintained. Failure to do so results in sickness and in cases of severity, death. In the latter instance (*i.e.*, death), the chief proponent of the *p'o* group, known as the *kuei* 鬼, and the chief proponent of the *hun* group, known as the *shen* 神, separate.⁷ It is the reunification of the *kuei* with the *shen*, that in turn rejoins the larger entities of the *p'o* and the *hun* groups, that the Chinese seek in the recalling of the soul. Failing this, however, both spirits (the *kuei* and the *shen*) must still be assuaged in order to insure continual benevolence to the family survivors and to guard also against any malice from the denizens of the beyond. On the Ma-wang-tui painting, the two horned creatures stepping off the tails of the two leviathans at

the foot of the painting may be said to represent the *kuei* and the *shen*.⁸

The ceremony necessitated from the recalling of the soil is set forth in the *Li Chi*:

At (the ceremony of) recalling back the soul...(the officers) ascended from the east wing to the middle of the roof where the footing was perilous. Facing the north, they gave three loud calls for the deceased, after which they rolled up the garment (of the deceased that) they had employed....⁹

Although any personal property of the deceased could be used in this ceremony, use of the deceased's garments was preferred in order to entice better the wandering soul to return.

Note should be made here that the ceremony of this recall was just that--an elaborate ritual (albeit seriously undertaken), performed as insurance against the potential malevolence of a dissatisfied and/or abandoned soul.¹⁰ In their desire to protect themselves, the Chinese, superstitious in regards to the powers of the unknown and the supernatural, undertook this ceremony to appease the spirits. It was a selfserving ceremony intended to invoke a sympathetic magic from the spirits and thus, by so doing, it was hoped that a continued assistance from the beyond would be received.¹¹

The liturgy for the summons of the soul can be found in the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Chao Hun*" and "*Ta Chao*." This takes the form of two variants. On the one hand, the dangers that

would confront the soul were elaborated:

O soul, come back! For the west holds many
perils:

The Moving Sands stretch on for a hundred
leagues.

You will be swept into the Thunder's Chasm,
and dashed in pieces, unable to help
yourself;

And even should you chance to escape from
that, beyond is the empty desert,

And red ants as huge as elephants, and wasps
as big as gourds.

The five grains do not grow there; dry stalks
are the only food;

And the earth there scorches men up; there
is nowhere to look for water.

And you will drift there for ever, with
nowhere to go in that vastness.

O soul, come back! lest you bring on
yourself perdition.¹²

On the other hand, the beauties and luxuries to be had in
returning home were consummate:

O soul, come back to pleasure that cannot
be told!

The five grains are heaped up six ells high,
and corn of zizania set out;

The cauldrons seethe to their brims; their
blended savours yield fragrance;

Plump orioles, pigeons, and geese, flavoured
with broth of jackal's meat:

O soul, come back! Indulge your appetite!¹³

The seriousness of recalling the soul is also beautifully
rendered in the "*Chao Hun*." It opens with a dialogue

between the Lord God (*ti* 帝, i.e., *t'ien ti* 天帝) and one of his shamans. The former, anxious over the possible abandonment of a soul, commands Wu Yang 巫陽, the shaman, to summon it to heaven:

The Lord God said to Wu Yang:

'There is a man on earth below whom I
would help:

'His soul has left him. Make divination
for him.'

Wu Yang replied:

'The Master of Dreams...

'The Lord God's bidding is hard to
follow.'

[/The Lord God said: _/

'You must divine for him. I fear that
if you any longer decline, it will be
too late.'

Wu Yang therefore went down and summoned the soul,
saying....¹⁴

Bulling takes the last line of this dialogue literally in her article to suggest that the scene of mourning and the funerary ceremony represents a downstairs room where the shaman's divination was performed.¹⁵ There is little, however, if any evidence to suggest that this is a downstairs room. It is our opinion that firstly, this, as a funerary scene, sets the environment of the poetry of the "*Chao Hun*" and the "*Ta Chao*" as already noted above, and also illustrates the following:

The chambers of polished stone, with
kingfisher hangings on jasper hooks;
Bedspreads of kingfisher seeded with
pearls, all dazzling in brightness;

Arras of fine silk covers the walls;
damask canopies stretch overhead,
Braids and ribbons, brocades and satins,
fastened with rings of precious stone.¹⁶

Secondly, this scene also adheres to the dictates of the *I Li* on the laying out of the viands (e.g., "A young pig is presented as the food offering," and "The stones for the fish and the game follow this...."¹⁷), and looks forward to the sacrifice to the spirits.

In the sacrifice to the spirits, the *ch'ing* and the *chung* are important. There are correct observances regarding the playing of music--its function and purpose being strictly laid out in the *I Li*,¹⁸ and in the *Li Chi* an entire chapter deals specifically with music.¹⁹ Moreover, in the *Shih Ching* (*Book of Odes*), it is written that music would invite the blessings of the heavens: "The bells and drums sound in harmony / The sounding stones and flutes blend their notes / Abundant blessing is sent down."²⁰

The combination of the bell and the sounding stone was also found painted on the Ch'u coffin piece from Sha-tzu-t'ang, Ch'ang-sha.²¹ In it, a *ch'ing* is suspended from a ribbon. Beneath this the bell hangs. On the shoulders of the *ch'ing*, one on each side, are two men who kneel on the backs of two leopards.

The same iconography of *ch'ing* and *chung* as a musical grouping has been noted on the *hu* formerly in the Werner Jannings collection and now in Peking.²² On the Jannings

vessel, four *chung* and five *ch'ing* instruments are arranged along a horizontal bar with animal terminals, resting upon bird-like (dragon ?) stands. (*Figure 4*) This detail is from the shoulder of the *hu* and in the scene above it, human figures participate in a ceremony suggesting the important and integral part music played in Chinese life. Other examples of this association between *ch'ing* and *chung* instruments from bronze vessels include a *tou* in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,²³ and an *hu* in the Curtis Collection of the Musée Guimet, formerly in the Louvre.²⁴

In all these examples, the playing of the *ch'ing* and the *chung* is directly associated with a ceremony of some sort. From the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Ta Chao*," the playing of these instruments is linked to the rites of recalling the soul. The shaman Wu Yang calls out to the soul to return, describing the merriment that awaits its return:

Two teams of eight join in the dance in
time to the chanting of verses;
Striking the bells and sounding the stone-
chimes [*i.e.*, *ch'ing*], the
musicians play the *luan*;
And the four trebles blow with all their
might as they enter the final modulation:
O soul, come back! Listen to the songs
and lays!²⁵

Thus both the *ch'ing* and the *chung* were principle instruments in the summoning of the soul.²⁶

Such is the clarifying aspect of music that in the *Li Chi* it is likened unto an harmony between heaven and

earth:

Music is (an echo of) the harmony between heaven and earth; ceremonies reflect the orderly distinctions (in the operations of) heaven and earth. From that harmony all things receive their being; to these orderly distinctions they owe the differences between them. Music has its origin from heaven; ceremonies take their form from the appearances of earth. If the imitation of those appearances were carried to excess, confusion (of ceremonies) would appear; if the framing of music were carried to excess, it would be too vehement.²⁷

Moreover, like Fei Lien and the *fu* rebus, *ch'ing* also possesses a pun. The character *ch'ing* 慶 means good luck, happiness, and blessings.²⁸ The *ch'ing* instrument in the Ma-wang-tui painting that forms a covering for the funeral ceremony scene can thus be understood to indicate the peace of the Marchioness' life. She rests in peace, receiving the blessings of heaven, and above within the heavens, she has entered the ambience of *fu*.

Within the Ma-wang-tui site, the importance of music in the life and afterlife of the Marchioness is attested by the musical instruments buried in her funerary treasures-- a zither, reed mouth organ, a set of pitch pipes (twelve in all), and a group of models of musicians as well.²⁹ As an aside, the associations between music, the heavens and things of a positive nature can be seen at the fifth century A.D. Buddhist caves of Yün-kang 雲岡.³⁰ At this site,

there are scenes of musicians playing various instruments within the divine entourage of the Buddha, a figure who, like the Taoist adept, is an enlightened one.

From the music scenes on the bronze vessels, it would appear that dragons have been used as music stands, and An Chih-min has drawn some attention to this possibility within the Ma-wang-tui painting.³¹ The idea of using animal figures for a music stand is not unusual to the Ch'u peoples. Several such pieces with birds and tigers are extant, albeit the actual composition and structure are still enigmatic.³² As for dragon stands, the Jannings *hu* is recalled, and a literary source is also available. According to the *Li Chi*,

They had the music stand of Hsiâ, with its face-board and posts, on which dragons were carved; that of Yin, with the high-toothed face-board; and that of Kâu, with its round ornaments of jade, and feathers (huge from the corners).³³

Viewing the dragons as a music stand would, moreover, more closely bind the idea of music as a cleansing agent since the positive nature of the dragons would be exceedingly apropos in this.

Returning to the Sha-tzu-t'ang image, a close examination of the two kneeling men shows that they wear a feathered apparel. We have already seen such feathered figures from the Kao-kuo-lian tombs in Manchuria. These feathered figures are generally allied with divinities as their companions

or attendants, as, *e.g.*, can be seen in the Wu Liang shrines where these feathered figures are attendants to Hsi Wang Mu, Queen Mother of the West, from whom Hou I received the elixir of immortality.³⁴ It is also possible to interpret further the Ma-wang-tui human-headed/bird figures perched on the varicoloured ribbons previously identified as Kou Mang in this context of divine attendants.

Winged persons are believed to be immortals, *hsien* 仙 -- spirits of the deceased who have attained eternal quietude. In the celestial wanderings of the "Yüan Yu" poet, he narrates: "I met the Winged Ones on the Hill of Cinnabar / I tarried in the ancient Land of Immortality."³⁵ According to the *Shan Hai Ching*, there is a kingdom of winged men where the people do not expire.³⁶ The gloss from the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "Yüan Yu" also notes that the winged men were immortals.³⁷ The second line from the above couplet (*i.e.*, "I tarried in the ancient Land of Immortality") refers to the Isle of the Immortals, P'eng Lai.

P'eng Lai is one of three islands (the others are Fang Chang 方丈 and Ying Chou 瀛洲) in the Gulf of Pohai 渤海 (supported by Yü Ch'iang) where those spirits, who, according to the myths, had tasted the elixir of life and were thus transformed into immortals, dwell. It is a place where all the animals and vegetation are white, with palaces and gates of gold and silver.³⁸ Legends speak of it as being shaped like a *hu*,³⁹ and Shang Chin-t'an has pointed out that the bodies of the two dragons on the shaft

form the outline of an *hu* vessel with the canopy of heaven above serving as its cover.⁴⁰

Germane to the legends of P'eng Lai and the immortals is the story of the attempt of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (the First Emperor of Ch'in) to find this isle and therefore obtain his immortality.⁴¹ In this he was trying to emulate the Yellow Emperor (r. 2698 - 2598 B.C.).⁴² The latter supposedly succeeded in this quest and thereafter ascended to heaven on the back of a dragon.⁴³ The stories of P'eng Lai, immortals and the ascension of the Yellow Emperor are the foundations for Shang Chih-t'an's thesis that the banner represents a similar quest for immortality and the search for P'eng Lai by the tomb's occupant at Ma-wang-tui.⁴⁴ Although Bulling rejects this,⁴⁵ it is not out of keeping with the summoning of the soul which in itself is, after all, also a quest for immortality and eternal bliss.

The winged men are thus identifiable on two levels. First as Kou Mang, god of the east and virtuous of the element wood, they symbolize an aspect of the cyclical nature of the universe within the *wu hsing* theory. Second as immortals, they represent the search for the fabled isle of P'eng Lai and the quest for immortality. As *hsien*, however, these figures are also tied to a specific iconographic type--divination.

These immortals are often depicted playing a game on a small board between them.⁴⁶ From an inscription on an Han mirror, it is now known that they are playing the game

liu-po 六博,⁴⁷ a game that also forms a part of the festivities in the "*Chao Hun*" awaiting the soul should it return:

Then with bamboo dice and ivory pieces,
the game of Liu Po is begun;
Sides are taken; they advance together;
keenly they threaten each other.
Pieces are kinged and the scoring doubled.
Shouts of "Five White!" arise.⁴⁸

The two winged men perched on the ribbons in the Ma-wang-tui painting thus embody several nuances of the Chinese universe. As emanations of Kou Mang, they constitute the element wood from the *wu hsing* theory. Tightly associated with music, the figures form part of the repertoire of a state of peace. As immortals, references are made to P'eng Lai and divination. Lastly, atop "Kingfisher feathers, / and / purple curtains and blue hangings that furnish / the / high hall,"⁴⁹ they are an allusion to the benefits of the home. In all, therefore, these images represent on multiple levels the Chinese interests in divination, immortality, and above all a spiritual peace within the universe.

From the passage of the *Li Chi* cited above at the beginning of this chapter for the recalling of the soul, we know that the officers of the ceremony mounted the rooftops from the east and summoned the soul thrice (a *yang* number). More important, however, is the direction addressed--the north. Remembering that the north is the

yin quadrant, the season of winter, and the starting point of the migration of the leviathans, it is not surprising that it is from the north that the souls are sought. Indeed, in both the "*Chao Hun*" and the "*Ta Chao*," of the four cardinal directions, the soul is admonished not to travel to the north lastly, just before the joys of returning home are enumerated.

The north was ardently believed to be the realm of the dead for it was that region of the universe to which the souls, the *kuei* and the *shen*, were first banished upon their separation:

Calling (the soul) back is the way in which love receives its consummation, and has in it the mind which is expressed by prayer.

The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual being. The turning / of / the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region.⁵⁰

To bury on the north (of the city), and with the head (of the dead) turned to the north, was the common practice of the three dynasties: - because (the dead) go to the dark region.⁵¹

'(By-and-by), when one died, they went upon the housetop, and called out his name in a prolonged note, saying, "Come back, So and So." After this they filled the mouth (of the dead) with uncooked rice, and (set forth as offerings to him) packets of raw flesh. Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the

spirit has gone), and buried (the body) in the earth. The body and animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high. Thus (also) the dead are placed with their heads to the north, while the living look toward the south. In all these matters the earliest practice is followed.'⁵²

Adhering to the *Li Chi*, the Marchioness of T'ai was buried with her head facing the north.

As already noted, the banner painting was found directly on top of the innermost casket containing the corpse. The Chu Lung and the heavenly section were placed over the facial area with the subterranean portion over the feet. Placing the banner in this direction may seem contradictory to the corresponding directional elements embodied in the painting. However, with the corpse placed according to the *Li Chi* (i.e., with the head facing the north and the feet to the south), together both it and the banner fulfill a requirement of the Taoist universe--a harmony of the parts. Thus, the feet of the corpse, in addressing the south, are controlled by the foot of the banner representing the north, and vice versa. There is an intimate exchange of directional elements in operation here. This in essence is the Chinese macrocosm realized and as such re-expresses the harmony achieved via conflict examined in Chapter II with the *yin* and the *yang*.

Having established the harmony of the universe, the spirit must still find a means to ascend to heaven. There

are two major vehicles for this in the Ma-wang-tui tomb--one within the painting itself and the other on the innermost casket.

Regarding the later first, as winged being, immortals can rightly be assumed to ascend on their own volition (besides the usage of cranes as already seen). They are distinctive, however, for being winged as seen in the two beings perched on "Kingfisher feathers" in the Ma-wang-tui painting, and the feathered apparel worn by the Sha-tzu-t'ang beings. Here the feathered appliqué found on the innermost casket at Ma-wang-tui is important. Its usage suggest an alliance between the immortals and their capability to ascend, particularly as this technique was applied only once in the entire tomb--on the casket holding the body of the Marchioness of T'ai.

The feathered appliqué is important not only because of its singular usage in the tomb, but also for its avian suggestions, particularly within shamanistic practices. In seeking to depart from the profane space of the material realm and to enter the sacred space of the spiritual, a shaman will wear a costume of an animal. This rite is believed to infuse and transfer the powers and magical qualities of the particular animal into the shaman's being. Although ursine and cervine costumes are also worn, by far the most preferred costumes are ornithomorphic in nature.⁵³ The feathered appliqué stitched into the innermost casket housing the deceased figure of the Marchioness can, therefore,

be interpreted as fulfilling the ornithographic requirements of the shaman's costume. Thus the casket itself with the feathered appliqué may be understood as being a vehicle in the ascent of the Marchioness' soul to heaven.

Moreover, it was on this casket's lid with its feathered appliqué that the banner painting was laid. It is the *fei-i*, or "flying garment," and thus the banner may also be seen as a transportation vehicle or chart for the flight of the deceased's soul to heaven.⁵⁴

As for the ascension vehicle within the painting itself, dragons are known for their auspicious nature in Chinese thought, and the legend of the Yellow Emperor ascending to heaven with the aid of dragons is recalled. In this, the two dragons on the Ma-wang-tui painting ascending along either side of the shaft can thus be linked to the steeds of the ascending spirit on its celestial sojourn. Indeed, the portrait scene above the resolved dragons representing the passage through the first gate of heaven depicts the soul of the Marchioness on its journey.

Bulling maintains that this scene with the Marchioness represents the earth, but as we have already seen this cannot be so.⁵⁵ More appropriate in the travels of the soul, this scene may represent a resting stop before the final stages of the soul's metempsychosis. It is a pause not from exertion, but of a slight commiseration. Moments of forlorn anxiety for the soul as it ascends towards the heavens are explicit in two instances from the *Ch'u Tz'u*:

I tried to curb my mounting will and
 slacken the swift pace;
But the spirits soared high up, far
 into the distance.
We played the Nine Songs and danced
 the Nine Shao dances:
I wanted to snatch some time for
 pleasure and amusement.
But when I had ascended the splendour
 of the heavens,
I suddenly caught a glimpse below of
 my old home.
The groom's heart was heavy and the
 horses for longing
Arched their heads back and refused
 to go on.⁵⁶

and,

My heart, rejoicing, delighted in
 itself:
I would be merry and seek my own
 pleasure.
I crossed the blue clouds and was
 wandering freely,
When suddenly I glimpsed my old
 home below me.
My groom was homesick and my own
 heart downcast;
The trace-horses looked back and
 would not go forward.
I pictured my dear ones in imagin-
 ation,
And, with a heavy sigh, I brushed
 the tears away.⁵⁷

Above, Fei Lien, the Wind God and celestial companion, hovers
while the spirit of the Marchioness pauses in its sadness,

waiting for the spirit to resume its travels.

Continuing on its journey, as the spirit approaches the ninth and final gateway to heaven's palace, it encounters Heaven's porters. An Chih-min rejects this identification of these two figures as Heaven's porters in favor of Ta Ssu-ming 大司命, the Greater Master of Fate, and Shao Ssu-ming 少司命, the Lesser Master of Fate.⁵⁸ Both deities are described in the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Chiu Ko*" as gods of destiny, the former controlling one's life span and the latter misfortune and happiness.⁵⁹ It would not be out of keeping, however, given the complexity of this painting, to view these two sentinels as both Heaven's porters and as the gods of destiny. Who, assuredly, would be better porters than Ta Ssu-ming and Shao Ssu-ming?⁶⁰

Two other figures, however, may also be drawn into this circle of guardians. These are Shen Shu 神荼 (also read as Shen T'u) and Yü Lü 鬱壘 (also read as Yü Lei), the peach-wood gods. They are mentioned in several Han and post-Han commentaries, and the legends associated with them are attributed originally to the *Shan Hai Ching* (in which, however, the story no longer appears in extant versions of this text):

In the midst of the eastern sea there is Tu-so 度朔 (Crossing the New Year) Mountain, on which there is an enormous peach tree, which twists and coils its way over a distance of three thousand *li* 里. Between its branches, on the northeast, there is what is called the Gate of

Demons (*kuei men* 鬼門), in and out of which pass a myriad demons. Above these are two divine beings, one called Shen Shu, the other Yü Lü. They watch and control the myriad demons, and those that are evil and harmful they seize with rush ropes and feed to tigers. This being so, the Yellow Sovereign (Huang Ti) has prepared a ritual for their seasonal expulsion, in which large peachwood figures are set up. (Representatives of) Shen Shu and Yü Lü, as well as of tigers, are painted on gates and doors, and rush ropes are hung up, so as to ward off (evil demons).⁶¹

It is interesting that this peach tree, like the *fu-sang* tree, grows in the east, associated with the spring and the dragon. The east is the place where the birth of the univers's rejuvenation occurs; the spring is the season of this. Both herald the ascent of the supremacy of the *yang* over the *yin*, of rebirth over death.

It is not surprising to find a close relationship between tigers and peach tree imagery as the former, like the leopard, not only devours malevolent spirits, but is, as already seen, one of the principal *yang* orderlies. Moreover, the fruit of the peach tree is believed to be the sustenance of immortality and a demonifuge,⁶² thus reinforcing the idea of the soul, itself seeking this existence, being summoned.

There can be little doubt in the profound belief in

the exorcising powers of the peach tree and peach tree imagery. According to the *Li Chi*,

When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his rush (-brush), and a lance-bearer, -disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at) any affair of life. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this.⁶³

The peach tree was employed as a talisman against the afflictions of spectres. Not only then can the two seated porters be linked with the story of the peach tree gods, but the efficacious powers of the peach tree are reintroduced in the tomb furnishings. Thirty-three peach-wood images were recovered from the Ma-wang-tui treasures. These were conspicuously placed, like the *fei-i*, on the lid of the innermost casket, but at its foot.⁶⁴ This is the *yin* region of the banner painting, and thus these pieces of peach-wood, as *yang* merits, can be viewed as a contrasting force against the *yin*.

Clearly, the imagery expressed in this banner painting relates to the customs and ceremonies of Chinese burials and death. Failing in their attempts to rejoin the *kuei* and the *shen*, a means must be provided for the safe ascension of the *hun* elements to heaven. The numerous levels of interpretations and insights found in the Ma-wang-tui painting

exhibits a gratifying opportunity to examine ancient Chinese eschatology. We have seen how the images, particularly the dragons, serve as a *modus operandi* in the ascension of the soul and its desire to achieve immortality. Once proceeding beyond the Ch'ang Ho, the spirit may be understood as having obtained such a goal. In the case of the Marchioness, it can be assumed that she will succeed. The Ch'ang Ho is open, and the leopards remount their posts, permitting her spirit to enter the inner sanctum of the Taoist paradise.⁶⁵

Having gained entrance into the inner paradise, the soul's metempsychosis is nearly complete. Chow has suggested that the female figure on the Ying Lung fleeing to the moon only alludes to the story of Ch'ang O, but in fact represents the deceased in her transformation.⁶⁶ This is very possible. However, such an identification would tie the deceased to the *yin* forces, and without the actual presence of Hou I beneath the sun, this would create an imbalance. A more appropriate kenning for the Marchioness' spirit is made manifest in the figure of the Chu Lung. Its position within the sun/moon/Chu Lung trinity demonstrates its embodiment of both the *yin* and the *yang* forces, thus signifying the harmony of the universe within itself. In this view, the Chu Lung would be a better apotheosis for the Marchioness of T'ai than the image of Ch'ang O.

The female character of the Chu Lung is also of interest in noting that the tomb occupant, *i.e.*, the Marchioness of

T'ai, is female. As mentioned in Chapter III, the Chu Lung was given stewardship over the banner painting's images. There would seem, therefore, to be an intimate association between the Marchioness, the image of the Chu Lung, and the female gender. Moreover, as stated in Chapter II, scholars have identified the Chu Lung figure as also possibly representing either Fu Hsi or Nü Kua. Between these two mythological figures, the latter would be more appropriate, particularly in light of the female characteristics and qualities of this figure as outlined above. What may be presented, therefore, in this human/snake figure of the Ma-wang-tui painting is a composite manifestation of several entities.

