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ANTECEDENTS OF SUI-TANG BURIAL PRACTICES IN SHAANXI

Modern studies on the history of the Sui dynasty (581–618) have emphasized the continuity of many institutions of Sui governmental and social functions into the Tang dynasty (618–906).¹ It has been recognized that the Tang dynasty which lasted three centuries, in striking contrast to the thirty-some years of Sui, owed much of its success to the contributions of its predecessor. In "The Legacy of Sui," Robert M. Somers wrote: "The Tang inherited a comprehensive set of institutions already shaped and essayed during Sui times, social and political devices which the Tang simply applied more broadly and systematically than their predecessors."² It is therefore not surprising to find that the Sui and Tang adhered to similar practices even in the burial of the dead, as archaeological excavations in China during the past decades have revealed.

Representative types of both Sui and early Tang tombs, are found in Shaanxi, where their capital Changan (Xian today), the center of political, economic and cultural activities, was located.³ These underground structures, built with bricks, decorated with murals, and furnished with sumptuous burial objects of many varieties, belonged to the upper echelons of the society, members of the imperial family and high court officials.⁴ Every tomb of this category is identified by an epitaph tablet which records the name and rank of the deceased, as well as the exact dates of death and burial. Since their discoveries, these dated tombs have constituted a corpus of the most reliable data for an accurate assessment of the Sui-Tang burial practices in Shaanxi.⁵

¹ Denis Twitchett, "The Establishment of National Unity," *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 3, Sui and Tang China, 589–906, Part I (Cambridge, 1979), p. 4 points out that Tang did not only perpetuate but "continued to organize its empire by means of tried institutions" of its predecessors. See also Arthur F. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty: The Unification of China, A.D. 581–617* (New York, 1978), p. 90; and Robert M. Somers, "The Sui Legacy," in *Ibid.*, pp. 198–206.

² *Ibid.*, p. 201.

³ Survey studies on imperial burial sites of Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, Six Dynasties, and Sui-Tang have shown that they are located in the vicinity of their capital cities; see Xu Pingfang, "Zhongguo Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei Chao shidai di lingyuan he yingyu," (China's imperial cemeteries and graveyards of the periods Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, and the Northern and Southern dynasties), *Kaogu* (hereafter, *KG*), 1981/6, pp. 521–30; and Huang Zhanyue, "Zhongguo Xian Luoyang Han Tang lingmu di tiaocha yu fajue" (A survey of archaeological work carried out at the Han and Tang imperial tombs in Xian and Luoyang), *KG*, 1981/6, pp. 531–38.

⁴ As of this date, only a handful of securely dated tombs belonging to the Sui aristocracy have been found; see the reports: Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, *Xian jiaoqu Sui Tang mu*, hereafter, *Xian jiaoqu STM* (The Sui and Tang tombs in the Xian suburbs), (Beijing, 1966), p. 86; *Tang Changan chengjiao Sui Tang mu*, hereafter, *Tang Changan CJSTM* (Excavation of the Sui and Tang tombs at Xian), (Beijing, 1980), p. 27. For a listing of dated Tang tombs discovered in the Xian area, see Su Bai, "Xian diqu Tang mu bihua di buqu he neirong" (Tomb murals of the Tang dynasty in the Xian district) *Kaogu xuebao* (hereafter, *KGXB*), 1982/2, pp. 150–53.

⁵ Duan Pengqi, commenting on Chinese research stemming from archaeological excavations for the periods of Sui, Tang and the Five Dynasties notes that the sheer quantity of Tang tombs found in the Xian area has prompted proposals for their subdivision into from three to seven developmental stages. He suggests a division into four periods as appropriate:

- (1) Beginning of Tang through Gao Zong (618–83)
- (2) Empress Wu through Zhong Zong (683–712)
- (3) Xuan Zong through Dai Zong (713–79)
- (4) De Zong to the end of Tang (780–906)

See his "Tangdai muzang di fajue yu yanjiu" (Researches and archaeological excavations of Tang tombs) in Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, *Xin Zhongguo di kaogu faxian he yanjiu*, hereafter, *Xin Zhongguo di kaogu FXHYY* (Archaeological Discoveries and Researches in New China), (Beijing, 1984), pp. 582–83. However, the present study will follow the traditional periodization of Early Tang (618–712); High Tang (713–55); Middle Tang (756–835); and Late Tang (835–906).

In addition, archaeological diggings in north China have uncovered earlier tombs, most of which are securely dated and bear features in tomb structure and contents that are unmistakable antecedents of Sui-Tang burial practices. Excavated in the provinces belonging traditionally to the Central Plains (Zhongyuan) area, these earlier tombs belong to the Northern dynasties of the fifth and sixth centuries, comprising the Northern Wei (386-534), Eastern Wei (534-550), Northern Qi (550-577), and Northern Zhou (557-581). (To this date of writing, dated tombs of Western Wei, 535-556, have not been found.) The tombs of the Southern dynasties—Song (420-478), Qi (479-501), Liang (502-556), and Chen (557-589)—are dissimilar in both structure and content.⁶

Evidently, the Sui dynasty was not the prime initiator of Tang burial practices, but like earlier Chinese dynasties was a successor whose institutional undertakings were built on the past⁷ and enriched by an ancient heritage. Through analyses of the outstanding pre-Sui and Sui-Tang tomb finds, this study aims at obtaining a view of the heritage of Sui and Early Tang (618-712) burial practices that in turn led the way to a colorful florescence in the eighth century. Several Chinese reviews of Sui-Tang archaeological findings have mentioned three features recurrent in Sui-Tang tombs: their structure, the burial of an epitaph tablet, and the use of two sets of tomb guardian figurines.⁸ That these features were also common in pre-Sui tombs indicates a distinctive standardization of the burial rituals of their times. This paper will focus on the evolutions of these features in the burial practices from late Northern Wei to early Tang. The discussion will also demonstrate that the non-Chinese Toba dynasty of Northern Wei was more a transmitter of Chinese traditions formulated in the past and introduced from South China than an innovator of the burial practices prevailing during the sixth century in the Central Plains area.⁹

Tomb Structure

The Sui-Tang plans of the tombs of Li He, buried in 582 at Sanyuan, Shaanxi (fig. 5)¹⁰ and Zhang Shigui, buried in 658 at Liquan, Shaanxi (fig. 6)¹¹ may be compared with a Northern Wei tomb of

⁶ Essentially, the Southern dynasties tomb consists of a rectangular brick chamber with a tunnel vault and a short entrance corridor equipped with one or two sets of stone doors. The burial goods are much less sumptuous in kind and number. The tomb figurines and ceramic ware, although skillfully made, are limited to a few representative types. See Luo Zongzhen, "Liuchao lingmu maizang zhidu zongshu" (A summary of Six Dynasties burial practices) in *