As Nü Kua, the primordial ancestor of the female/*yin* elements of the universe, the figure under discussion represents both the creator of the universe and an aspect of the universe--*i.e.*, the *yin*. As the Chu Lung, not only is the figure an expression of the element fire from the *wu hsing* doctrine of the universe, but likewise expresses the eternal continuity of the workings of the universe as necessitated by the *yin/yang* theory of the Taoist macrocosm. As the Marchioness of T'ai in her apotheosis, the figure accents the completion of the soul's metempsychosis and also indicates an atavistic representation.⁶⁷ The last interpretation is warranted given the ancestral motivations of much of Chinese worship, particularly in pacifying a deceased's soul so as not so much to receive its benevolence,

but so as to ward off its malevolence. In this manner it is hoped to ascertain forever a peaceful existence on the part of the survivors. Thus, the human/snake figure, as the manifestation of several nuances of Chinese cosmological thought, concepts, and beliefs, is a reference to the Chinese persistence of securing the good will of the soul.

In identifying the figure of the Chu Lung as the apotheosis of the Marchioness of T'ai, the images of the cranes can be included as evidence. A symbol of the Chinese soul is the bird.⁶⁸ Capable of leaving the earth and migrating in the skies, it can be likened unto the ascent of the soul. In the Ma-wang-tui painting, the celestial birds are the cranes whose configuration and 2:3 ratio restate the duality of existence found in the Chu Lung.

This 2:3 ratio is repeated twice more in the Ma-wang-tui painting--in the Marchioness' attendants and the two *hu*, three *ting* vessels in the funeral ceremony with the mourners. This ratio, its importance in Chinese numerology, and within the *yin/yang* theory of the Taoist universe has already been explored.⁶⁹

Some conflict would seem to exist, however, in this matter with the attendant figures. Two is *yin*, and three is *yang*. Male is *yang*, and female is *yin*. Yet in the 2:3 ratio of the attendants, there are two male figures *vs.* three female figures. This ostensibly is a contradiction of the *yin/yang* theory. However, it must be

remembered that the tomb occupant is female, and the feminine qualities and associations of the banner images (*e.g.*, the Chu Lung) would permit this apparent contradiction given the specifics of the Marchioness' tomb and her banner painting.

Regarding the posture of the cranes flanking the Chu Lung, ornithologists have observed that this bird engages in a call of recognition and assertion. This is the so-called "unison call." Characteristic of this call is the thrusting of the head backwards, exposing the secondary feathers beneath the neck while wildly, yet joyously, singing.⁷⁰ Principle moments of this call are the assertion of territorial boundaries and the recognition of its life-long mate. In this light, with the Chu Lung representing the Marchioness, the cranes, as symbols of the soul, may be understood as being engaged in an act of recognition toward the Marchioness in her metempsychosis, summoning her soul to its final resting place. This is the calling of her soul.

The Chu Lung and its cranes therefore can be seen as the soul in two states of being. As the crane, symbol of longevity, the group represents the soul in transition from an earthly state to its celestial state. In this instance, the two cranes above the bell can be examined.

It is not clear from the available reproductions of the Ma-wang-tui painting whether the two birds above the bell/incense image are engaged in some sort of

fire ritual. The outline drawing of the banner published in the archaeological report, however, does not depict flames. (*Figure 2*) We would like to suggest that these two cranes are inhaling incense, incense from an instrument (on top of the bell) similar to a *po-shan-lu* 博山爐, or hill censer. Berthold Laufer has cogently argued that these hill censers represent P'eng Lai.⁷¹ If this is accepted, then identifying the vapours rising from the Ma-wang-tui burner as incense from a *po-shan-lu* would unite two distinct, but related, concepts. As an incense burner representing P'eng Lai, it signifies the Taoist quest for immortality associated with this isle. As the crane, itself emblematic of this immortality and symbol of the soul, the breathing of the vapours from P'eng Lai fuses the two components of immortality, and this scene would thus also represent the final stages in the soul's metempsychosis.⁷²

Regarding the second state of being with the Chu Lung, the group above the burner symbolizes the transformation of the soul into an immortal, enlightened and reunited with the Great Unity. This is aptly epitomized in the concluding couplet from the *Ch'u Tz'u*, "*Yüan Yu*": "Transcending Inaction, I came to Purity / And entered the neighborhood of the Great Beginning."⁷³

CHAPTER V

ARTISTIC ATTITUDES AND STYLISTIC QUALITIES IN EARLY CHINESE ART

The previous chapters have examined the symbolic content of the Ma-wang-tui painting and the iconological importance of the images in an attempt to understand the numerous levels of meanings offered. It is the intent of this chapter to examine the artistic attitudes and stylistic qualities exhibited in the painting in an attempt to understand, and thereby define, these issues in early Chinese art as particularly reflected in the Ma-wang-tui painting.

Although many of the Ma-wang-tui images are well-known symbolically, there are also instances of a nascent pictorialism which have no primary symbolic content. This chapter will seek to separate the comparative distinctions and differences between these two artistic modes. While it is hazardous to perceive these distinctions between the symbolic and pictorial elements, both within the Ma-wang-tui painting itself and within the broader spectrum of Chinese art history, as being definitively distinct, the Ma-wang-tui images may, with some degree of clarity and persuasion, be assigned to one

artistic mode or the other.

In examining the differences in artistic attitudes and conceptions between the symbolic and the pictorial, it will be necessary to draw upon other works of art both anterior and posterior to the Ma-wang-tui painting and its *terminus ante quem* of ca. 185 B.C. In a strict, literal sense there is now only one other extant painting on silk that predates the Ma-wang-tui painting. This is the Eastern Chou fragment portraying a female figure in an act of supplication beneath a phoenix and dragon figures. (Plate 13) But this lack of silk painting materials prior to the Ma-wang-tui painting need not deter us from our investigation. It will be demonstrated that within other artistic categories (*e.g.*, pottery, bronze vessels, relief sculpture), evidences can be brought forward to aid our examination.

In discussing the differences between the artistic attitudes and concepts of the symbolic and the pictorial, various terms will be used that need to be defined at the outset. In discussing the symbolic images already noted in the above chapters, (*e.g.*, the sun/bird image, the *pi*, dragons, *etc.*), the term hieratic can be applied. William Watson perceives hieratic art as a singular development of an artistic style in China, logical and continuous from the beginning of the bronze age to the unification under Ch'in in 221 B.C. Although variations in motifs constantly occur in its development, the fundamental attitude and

assumptions of the art remained unaltered.¹ According to Watson, hieratic art was produced for an aristocratic ruling class and reflects the social and religious tastes, convictions and preoccupations of this society. It is an art form that is largely dependant upon a religious foundation, generally sacrificial in nature, and very likely derived from the priestly orientated class and/or society of early China. It is religious in its affiliations, and its images are carefully selected motifs that then come to symbolize and embody either a religious concept or a spiritual entity, *e.g.*, the *Tao* or Nü Kua.

An accompanying characteristic trait to an hieratic art form is its highly ornamental quality. This is especially true where the motifs are not figurative but geometric in design. Derived from the essentials of a circle, square and triangle, the artistic features are very often repetitious. The individual motifs are repeated to form one, continuous design-image. At times a basic core, skeletal design is repeated with minor, although occasionally major, inflections, evolutions and alterations that still do not, however, transform the design image so substantially as to produce one of a totally different species or *genre*. But as Max Loehr has stated, the decorative design in early Chinese art functions in the "education of imagination, of vision, and in the building up of an consciousness" of an artistic attitude.² This artistic attitude is usually rooted to the esoterics of a religious nature, *e.g.*,

sacrifice. In the Ma-wang-tui painting, this aspect has been demonstrated within the parameters of Taoist and shamanistic concepts of the *yin* and the *yang*, the *wu hsing*, the attempt to recall the soul, the soul's quest for immortality, and the legends of P'eng Lai. These share in common a religious basis, founded upon the interpretations of symbolic images of a Chinese art vocabulary.

Opposed to an attitude bound within the parameters of an hieratic, ornamental art that is largely symbolic and religious is that of pictorial representation. The art form is not necessarily concerned with making a religious statement, nor is it necessarily largely symbolic. Instead, the concerns are towards a naturalism to suggest, in Loehr's phrase, a "plastic facsimile" of an object drawn from nature.³ Pictorial representation rises during the Han with a change in the artistic attitude in Chinese art that then focuses its attentions and concerns upon representing an object as it exists in nature (*i.e.*, in its natural state), fairly divorced from symbolic overtones. Similarly, there is a complementary reduction in stylization so as to render the object more accurately--*i.e.*, more naturalistically.

During the transition from one artistic attitude to another, however, instances of their co-existence are to be found. With the development of the new artistic attitude of pictorial art, a newer artistic means at expressing this attitude must also develop. However,

whenever the problems of naturalism (*i.e.*, the "shape of real phenomena"⁴) were too advanced in this development of a new artistic consciousness, these problems may be solved, temporarily at least, within the artistic framework of the older artistic attitude of symbolic art. Thus while the artistic attitude is changing, there may still be some lingering contamination in the means (*i.e.*, the style or technique) of manifesting this new concern for pictorial representation.

In general, pictorial representation tends to be figurative and thus naturalism is an integral concern. There is an attempt to suggest the living substance of the figures *via* a cognizance of the fundamentals of a corporeal roundness, to suggest a plasticity of form achieved through a fluidity of line and the properties of colour highlighting. A comparison between the wings of the Ying Lung beneath the moon and the colour highlighting of heaven's porter from the Ma-wang-tui painting will adequately demonstrate the colour differences between the symbolic and the pictorial. (*Plate 3*)

Whereas the colour transitions in the depiction of the porters are gradual, those on the wings of the Ying Lung are abrupt, more precise and clear cut. Although there is some amount of colour bleeding in the latter, there is no suggestion of a three-dimensional quality. The changes between the white, red and gray colours are distinctive and decorative rather than efficacious of a plastic form. In

the contrasts achieved in the symbolic and pictorial stylistic differences, the Ma-wang-tui painting gives further testimony to the level of the arts of China during the Western Han period. The same principle of colour contrasts exhibited in the Ying Lung can be also applied to the Fei Lien and the canopy of heaven with the two phoenixes and *fleur-de-lis* image, all of which are symbolic in character.

The plasticity of a corporeal roundness suggested by linear delineations can be seen in the image of the Chu Lung. (*Plate 3*) It is a *tour de force* in the overlapping and juxtaposition of forms that weaves itself almost into a knot. Stress should be made, however, that the mere overlapping or juxtaposition of forms does not necessarily constitute an ingredient of pictorial art. Although in the strictest definitions of space and depth, one form placed in front of another creates a space differential, many of the instances where this occurs in the Ma-wang-tui painting (*e.g.*, the Chu Lung), still adhere to an older tradition of flatness and two-dimensionality. The concern is more decorative and ornamental, and tends not to deal with unified images occupying multiple and/or infinite planes. There is not that transition in the image toward the infinite in the subtlety of successive planes. The Chu Lung is conceived as a flat, singular unit. No distinction is made, for example, between the red collar of this figure's undergarment and the snake's tail as it passes behind the head of this composite figure. The transition from snake's tail

to undergarment is difficult to perceive as it lacks the suggestion of a plastic form in differentiation, and the illusion of depth is therefore lacking.

But, encompassed within this human/snake figure is evidence of a pictorial germination. The lines of the human aspect of this figure, although painted evenly, are free-flowing. Their curvilinearity suggests the body beneath its robe. The fall of this robe over the figure's arms and the tucking of the ends beneath the legs both enhances and enlivens this image with a sense of a bodily substance. Particularly successful are the folds delineating the right shoulder and arm where the attenuated "S" forms of the lines recognize the individual folds of the drapery, thereby also suggesting the arm hidden beneath.

In the present condition of the Ma-wang-tui painting and from the photographs available to the West, it is difficult to determine unequivocally whether or not a scheme of highlighting and shading has been applied to the human/snake figure. Despite its intact state of preservation, the differences in colour on the robe may be due nonetheless to the ravages of time. But this cannot be said of the two men sitting at the base of the two towers. Areas that might conceivably be perceived as decayed on one of the figures are mirrored in his companion. As the painting was not folded in half when placed in the tomb but laid out flat, the symmetrically displaced "decayed" areas must be

instances of colour highlighting.⁵

Like the human/snake figure above, the lines of the robes of the two men at the base of the towers adequately summarize the body hidden, and the sweep of the ends of the robe over the folded knees aid this feeling of corporeality. Moreover, the red underlining brightens the figures and creates a dichotomous contrast with the more somber colouring of the robes' exterior. But even here no sacrifice is made to a prosaism of execution, and the subtle changes between colour fields go far to imbue these figures with a sense of breath. The colour transitions from the white highlighting near the shoulders to the blue sweep of the figures' lower back and posteriors are gradually achieved in the nebulous gray areas between these two colours, suggesting the plasticity and volume of the human body.

In pictorial art, a sense of space inevitably also emerges. An art conceived within the domain of natural phenomena logically addresses itself toward a concern for a figurative reality *vs.* the decorative fantasy of an hieratic art. The space of this reality is the setting of an environment, or the space of an ambience. Unlike the decorative nature of an hieratic art that is generally frieze-like in execution and where the images and motifs exist only on the surface plane with no intent or attempt to penetrate this surface toward the infinite, there is in the art of pictorial representation a sense of a free existence of a spatial arena, even if only as a spatial cell.

The decorative fantasy of an hieratic art tends to isolate an image and/or motif which compels a singular and particular point of view. The image is confronted within an existence of affirmed decoration and not within the spatial existence of a natural reality.

Another example from the Ma-wang-tui painting of this figurative reality *vs.* decorative fantasy can be seen in the portrait scene of the Marchioness with her attendants, Fei Lien and the canopy of heaven figures above. (*Plate 4*) Richard Edwards has recently argued that these figures constitute a symbolic landscape--a landscape "seemingly of vast extension, grasped as encompassing fixed directions, something separated from us, something out there that can only be represented as symbol."⁶ But the creation of space in this scene with the Marchioness, while decidedly influenced by the large, open area above her in which Fei Lien hovers, is achieved more by various pictorial elements focused within the human figures themselves, rather than by the symbolic meanings of the images or the emptiness of an undecorated area.

In all six of the human figures, their robes, like the figures in the crossbar, are outlined in black lines. But a degree of corporeality is realized in these figures, albeit more so in the female attendants than in the male servants. Like the human aspects of the composite figure of the Chu Lung and heavens' porters, the individual folds of the robes are masterfully rendered, and their delineations

in turn sufficiently suggest the human body beneath. There is a plausible hint of a plasticity, of a three-dimensionality. Particular attention should be drawn to the linear delineations of the robes of the female figures that seem to be wrapped around their legs. This sense of wrapping, formed by attenuated "S" lines laterally arranged, slightly cylindrical in effect, adds to the illusion of a three-dimensional plasticity.

The human figures are also placed according to an asymmetrical scheme that in terms of time belies an eternity and stresses the incidental. Foremost in this is the 2:3 ratio of the attendant figures. (This numerical asymmetry is also repeated in the funerary scene below, not only with the *hu* and *ting* vessels, but more importantly in the seven mourners with their 4:3 asymmetry.) Unlike the rigidly frontal Fei Lien, the Marchioness and her attendants are seen in profile. Whereas Fei Lien *et al.* have a singular viewing point and affirm decorative principles, the Marchioness *et al.*, by being turned sideways, create a sense of time, a moment--an incident--drawn from the continuum of time's progression.

What is evident in the Fei Lien group is a rigid symmetry that establishes an order and precision that is eternal in time. These figures are symbolic of an eternity that reflects an artistic attitude striving to maintain its existence by the rigidity of symbolic forms, motifs and images. They are hieratic in concept, decorative in design,

symbolic in attitude.

The composite figure of the Chu Lung is a good example of these principles of asymmetry, symmetry, time and three-dimensionality. (*Plate 3*) We have noted the corporeal roundness evident in the human aspects of the Chu Lung as opposed to the flat, decorative quality of its reptilian tail. Moreover, the human figure of the Chu Lung is turned at a slight profile view, whereas the tail is seen frontally. Thus this composite image differentiates between the symbolic and the pictorial attitudes in early Chinese art in its humanoid and reptilian aspects respectively.

Diagonal lines also aid a figurative reality. They are one of the more basic, rudimentary artistic devices to suggest a recession into three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional surface. The diagonal line of the inclined ramp leading to the Marchioness' platform thus permits a reading of this platform as in the distance and not merely as above on a two-dimensional plane.

Another instance of a diagonal line from the Marchioness' group is in the female attendants who also incorporate a principle of overlapping--another rudimentary element of recession. Moreover, to create better the illusion of recession and thus three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional surface, the female attendants diminish in size. The attendant at the left end of this group is considerably shorter in stature than the middle figure, who in turn is shorter than the figure at the right side. Moreover, in their overlapping,

the distances between these figures are not regular or equal. This irregularity in size and distance are an integral part of the asymmetrical aspects of this group as discussed above. In comparison, Fei Lien *et al.* are rigid in their symmetry, isolated in time--in an eternity of symbolism.

Caution should, however, also be noted here in regards to the diagonal arrangement of the three female attendants. A careful examination of these figures reveals that while there is some degree of a slope along the top of their heads, the platform precludes the establishment of a similar line along their legs and feet. This is due to the rigid horizontality of the platform which functions as a ground line for these figures and for the entire scene, including Fei Lien and the canopy of heaven. The line of female attendants may then be seen as an experiment in the problems of recession that in its timidity is, nonetheless, only partly successful.

Colour likewise creates the illusion of depth. Some colours tend, by their intrinsic values, to stand out more than others. The female attendants are clothed in beige, red and white robes respectively from left to right. White tends to project this last figure forward into the viewer's space, simultaneously pushing the colour red into the distance. This push/pull system is again repeated between the middle and left figures.

The seven mourners beside the Marchioness' catafalque

also exhibit similar recessional qualities as the three female attendants to the Marchioness above, both in terms of diagonals and colour. More important, however, is the *genre* character of this scene. It is a funerary ceremony that, while religious in function, is realistic in depiction. The utensils are based upon actual household articles. The mourners are not esoteric symbols of death, but living functionaries.

In the remaining images on the Ma-wang-tui painting, the various creatures are symbolic in their intent and decorative in their effect. This is particularly evident in the graceful curves of the dragons on the shaft of the painting as they stretch upwards, reaching for the canopy of heaven. In their symmetry and symbolism, these dragons are locked into an eternity of time and express an attitude of decoration.

We have noted the elements of a symbolic and a pictorial art form as manifested within the Ma-wang-tui painting. This painting stands at the crossroads in early Chinese art between the transitions in artistic attitudes from the symbolic to the pictorial. In the remainder of this chapter, we will seek to define this transition in artistic attitudes and conceptions as reflected in the Ma-wang-tui painting.

* * * * *

Anterior works of art to be examined will begin with a short discussion of the painted pottery of pre-historic, neolithic times. With the advent of the Shang 商 Dynasty

(ca. 1550 - ca. 1030 B.C.), China entered her bronze age, and bronze vessels emerge as the predominant art form that then continued into the succeeding Chou period. In the Han dynasty, we approach the Ma-wang-tui painting, and seminal instances of a shift in artistic attitudes began to materialize. This new artistic attitude developed through its formulative stages parallel to ongoing remnants of an older artistic tradition. In tracing this development, we will conclude our discussion with works dating after the Ma-wang-tui painting and prior to the T'ang 唐 Dynasty (A.D. 618 - 906), after which Chinese art moved into another phase that is distinctive from our concerns here and therefore beyond the scope of this thesis.

Among the earliest artistic works from China known to scholars are painted pottery wares from neolithic cultures such as, among other sites, Yang Shao, discovered by J. Gunnar Andersson in 1921.⁷ (Plate 8) Like most of the wares from the Yang Shao pottery culture, the design is geometric, but with a linear vivacity and integrity that approaches a classical perfection. This assuredness in the dynamic movements of the brush is characteristically Chinese and survives even into our century. In the Ma-wang-tui painting, this property can be seen in the attenuated "S" lines of the figures' robes.

Much of the Yang Shao pottery wares are mortuary urns and sepulchral vessels. The designs and decorative patterns on these vessels have been variously interpreted as

symbolic images of life, death and fertility by some scholars--Andersson and Hanna Rydh.⁸ Although the true significance of these geometric and stylized patterns is still enigmatic, they may, if one accepts Andersson's and Rydh's arguments, indicate an early instance of symbolic art in China.

China and her art entered its first historical era under the Shang dynasty. A writing system based primarily upon pictographs developed, and the discovery and interpretation of oracle bones have enabled scholars to construct an informative diagram of Shang civilization.⁹

With the Shang period, there also emerged in China a sophisticated and highly developed bronze culture centered along the Yellow River. The most important sites discovered from the area are Anyang, known in China as Yin (which is then often used as a sobriquet in discussing the Shang), the Shang capital *ca.* 1300 - *ca.* 1000 B.C., and Cheng-chou, believed to be the earlier Shang capital of Ao. Many of the bronze vessels are inscribed, and these have proven valuable as authentic epigraphic records in confirming and supplementing ancient Chinese history. Based upon these inscriptions and an analysis of the stylistic qualities of the bronze vessels, various chronological formulae have been devised.¹⁰

Two types of motifs dominate the artistic vocabulary of ancient Chinese bronze vessels. They are abstract, geometric patterns, and zoomorphic elements. Loehr sees

no symbolic content to these motifs, preferring instead to appreciate the vessels and the designs for their artistic virtues only. He views the vessels as "iconographically meaningless, or meaningful only as pure form." The decorative ornamentation of the Shang bronzes are perceived as design elements only, of a "form based on form alone, configurations without reference to reality, or, at best, with dubious allusions to reality." As for the zoomorphic forms that constitute part of Shang ornamentation, these again, while, according to Loehr, possibly resembling an identifiable animal, are "interesting solely on formal grounds, as 'pure art.'"¹¹

Other Sinologists--Andersson, Karlgren, Florence Waterbury, Watson--have, however, seen some intelligible symbolic form in these zoomorphs.¹² They have offered not only possible inspirational sources for these forms of "pure art" drawn from the reality of the natural world, but have also produced several arguments for the symbolic interpretation of these new forms. There does seem to exist a positive nexus between Shang art and their religion, and the bronze vessels can be appreciated both for their symbolic content and artistic effect.

By far the most common and the most persistent motif on Shang bronzes is the so-called *t'ao-t'ieh* 饕餮. A *ting* from the Freer Gallery in Washington D.C. serves as our illustration of this image. (*Plate 9*) The Freer Gallery has dated this vessel as Middle Anyang, of the

twelfth century B.C. This monster mask is characteristically bifurcated by a flange, with eyes (the most recognizable element of the *t'ao-t'ieh*), jaws, horns, body, and legs flanking the flange.¹³ In its ferocity, the *t'ao-t'ieh* seems to belong to either of two animal classes--the bovine or the feline.¹⁴ The bull is often employed as a symbol of strength, particularly as its horns were believed by ancient man to be ithyphallic and therefore symbolic of the male--i.e., the *yang*.¹⁵ The apotropaic qualities of felines have been discussed, especially in conjunction with peach tree imagery.¹⁶ Thus, while today the *t'ao-t'ieh* may seem unintelligible, it is not without too much difficulty possible to appreciate the symbolic aspects it may have enjoyed in Shang times whatever its aesthetic merits.

Encompassing the zoomorphic forms of the *t'ao-t'ieh* on the Freer *ting* are spiral patterns known as *lei-wen* 雷紋, or thunder patterns. This geometric design consists of a meandering line that in its primitive form in early Shang bronzes was a non-continuous pattern of separate pairs of spirals. While the *lei-wen* design is indeed exquisitely pleasing to the eye, as Yetts explained, "to an agricultural people such as the Chinese this emblem possessed a significance of supreme importance. Rain was essential to their very existence, and the symbol for thunder typified the down-pour that brought the heaven-sent gift of abundance."¹⁷ An harmonious balance between décor and shape reigns within the vessel that is characteristic of the classic stage of

Shang art.

While the array of animals that often appear on Chinese bronzes are too numerous to discuss here, one particular image, the dragon, requires some deliberation.

This imaginary beast is, as we know, an auspicious creature in China and is frequently associated with the rain, thunder, the spring, and, therefore, fertility. Images of the dragon on Chinese bronzes are not lacking.¹⁸ For our purposes in addressing the symbolic aspects of the dragon, however, it should be noted that often two dragons will be found in antithetical positions, confronting a flange and thereby forming the enigmatic *t'ao-t'ieh* mask.¹⁹ Thus in one image, the ancient Chinese may have united the concepts of fertility, strength and apotropaism. These are reinforced by the surrounding fields of *lei-wen*, possibly derived from neolithic art, also possibly symbolic of fertility.

The images of the dragon, *t'ao-t'ieh* and *lei-wen* are not images of this world. One frequently expressed opinion of these images is that they are abstractions of ancient Chinese concepts and perceptions of the macrocosm--symbols of these concepts and perceptions, possessing a symbolic value beyond the purely decorative and aesthetic values limited to them by Loehr. Thus while there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding their meanings, these images may be an expression of the denizens of a realm of fantasy--a fantasy of Shang imagination and religious pre-occupations. In this, they reflect an attitude of art

grounded in the symbolic imagery of religious ideals.

With the collapse of the Shang dynasty and its replacement by the Chou, we enter an age of great literary and artistic output. This became the age of Confucius, Lao-tzu and the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. In the artistic makeup of the bronze vessels, many of the ornamental forms and motifs of the Shang artistic development survived into the Early Chou period.²⁰

During the Middle Chou period, however, a change in the function of the motifs and images on bronzes occurred. While symbolic and mythological images continued to thrive, there is a decline in the symbolic imprint and importance of these images. Symbolism began to wane, and the designs of images and motifs tended to become primarily decorative in intent and ornamental in an aesthetic sense. What was born was a concern for pure decoration for an overall artistic effect. Pattern and pure decoration began to prevail in Chinese art.

At the inception of this change, Early Chou pieces took on a flamboyant exuberance of individual motifs, particularly in the flanges, that reach out to puncture the surrounding space. (*Plate 10*) This energy slowly subsided until by the Middle Chou period, while the concerns were still ornamental, there existed an element of restraint in the motifs and individual parts of the vessels. (*Plate 11*) Not only did they no longer strive to burst forth away from the vessels as previously exhibited, but the motifs *per se*

were no longer drawn from the symbolic images of the Shang. The forms are non-figurative abstractions of pure décor and decorations. Whereas on Early Chou pieces (*Plate 10*) some symbolic images still survived (*e.g.*, birds, dragons, *etc.*), albeit greatly shorn of their symbolic content and meanings, by the Middle Chou period, (*Plate 11*) little symbolic imagery exists (with minor instances) on the bronze vessels. Pure decorative designs and ornamentality emerged during the Middle Chou period. By the Late Chou period, the emphasis is upon a flat, unified surface, unbroken by protrusions and projections, except in minor instances of décor (*e.g.*, an escutcheon).²¹

An *hu* in the Art Institute of Chicago is a superb instance of the Late Chou period style. (*Plate 12*) Divided into three horizontal registers by gold banding, curving scrolls inlaid with silver are contrasted against the dark, luxuriant colour of the bronze. The silver scrolls, broad in outline but bordered by thin silver lines, roam with a sense of free volition over the surface. The decorative scheme weaves its way around the *hu*, never repeating itself, always varied in its course.²² The emphasis is on the ornamental patterns achieved by the scrolls on a flat, unified surface.

In the works so far examined, we have traced the development of ancient Chinese art from the symbolic to the decorative. Geometric and zoomorphic forms have been noted within the possibilities of their iconographic and religious

backgrounds. It is evident that at the inception of art forms and ideas in China, the underlying foundation was composed of symbolic images that to the initiate stated not only the creation of the universe, but social and religious concepts as well. Towards the end of the Chou, the Period of the Warring States, new influences and ideas were to arise and change not only the political structure of China, but the artistic structure and attitude as well. Symbolic art as a purely ornamental vehicle is gradually replaced by a more pictorial form of representational art. The last is an art that centers upon reality, to the gradual demise of an ornamental art mode. With this change in artistic attitude, the art of ornament began to stagnate, as did its once formidable medium, the bronze vessel.²³ Bronze vessels and ornamental art assumed a subordinate role to the problems of pictorialism that slowly began to take shape within the artistic consciousness of China during the Han period.

Exactly when and where in Chinese art pictorialism displaced the primary position of symbolic and ornamental art cannot be stated absolutely. But that the transition did occur during the Han will be demonstrated. In this, the Ma-wang-tui painting will figure largely.

At least one author, however, has argued that the change in artistic attitudes from the symbolic to representational art had its nascency in late Eastern Chou bronze vessels with engraved scenes as, for example, an

hu from the former Werner Jannings collection.²⁴ (*Figure 5*) The vessel is divided into four major registers by horizontal bands that are decorated with angled spiral patterns. We have already examined the music scene and its symbolic content from this vessel. (*Figure 4*) Sharing the same register are archers near a lake shooting birds. On the neck of the *hu* in the uppermost register, women pick mulberry leaves while the men practice their archery skills. In the third register on the belly of the vessel, a naval battle is waged and a city wall is under siege. The bottom register along the foot of the vessel is decorated with pendant floral motifs.

The scenes have been etched into the surface of the *hu* so as not to disrupt the surface qualities of a flat, unified plane. On the whole, the scenes are narrative, reflecting perhaps specific historical episodes (*e.g.*, the siege) or *genre* (*e.g.*, hunting). Hunting, however, while possibly pursued as a sport, was still grounded upon a universal theme of struggle and survival.²⁵ Moreover, stylistically there is little concern for the relative size or species of the images portrayed, and this is characteristically hieratic. While a careful examination of the scenes indicates a complex and well-conceived plan, in general appearances, there is a busyness about the scenes that belies this.

More important, however, in denying the scenes from this *hu* the pivotal position of a seminal work of art

reflecting the transition in artistic attitudes in early Chinese art is its concern for decoration. The motifs are conceived as decorative elements. A rectangular field is a lake--but only because of the waterfowl associated with it. None of the figures overlap as they do in the Ma-wang-tui painting. Space--the space of a physical reality--is not a concern seen in the Jannings *hu*. The figures are isolated and limited by an attitude of decorative character.

The scenes on bronze vessels may have had painting prototypes, none of which have survived. The only extant painting from the Chou period on silk is that fragment with the shamaness beneath a phoenix and dragon in her prayer of supplication.²⁶ (*Plate 13*) Although this may only be a fragment, enough has survived to permit a comment on its stylistic qualities and the artistic attitude it exhibits. The lines are smooth and even, with no variations in width that animates a brushstroke. The figures are stiff and the phoenix seems contorted rather than flying. The changes between colour fields are abrupt, defined by the figures' outlines. All three images appear flat and two-dimensional with little attempt to induce the illusion of a corporeality.

One point of contrast between the Chou silk fragment and the Ma-wang-tui painting needs to be ascertained, however, so as to indicate an aspect of Han pictorialism. In the Marchioness' group from the Ma-wang-tui painting, the

focal point of this scene is the figure of the Marchioness. It is to her that the female attendants attend and that the two kneeling men before her offer their trays with deference. These secondary figures, in flanking the central figure, *i.e.*, the Marchioness, focus attention on her. Moreover, the platform on which these figures stand functions as a groundline--one of the major aspects of pictorialism--thereby effectively creating an environment. None of these qualities exist in the Chou fragment. There is a difference in conception between the human figure from the Chou silk fragment and the human figures from the Ma-wang-tui painting. The former is, like the phoenix and dragon in both works of art, decorative and possibly symbolic in function; the latter strikes new ground in Chinese art history in dealing with the reality of a representational art. Conceptually, the human figures from the Ma-wang-tui painting inhabit a time and place denied to the symbolic mechanisms of the shamaness and her creatures of fantasy from the Chou silk fragment. Similar points and contrasts of a symbolic and pictorial representation can also be made between the Chou silk fragment and the scene of mourning below the Marchioness and her attendant figures with the coffin and catafalque as its focal point.

The lack of relationships between the three figures on the Chou silk fragment is resolved to some extent in the Ma-wang-tui painting. In our examination of the continued development of this new artistic attitude in Han painting,

we will deviate slightly from a strictly chronological examination. This will not, nonetheless, effect our thematic concerns for the development of pictorialism in Chinese art of this period. Problems of dating Han paintings are severe, but to establish some basic framework of time, we will first examine the famous *Painted Basket* from Lolang of the Eastern Han period, dated *ca.* A.D. 100,²⁷ (*Plate 14*) contrasting its manifestations of early Chinese pictorialism with the Ma-wang-tui painting of *ca.* 185 B.C. Second, we will then examine Han paintings dating after the Ma-wang-tui painting but prior to the *Painted Basket* from Lolang.

The *Painted Basket* is a small woven basket made of bamboo with lid. Along the edges of both the box and the lid, and on the corners are painted over ninety figures illustrating the Han repertory of the paragons of Confucian and filial piety, dignitaries and worthies, famous and infamous rulers.²⁸ The figures are painted in lacquer, a medium which, while a highly volatile solvent, has a very high rate of evaporation and dries to a tough film. Although lacquer is very fluid and malleable to handle, its high rate of evaporation requires a sure hand in execution and brushwork. With a few exceptions, the names of the figures on the *Painted Basket* are inscribed next to them.²⁹ This, however, does not limit them to a specific historical era. While the figures are derived from Chinese history, widely distant in time and place, the figures are represented on the *Painted Basket* as contemporaries. The facts of history

are not strictly accurate in that the figures from the *Painted Basket* are depicted in a trans-historical discussion, breaching the limitations of time and history. There is an immediacy of a reality beyond the pale of history.

Although these figures on the *Painted Basket* are arranged along a single, horizontal band, there is a lively animation of the individual figures. They gesture, glance and gaze at their neighbors to stress a point within their imaginary dialogues. Moreover, to insure a nonrepetitive image or group thereof, the seated figures are rendered in various positions. While some are depicted frontally, others are turned from one quarter, to profile, to three quarters view not only in the face, but in body as well. Special attention in this pictorial quality should be drawn to those figures who look to the left and gesture to the right (or vice versa), while in their body profiles slight differences can be perceived between torso and legs. This feeling of an actual space enlivened by the twisting of the body is given an added emphasis in one case by a screen placed on a diagonal to the picture plane (the spatial principles of which need not be restated here).³⁰ A series of curtain loops above the figures creates a stage-like design, and the communion between the figures gives a strong impression of their actual presence.

This scene of realism which is a cornerstone in the artistic concerns of representational art is taken further in the depiction of the figures' robes. Unlike the

Ma-wang-tui painting, the outlines on the *Painted Basket* figures, while drawn in black outline, are slightly graded. Besides delicate, hair-thin lines, some are broad and powerful in stroke.³¹ Others bulge and taper in delineation. To indicate the sweep of a robe, particularly the weight of the robe's material as a sleeve hangs from a gesturing arm, the colour fields are similarly graduated. Being broadest in field at the bottom of a sweep--thereby indicating the mass of the material as it hangs loosely--the brushstrokes taper to narrow points as they round the elbow and approach the shoulder, thus defining the arm. Like various instances of colour highlighting found on the Ma-wang-tui painting (e.g., heaven's porters), the effect is suggestive of a corporeal reality, plasticity and volume--constituents of the new artistic concern for pictorialism and representational art.

Facial features also add to the realistic observations of the *Painted Basket* figures. While some hint of stylization can be discerned in the figures (e.g., in the noses and eyes), distinctions of an individualization can also be seen. Age is one such example, and the contrasts between youth and old age are clearly expressed in the smooth facial features of the young Shan Ta-chia 善九家 and the aged wrinkles of old Po I 伯夷.³² Even more poignant is Ch'u Hsiao-tzu 渠孝子, dutifully feeding his toothless father with the food that he has himself chewed to soften.³³

This interest in depicting the human figure as a living,

breathing creature is a result of that shift in artistic attitudes occurring within the Han. Art is no longer primarily concerned with symbolism and decoration as evident in Chinese art with the neolithic pottery pieces and bronze vessels of antiquity. Emphasis lies now within the domain of reality, striving to capture in the arts the sensual world and its phenomena which we first encountered with the Ma-wang-tui painting.

The phenomena of reality must also address itself to a concept of time. In the Ma-wang-tui painting, differences between an eternal timelessness of symbolic art and the momentary incidence of representational art were examined. The art of narration, which by definition moves within the sequence of time, is very conducive to the depiction of the incidental, the momentary--*i.e.*, the reality of time. Evidences of this concern can be seen on the painted lintel of a Western Han tomb situated northwest of the Old City of Loyang, excavated in 1957.³⁴

The tomb was constructed with bricks and consisted of four parts--an entrance, main chamber, two side chambers, and a passage way.³⁵ The roof of the main chamber was supported with a post and lintel structure in the centre with a gabled pediment above. On the front side of this lintel structure was painted the scene illustrating the story of "Killing three warriors with two peaches."³⁶
(Plate 15)

The story of the two peaches/three warriors is contained

in the *Yen-tzu Ch'un-ch'iu* 晏子春秋 (*The Spring and Autumn of Master Yen*).³⁷ According to the narration, Master Yen employed a ruse to free Duke Ching 景 of Ch'i 齊 from the overbearing influences of three warriors of his court--T'ien K'ai-chiang 田開疆, Kung Sun-chieh 公孫接, and Ku Yeh-tzu 古冶子.

Master Yen placed two peaches (the auspiciousness of which has already been noted) in front of the warriors and offered them to each if, by past achievements, they were deserving of such a gift. Kung Sun-chieh immediately boasted of acts of a physical courage that in turn prompted T'ien K'ai-chiang and Ku Yeh-tzu to follow suit. Both Kung Sun-chieh and T'ien K'ai-chiang related their deeds first and stepped forward to claim their peaches before Ku Yeh-tzu. Ku Yeh-tzu's story, however, was of a different nature for it dealt not with physical courage alone, but with the larger ramifications of the universe.

Ku Yeh-tzu told how he as a youth, although not being able to swim, nevertheless plunged into the river he was crossing to save his horses from a huge tortoise that was dragging them under the waters. Killing the tortoise, he surfaced with its head. The people along the river bank, seeing the tortoise's head borne by Ku Yeh-tzu, hailed him as Ho Po 河伯, Lord of the River.

This deed included a metamorphosis of a superior nature to the physical courage of both Kung Sun-chieh and T'ien K'ai-chiang. Ku Yeh-tzu had, in the eyes of the people,

achieved an apotheosis. Kung Sun-chieh and T'ien K'ai-chiang, realizing this, returned the peaches that they had taken and as an act of honor committed suicide for this indiscretion. Ku Yeh-tzu, recognizing that he had forced the death of his two friends by his boast, thereupon likewise committed suicide. With two peaches, the Master Yen killed three warriors.

The scene can be divided into three groups. At the right are the three warriors. One bends over a low table with the two peaches on it, eyeing them covetously, about to pick one up. The middle group consists of five figures. An attendant holding a standard watches the drama of the three warriors while a minister, kneeling, addresses a standing figure--Duke Ching of Ch'i.³⁸ Two attendants with standards also stand behind the Duke completing this group. On the far left are five more figures in two subgroups. The first with three figures has an old, deformed man who turns to address the central figure. This person, very short in stature, most likely represents the Master Yen. According to the *Shih Chi*, Master Yen was very short.³⁹ The second subgroup is at the extreme left, but the two images are badly effaced with only remnants of one of the figure's face and sleeve, and the other's gown still visible.

In the pictorial scheme of this narration, a lively exuberance of action and figurative communication exists between the figures, lending a degree of realism to this

work that was only hinted at in the Ma-wang-tui painting and further developed in the *Painted Basket* from Lolang. The first figure at the extreme right draws his sword with conviction. The story is visually introduced in the sweep from his upturned left foot that leads one to his horizontally drawn sword. This horizontal line is repeated in the broad stance the figure takes with his shoulders, and the narration moves along in the turned head of this figure looking at his comrade-in-arms. The directional push along the horizontal axis to the left is given an added impetus by the thrust of the figure's right hip and the subtle pointing of his right wrist in his comrade's direction as he grasps the sword.

The gaze of this first figure is matched by the second warrior who mirrors the first's gaze even in the tilt of his head. He holds his sword in a vertical position, however, thereby forming a nice contrast to the horizontal line established by the first warrior. The open space between these two figures is electric with the fierce and ferocious glares the two throw at each other and by the offsetting contrasts of sword axes.

The third warrior, in bending over to pick a peach from the low table, turns away from the second warrior. But the two are subtly, almost casually, related visually. The nexus is established by the proximity of their arms and the extending of their feet behind themselves so that they also almost touch. The bent posture of the third warrior leads the eye

down to the table with the two peaches along his outstretched hand and arm. This downward momentum is slowed by the inert table, and the narration picks up again with the first figure of the central group and the Duke.

The standard and stance of the attendant figure who introduces the Duke's group are vertical reflections of each other. In essence, this figure serves as a framing device between the first and the second group of figures. But, by facing the warriors of the first, he unites the two groups.

In the central group of figures, the kneeling minister gestures with his hands toward the first scene while turning his head to address Duke Ching of Ch'i. In so doing, this figure also turns his body torso in quarter profile, thus creating multiple avenues of direction. As has already been seen, this turning of the hands, body torso and legs in a variety of postures attains an high level of expression in the *Painted Basket*. This central scene is completed by the Duke and the two remaining attendant figures.

Between this central group and the next, there seems to be little visual continuity. The old man turns away from the Duke's attendants and the large, open space between them is difficult to bridge. However, there are subtle indications that the artist did not completely abandon the narration despite the open space.

This last scene centers around the Master Yen who, due to his short stature, was often ridiculed.⁴⁰ Bulling feels

that the old man with the hunched back is thus engaged with the Master Yen who responds with both a gesture and glance to the old man.⁴¹ This episode is not within the anecdotes of the two peaches/three warriors . narration, and thus the large, open space may be understood as indicating this break with the literature. This idea is reinforced by the turning of the backs of the attendant figure from the Duke's group and the old man from the group with the Master Yen, with no ostensible visual connection.

The outline of the last attendant figure from the group with Duke Ching has a slight serpentine quality to it. Starting at his head, the outline constantly weaves its way down this figure, moving away and then toward the old man, over the neck, shoulder, arm, legs, and finally concluding at his feet. At this point, there is a definite push of the robe toward the old man that is matched by a similar push from the robe of the old man as he addresses the Master Yen. The outline of the old man then rises in a similar serpentine fashion, but with more vigor so as to move with conviction into his scene.

By hand gestures and glances, the old man and the Master Yen communicate. The downward slope of this communication is picked up from off the floor of the lintel by the twisted stick of the next figure. To his rear, the last two remaining figures stand, too badly damaged to discern their individual movements.

The figures from this lintel move, breathe and

communicate within a living space. There is a strong sense of the reality of time and physical presence. Achieved largely through the players' relationships to each other, there is some difference in facial features to import a greater degree of realism. Like the closely contemporary Ma-wang-tui painting, however, the lines are evenly drawn, and the colour fields simply filled. Yet also like the human figures from the Ma-wang-tui painting, there is a good sense of the realism of the painted human body. In its action and narration, the lintel painting is not only didactic, but it also instructs the viewer by using a series of similar, multiple scenes or images (*e.g.*, the appearance of the Master Yen twice). It therefore suggests sequential time, and this work evidences all the qualities of a concern for the pictorial as found in the Ma-wang-tui painting.

A complementary work illustrating the "Feast of Hung-man" on the back wall of the same tomb at Loyang follows the same narrative schema.⁴² Like the two peaches/three warriors narration, although the artistic standard is high, the lines are more even than calligraphic, and the colour fields are also broad and flat. Note should be drawn nonetheless to the superb facial features of the figures in this drama, evidence of a concern in the figurative reality of representational art as opposed to the symbolic fantasies of an hieratic art. Attention should also be given to the landscape elements of mountain peaks

in the background.⁴³ These are elements drawn from the physical reality of sensual phenomena, not from the eidola of symbolic phantasm.

In the Ma-wang-tui painting, the nascent artistic attitude of representational art that emerges in the Han stylistically employed both colour highlighting and linear delineations to suggest the corporeality and substance of a physical reality. To illustrate the further development of the line and its calligraphic qualities in the art of representation, we turn to a set of five ceramic tiles now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, also from a lintel and gabled pediment. Painted in ink and colour on a white background, these tiles have usually been dated to about the first century A.D.⁴⁴

The lintel is divided into two parts, each painted with elegantly robed figures, mostly men engaged in conversation, although women are also depicted adorning themselves with jewels. There are three slabs to the pediment--a central, rectangular piece with a modelled head of a ram, and two flanking, triangular pieces.⁴⁵ The latter pieces are each painted with an official followed by two attendants with a chained animal crouching in the lower end corners--a tiger on the left (symbol of the west) and a bear on the right. The Boston tiles have long proven enigmatic in their iconography,⁴⁶ but this need not concern us here.

As in the *Painted Basket*, all the figures are placed

along a horizontal axis. The brushwork is both swift and proficient with no indication of hesitation, and there are variances in the breadth of the lines. There is a lightness of touch in the painting of these figures, and the almost casual communication between them is heightened by the assuredness of the lines.

In the developing pictorialism of Chinese art, the concerns for a representational art may also be seen in Han funerary stones and tiles that adorned the walls of offering shrines and underground burial chambers. One of the best known shrines is Hsiao T'ang Shan 孝堂山, "Hill of the Hall of Filial Piety," in Shantung, dated *ca.* A.D. 129 by an inscription on one of its walls.⁴⁷ The interior designs are done entirely in intaglio. Our illustration shows the attempt of Shih Huang Ti to recover one of the sacred tripods of Chou. (*Plate 16*) According to the narration, Shih Huang Ti sought the possession of the vessel as a measure of his virtue and merit to rule China. He believed that the tripod would be a symbol of Chinese antiquity and possession of it therefore would symbolize his legitimacy, *vis-à-vis* the mandate of heaven to rule China as emperor. The attempt, however, failed.⁴⁸

Although the theme of the narration is symbolic, the story is drawn from an historical reality. In the desire to re-create the episode, the figures have been given a variety of poses as they attempt

to hoist the tripod from the river. There is a considerable sense of animation in these figures, although the depiction of the embankment, or platform, is schematically rendered by a series of squares. Along the bottom, a procession of cavalrymen and chariots march to a regular cadence, particularly in the prance of the horses.

The same narration of Shih Huang Ti's attempt to recover the Chou tripod can also be found at the offering shrines of Wu Liang, A.D. 147 - 168, also in Shantung.⁴⁹ (*Plate 17*) The stone slabs at Wu Liang Tz'u have been cut in an engraved relief technique, with vertical striations marking the background. The surfaces of the figures are smooth with incised details (*e.g.*, collars and sleeves). The effect is very much like a series of silhouettes that contrast with the rusticated background. A visual interplay between the two contrasting surfaces of the figures and background exists that contributes a sense of energy and dynamism to the Wu Liang Tz'u scenes. The figures are round and full-bodied, with an amplitude of curves and mass.

In both the Hsiao T'ang Shan and Wu Liang Shrines, there is a great mixture of historical, mythological, legendary, and *genre* scenes. But in the rendition of these scenes, the figures are conceived as real with a corporeal solidity. All the figures, regardless of the subject matter, are conceived and perceived as having had a reality, and although many of the figures are drawn from the mystical regions of history, they exist in the mind of the people

of the Han within the world of sensual phenomena.⁵⁰

From the province of Szechwan, about a thousand miles southwest of Shantung and the shrines of Wu Liang and Hsiao T'ang Shan, some striking tiles have been recovered that attest to a basically similar concept of reality in Eastern Han art throughout China. *Genre* scenes of feasting, salt mining, marketing, hunting, and harvesting are generally depicted, although like the stones from Hsiao T'ang Shan and Wu Liang Tz'u, some mythological and legendary figures also appear.⁵¹ (*Plate 18*)

The tile in our plate is divided into two horizontal registers. In the lower register, six figures harvest grain with, in their gestures and swing of their tools, an admirable sense of movement and action. Of particular interest in this tile is the upper register with two huntsmen kneeling on the shore of a pond shooting ducks. This scene has prototypes in the engraved scenes from Chou bronzes like the Jannings *hu*. (*Figure 5*) The Szechwan tile, however, exhibits the new pictorial concepts of Chinese art in an highly developed state. No longer, as in the Jannings *hu*, is the overriding concern one of decoration. In the rapid flight of the ducks and taut strain of the huntmen's bows from the Szechwan tile, there exists a sense of immediacy--of danger and dinner. The pond is not a schematic rectangle. Its shoreline undulates into the distance behind the huntsmen, gradually receding through a few planes of depth. While the fish and lily pads may seem conventional,

there is not that pell-mell sense found in earlier designs of Chou vessels. In date, concept and style, the Ma-wang-tui painting is situated between the older artistic attitude of symbolism and ornamentation of the Jannings *hu*, and the new attitude of a sensual reality, firmly rooted in the artistic language of Eastern Han China and highly developed in the Szechwan tile.

The art of fantasy which characterizes Chinese art prior to the Han dynasty began to wane as an interest in man, the human figure, space, and the world of sensual phenomena entered into the artistic mind of Chinese art. Corporeal roundness, volume and plasticity became stylistic concerns that reflected the new interests in representation art and naturalism. But with the disintegration of the Han dynasty and the ensuing political, social and intellectual turmoil, a slight change in the Chinese perception of man evolves. This change in the perception of man, however, does not change the basic artistic attitude and concepts of Chinese art. Concern still existed for the reality of nature and representational art.

To illustrate this change in the perception of man while the concerns for this reality of nature continued to develop in Chinese art, we will compare the historical episode of the attempted assassination of the King of Ch'in 秦 by Ching K'o 荊軻 from the Wu Liang offering shrines (*Plate 19*) with the same episode illustrated from the tomb at I-nan 沂南, in Shantung, dated ca. A.D. 300.⁵² (*Plate 20*)

The story of Ching K'o's attempt to assassinate the King of Ch'in is taken from the *Shih Chi*.⁵³ According to this text, Ching K'o, a native of Ch'i 齊, moved to Yen 燕, which at the time was engaged in a war with Ch'in. A former general of Ch'in, Fan Yü-ch'i 樊於期, now in disgrace, had fled Ch'in to Yen. By force of Yen's argument, General Fan Yü-ch'i agreed to have himself decapitated by Yen in order to be presented to Ch'in as an offering of appeasement. To carry out this endeavor, Ching K'o was assigned. But the intent was not to appease Ch'in. Instead, as retribution for a past insult, the presentation of the general's head was to be used as a pretext to gain an audience with the King of Ch'in and assassinate him. To better the chances of such an audience, Ching K'o was also to offer a map of Tu-k'ang 督亢 (a fertile region in Yen) to Ch'in. In effect, this would symbolize the actual secession of that region to Ch'in. With head and map in hand (the head of General Fan Yü-ch'i was placed in a box), Ching K'o sought his audience. In this, he was assisted by Ch'in Wu-yang 秦武陽, a young Yen bravo.

During the audience with the King of Ch'in, Ch'in Wu-yang trembled with trepidation. Ching K'o was able, however, to allay Ch'in's suspicions by dismissing his companion's behavior as the nervousness of someone first experiencing a royal presence. Ching K'o thereupon presented Ch'in with the head of General Fan Yü-ch'i and the map of Tu-k'ang. Wrapped within the map, however, Ching K'o had concealed a

poisoned dagger. Seizing the dagger, Ching K'o struck at the King of Ch'in. Taken with alarm and fright, the King of Ch'in withdrew in time so that only his sleeve was cut. To defend himself, the King of Ch'in tried desperately to extract his sword from its sheath, but in his panic and anxiety could not. Defenseless and terrified, the King of Ch'in raced about his chamber pursued by Ching K'o.

By law, no person could enter the King's presence or chamber bearing weapons (and thus Ching K'o's hiding of his dagger in the map). The palace guards, stationed below, could not come forward unless summoned, for which in the panic and confusion there was no time. At this moment, an attendant physician, Hsia Wu-chü 夏無且, struck Ching K'o on the head with his medicine bag. The King of Ch'in collected his wits in time to finally extract his sword and strike Ching K'o on the thigh. Mortally wounded, Ching K'o threw his dagger at the King of Ch'in. His aim, however, was off, and the dagger struck a bronze pillar. Disarmed, Ching K'o was killed by Ch'in officers. This occurred in 227 B.C.

The Wu Liang Tz'u artist has chosen to illustrate the most dramatic moment from this narration. (*Plate 19*) Ching K'o, already wounded and now restrained by the physician Hsia Wu-chü, has thrown his dagger at the King of Ch'in who, on the other side of the pillar, raises a *pi* above his head. His severed sleeve can be seen also with the head of General Fan Yü-ch'i and the cowering young

bravo from Yen, Ch'in Wu-yang. At the right, a guard finally enters. As noted in our discussion of the attempt to recover the Chou tripod, there is a sense of realism in the conception of the Wu Liang Tz'u scenes, enlivened by the drama enacted by the figures as they race about the king's chamber.⁵⁴

The scene of Ching K'o's attempt to assassinate the King of Ch'in is identified at I-nan by the dagger protruding through the pillar between the two adversaries.⁵⁵ (*Plate 20*) But as Bulling has pointed out, in this instance the story of Ching K'o and the King of Ch'in is more likely the version not from the *Shih Chi* as with the Wu Liang Tz'u piece, but from the *Yen Tan-tzu*.⁵⁶ In this latter version, Ching K'o, seizing the King of Ch'in, subdues him and proceeds to lecture the King of Ch'in on his (*i.e.*, the King of Ch'in's) alleged misdeeds. As a last wish before Ching K'o kills him, the King of Ch'in is foolishly allowed to sing and dance a final song. Freeing himself from Ching K'o, the King of Ch'in tears off his sleeve, draws his sword and jumps over a screen to separate himself from Ching K'o. Realizing that his victim is about to escape, Ching K'o throws his dagger at the King of Ch'in which slices off the King of Ch'in's ear and becomes embedded in the pillar. Disarmed, Ching K'o is at the mercy of the King of Ch'in who cuts off Ching K'o's hands.

While the I-nan scene is not completely in keeping with this version from the *Yen Tan-tzu* (Ching K'o still

possesses his hands and the King of Ch'in has not drawn his sword), the dagger is stuck in the pillar, and the essence of the story is thereby sufficiently suggested.

The story of Ching K'o at I-nan optimally utilizes a small panel space that is the bottom register of a larger scheme. Whereas in the Wu Liang Tz'u stone, the drama of the episode and its most dramatic moment are clearly depicted, in comparison with the I-nan piece, the Wu Liang Tz'u work looks cluttered with a crowd of people. All the figures are present in the Wu Liang Tz'u cutting, whereas at I-nan only the essential clue (*i.e.*, the dagger embedded in the pillar) is required to identify and to suggest this scene. Ching K'o advances aggressively towards the King of Ch'in with a look of determination that speaks of anticipated success on his part (though we know that he failed, receiving his comeuppance). The King of Ch'in, so overcome with fright, freezes in his panic to step aside, and his astonished expression speaks of a man so totally surprised and caught off guard that he cannot believe the immediacy of death nor the perfidy of an ambassador.

As at Wu Liang Tz'u, the I-nan figures exhibit the same basic conceptual concerns of representational art, but stylistically done differently. At Wu Liang Tz'u, the striations on the background are a good foil for the relatively smooth surface of the figures, and there is a powerfully dominant interplay between rough and smooth. The effect is a continuous pattern in design between

surface textures that recalls the late decorative designs of the Eastern Chou as in the Chicago *hu*. (Plate 12) just prior to the Han and the Ma-wang-tui painting and the new artistic attitude of pictorialism and representational art.

The I-nan piece is engraved, and the figures are very alive in their action and narration. Vivacious in execution, the design is not cluttered by secondary figures as at Wu Liang Tz'u. The I-nan piece is charged with a vitality of energy derived not only from a swift usage of lines, but also from an assured confidence in the posturing of the figures. The scene in the upper register of Nieh Cheng 聶政 pursuing the Han minister Hsieh Lei 俠累 exhibits the same vitality and fluidity.⁵⁷

These stylistic differences between the Wu Liang Tz'u and the I-nan pieces are due more to a shift in the Chinese perception of man and the individual rather than a change in artistic attitude. There is evidence in these works from Wu Liang Tz'u and I-nan of a shift in social attitudes that is also a reflection of the political *milieu* of the periods of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221 - 265) and the Southern and Northern Dynasties (A.D. 265 - 581).

Between the collapse of the Han and the eventual reunification of China under the short-lived Sui 隋 Dynasty (A.D. 581 - 618), China was caught in a political, social and intellectual turmoil. Becoming divided once again into several dynastic kingdoms, there was also the establishment of a foreign rule by the Toba Wei (A.D. 386 -554), a Turkish

tribe, in northern China. It was a period of chaos, instability and misery that also saw the undermining of the old intellectual and religious systems. Buddhism, introduced into China during this period, offered a promised deliverance from the sufferings and impermanence of an earthly life into the blissful permanence of the Buddhist paradise.⁵⁸ The individual as self, as hero, emerges within the Chinese psychological makeup. A new emphasis is given to the individual in Chinese art, reflecting this ideal.⁵⁹ While the basic conceptions of the new artistic reality have not been altered during this period of political, social, religious and intellectual chaos, the I-nan piece now shows a greater focus on the reality of human psychology *vs.* the socio-historical reality of the Han and the Wu Liang Tz'u piece. Thus the drama of history is conveyed in the I-nan work with a minimal amount of detail. In this light, the great amount of narrative detail in the Wu Liang Tz'u piece and the reduction of the same at I-nan is not too difficult to comprehend. The Wu Liang Tz'u work, grounded religiously upon the mythology and symbolic ideals of the *ancien regime*, existed within the parameters of a unified and centrally controlled China. Free from external and internal dangers, the political and social *milieu* in which the Wu Liang Tz'u scenes were carved reflect the social and religious integrity, heritage and heterogeneousness of Han China. I-nan is an artistic expression of the intellectual *avant-garde* of a new era, a political and social era of disunity.

A discussion of Buddhism, its principles and art forms is beyond the domain of this thesis in tracing the pictorial and representational development of Chinese art.⁶⁰ However, the penetration of Buddhism, its art and philosophy into China continued to develop as an intellectual force, distinct from, albeit complementary to, Taoism. As an intellectual force, Buddhism flourished strongly in South China where, with the military conquest of North China by foreign rulers, a majority of the Chinese elite had fled. As a philosophical and intellectual endeavor, Buddhism, by expanding the speculative range of Chinese thought that the older, traditional schools of Taoism and Confucianism could not answer,⁶¹ appealed to the intelligentsia of South China.

In the north of China, Buddhism as a religious endeavor provided an attractive alternative to the Confucian order of the native Chinese. The foreign rulers of North China, often illiterate and superstitious, were impressed by the superior magical powers of Buddhism over the lingering remnants of Han Confucianism. To adopt Confucianism was to adopt the Chinese way of life and thus the possibility of forfeiture of their own cultural identity. Buddhism, politically attractive for its similarly alien origins to China and the seemingly total reliance of its monks--themselves aliens to China--upon the political power and continued favor of the foreign rulers of North China, was also attractive religiously for its universal doctrines. Salvation was possible for all men without considerations of

time, race or culture.⁶² Thus while Buddhism in intellectual circles flourished in the south of China, its art flourished in the north at such sites as, e.g., Yün-kang and Lung-men 龍門 during this period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Traditional subjects on the other hand derived from Confucian and Taoist material continued to thrive in Chinese painting which developed unhindered predominately in the Chinese-ruled courts of southern China. The major artist whose work comprises an illustration of the artistic styles of this period is the master, Ku K'ai-chih 顧愷之. In regards to this artist, two scrolls, both copies, will be discussed--*The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies* in the British Museum,⁶³ and *The Nymph of the Lo River*.⁶⁴ The problems of attribution and date are not a concern of this thesis, but we will accept certain aspects of the paintings as indicative of Ku K'ai-chih and his style as they relate to our discussion of the Ma-wang-tui painting and the continued development of a pictorial attitude in the continuum of Chinese art history.

Ku K'ai-chih presents many problems for the Sinologist, not only in regards to his works, but even in his life dates. These have not been definitively ascertained, but he is believed to have been born ca. A.D. 344 or 345, and died ca. A.D. 405 or 406. What is known about this artist is for the most part taken from the *Chin Shu* 晉書 (*The History of the Chin*), a dynastic history of the Chin (265-420).

(A.D. 265 - 420) composed in the seventh century A.D.⁶⁵

The Admonitions Scroll in the British Museum illustrates the tract written by the poet Chang Hua 張華 (A.D. 232 - 300), "Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies."⁶⁶ In the London scroll, there are nine scenes remaining out of an original twelve.⁶⁷ The artistic expression of the forms of the figures, although assured and steady, are by no means static. An elasticity exists in their flow, and at times they appear almost wistful, especially in the fluttering scarves and trailing robes. Portions of the figures and scenes are coloured in red, but these are subordinate to the lines. It is the definitions of the figures and their forms that are emphasized in the stress on their physical nature. As at I-nan, *The Admonitions Scroll* focuses upon the psychological reality of the human figures.

The silk on which the painting is executed is a pale, yellowish brown serving as an unadorned background for the texts and figurative compositions. This precludes a deep penetration of space as the figures often have an appearance of being part of a frieze, as in the Boston tiles and the lintel from Loyang illustrating the story of "Killing three warriors with two peaches." But in both cases, the lack of background elements is offset by the dynamic movements of the figures in their narration, and the same pictorial qualities are evident in *The Admonitions Scroll*.

In the rhythmic flow of the figures' gestures and robes,

there is a continual movement across the surface of the composition. This is best exemplified by scene number five, the so-called "Bed Scene." (*Plate 21*) Chang Hua's text illustrating this scene runs,

If the words which one speaks are good, they
will be heeded for a thousand miles;
If one defies this rule of conduct, then
even one's bedmate will doubt one.⁶⁸

A *femme fatale*, her right arm casually overhanging the walled partitions of the bed, stares defiantly at her suitor. He, sitting on the edge of the bed, his slippers cast aside and left leg tucked under him, looks at the lady with that ambiguous expression of desire and reproach. The two figures address each other through their stares of silence, and there is established that psychological intensity encountered earlier in the Ching K'o scene from I-nan.

In Ku K'ai-chih's *The Admonitions Scroll*, the ease and gracefulness of the figures and suppleness and verve of the lines greatly impresses the viewer. Composition aids this, especially in the spatial setting established by the bed⁶⁹ and the direct visual contact between the two characters. The genesis for this can be traced to the Han dynasty, stated in a complete form within the Loyang lintel and Boston tiles, but conceived with the Ma-wang-tui painting. In the Ma-wang-tui painting with the scene of the Marchioness *et al.*, we saw how for the first time Chinese art sought to capture the profane world of physical existence. In this concern, various elements of corporeal roundness, movement and action,

time sequence, and space were artistic considerations as seen further developed in Ku K'ai-chih's work.

The second scroll by Ku K'ai-chih for our interests is *The Nymph of the Lo River*.⁷⁰ Unlike *The Admonitions Scroll*, *The Nymph of the Lo River* is not divided by textual passages, although there is an introductory text. The motifs illustrating this scroll were inspired by a poem written by Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (A.D. 192 - 232) of the same title, written in A.D. 222.⁷¹

The illustrations to *The Nymph of the Lo River* are set within space cells defined by landscape elements.⁷² In their renditions, these landscape elements are scientifically accurate and are used as complementary highlights to the human figures and the narration of Ts'ao Chih's poem. The artistic concern is guided by a desire to depict the real world as closely and as naturalistically as possible. In this, the landscape elements are not drawn from a symbolic fantasy, but from a physical reality as are the human figures. It is this stress on naturalism that had its incipience in the Han with the Ma-wang-tui painting that evidences the continued development of the latter (*i.e.*, a physical reality) in Chinese art and art history.

In the sculptured reliefs from the period between the Han and the T'ang dynasties, the development of representational art can also be traced. In April of 1960, a set of tile panels were discovered at Nanking.⁷³ (Plate 22) These measure 2.4 cm. long by 0.8 cm. high each and

illustrate the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove"⁷⁴ --
Hsi K'ang 嵇康 (A.D. 223 - 262), Yüan Chi 阮籍 (A.D.
210 - 262), Shan T'ao 山濤 (A.D. 205 - 283), Wang
Jung 王戎 (A.D. 235 - 306), Hsiang Hsiu 向秀 (third
century A.D.), Liu Ling 劉伶 (third century A.D.), and
Yüan Hsien 阮咸 (A.D. 234 - 305),⁷⁵ -- with Jung
Ch'i-ch'i 榮啓期,⁷⁶ a legendary contemporary of Confucius
added. The suggested dates of these tiles range from the
late fourth to early fifth century A.D.

Each of the eight figures is seated within a space cell,
defined by a series of tress. Except for the trees, there
are no other landscape elements. Like the landscape
elements in Ku K'ai-chih's *The Nymph of the Lo River*, those
in the Nanking tiles are scientifically accurate and iden-
tifiable, but also as in *The Nymph of the Lo River*, they are
secondary in design purposes. While the intent is not to
provide an integration or inter-communication between
the figures and the background, the landscape elements are
nonetheless complementary to the human figures. Also like
The Nymph of the Lo River, the artistic concerns in the
Nanking tiles are for a naturalism of forms and a figura-
tive reality without the stylization of fantasy. Thus,
there exists in these tiles from Nanking an artistic
concern for representational art which was an heritage from that
seminal Han work, the T-shaped painting from the Western
Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan.

CONCLUSION

Since its discovery in 1972, the Ma-wang-tui painting has stirred great international interest. Our interests and concerns in this thesis have been two-fold. First, we sought to examine the iconographic and iconological elements of the Ma-wang-tui painting's images. These were interpreted in the light of the cosmological and thus the religious structure of early Chinese art and thought. Second, perceiving that the Ma-wang-tui painting evidenced two distinctive artistic attitudes, the symbolic and the pictorial, we have sought to define the differences between these two artistic modes and attitudes. In so doing, we encountered the transition from one to the other which is fundamental to an understanding of the whole history of Chinese art and which is significantly expressed in the Ma-wang-tui painting. We therefore sought to define this important transition that this important painting represents.

In examining our first concern, we established the identity of the figures from the painting, both mythological (*e.g.*, the Chu Lung, P'an Ku) and real (*e.g.*, the Marchioness of T'ai). We saw how many of the images also had multiple identities which added impressively to the richness and variety of the painting. Interpreting their

symbolic intent, it was found that the painting is heavily steeped in Taoist lore and legend, striking an august statement on the Taoist conception and perception of the universe. In this, the theories of the *yin* and the *yang*, and the *wu hsing* figured largely. These set the workings of one definition of the Chinese universe (*i.e.*, Taoist), both in terms of a dualism of opposition and a cyclical rotation, respectively.

Besides Taoist themes, there were also nuances of shamanism and its tenets. We saw how the painting was used as a banner, a banner plotting the ascension of the Marchioness' soul to the heavens in order to enter the blissful paradise of quietude. There were concerns in this for the Chinese attempt to recall the soul and therefore postpone the departure from the earthly delights of a terrestrial existence of the Marchioness. The soul, failing to be recalled, begins its quest for immortality--the immortality of the paradise of quietude that is tied to the Taoist legends of immortality and the fabled isle of P'eng Lai.

These iconographic and iconological excursions, in identifying the images and themes presented in the Ma-wang-tui painting, and in establishing the multiple levels of interpreting the painting and its function, also took into account our second concern of this thesis--the stylistic differences between two distinctive artistic attitudes manifested within the painting. From this base, the spectrum

was broadened to include works of art exterior to the Ma-wang-tui site and the painting's *terminus ante quem* of ca. 185 B.C. The intent was to determine how the Ma-wang-tui painting fitted within the continuum of Chinese art history in the transitions from a symbolic art to a pictorial art form. The incipience of this shift in the two artistic modes was perceived within the Han. In this change, the Ma-wang-tui painting was shown to be a pivotal exhibit.

Thus, in the development of Chinese art, the Ma-wang-tui painting stands at the crossroads of this transition. Tied to an earlier attitude of symbolism and symbolic art, it nevertheless exhibits a nascent pictorialism that was to become the dominant concern in Chinese art. The Ma-wang-tui painting is thus a seminal acknowledgement of the shift in China of an artistic attitude from the symbolic to the pictorial.

NOTES: INTRODUCTION

¹Hunan Provincial Museum and the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica 湖南省博物館. 中國科學院考古研究所編, *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui I Hao Han Mu Fa-ch'ieh Chien-pao* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓發掘簡報 (*A Brief Report on the Excavation of the Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha*) (Peking: Wen Wu, 1972), pp. 13-15. Hereafter referred to as *Brief Report*. The clay seals bear the marks. "Majordomo of the Household of the Marquis of T'ai," and "Household of the Marquis of T'ai." See, *Brief Report*, p. 14. For a translation of the *Brief Report*, see, Fong Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove from the Western Han Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973):5-24.

²For a later dating of the Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, see, Mary H. Fong, "The Technique of 'Chiaroscuro' in Chinese Painting from Han through T'ang," *Artibus Asiae* 38 (1976):91-92.

³Exact dates for the Chou Dynasty are not universally accepted by Sinologists, the date 1030 B.C. being a revised one from the erstwhile 1122 B.C. formerly in use. The earliest exact date known from Chinese history is 841 B.C. Calculations working backwards in time by Chinese scholars regarding probable reign lengths place the date of the founding of the Shang Dynasty between 1766 B.C. and 1523 B.C., and that of the Chou conquest between 1122 B.C. and 1018 B.C. See, Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, Third Edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 10-11.

⁴The *Ch'un Ch'iu* is a year-by-year chronicle of the state of Lu 魯, covering the period from 722 B.C. to 481 B.C. Greater historical information, however, can be obtained from the *Tso Chuan* 左傳 (*The Tso Tradition*) which is in part a commentary on the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. It contains entries for the years 722 B.C. to 464 B.C., inclusive. See, James Legge (tr.), *The Chinese Classics; With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893-1895; Hong Kong: Hong K'ong University Press, 1960, reprint), Vol. 5: *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*. See also, Séraphin Couvreur (tr.), *Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan, la Chronique de la Principante de Lou*, 3 vols. (Ho Kien Fou: Imprimerie dela Mission Catholique, 1914).

⁵See, J.I. Crump (tr.), *Chan-Kuo Ts'e* (Osford: Clarendon Press, 1970). The *Chan-Kuo Ts'e* is an anonymous collection from the third century B.C. and is comprised of historical anecdotes, fables and tales of famous people from the Warring States Period. Its text, in thirty-three chapters, is arranged by individual states and then chronologically. Commentaries are by Kao Yu 高誘 (fl. ca. A.D. 215 - 212). See also, J.I. Crump, *Intrigues; Studies of the Chan-Kuo Ts'e* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964).

⁶See, Homer H. Dubs (tr.), *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938, 1944, 1955). This is a translation of the *Han Shu* 漢書 (*History of the Han*) by Pan Ku 班固, but also known as, *Ch'ien Han Shu* 前漢書 (*History of the Former Han*). In one-hundred-twenty chapters and with commentaries by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (A.D. 581 - 645), it covers the period, 209 B.C. - A.D. 23.

⁷*New Archaeological Finds in China; Discoveries During the Cultural Revolution*, Second Edition (Revised) (Peking:

Foreign Languages Press, 1973), pp. 42-52.

⁸Ibid., p. 48.

⁹Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 49, 81-82. This is a new and revised edition of the author's earlier, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

¹⁰Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Art: Recent Discoveries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973). In both this work and *The Arts of China*, Sullivan's major point regarding the Ma-wang-tui painting is that as a wall hanging, it predates the Buddhist hanging scrolls found at Tun-huang and is, therefore, evidence that the hanging scroll is indigenous to China and not of foreign import.

¹¹William Watson, *Style in the Arts of China* (Harmonsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 63 and *Figure 46* of the same.

¹²See also, "Rare Archaeological Find--2,100-Year Old Han Dynasty Tomb Excavated," *China Pictorial* 292 (October 1972):18-25. Edmond Capon and William MacQuitty, *Princes of Jade* (London: Cardinal, 1973), pp. 162-167, 175, 192. John Hay, *Ancient China*, A Bodley Head Archaeology (London: The Bodley Head, 1973), pp. 93-101. Richard Casper Rudolph, "Two Recently Discovered Han Tombs," *Archaeology* 26 (April 1973):106-115. Alice J. Hall, "A Lady from China's Past; A Noblewoman's Last Day, 2,100 Years Ago, Seems to Dawn Again with the Discovery of Her Richly Furnished Tomb," *National Geographic Magazine* 145 (May 1974):660-681. William Watson, *Ancient China; The Discoveries of Post-Liberation Archaeology* with an Introduction by Magnus Magnusson (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1974), pp. 55ff.

Edmund Capon, *Art and Archaeology in China* (South Melbourne: MacMillian Co. of Australia, 1977), p. 98 and *Plate 15* of the same.

¹³See Note #1 above.

¹⁴Hunan Provincial Museum and the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui I Hao Han Mu 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓* (*The Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha*), 2 vols. Text in Chinese with English Abstract (Peking: Wen Wu, 1973). Hereafter referred to as CSMWT.

¹⁵*Hsi Han Po Hua 西漢帛畫* (*A Western Han Silk Painting*), No pagination (Peking: Wen Wu, 1972).

¹⁶Shang Chih-t'an 商志靜, "An Interpretation of the *Fei-i* from the Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 196 (September 1972):43-47. Wu Tso-jen 吳作人, "Some Thoughts after Examining the Western Han Silk Painting from Ma-wang-tui," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 196 (September 1972):41-42. An Chih-min 安志敏, "A Tentative Interpretation of the Newly Discovered Western Han Silk Painting from Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 124 (January/February 1973):43-53. Fong Chow, "The Treasure of Ma-wang-tui," *Art News* 73 (February 1974):22-27. Wen Pien, "The World's Oldest Painting on Silk; Visions of the Underworld in a 2,000 Year Old Chinese Tomb," *UNESCO Courier* 27 (April 1974):18-23. A. Gutkind; Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture in the Western Han Tomb in Ma-wang-tui near Ch'ang-sha," *Oriental Art* 20 (Summer 1974):158-173.

¹⁷An attempt to place the Ma-wang-tui painting in the the context of Chinese artistic pictorialism was offered by

Mary H. Fong in her article, "The Technique of 'Chiaroscuro' in Chinese Painting," pp. 91-93. Unfortunately, Fong's choice of terms--'chiaroscuro'--is fundamentally Western in concept and antithetical to the Chinese artistic mind. Her efforts to impose this scheme upon the Ma-wang-tui painting and other works of art that she cites is rather strained. The Ma-wang-tui painting is also subjectively implied as being a seminal work in Chinese painting regarding this development of 'chiaroscuro,' but Fong rudely ignores an earlier silk painting also recovered from the Ch'ang-sha region and now in Peking. See, Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting; Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (London: Lund, Humphries and Company, 1956-1958), 3:1. All references to Vol. 3 of this set are to plates.

¹⁸*Shan Hai Ching* (Pai Tzu Ch'uan Shu 百子全書 edition), 80 vols. (Shanghai: Sao-yeh Shan-fang, 1919), Vol. 64. A translation of the first five chapters has appeared in French. See, Leon de Rosny (tr.), *Chan-hai-king; Antique Geographic Chinoise* (Paris: n.p., 1891).

¹⁹*Huai Nan Tzu* (Erh Shih Wu Tzu Hui Han 二十五子彙編 edition), 16 vols. (Shanghai: Hung-wen Shu-chü, 1893), Vol. 16, Continuous pagination. Various chapters of this work have been published in English. See, Evan Morgan (tr.), *Tao: The Great Luminant; Essays from Huai Nan Tzu with Introductory Articles, Notes, Analysis* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935).

²⁰See, David Hawkes (tr.), *Ch'u Tz'u: Songs of the South; An Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962). See also, *Ch'u Tz'u Pu-chu* 楚辭補注 (Supplementary Annotations to the the *Ch'u Tz'u*) (n.p.: Chung-hua Shu-chü, 1963). Hereafter referred to as *Ch'u Tz'u*.

²¹See, Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 4: *The She*

King or the Book of Poetry. Cf., Arthur Waley (tr.), *The Book of Songs* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937). Bernhard Karlgren (tr.), *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950). Bernhard Karlgren (tr.), "Shi King Researches," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*⁴ (1932):117-185. The *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* is hereafter referred to as *BMFEA*. See also, Marcel Granet, *Fêtes et chansons Anciennes de la Chine*, Second Edition (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1929)

²²Legge, *The Shi King or the Book of Poetry*, "Prolegomena."

²³See, Arthur Waley (tr.), *The Way and Its Power; A Study of the Tao Te Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934). See also, James Legge (tr.), *The Texts of Taoism: The Tao Te Ching, The Writings of Chuang-tzu, The Thâi-shang; Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions*, Introduction by D.T. Suzuki (New York: The Julian Press, 1959). This last work is a photo-offset from the original 1891 edition published as Vol. XXXIX and Vol. XL of *Sacred Books of the East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1891).

²⁴See, James Legge (tr.), *The I Ching*, Second Edition (New York: Dover Publications, 1963). This is an unaltered republication of the Second Edition of the work first published as Vol. XVI of *Sacred Books of the East* in 1899, with the special designation as *The Texts of Confucianism*, Part 2. See also, Z.D. Sung, *The Symbols of Yi King; or The Symbols of the Chinese Logic of Changes* (Shanghai:n.p., 1934; New York: Paragon Books, 1969, reprint). Hellmut Wilhelm, *Change; Eight Lectures on the I Ching*, Translated from the German by Cary F. Bayner, Bollingen Series #62 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960).

²⁵See, Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 173-672. Also, Burton Watson (tr.), *Chuang Tzu* (New York: n.p., 1968).

²⁶Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 3: *The Shoo King, or the Book of Historical Documents*. Cf., Bernhard Karlgren (tr.), "The Book of Documents," *BMFEA* 22 (1950):1-81. Bernhard Karlgren (tr.), "Glosses on the Book of Documents," Part 1, *BMFEA* 20 (1948):39-315. Bernhard Karlgren (tr.), "Glosses on the Book of Documents," Part 2, *BMFEA* 21 (1949):63-206.

²⁷Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, 10 vols., Second Edition, Continuous pagination (Peking: Chuang-hua Shu-ch'ü, 1962). Partial translations of the *Shih Chi* can be obtained. See, Burton Watson (tr.), *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). Edouard Chavannes (tr.), *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, 6 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895-1905, 1969). Frank A. Kierman, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Historiographical Attitude as Reflected in Four Late Warring States Biographies* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962).

²⁸A principal secondary source of historical figures, particularly for biographical details and data, is, Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (Taipei: Literature House, 1890, reprint).

²⁹See, James Legge (tr.), *Li Chi: Book of Rites; An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions*, Introduction and Study Guide by Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai, 2 vols. (New York: University Books, 1967). With the exception of new material added by the editors, this text is taken from the 1885, Oxford University Press publication where it appeared as Vol. XXVII and Vol. XXVIII of *Sacred Books of the East* with the special designation as Parts III and IV of *The Texts of*

Confucianism. See also, Séraphin Couvreur (tr.), *Li Ki; Ou Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies*, 2 vols. in 4 parts (Paris: Cathasia, 1928). Cf., Bernhard Karlgren (tr.), "Glosses on the Li Ki," *BMFEA* 43 (1971):1-66.

³⁰See, Edouard Biot (tr.), *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1851; Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishers, 1969, reprint). See also, Bernhard Karlgren, "The Early History of the Chou Li And Tso Chuan Texts," *BMFEA* 3 (1931):1-60. Sven Broman, "Studies on the Chou Li," *BMFEA* 33 (1961):1-90.

³¹See, John Steele (tr.), *The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*, 2 vols., ~~Probsthain~~ Probsthain Oriental Series, Vol. VIII (London: ~~Probsthain~~, 1917). Cf., Séraphin Couvreur (tr.), *I Li, le Cérémonial* (Paris: Cathasia, 1951 ?).

NOTES: CHAPTER I

¹CSMWT, 1:3-5.

²Ibid., 1:4.

³Sun Tso-yün 原作雲, "An Interpretation of the Lacquered Coffin Paintings from the Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 127 (July/August 1973):247-254.

⁴CSMWT, 2:27-31, 38-57. References to the second volume of this work are to plates.

⁵Ibid., 2:33-36.

⁶Ibid., 2:37, 61. See also, *Brief Report, Plates 4.3, 5.1.*

⁷*Brief Report*, pp. 14-15. CSMWT, 1:31-32. There seems to be some conflict as to the proper title of the Marchioness and her husband's mark. Both Chow and Bulling have transliterated 鞞 as Tai. See, Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 158. Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 158. Fong, on the other hand, transliterates the character as Ta. See, Fong, "The Technique of 'Chiaroscuro' in Chinese Painting," p. 92, Note #3. According to the *Dai Kanwa Jiten* 大漢和辭典, however, 鞞 has the same pronunciation as the homophone 泰, T'ai. See, Tetsuji Morohashi 諸橋 鞞次, *Dai Kanwa Jiten*, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Taisuhau Shoten, 1955-1960), 10: #38,186. Herbert A. Giles,

Chinese-English Dictionary, 2 vols. in one, Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged (Shanghai: n.p., 1912; New York: Paragon Book, 1964, reprint), #10,596.

⁸*Brief Report*, p. 6. *CSMWT*, 1:42. For a discussion of the T'ai household, see, Ma Yung 馬雍, "The Marquis of T'ai and the Prime Minister of the State of Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 196 (September 1972):14-21.

⁹Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 11. Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 166. An Chih-min, p. 47. See also, Hupei Provincial Museum 湖北省博物館, "Problems Regarding the Colourfully Painted *Ch'ing* Stones from the Ch'u Kingdom Discovered at Chiang-ling, Hupei," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 120 (May/June 1972):41-48.

¹⁰The *hu* is a type of vase or pot that is characteristically tall and graceful in outline. Its basic features are a rounded belly, sloping shoulders with a tall neck, and a narrow mouth that is slightly flared. The *ting* is a tripod or caldron mounted on three solid legs. See, Note #11, CHAPTER III, below. Also, William Willetts, *Foundations of Chinese Art from Neolithic Pottery to Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965), pp. 80-94. Hugo Munsterberg, *The Arts of China* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972), pp. 41-44.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

¹Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2 vols., Translated by Derk Bodde with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Index (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), Vol. 1: *The Period of the Philosophers (From the Beginnings to circa 100 B.C.)*, p. 160. See, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Vol. 7, *chüan* 卷 74, pp. 2343-2350. Also, Ernest Richard Hughes (ed. and tr.), *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times*, Revised Edition (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1954), pp. 212-214. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #2030.

²Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954-), Vol. 2: *History of Scientific Thought*, p. 274.

³*I Ching*, cited, Needham, 2:274.

⁴For a discussion of Taoism, see, Max Kaltenmark, *Lao Tzu and Taoism*, Translated by Roger Greaves (Standard: Standard University Press, 1968). Jan Jacob Maria de Groot, *Religion in China: Universalism; A Key to the Study of Taoism and Confucianism* (New York: Putnam, 1912). Jan Jacob Maria de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 6 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892-1910). Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*. Waley, *The Way and Its Power*. Needham, Vol. 2.

⁵Legge, *I Ching*, p. 389.

⁶Huai Nan Tzu, *chüan* 7, "Ching Shen Hsün" 精神訓, p. 19a.

⁷Käte Finsterbusch, *Verzeichnis und Motivindex der Han-Darstellungen*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966-1971), Vol. 2:27/101. References to Vol. 2 of this work are to plate/figure.

⁸The Archaeological Team, Bureau of Culture, Honan Province 河南省文化局文物工作隊, "Report on the Excavation of a Western Han Tomb with Wall Paintings at Loyang," (Text in Chinese with English Abstract), *K'ao Ku Hsueh-pao* 34 (1964):125, *Plates* 2.3, 3.2. Hereafter referred to as "Wall Paintings at Loyang."

⁹Liu Chia-chi 劉家驊 and Liu Ping-sen 劉炳森, "Some Thoughts after Copying the Western Han Silk Painting from Chin-ch'ueh-shan," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 258 (November 1972):28, 31, *Figure 1* and *Frontispiece*.

¹⁰An Chih-min, p. 46.

¹¹*Shan Hai Ching*, *chüan* 9, "Hai Wai Tung Ching" 海外東經, p. 1b. For a discussion of the fu-sang tree, see, Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 172-173, 175-177.

¹²Hawkes, p. 104. *Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 9, "Chao Hun," p. 2b, gloss.

¹³Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #667. E.T.C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (New York: The Julian Press, 1961), p. 159. For more detailed descriptions regarding the legends of Hou I, see, Ting Ying 丁嬰, *Chung-kuo Shang Ku Shen-hua Ku-shih* 中國上古神話故事 (*Ancient Fairy Tale Stories of China*) (Hong Kong: Shanghai Book Co., 1960), pp. 95-109. Yüan K'o 袁珂, *Chung-kuo Ku-tai Shen-hua* 中國古代神話 (*Ancient*

Fairytales of China) (Shanghai: Chung-hua Shu-chü, 1960), pp. 173-185. E.T.C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (London: George G. Harrap, 1922), pp. 180-183.

¹⁴Sun Tso-yün. "An Interpretation of the Banner Painting Unearthed from the Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 124 (January/February 1973):54. *Brief Report*, p. 6. *An Chih-min*, p. 46.

¹⁵Lo K'un, "A Discussion of the Silk Painting from the Han Tomb at Ma-wang-tui," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 196 (September 1972):48-49.

¹⁶For more information on the Northern Dipper imagery in early Chinese art, see, Hsia Nai 夏鼐, "The Constellation of a Western Han Tomb at Loyang," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 102 (February 1965):80-90. See also, "Wall Paintings at Loyang,": pp. 112-114.

¹⁷T'ang Lan 唐蘭 *et al.*, "Symposium on the Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 196 (September 1972):58.

¹⁸Huai Nan Tzu, *chüan* 7, "Ching Shen Hsün," p. 19a.

¹⁹Wang Ju-lin 王儒林, "An Ancient Han Tomb Stone Relief at the Western Gate of Nanyang, Honan," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 96 (August 1964):424, *Figure 2*. Hiroshi Ikéuchi 池内宏 and Sueji Umehara 梅原末治 with an English Résumé by Jiro Harada 原田治郎, *T'ung-kou 通溝*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Nichinan Bunka Kyokai, 1938-1940), Vol. 2: *Kao-kou-lian Tombs with Wall Paintings in the Chian District, T'ung-hua Province, Manchoukuo*, Plate 14. See also, "Wall Paintings at Loyang," Plate 3/Figure 7. Better reproductions of this image can be found in, Hsia Nai, p. 82, *Figure 1*. Also, Finsterbusch, 2:160/603, 249/2.

Liu Chia-chi and Liu Ping-sen, p. 29, *Figure 1* and *Frontis-piece*.

²⁰Finsterebusch, 2:160/608, 187/732, 230/994. In the last two instances, the hare can be seen pounding with mortar and pestle. For a discussion of this iconography, see p. 29 of this chapter.

²¹"[Hou] I asked Hsi Wang Mu 西王母 [Queen Mother of the West] for the Elixir of Life. Heng [i.e., Ch'ang] stole it and fled to the moon." *Huai Nan Tzu*, *chüan* 6, "Lan Ming Hsüan" 覽冥訓, p. 19a. Heng O is the erstwhile name of Ch'ang O. Her name was changed when Heng became the prerogative of the Emperor Mu Tsung 穆宗 (A.D. 795 - 824) of the T'ang 唐 Dynasty (A.D. 618 - 960) and the Emperor Chen Tsung 真宗 of the Sung 宋 Dynasty (A.D. 960 - 1279). See, Werner, *Myths and Legends*, p. 182.

²²It is not clear why an image of Hou I does not appear in the Ma-wang-tui painting. Two suggestions, however, can be offered towards this conundrum. Like the so-called "three-legged crow," the image of Hou I may not have entered the Chinese artistic language until the Eastern Han period where it does appear in the Wu Liang Tzu shrines. See, Edouard Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893), *Plates* 5, 10, 20. Otto Fischer, *Die Chinesische Malerei der Han-Dynastie* (Berlin: Paul Neff, 1931), *Plate* 12. Or, perhaps the suggestion of Hou I's presence via an association with the *fu-sang* tree and Ch'ang O stories was sufficient for the Chinese audience, whether private or public, ca. 185 B.C.

²³Cited, An Chih-min, p. 46.

²⁴*Huai Nan Tzu*, *chüan* 17, "Shuo Lin Hsüan" 說林訓,

p. 50a. See, Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #140. Yüan K'ö, pp. 186ff. Ting Ying, pp. 110ff.

²⁵Hawkes, p. 47.

²⁶See Note #20 above of this chapter.

²⁷Chang An-chih 張安治, "The Artistic Achievements of the Western Han Silk Painting," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 208 (September 1973):68. Shang Chih-t'an, p. 45. Sun Tso-yün, "An Interpretation of the Banner Painting," p. 55. Liu Ping-shen, "Some Intuitive Thoughts after Copying the Western Han Silk Painting from Ma-wang-tui," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 208 (September 1973):71.

²⁸Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #585.

²⁹*Ibid.*, #1578.

³⁰See, Finsterbusch, 2:27/101-104, 28/106, 32/127, 38/150, 42/172. Ikéuchi and Umehara, 2: *Plate 83*. Basil Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), *Plate 24*. The Museum of the Autonomous Region of Wei-wu-erh, Hsin-chiang 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館, "A Brief Report on the Excavation of the Tombs from the Northern Region of A-ssu-t'a-na, T'u-lu-fan, Hsin-chiang," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 113 (June 1960): 2, *Figure 4*. The Museum of the Autonomous Region of Wei-wu-erh, Hsin-chiang, "A Brief Report on the Clearing of a Group of Tombs at A-ssu-t'a-na and Ha-la-ho-cho in the County of T'u-lu-fan," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 188 (January 1972):23, *Figures 34-35*. Richard Rudolph in collaboration with Wen Yu, *Han Tomb Art of West China; A Collection of First and Second Century Reliefs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), *Figures 58-59*, 99.

³¹See, Chayannes, *La sculpture sur pierre, Plates 3, 24, 33*, The Research Society of Central Asian Culture, *Monumenta Serindica* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1958-), Vol. 5: *The Ancient Buddhist Arts in Central Asia and Tun-huang; Introduction and Monographical Remarks on the Wallpaintings, Sculptures, Manuscripts and Pictures from Central Asia and Tun-huang, North-west China*, Text in Japanese with English Introduction, Abstracts and Anecdotes (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1962), *Plates 23-24*.

³²*Ch'u Tz'u, chüan 3, "T'ien Wen," pp. 15a-15b, gloss.*

³³*Huai Nan Tzu, chüan 4, "Chui Hsing Hsün" 墜形訓*, p. 13a. See Note #31 above of this chapter.

³⁴We will return to the possibility of identifying this figure as NÜ Kua in CHAPTER IV.

³⁵*CSMWT, 1:41ff.*

³⁶"Where is K'un-lun with its Hanging Garden?
How many miles high are its ninefold walls?
Who goes through the gates in its four sides?
When the northeast one opens, what wind is it
that passes through? What land does the sun
not reach to? How does the Torch Dragon light
it?"

Hawkes, p. 47.

³⁷*Shan Hai Ching, chüan 17, "Ta Huang Pei Ching" 大荒北經*, p. 2b. The Chu Lung is also known by the sobriquet, Chu Yin 燭陰. See, *Shan Hai Ching, chüan 8, "Hai Wai Pei Ching" 海外北經*, p. 1a.

³⁸Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, p. 146. Cf., Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 97-98. On the Yellow Emperor, see,

Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, pp. 57, 103-104, 134.

³⁹Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, p. 195. Cf., Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 133-134. This harmony is the harmony of the universe in the workings of the *yin* and the *yang*--i.e., the *Tao*.

⁴⁰Chow cites a passage from the *Huai Nan Tzu* ("Chu Lung resides north of Yen Men 鴈門 / Gate of the Wild Geese") to draw a connection between these birds and the human/snake figure and thus to substantiate his conviction that the central figure in the crossbar section is indeed the Chu Lung. Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 12.

⁴¹See, Ikéuchi and Umehara, 2: *Plate 81*.

⁴²Bernhard Karlgren, "The Book of Odes," *BMFEA* 16 (1944):231. Cf., Legge, *She King*, p. 297. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p. 314.

⁴³Chang An-chih, p. 63.

⁴⁴Legge, *I Ching*, p. 422.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴⁶Morohashi, 1: #257.

⁴⁷Hawkes, p. 41.

⁴⁸*Huai Nan Tzu*, *chüan* 3, "T'ien Wen Hsüan" 天文訓, p. 9b.

⁴⁹An Chih-min, p. 47.

⁵⁰*Huai Nan Tzu*, *chüan* 6, "Lan Ming Hsüan," p. 18b.

⁵¹Hawkes, p. 105.

⁵²Ibid., p. 29.

⁵³*Ch'u Tz'u, chüan 1, "Li Sao,"* p. 23a, gloss. The *Shou Wen Chieh-tzu* is the earliest Chinese dictionary defining some 9000 Chinese characters as it existed then. It forms the basis of all etymological studies of the Chinese language. The compilation of its 30 *chüan* was completed ca. A.D. 100 by Hsü Shen 許慎 (d. A.D. 120?). See, Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #787.

⁵⁴An Chih-min rejects this idea in favor of Ta Ssu Ming 大司命 (The Greater Master of Fate) and Shao Ssu Ming 少司命 (The Lesser Master of Fate) of the *Ch'u Tz'u, chüan 2, "Chiu Ko" 九歌*, pp. 14-18. An Chih-min, pp. 45-46. See, Hawkes, pp. 39-41. Cf., Arthur Waley (tr.), *The Nine Songs; A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955), pp. 37-43. See also, Eduard Erkes, "The God of Death in Ancient China," *T'oung Pao* 35 (1939):185-210. A. Bulling, *The Meaning of China's Most Ancient Art; An Interpretation of Pottery Patterns from Kansu (Ma Ch'ang and Pan-shan) and Their Development in the Shang, Chou and Han Periods* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), pp. 137-139.

⁵⁵Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 165.

⁵⁶de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 6:929.

⁵⁷T'ang Lan et al., pp. 57, 59-61. An Chih-min, pp. 47-48. Chang An-chih, p. 69. *Hsi Han Po Hua. Brief Report*, pp. 6-7. CSMWT, 1:39-43. Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 165. Ma Yung, "A Discussion of the Name and Function of the Silk Painting Unearthed from the Han Tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 125

(March/April 1973):123.

⁵⁸Sun Tso-yün, "An Interpretation of the Banner Painting," pp. 57-58.

⁵⁹See, Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, #3560, #5108.

⁶⁰Cited, Morohashi, 12: #46,671.

⁶¹Ikéuchi and Umehara, 1:1; 2: *Plates 3-34*. For a brief discussion of these caves and the painted images within, see, Suyéji Umehara, "The Newly Discovered Tombs with Wall Paintings of the Kao-kou-lian Dynasty," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 6 (1952):5-17.

⁶²Sun Tso-yün, "An Interpretation of the Banner Painting," p. 56.

⁶³*Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 1, "Li Sao," p. 22a, gloss.

⁶⁴Hawkes, p. 28. *Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 1, "Li Sao," p. 22.

⁶⁵Hawkes, p. 85. *Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 5, "Yüan Yü," p. 7b.

⁶⁶Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, p. 162. Cf., Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 107-108.

⁶⁷Shared relationships between dragon figures and *pi* figures are not uncommon in Chinese art. At Ma-wang-tui, besides the *pi*/dragon image on the painting, a similar image was found painted on the middle casket. See, *CSMWT*, 2:36. In the Nelson-Atkins Museum, a jade *pi* artifact survives with a pair of sensuously dancing dragons on its exterior rim. See, Ross E. Taggart *et al.*, *Handbook of the Collections of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art*

and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Fifth Edition (Kansas City: University Trustees, W.R. Nelson Trust, 1973), Vol. 2: *Art of the Orient*, p. 23. Hereafter referred to as *Nelson-Atkins Museum*.

⁶⁸Berthold Laufer, *Jade; A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974), pp. 112-153. This work is an unabridged republication of the work originally published in Chicago in 1912 as Publication 154, Anthropological Series, Vol. X of the *Field Museum of Natural History*. For conflicting opinions regarding the *pi* as symbolic of the heavens, see, Willetts, pp. 55-57.

⁶⁹Biot, 1:434. See also, Bernhard Karlgren, "Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China," *BMFEA* 2 (1930):24. Eduard Erkes, "Some Remarks on Karlgren's 'Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China,'" *BMFEA* 3 (1931):67.

⁷⁰*Shan Hai Ching*, *chüan* 9, "*Hai Wai Tung Ching*," p. 1b.

⁷¹Hawkes, p. 84.

⁷²*Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 5, "*Yüan Yü*," p. 7b, gloss.

⁷³See Note #9, CHAPTER I. See also, Committee for the Exhibition of Cultural Relics 出土文物展覽工作組編, *Wen Hua Ta Ko Ming Ch'i Chien Ch'u T'u Wen Wu 文化大革命期間出土文物* (Cultural Relics Unearthed During the Period of the Great Cultural Revolution) with an English translation of the Introduction and Contents (Peking: Wen Wu Ch'u Pan She, 1972), p. 74. Hereafter referred to as *Cultural Relics*.

⁷⁴The Hunan Provincial Museum, "A Brief Report on the Excavation of a Western Han Tomb at Sha-tzu-t'ang, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 148 (February 1963):13-24.

⁷⁵T'ang Lan *et al.*, pp. 59, 61. Liu Ping-sen, p. 71. Shang Chih-t'an, p. 44. Sun Tso-yün, "An Interpretation of the Banner Painting," p. 60. *Hsi Han Po Hua*. Ku T'ieh-fu 顧鐵符 believes this congregation scene to be the household kitchen. See, T'ang Lan *et al.*, p. 57.

⁷⁶Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," pp. 164-165. For Bulling, the scene with the Marchioness takes place on earth in the T'ai *piano nobile*. We have seen, however, that this is inaccurate.

⁷⁷Attention should be drawn to the 2:3 ratio between the *hu* and *ting* vessels from this scene. Phyllis Ackerman has suggested that the *hu* is a *yin* vessel while the *ting* is a *yang* vessel. If this is accepted, then the vessels also restate the *yin/yang* ratio as established with the five cranes flanking the Chu Lung. See, Phyllis Ackerman, *Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China* (New York: Dryden Press, 1945), pp. 97-104.

⁷⁸*CSMWT*, 2:62, 65-66, 126-127.

⁷⁹See p. 12. Also, *CSMWT*, 2:24-31.

⁸⁰Shang Chih-t'an, p. 44, quoting Lieh Tzu 列子. See, Léon Wieger, *Les Pères du Système Taoïste* (Paris: Cathasia, 1950), pp. 132-133.

⁸¹Ma Yung, "A Discussion of the Name and Function of the Silk Painting," pp. 123-124. For the legends of Kun, see, Legge, *Shoo King*, pp. 24-25, 323.

⁸²*Huai Nan Tzu*, *chüan* 9, "*Chu Shu*," p. 25b, gloss. T'ang Lan *et al.*, p. 57. Cf., An Chih-min, p. 49.

⁸³Werner, *Myths and Legends*, pp. 76-92, 128-130.

⁸⁴Morohashi, 8: #2306.62.

⁸⁵An Chih-min, p. 47.

⁸⁶The earliest literary source for the legends of P'an Ku dates from the fourth century A.D. This, however, does not preclude the possible existence of an oral tradition anterior to the literary sources regarding P'an Ku now extant. In this manner, the Ma-wang-tui figure seen supporting the terrestrial realm may indeed be an early expression of the legends of P'an Ku and the creation of the Chinese universe.

⁸⁷*Huai Nan Tzu*, *chüan* 1, "*Yüan Tao Hsün*" 原道訓, p. 2a.

⁸⁸Morgan, p. 5.

⁸⁹Shang Chih-t'an, p. 44.

⁹⁰Cited, *Ibid.*

⁹¹Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, p. 212.

⁹²Legge, *Shoo King*, pp. 24-25.

⁹³Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 161.

⁹⁴Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 21.

⁹⁵An Chih-min, p. 49.

⁹⁶Hawkes, p. 48.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

¹Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 325.

²de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 3:955.

³Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 323.

⁴Needham, 2:238-250. For further compilations of this theory, see, Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China; New Year and Other Annual Observances During the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C. - A.D. 220* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 38.

⁵*Huai Nan Tzu*, chüan 4, "Chui Hsing Hsün," p. 12b. This theory was later expounded upon by Pan Ku 班固, a second century A.D. Han historian and compiler of the *Books of the Former Han Dynasty*:

"Wood produces fire, fire produces earth (*i.e.*, ashes), earth produces metal, metal produces water, water produces wood (*i.e.*, vegetation). If fire heats metal, the latter produces water (that is to say it liquifies): hence water destroying fire operates inimically upon the very element which engenders it. Fire produces earth and earth impairs water; nobody can frustrate such phenomena, for, the power who causes the five elements to impair each other is the natural propensities of Heaven and Earth. A larger quantity prevails over a smaller quantity; hence water vanquishes fire. Unsubstantiality prevails over substantiality; so fire conquers metal. Hardness prevails over softness; hence metal conquers

wood. Density has the upper hand over incoherence; therefore wood over powers earth. And solidity overrules insolidity; 'ergo' earth vanquishes water."

Cited, de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 3:957-958.

⁶Cited, Fung Yu-lan, 1:163.

⁷*Shan Hai Ching*, chüan 17, "Ta Huang Pei Ching," p. 1b.

⁸*Shan Hai Ching*, chüan 9, "Hai Wai Tung Ching," p. 1b, gloss.

⁹*CSMWT*, 1:128 and *Figures* 111-112, 113.1-113.3; 2:168.178, 169.182, 220.256.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 1:128.

¹¹The *hu*, *ting* and other eating vessels found in the mourning scene below could be representative of the element metal. Numerous examples of such utensils of cast metal have been recovered from Chinese tomb sites. See, Seiichi Mizuno 水野清一, *Bronzes and Jades of Ancient China*, Text in Japanese with an English Abstract and List of Plates by J.O. Gauntlett (Tokyo: The Nihon Keizai, 1959), *Plates* 12, 138-145. However, the Ma-wang-tui artifacts belonging to these categories were either earthenware or lacquerware, and not metal. See, *CSMWT*, 1:122-127; 2:141.154, 145.157, 147.158, 205.235, 207.236, 213.239-213.240, 216.245-217.248.

¹²See, Jan Fontein and Tung Wu, *Unearthing China's Past*, Exhibition catalogue (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), pp. 51-54, #14. Also, The Research Institute for Ethnomusicology, Central Music Academy of Peking, 中央音樂學院民族音樂研究所, "Preliminary Investigation into Warring States Musical Instruments from

the State of Ch'u Excavated at Hsin-yang," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu T'san K'ao Tzu Liao* 89 (January 1958):15-23. Anhwei Province Cultural Committee and the Anhwei Provincial Museum 安徽省文物管理委員會、安徽省博物館, *Shou-hsien Ts'ai-hou-mu Ch'u-t'u I-wu* 壽縣蔡侯墓出土遺物 (Ancient Relics Excavated from the Tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai at Shou-hsien) (Peking: Science Press, 1956). For a brief outline on the arguments regarding the dating of the tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai and its bells, see, Alexander Soper, "The Tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai," *Oriental Art* 10 (Autumn 1964):153-157. On the articles from the Marquis of Ts'ai's tomb, see also, George Weber, *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes; A Method of Analysis* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1973), pp. 441-490.

¹³See, Eleanor von Erdberg Consten, "A Hu with Pictorial Decoration; Werner Jannings Collection, Palace Museum, Peking," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 6 (1952): Figure 3. See also, G. Weber, pp. 210-227, 232-267, 287-317, 442-449, 494-495.

¹⁴According to the *wu hsing* theory, fire destroys metal which in turn destroys wood. This has lead some scholars to posit that the Marchioness died in the summer--the season of the element of fire and the southern quadrant. Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 12. This would allow a double measure of safety for the tomb occupant and its contents as the absence of metal, or the relative lack thereof, would ensure the survival of the perishable articles mostly of wood and wood-based. To guard against any metallic properties, the Chu Lung, as representative of fire and therefore the dissolver of metal, was given stewardship of the painting and tomb.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

¹*Brief Report*, p. 9. *CSMWT*, 1:130-155.

²*CSMWT*, 1:149 (#244); 2:286.244.

³Shang Chih-t'an, p. 43. T'ang Lan *et al.*, pp. 59-60.

⁴T'ang Lan *et al.*, p. 56. Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 8. Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 161.

⁵*CSMWT*, 1:43-45. For a general discussion of funerary banners, see, de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1:173-179. The Chih-ch'ueh-shan painting discovered in 1976 (see Note #9, CHAPTER II) is also a funerary banner and would seem to have been a standard possession among the Ch'u people. See, The Excavation Team of the Han Tomb Chin-ch'ueh-shan, Linyi 临沂金雀山汉墓发掘组, "A Brief Report on the Excavation of the Han Tomb No. 9 at Chin-ch'ueh-shan, Lin-yi, Shantung," (Text in Chinese), *Wen wu* 258 (November 1972):26.

⁶Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, pp. 28, 153-154. Kaltenmark, p. 63.

⁷Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 161. Textual evidence can be gleaned from the *Li Chi*:

"I have heard the names Kwei [*i.e.*, *kuei*] and Shan [*i.e.*, *shen*], but I do not know what they mean." The Master [*i.e.*, Confucius] said, 'The (intellectual) spirit is on the shan nature, and

shows that in fullest measure; the animal soul is of the kwei nature, and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of kwei and shan that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine.

"All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called kwei...."

Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:220.

⁸Bulling hints at this identification but hesitates to commit herself. However, from the *Shan Hai Ching*, certain spirits are depicted as having "animal bodies, human faces and antlers." *Shan Hai Ching*, chüan 4, "Tung Shan Ching" 東山經, p. 2b. See, Alfred Salmony, *Antler and Tongue; An Essay on Ancient Chinese Symbolism and Its Implication* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954), p. 14.

⁹Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:174.

¹⁰de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1:11-12.

¹¹So entrenched was this ceremony that passages from both the *Li Chi* and the *I Li* can be cited to testify on this point. In the *Li Chi*, there is the following:

"When (a father) has just died, (the son) should appear quite overcome, and as if he were at his wits' end; when the corpse has been put into the coffin, he should cast quick and sorrowful glances around, as if he were seeking for something and could not find it; when the interment has taken place, he should look alarmed and restless, as if he were looking for someone who does not arrive; at the end of the first year's mourning, he should look sad and disappointed; and at the end of the second year's, he should have a vague and unreliant look."

Legge, *Li Chi*, 1:29. See also, 1:169 from the same. From the

I Li, there is the following:

"When an ordinary officer is taken seriously ill, they move him into the principal sleeping apartment, where he lies, with his head to the east, at the foot of the north wall....

"And when the sickness becomes very serious, the sick chamber and the whole house are swept.

"Then the patient's soiled clothes are removed and clean ones put on him....

"When death has actually occurred, the Master of Ceremonies howls, while his brethren wail...."

Steele, *I Li*, 2:94-95.

¹²Hawkes, pp. 104-105. Cf., Waley's translation of the "*Chao Hun*." Arthur Waley, *Translations from the Chinese*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), pp. 9-16.

¹³Hawkes, pp. 110-111.

¹⁴*Ibid.*.

¹⁵Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 163. This is a misinterpretation on Bulling's part of shamanism. The descent of the shaman referred to in the various literature does not deal with the earthly sphere. It is, instead, a spiritual descent of the shaman, at the time deeply within the trance of semiconsciousness, into the netherworld, seeking the spirits and spectres that precipitated his journey into the netherworld. The shaman passes from one cosmic region to another, and the reference, "Wu Yang therefore went down and summoned the soul," indicates the shaman transcending the profane space of materialism to the sacred space of the spirits. See, Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism; Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Translated from the French by Willart R. Trask, Bollingen Series LXXVI (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), pp. 145ff, 259ff. This work

is a revised and enlarged edition of the originally published French edition, *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris: Librairie Payot, 1951).

¹⁶Hawkes, p. 196.

¹⁷Steele, 2:106. Cf., Hawkes, pp. 107, 111.

¹⁸Steele, 1:72, 75, 85, 122, 151.

¹⁹Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:92-131. For a discussion of this chapter from the *Li Chi*, see, Walter Kaufman, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics*, Detroit Monographs in Musicology, Number Five (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976), pp. 31-56.

²⁰Legge, *She King*, p. 579. Cf., Waley, *The Book of Songs*, p. 230. See, Babette M. Becker, "Music in the Life of Ancient China: From 1400 B.C. to 300 B.C." (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957).

²¹See Note #74, CHAPTER II.

²²See Note #13, CHAPTER III.

²³Charles Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronze Vessels of the Late Chou Period* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1968), *Figures* 52, 66d.

²⁴*Ibid.*, *Figures* 67b, 67e. See, Nicole Vander-Nicolas, "Note sur un Vase Chinois de Musée du Louvre," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 12 (December 1938):133-141.

²⁵Hawkes, pp. 111-112. In this context, the *luan* would be a musical coda. Use of the bell in this summons was later incorporated into Buddhist rites. See, de Groot, *The*

Religious System of China, 1:73.

²⁶The *pi* also possessed musical qualities and significance. See, F.A. Kuttner, "The Musical Significance of Archaic Chinese Jades of the *Pi* Disk Type," *Artibus Asiae* 16 (1953):25-50.

²⁷Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:100-101. See, Kaufman, pp. 101-105, 107-111.

²⁸W. Perceval Yetts, *Symbolism in Chinese Art* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1912), pp. 26-27. See, Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, #2211.

²⁹*Brief Report*, pp. 11-12. *CSMWT*, 1:102-110; 2:203-207.

³⁰Seiichi Mizuno 水野清一 and Toshiro Nagahiro 長廣敏雄, *Yün-Kang; The Buddhist Cave Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China*, Detailed Report of the Archaeological Survey Carried Out by the Mission of the Tōhōbunka Kunkyusho, 1938-1945, Text in Japanese with English Summaries, 16 vols. in 32 parts (Kyoto: Toho Bunka Kenkyujo, 1951-1956), 11.2:91, 93-95.

³¹An Chih-min, pp. 47-48.

³²Fontein and Tung Wu, pp. 66-69.

³³Legge, *Li Chi*, 2:37.

³⁴See, Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre*, Plate 12a. A. Bulling, "Three Popular Motives in the Art of the Eastern Han Period; The Lifting of the Tripod, The Crossing of a Bridge, Divinities," *Archives of Asian Art* 20 (1966-1967): 43-49.

³⁵Hawkes, p. 83.

³⁶Cited, *Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 5, "Yüan Yu," p. 5a, gloss.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸See, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Vol. 1, *chüan* 6, "*Ch'in Shih Huang Pen Chi*" 秦始皇本紀, p. 247; Vol. 4, *chüan* 28, "*Feng Shan Shu*" 封禪書, pp. 1369-1385.

³⁹Shang Chih-t'an, p. 44.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹See Note #34 above.

⁴²See, Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #871.

⁴³Shang Chih-t'an, p. 46.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 161. In the Chin-ch'üeh-shan banner painting, the iconography of the moon and the sun with their respective associates of the toad and the hare (within the moon) and the sun-bird (within the sun) has been noted. Like the Ma-wang-tui painting, the Chin-ch'üeh-shan painting is believed to represent also the three realms of the universe--the subterranean, the terrestrial and the heavenly spheres with the moon and the sun representing the last realm. The terrestrial realm is divided into five registers with various groups of figures engaged in several activities, *e.g.*, music (the importance of which we have examined) and dance. The uppermost register of the terrestrial realm depicts the tomb occupant receiving

four of her attendants beneath a roofed structure most likely indicating her private household. See, Liu Chia-chi and Liu Peng-sen, p. 29. Rising behind this structure are three mountain peaks that, according to the authors of the report, represent the three fabled isles of P'eng Lai, Fang Chang, and Ying Chou. See, Liu Chia-chi and Liu Peng-sen, p. 29. As such, this painting is another instance of the Taoist quest for immortality.

⁴⁶See, Rudolph, *Han Tomb Art of West China, Figures 56-57*. Finsterbusch, 2:40/162, 133/1001.

⁴⁷Yang Lien-sheng, "A Note on the So-called TLV Mirrors and the Game *Liu-po*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 9 (1945-1947):202-206.

⁴⁸Hawkes, p. 108.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁵⁰Legge, *Li Chi*, 1:167.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 1:170.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 1:368-369. In the *Ch'u Tz'u*, *chüan* 16, "*Chiu T'an*" 九款: 'Yüan Yu' 遠遊, see, "I ascended K'un-lun and turned my face northwards / And mustered all the Immortals to come and visit me." Hawkes, p. 167.

⁵³Eliade, p. 156.

⁵⁴Another possibility closely allied with feathers and bird imagery exists in the theme of the ascension of the soul and shamanism. The "T" shape of the Ma-wang-tui painting may be viewed as suggestive of an anthropomorphic form. With the various images on its front, this may also be

suggestive of an actual costume worn by the shaman. As the painting was placed directly over the innermost casket atop the feathered appliqué, this idea has merits.

⁵⁵Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 165.

⁵⁶Hawkes, p. 34.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 85.

⁵⁸An Chih-min, p. 41.

⁵⁹Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 166.
See, Hawkes, pp. 39-41. See also Note #54, CHAPTER II.

⁶⁰T'ang Lan sees these figures as gentlemen sitting in the parlour of the T'ai household with the Marchioness welcoming visitors below to a banquet that has not yet started. See, T'ang Lan *et al.*, p. 59. YÜ Wei-ch'ao 俞偉超 believes them to be officers of the recalling ceremony who mount the rooftops. See, T'ang Lan *et al.*, p. 60.

⁶¹Cited, Bodde, *Festivals in Classic China*, p. 128.
Cf., Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 8. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 6:954.

⁶²CSMWT, 1:101.

⁶³Legge, *Li Chi*, 1:172. See, Henry Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, Translated from the French with Notes, Historical and Explanatory by M. Kennelly (Shanghai: T'uswei, 1914-), 1:133. In the "Peach Blossom Spring" poem of T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (A.D. 365 -427), there is an allusion to a paradise free from the travails and burdens of an earthly life. See, James Robert Hightower (tr.), *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970),

pp. 254-258. See also, Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #1892.

⁶⁴CSMWT, 1:36/36 (#453), 100/93.3; 2:44/58, 176/200.

⁶⁵Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture," p. 165.

⁶⁶Chow, "Ma-wang-tui: A Treasure-Trove," p. 13.

⁶⁷From what was labelled Tomb No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui, a similar banner to that found in Tomb No. 1 was also recovered. It unfortunately has not survived the ravages of time and environment as well as the banner painting from Tomb No. 1. Several points of comparison, however, can be made between the two banners from Ma-wang-tui. Both are "T" shaped with tassels--the banner from Tomb No. 3 having two additional tassels tied to its upper two corners. Most of the images on the banner from Tomb No. 1 also appear on the banner from Tomb No. 3--e.g., the sun-bird, crescent moon with hare and toad, *chung*, *ch'ing*, *fleur-de-lis*, dragons, Yü Chiang, etc. Two important differences, however, need to be noted. First, a Chu Lung-like figure appears on the painting from Tomb No. 3 that seems to be male in gender. (It is difficult, due to the imprecise state of preservation of the painting, to conclude definitively that the image is male.) Second, a similar group of figures on a platform corresponding to the Marchioness and her attendants is also found on the banner from Tomb No. 3. In this, the main character is decidedly male and the tomb occupant was also male--the son of the Marquis of T'ai. This is important in noting that with Tomb No. 1, its painting and the Marchioness, female traits dominate. With the Tomb No. 3 banner painting, however, male traits dominate. The Chu Lung on the banner from Tomb No. 3 lacks the long braid of femininity found on the banner from Tomb No. 1. See, Hunan Provincial Museum and the Institute of

Archaeology, Academia Sinica, "A Brief Report on the Excavation of the Han Tombs No. 2 and No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 218 (July 1974):39-48. Chin Wei-no 金維諾, "A Discussion of the Silk Painting from the Han Tomb No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 222 (November 1974):40-44. Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica and the Hunan Provincial Museum, "Significance of the Excavation of the Han Tombs No. 2 and No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui," (Text in Chinese), *K'ao Ku* 136 (January/February 1975):47-57, 61.

⁶⁸Carl Hentze, *Chinese Tomb Figures; A Study in the Beliefs and Folklore of Ancient China* (London: Eduard Goldston, 1928), pp. 45-46.

⁶⁹See pp. 34-35.

⁷⁰Lawrence Walkinshaw, *Cranes of the World* (New York: Winchester Press, 1973), pp. 37, 176-177.

⁷¹Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962), pp. 187-195. See also, A.G. Wenley, "The Question of the Po-Shan-Hsiang-Lu," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 3 (1948-1949):5-12. See also, *Cultural Relics*, pp. 4-5.

⁷²The metempsychosis of the Marchioness is also a statement of her rebirth within the Taosit paradise and the rebalancing of the harmony of the universe. With death and the separation of the *kuei* and the *shen* (i.e., the *yin* and the *yang* spirits), an imbalance arises that can only be resolved with the rebirth of the deceased within the Taoist paradise. We have seen how this is successful in the complex figure of the Chu Lung who here also symbolizes this rebirth and, therefore, the rebalancing of the harmony of the universe. This balance is restated in the images of the sun

and the moon that in flanking the Chu Lung also balance the Chu Lung. They are the *yin* and the *yang*, mutually acting upon the other in their reciprocity.

Rebirth is also a recurring theme throughout the banner painting from Ma-wang-tui. We noted that on the shaft the dragons ascend from conflict, pass through a resolution at the *pi* and continue their ascension in harmony with the *yin* and the *yang* forces of the crossbar images. This harmony is another statement of the rebirth of the universe.

In a similar manner, we have discussed the image of the dragon as symbolic of the East and of the spring. This is the season of rejuvenation, and the East is the direction from which the universe is reborn. The obverse of this is death. In this, attention should be drawn to another interpretative aspect possible with the leopards and their feline associates. While we have indicated that the leopard is a demonifuge and of *yang* merit, it is a member of the feline family. The dragon, on the other hand, is a member of the serpent family. In Chinese cosmological imagery, the dragon represents the East and the tiger (*i.e.*, the feline) represents the West. East is rebirth and West is death. By association, it is possible to interpret further the leopard as a surrogate in this matter for the tiger, and, therefore, as representative of the West. In this context of the theme of rebirth, note should be made of the dominating sizes of the dragons over the leopards. This may be understood as signifying that rebirth within the Taoist paradise will triumph over death. The entire structure of this is then best stated in the figure of the Chu Lung and the flanking *yin* and *yang* elements of the moon and the sun in their mutual influences, balancing the universe and setting it in harmony.

⁷³Hawkes, p. 81.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

¹W. Watson, *Style in the Arts of China*, p. 25.

²Max Loehr, "The Fate of the Ornament in Chinese Art," *Archives of Asian Art* 21 (1967-1968):8-9.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴Ibid..

⁵Fong, pp. 92-93. See Note #17, INTRODUCTION.

⁶Richard Edwards, "The Artist and the Landscape: Changing Views of Nature in Chinese Painting," in, James C.Y. Watt (guest ed.), *The Translation of Art; Essays on Chinese Painting and Poetry, Renditions*, No. 6, Special Art Issue (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1976), pp. 32-34.

⁷See, J. Gunnar Andersson, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu," *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of China*, Series A, Number 5 (June 1929): 1-56. J. Gunnar Andersson, "Researches in the Prehistory of the Chinese," *BMFEA* 15 (1943):7-304. J. Gunnar Andersson, *Children of the Yellow Earth* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1934), pp. 313-337.

⁸Andersson, "Preliminary Report." Hanna Rydh, "On Symbolism in Mortuary Ceramics," *BMFEA* 1 (1929):71-142.

⁹For a comprehensive study of prehistoric China and

the origins of Chinese civilization, see, Chang Kwang-chih, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, Revised and Enlarged Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968). See also, William Watson, *China Before the Han Dynasty*, Vol. 23 of the series, *Ancient Peoples and Places* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961). Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1959), Vol. 1: *Prehistoric China*. H. Glessner Creel, *The Birth of China; A Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1937). N. Palmgren, *Kansu Mortuary Urns of the Pan-shan and Ma-ch'ang Groups* (Peking: Geological Survey of China, 1934). T.J. Arne, *Painted Stone Age Pottery from the Province of Honan* (Peking: Geological Survey of China, 1925).

¹⁰See, Bernhard Karlgren, "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes," *BMFEA* 8 (1936):9-156. Bernhard Karlgren, "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes," *BMFEA* 9 (1937):1-118. Bernhard Karlgren, "The Dating of Chinese Bronzes," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1937):33-39. Bernhard Karlgren, "Notes on the Grammar of Early Bronze Décor," *BMFEA* 23 (1951):1-37. Ludwig Bachhofer, "The Evolution of Shang and Early Chou Bronzes," *Art Bulletin* 26 (June 1944):107-116. Virginia C. Kane, "The Chronological Significance of the Enscribed Ancestor Dedication in the Periodization of Shang Dynasty Bronze Vessels," *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973):335-370. See also, Max Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China*, Exhibition catalogue (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1968), p. 13. Max Loehr, "The Bronze Styles of the Anyang Period (1300 - 1028 B.C.)," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 7 (1953):42-53. Max Loehr, "Beiträge zur Chronologie der Älteren Chinesischen Bronzen," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 12 (January/April 1936):3-41. Alexander Soper, "Early, Middle, and Late Shang: A Note," *Artibus Asiae* 28 (1966):5-38. For a discussion regarding Karlgren's

system of dating the bronze vessels, see, Herrlee Glessner Creel, "Notes on Professor Karlgren's System for Dating Chinese Bronzes," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 36 (1936):463-474. Catherine Grassel, "New Researches on Chinese Bronzes," *Art Bulletin* 25 (March 1943):65-78. For Karlgren's rebuttal to Grassel's article, see, Bernhard Karlgren, "Once Again the A and B Styles in Yin Ornamentation," *BMFEA* 18 (1946):367-382.

¹¹Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China*, pp. 13-14.

¹²W. Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, pp. 41ff.

¹³For an image of the *t'ao-t'ieh* that is not split along a flange, see, John Alexander Pope *et al.*, *The Freer Gallery Bronzes*, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Studies, No. 7, Smithsonian Publication 4706, 2 vols. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1967-1969), Vol. 1: *Catalogue*, Plate 13.

¹⁴W. Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, pp. 42ff.

¹⁵Ackerman, pp. 83-84. On the festival of the bull in China, see, Marcel Granet, *Danses et Legendes de la Chine Ancienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), 1:330.

¹⁶On the feline, see, Ackerman, pp. 85-87.

¹⁷Yetts, p. 3. As to the formation of the meander as derived from ancient Chinese script, see, C.A.S. Williams, *Encyclopedia of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives; An Alphabetical Compendium of Legends and Beliefs as Reflected in the Manners and Customs of the Chinese throughout History*, Introduction by Kagimitsu W. Kato (New York: Julian Press,

1960), p. 119.

¹⁸See, Pope *et al.*, Vol. 1: *Catalogue, Plates 2-3, 5-6, 14, 16, 22, 29, 31, 36*. Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China, Plates 9, 27, 29-31, 33-39*.

¹⁹See, Pope *et al.*, Vol. 1: *Catalogue, Plate 42*. Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China, Plate 36*. W. Watson does not see any credit in the hypothesis that, in origin at least, the *t'ao-t'ieh* is based upon linear abstractions of two confronting dragons. W. Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, p. 43.

²⁰Karlgren divides the Chou dynasty into three general artistic categories of Early (1050 - 900 B.C.), Middle (900 - 650 B.C.), and Late Chou (650 - 200 B.C.). This has been replaced by a more sharply defined and comprehensive sequence by Bachhofer and W. Watson based upon stylistic and typological studies of the vessels. See, Ludwig Bachhofer, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1946), pp. 26-49. W. Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, pp. 45-67. For our purposes, however, Karlgren's system is sufficient. See also, Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China*, pp. 15-16.

²¹See, Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China, Plate 73*.

²²*Cf.*, the *p'ien-hu* in the Freer Gallery of a similar date, but whose design is based upon a symmetrical concept of axes and straight lines. See, Pope *et al.*, Vol. 1: *Catalogue, Plate 95*. For a methodological study of Chou ornaments, see, G. Weber, *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes*.

²³Loehr, *Ritual Vessels of Bronze Age China*, p. 12.

²⁴Munsterberg, *The Arts of China*, p. 66.

²⁵For a study of various Chou vessels that are etched, see, C. Weber, *Chinese Pictorial Bronze Vessels of the Late Chou Period*. This work was originally published in four parts in *Artibus Asiae*: Vol. 28 (1965-1966):107-154, 271-311; Vol. 29 (1967):115-192; Vol. 30 (1968):145-236.

²⁶See Note #13, INTRODUCTION.

²⁷See, K. Hamada, *The Tomb of the Painted Basket of Lo-lang*, Text and title in Japanese with English Summaries (Seoul: Society of the Study of Korean Antiquities, 1934). See also, Capon, *Plate 62*.

²⁸See, Sickman and Soper, *Plate 109 (A)*.

²⁹See, Kosaku Hamada, "On the Painting of the Han Period; Newly Discovered Materials in Korea and in South Manchuria," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunka* 8 (1936):36-37.

³⁰See, Michael Sullivan, "Notes on Early Chinese Screen Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1965): *Figure 2*.

³¹Fong, p. 94.

³²See, Sickman and Soper, p. 34 and *Plate 24*.

³³See, Alexander C. Soper, "Life Motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art," *Art Bulletin* 30 (1948): *Figure 8*. Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, Vol. 3: *Plate 8*.

³⁴See Note #8, CHAPTER II.

³⁵"Wall Paintings of Loyang," pp. 107-111 and *Figures* 2-4.

³⁶A. Bulling, "Historical Plays in the Art of the Han Period," *Archives of Asian Art* 21 (1967-1968):20-25. Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, "An Interpretation of the Wall Paintings of a Western Han Tomb at Loyang," (Text in Chinese), with English Abstracts, *K'ao Ku Hsüeh-pao* 34 (#2 1964):1-7. Bulling's conclusions are seriously challenged by Soper. See, A. Soper, "All the World's a Stage: A Note," *Artibus Asiae* 30 (1968):249-259. For Bulling's rebuttal to Soper's criticisms, see, A.G. Bulling, "All the World's a Stage: A Note; A Rebuttal," *Artibus Asiae* 31 (1969):204-209.

³⁷See, Kuo Mo-jo, pp. 1-2. See also, Joan Lebold Cohen and Jerome Alan Cohen, *China Today; And Her Ancient Treasures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1973), *Plate* 73.

³⁸Kuo Mo-jo, p. 2. Bulling feels that this kneeling figure is the narrator of a stage play. Bulling, "Historical Plays," p. 24.

³⁹See, Kuo Mo-jo, p. 2.

⁴⁰Bulling, "Historical Plays," p. 24.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²"Wall Paintings at Loyang," *Plate* 2.

⁴³For a description and discussion of this scene, see, Bulling, "Historical Plays," pp. 26-28.

⁴⁴Fontein and Tung Wu, pp. 96-100. See, Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, Vol. 3: *Plates* 6-7. Osvald Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Painting*, 2 vols.

(London: Medici Society, 1933), Vol. 1; *From the Han to the Beginning of the Sung Period*, Plates 4-7. Fischer, *Die Chinesische Malerei der Han-Dynastien*, Plates 65-73.

⁴⁵From an old photograph formerly in the possession of the antique dealer Liu Teng-feng of Loyang, Honan, it is known that the central, rectangular piece with the modelled ram's head was painted with a ferocious scene of animals in combat. The painting, however, has not survived favorably and is now barely discernable. See, Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, Vol. 1:23-24. Fontein and Tung Wu, pp. 97-98. Fischer, *Die Chinesische Malerei der Han-Dynastien*, Plates 72-73.

⁴⁶See, Fontein and Tung Wu, pp. 98-99. For a good description of the scenes from the tiles, see, Bachhofer, *A Short History of Chinese Art*, p. 89. For more examples of paintings not discussed in this thesis, see, *Han T'ang Pi Hua 漢唐壁畫* (Murals from the Han and the T'ang Dynasties) with English translations inserted (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1974).

⁴⁷"On the 24th day of the 4th month of the 4th year (A.D. 129) of the epoch Yung-chien, Chao Shan Chun of T'ao Yin, in the province of P'ing Yuan, came to visit this hall, he prostrated himself in token of gratitude for its sacred illuminating influences."

Cited, Stephen W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, 2 vols. (London: Published under the Authority of the Board of Education, 1924), p. 26.

⁴⁸For a discussion of the theme of raising the tripod, see, Bulling, "Three Popular Motives in the Art of the Eastern Han Period," pp. 26-34.

⁴⁹See, Wilma Fairbank, *Adventures in Retrival; Han Murals and Shang Bronze Molds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972). Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre*, pp. 1-71.

⁵⁰In his article on Han sculptured stone, F.S. Drake characterized the scenes from Wu Liang Tz'u as follows:

"The spirit world and human life are both represented here, and history as a mirror for conduct; and all as parts of a single whole in the typical Chinese way. Religious art in the narrower sense it is not; there is here no special cult or worship; nor is there anything particularly appropriate to the tomb--no journey of the dead, no weighing of good and evil in the balance, no victory over the grave, nor mourning of friends. Indeed these subjects might have been sculptured on a palace wall as well as on a tomb. But in a broad sense a religious spirit runs through it, for it represents a continuity between the spirit world and the world of sense, the human life it pictures is surrounded with spirit-forces, and one passes easily from one to the other."

F.S. Drake, "Sculptured Stones of the Han Dynasty," *Monumenta Serica* 8 (1943):284.

⁵¹See, Rudolph, *Han Tomb Art of West China*, Figures 76, 77-100. Finsterbusch, 2:3/10, 1-62/1-260.

⁵²See, Ts'eng Chao-yü 曾昭燏 *et al.*, *I-nan Ku Hua Hsiang Shih-mu Fa-ch'ieh Pao-kao* 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告 (Report on the Excavation of the Ancient Stone Images at I-nan) (Shanghai: Wen Wu, 1956), Plate 60/Figure 49. Hsio Yen-shih, "Inan and Related Tombs," *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959):277-312. Finsterbusch, 2:93/324. Toshio Nagahiro (ed.), *The Representational Art of the Han Period*, Report of the

Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University, Text in Japanese with English and German Abstracts (Tokyo: Chuo-koron Bijitsu Shuppan, 1965), pp. 142-148.

⁵³Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Vol. 8, *chuan* 86, "Tz'u K'o Lieh-chuan 刺客列傳", pp. 2515-2538. For an English translation of the story, see, Derk Bodde, *Statesman, Patriot and General in Ancient China; Three Shih Chi Biographies of the Ch'in Dynasty (225 - 206 B.C.)* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1940), pp. 23-52. Crump, *Chan-Kuo Tz'e*, pp. 553-561. Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien; Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 191. Cyril Birch (ed.), *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, 2 vols. (New York: Grove Press, 1969), Vol. 1: *From Early Times to the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 106-118. Hightower, pp. 224-229.

⁵⁴See, Soper, "Life Motion," pp. 174-176. Nagahiro, *The Representational Art of the Han Period*, p. 89.

⁵⁵Ts'eng Chao-yü *et al.*, p. 25.

⁵⁶Bulling, "Historical Plays," p. 31. See, Herbert von Franke, "Die Geschichte der Prinzen Tan von Yen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957):412-458.

⁵⁷Ts'eng Chao-yü *et al.*, 60/49. Finsterbusch, 2:93/324. Bulling, "Historical Plays," p. 32. Bulling believes that this scene above to be the sword dance between Hsiang Chuang 項莊 and Hsiang Po 項伯, two characters from the "Feast of Hung-men." Bulling, "Historical Plays," p. 32. The scenes from the interior of the I-nan tomb are done in the same style of the Ching K'o panel throughout. The entrance scenes, however, to the tomb are carved in shallow relief, similar to Wu Liang Tz'u. This is the only instance

at I-nan where this style appears. See, Ts'eng Chao-yü *et al.*, 24/1, 25/2, 25/3, 27/4. Finsterbusch, 2:75/281-283. For a discussion of the lintel scene at the entrance to I-nan, see, Bulling, "Three Popular Motives in the Art of the Eastern Han Period," pp. 34-43.

⁵⁸Although Buddhism flourished and spread rapidly due to the insecurity of the times and its offerings of peace, it by no means eliminated Confucianism and Taoism. The Chinese continued to worship their ancestors and the forces of nature. Indeed, in A.D. 444, a violent persecution of the Buddhist church and its followers began in the north. Buddhism survived, however, the pogrom and responded with one of the greatest artistic monuments in China, the cave temples at Yün-kang.

⁵⁹Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 2: *The Period of Classical Learning (From the Second Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D.)*, pp. 237ff.

⁶⁰For a discussion of Buddhism and Chinese art, see, among others, Hugo Munsterberg, *Chinese Buddhist Bronzes* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1967). François Fourcade, *La peinture murale de Touenhouang* (Paris: Editione Cercle d'art, 1962). Saburo Matsubara 松原三郎, *Chinese Buddhist Sculpture; A Study Based on Bronze and Stone Statues Other Than Works from Cave Temples*, Text in Japanese (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1961). Seiichi Mizuno, *Bronze and Stone Sculpture of China; From the Yin to the T'ang Dynasty*, Text in Japanese with English Translation by Yuichi Kajiyama and Burton Watson (Tokyo: The Nihon Keizai, 1960). Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959). Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959). Seiichi Mizuno, *Chinese Stone Sculpture* (Tokyo: Mayuyama, 1950). Otto Fischer, *Chinesische Plastik* (München:

R. Piper, 1948). Curt von Glasser, *Ostasiatische Plastik* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1925). Paul Pelliot, *Les Grottes de Touen-houang, peintures et sculptures bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Sung*, 6 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1914-1924).

⁶¹Wright, pp. 44-54.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 55-64.

⁶³Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 3:11-15. See also, Michael Sullivan, "A Further Note on the Date of the Admonitions Scroll," *Burlington Magazine* 96 (1954):307-309. John C. Ferguson, "Ku K'ai-chih's Scroll in the British Museum," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49 (1918):101-110. Laurence Binyon, "A Chinese Painting of the Fourth Century," *Burlington Magazine* 4 (January 1904):39-51.

⁶⁴Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 3:9-10. There are other versions of this scroll which will not concern this discussion.

⁶⁵For a translation and original Chinese text of the relevant passages from the *Chin Shu*, see, Chen Shih-hsiang (tr.), *Biography of Ku K'ai-chih*, East Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Chinese Dynasty Histories Translation No. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961). William R.B. Acker (ed. and tr.), *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. in 3 parts, Sinica Leidensia, Vols. 8, 12 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954-1974), Vol. 2:43-82. See also, Arthur Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (New York: Grove Press, 1958), pp. 45-50. Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Painting*, 1:15-16. Edouard Chavannes, "Biographie de 'Kou K'ai-tche,'" *T'oung Pao* 5, Series II

(1904):325-331. Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 1:26-28.

⁶⁶See, Hsio Yen-shih, "Poetry Illustration and the Works of Ku K'ai-chih," in, James C.Y. Watt (guest ed.), *The Translation of Art; Essays on Chinese Painting and Poetry, Renditions*, No. 6, Special Art Issue (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1976), pp. 6-29. Anna Straughair, *Chang Hua: A Statesman-Poet of the Western Chin Dynasty*, The Australian National University, Occasional Paper 15 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1973). Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #65.

⁶⁷See, Hsio Yen-shih, "Poetry Illustration," pp. 10-16. Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Early Chinese Painting*, pp. 50-58.

⁶⁸Cited, Hsio Yen-shih, "Poetry Illustration," p. 11.

⁶⁹On the problems of perspective in Chinese painting and in *The Admonitions Scroll*, see, Wilfrid H. Wells, *Perspective in Early Chinese Painting* (London: Edward Goldstone, 1935).

⁷⁰See Note #62 above. Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Paintings in American Collections*, 5 parts, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Art, Nouvelle Série II (Paris: G. von Oest, 1928), Part 1: *Plates 1-2*.

⁷¹Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #1994. For a translation of the poem, see, Hsio Yen-shih, "Poetry Illustration," pp. 17-25. Waley, *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, pp. 60-61.

⁷²On the problems of landscape painting in Chinese art and its development in Chinese art history, see, Michael

Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China*,
Alexander C. Soper, "Early Chinese Landscape Painting," *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941):141-164.

⁷³Nanking Museum and the Committee for the Preservation of Cultural Objects of the City of Nanking 南京博物院、南京市文物保管委員會, "A Southern Dynasty Tomb with Engraved Bricks at Hsi-shan-ch'iao, Nanking," (Text in Chinese), *Wen Wu* 120 (August/September 1960):37-42.

⁷⁴See, Alexander C. Soper, "A New Chinese Tomb Discovery: The Earliest Representation of a Famous Literary Theme," *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961):79-86. Ellen J. Laing, "Neo-Taoism and the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 36 (1974):5-54. Toshiro Nagahiro, "On the Mural Engravings of 'The Seven Sages in a Bamboo Grove' and Jung Ch'i-ch'i, Dating between the Chin and the Sung Dynasty of China," (Text in Japanese), with English Abstract *Kokka* 857 (August 1963):15-21.

⁷⁵See, Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, #293 (as Chi K'ang), #2544, #1675, #2188, #693, #1328, #2548, respectively.

⁷⁶*Ibi.*, #930.

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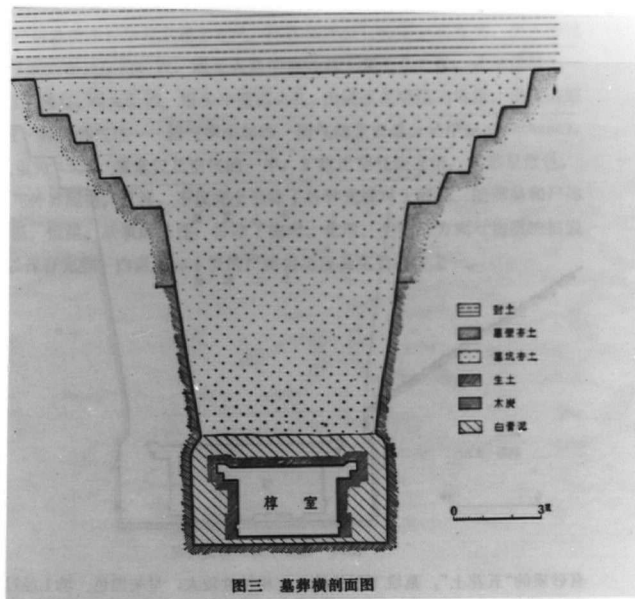


Figure 1: Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, Western Han Period, *ca.* 185 B.C., Drawing.



Figure 2: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui,
Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, Western Han Period,
ca. 185 B.C., Drawing.

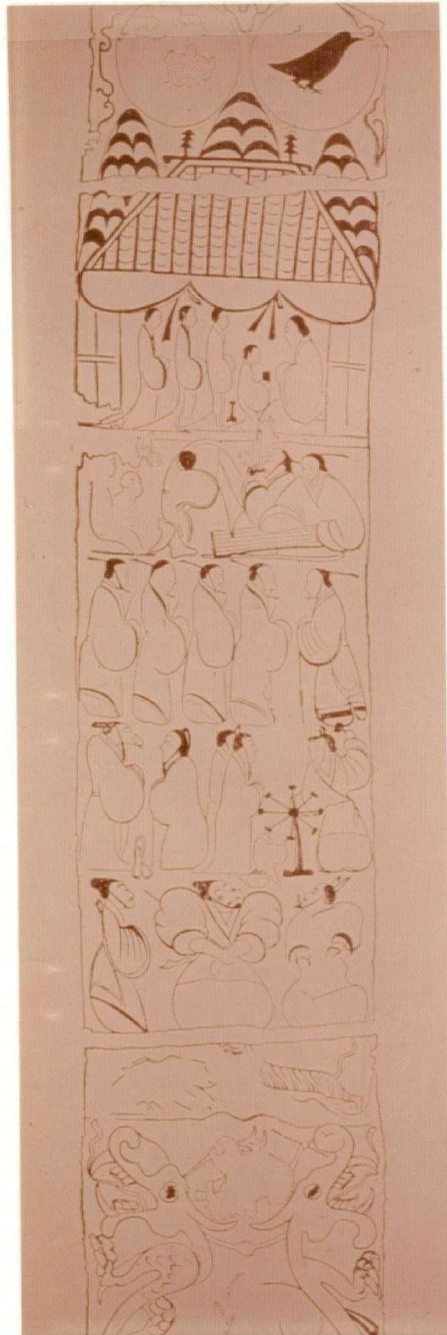


Figure 3: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 9, Chin-ch'üeh-shan, Linyi, Shantung, Western Han Period, Drawing.

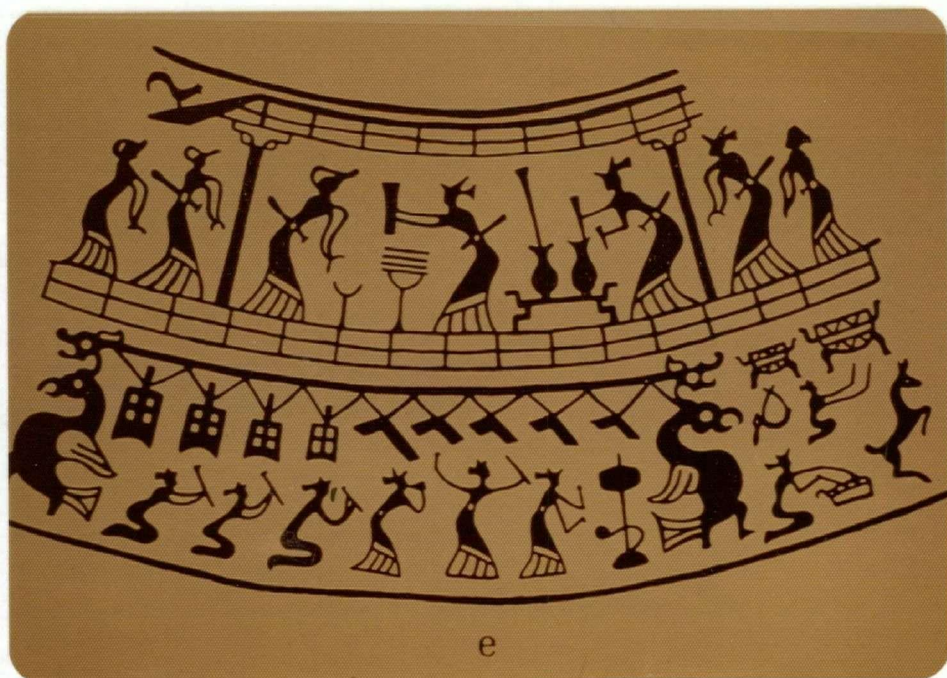


Figure 4: Hu, Engraved Vessel, Werner Jannings Collection, Peking, Warring States Period, Drawing, Detail.

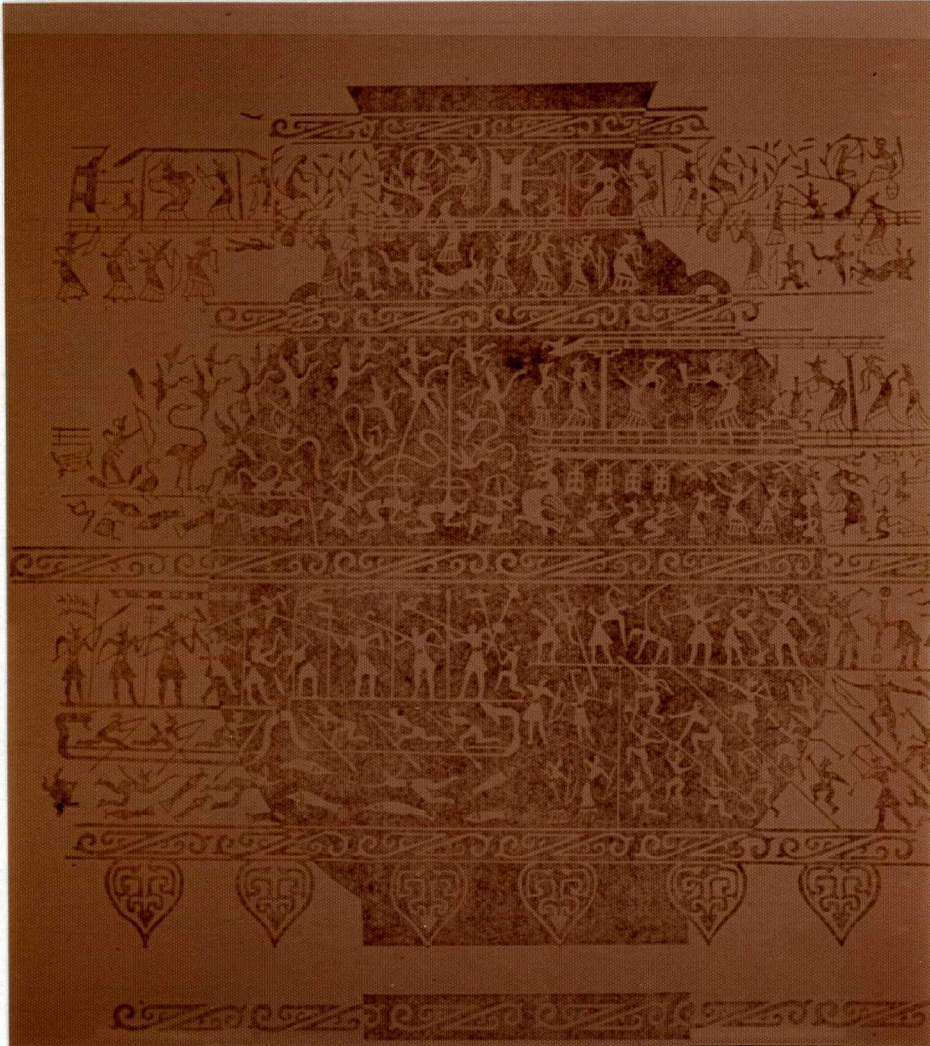


Figure 5: *Hu*, Engraved Vessel, Werner Jannings Collection, Peking, Warring States Period, Splayed Drawing.



Plate 1: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui,
Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, Western Han Period,
ca. 185 B.C.

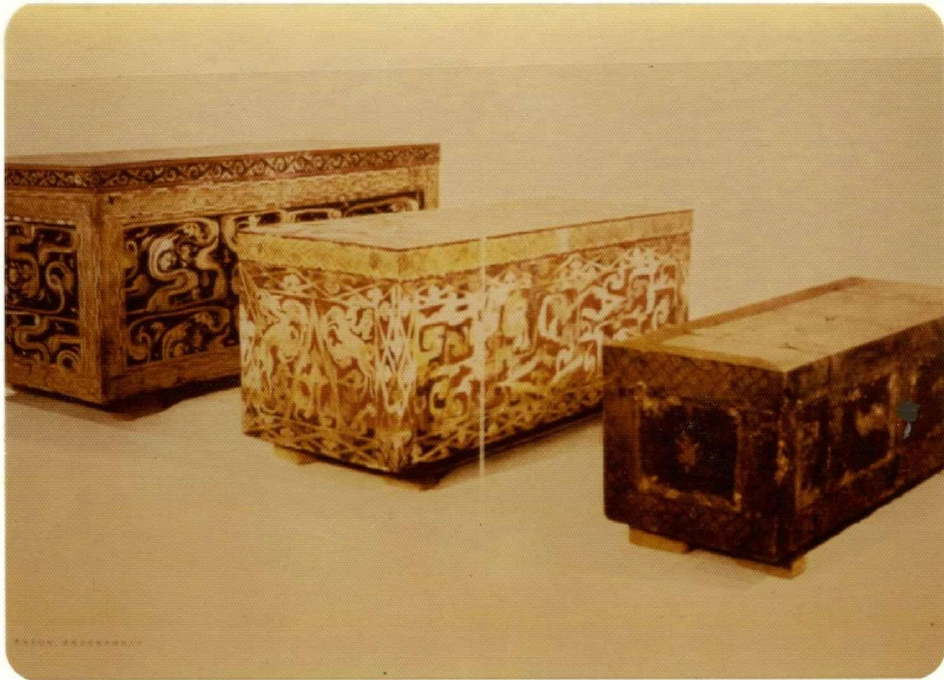


Plate 2: Inner, Middle and Outer Caskets, Tomb No. 1,
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Plate 3: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui,
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Plate 4: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui,
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Plate 5: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui,
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Plate 6: Banner Painting, Tomb No. 1, Ma-wang-tui,
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Plate 7: Tomb of the Dancing Figures, T'ung-kou,
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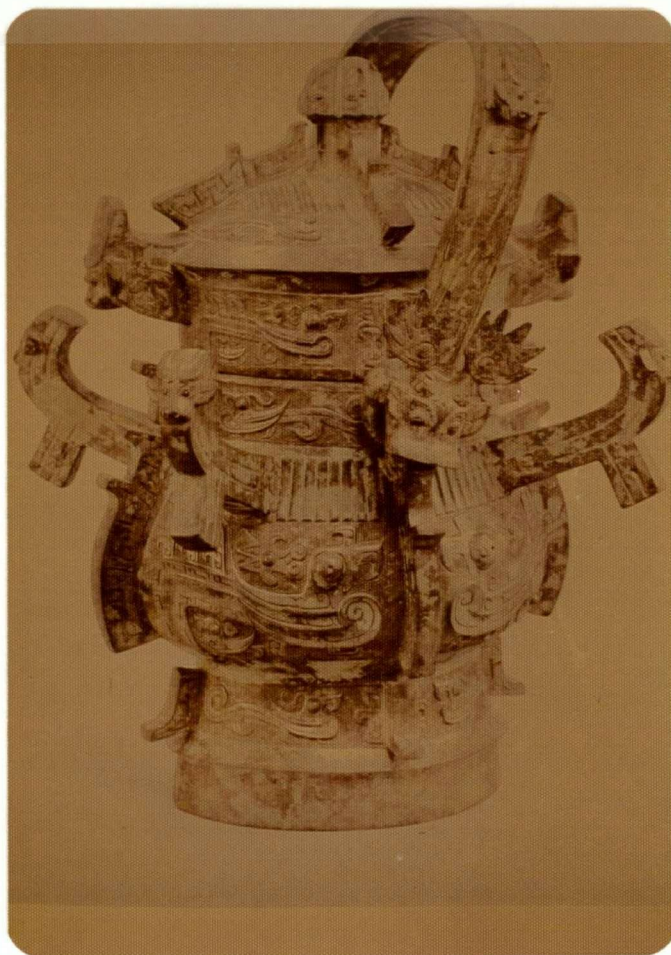


Plate 10: Yu, Pao-chi-hsien, Shensi, Early Chou Period,
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

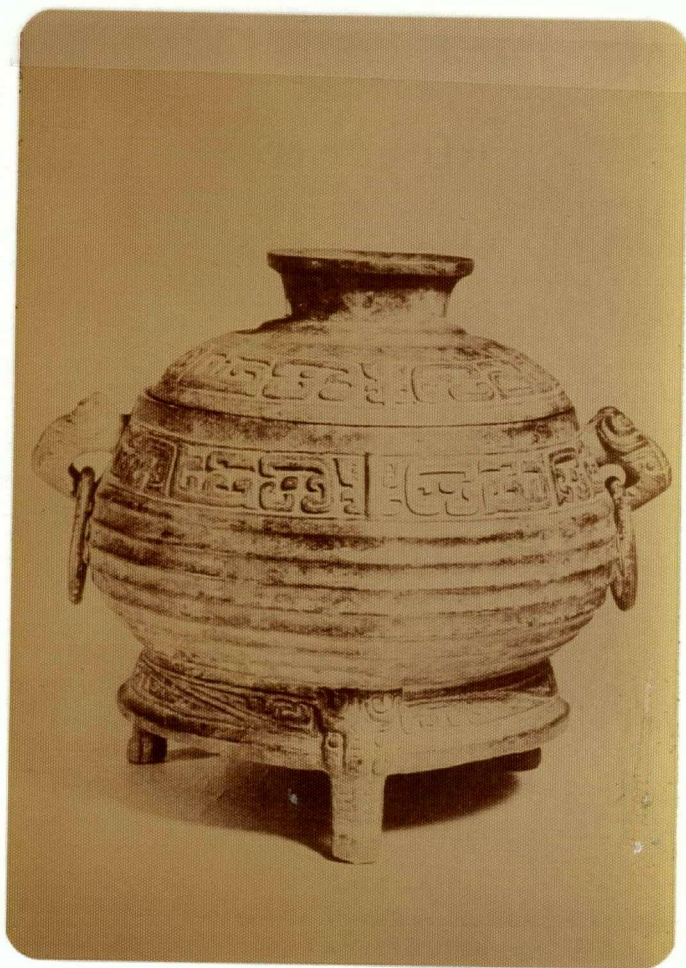


Plate 11: Kuei, Middle Chou, Private Collection



Plate 12: *Hu*, Late Chou, Art Institute of Chicago.

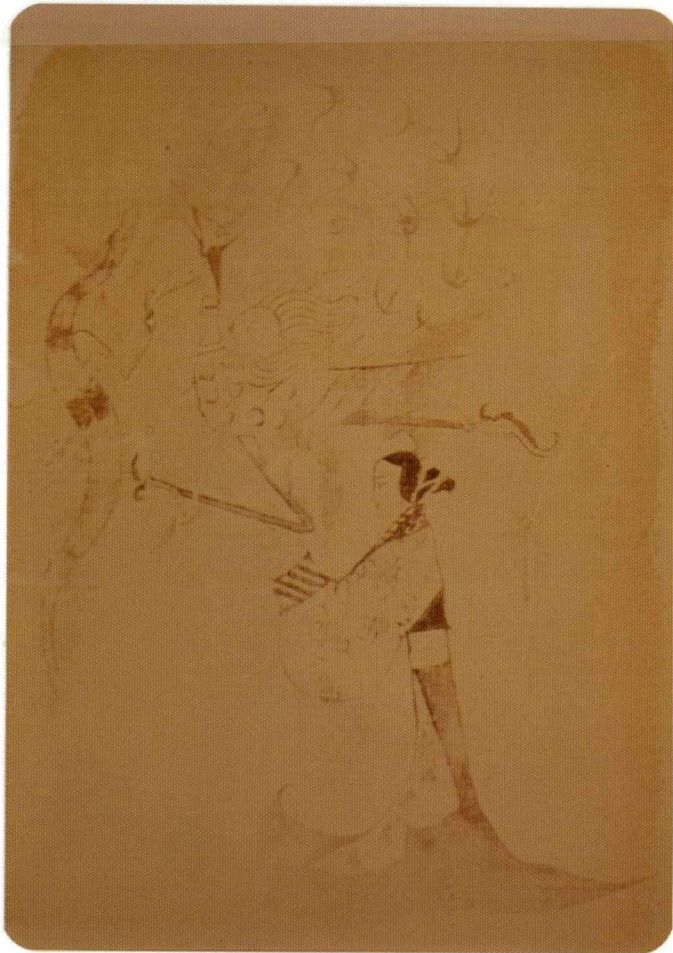


Plate 13: Painting on Silk, Ch'ang-sha, Hunan, Warring
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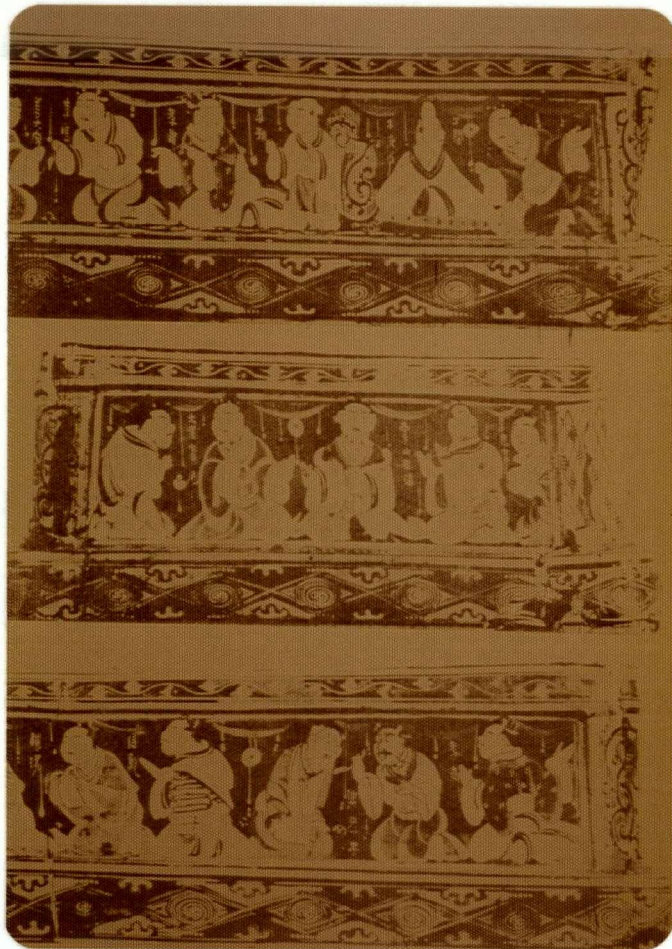


Plate 14: *Painted Basket*, Lolang, Korea, Eastern Han
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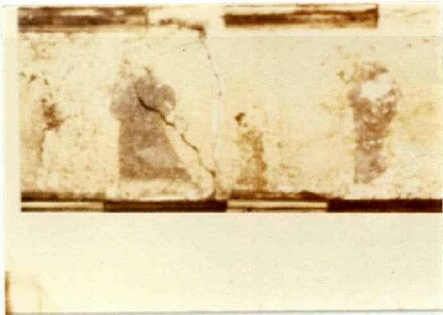
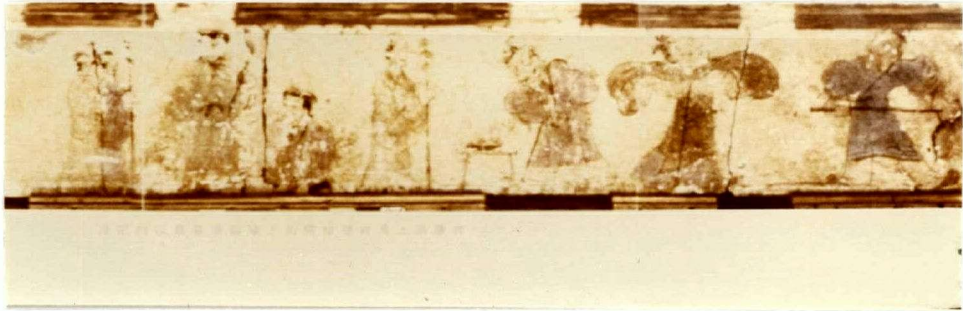


Plate 15: "Killing Three Warriors with Two Peaches,"
Painted Lintel, Loyang, Honan, Western Han
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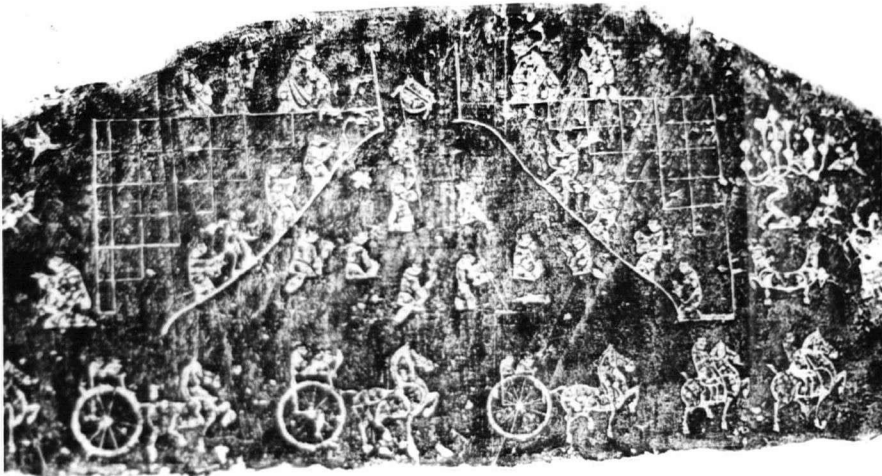


Plate 16: "Lifting the Tripod," Engraved Funerary
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Plate 17: "Lifting the Tripod," Engraved Funerary Stone, Wu Liang Tz'u, Shantung, Eastern Han Period, A.D. 147 - 168, Rubbing.

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Plate 18: Scenes of Hunting and Harvesting, Moulded
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Plate 19: "Ching K'o's Attempt to Assassinate the King of Ch'in," Engraved Funerary Stone, Wu Liang Tz'u, Shantung, Eastern Han Period, A.D. 147 - 168, Rubbing.

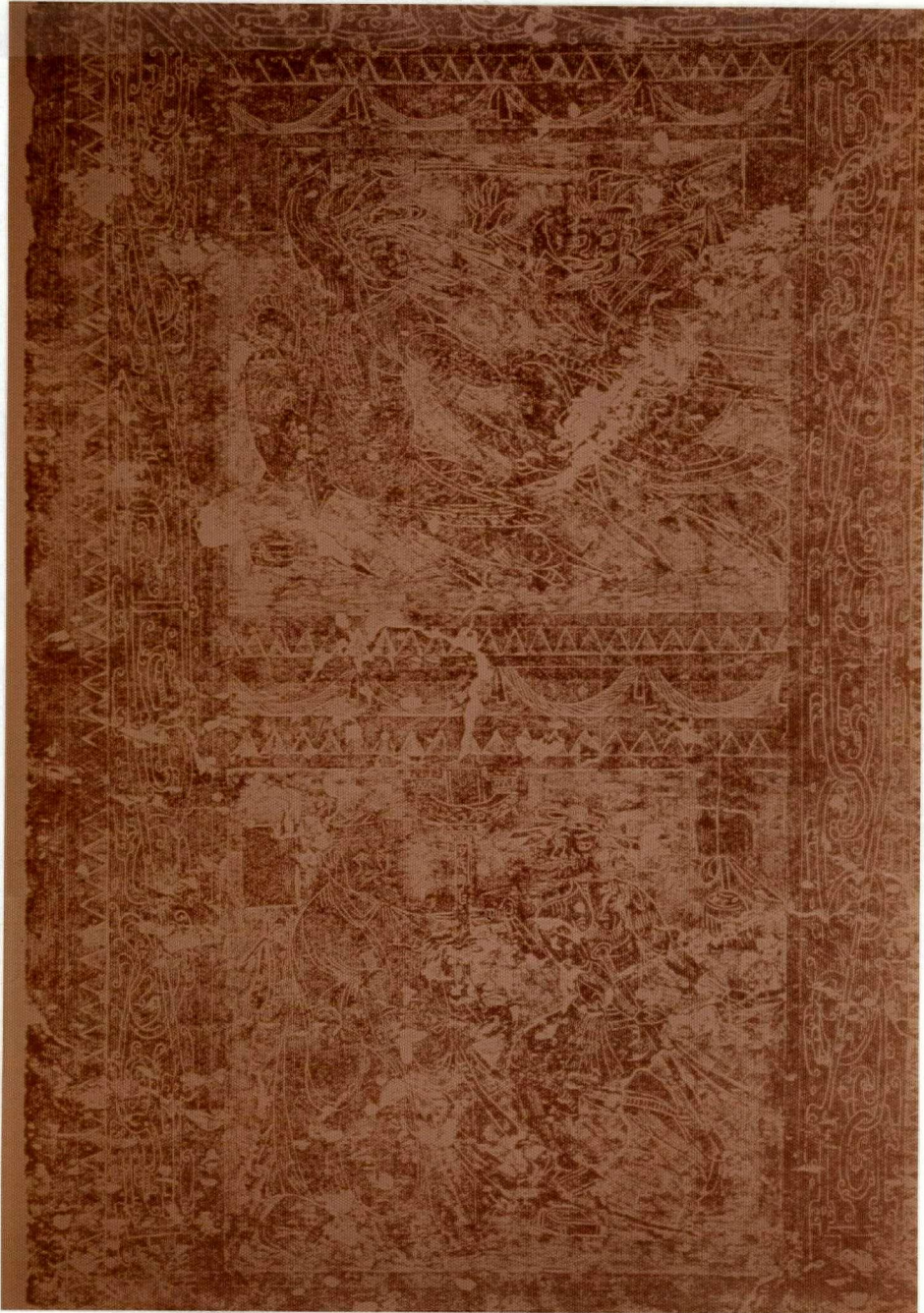


Plate 20: "Ching K'o's Attempt to Assassinate the King of Ch'in," Engraved Funerary Stone, I-nan, Shantung, Southern and Northern Dynasties, ca. A.D. 300, Rubbing.

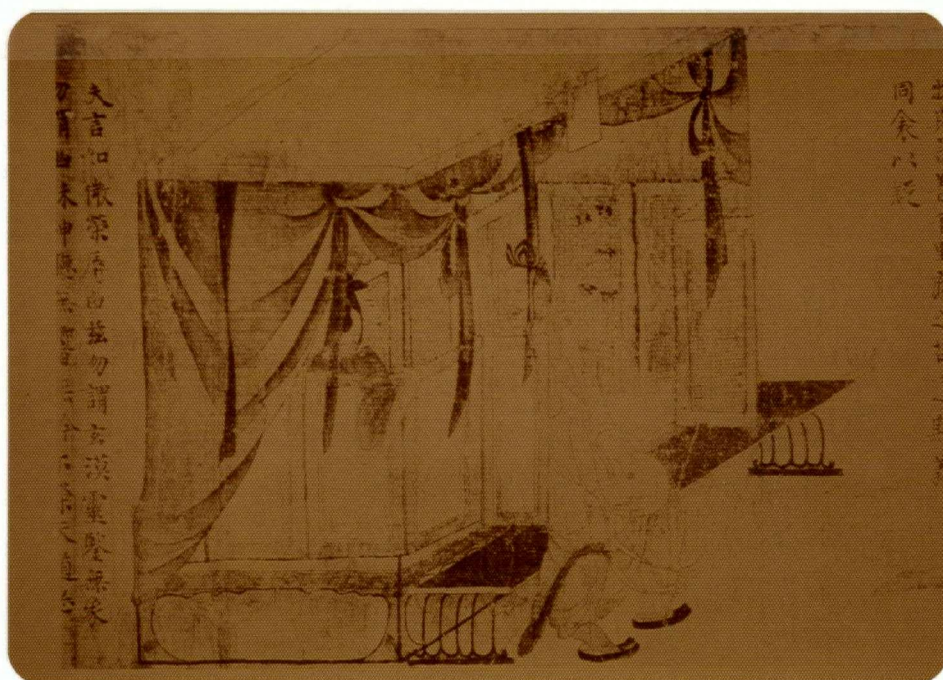


Plate 21: Ku K'ai-chih (ca. A.D. 344 - 406), *The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*, Painting on Silk, Copy, British Museum, London, Detail.



Plate 22: "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," Tile,
Nanking, Kiangsu, Southern and Northern
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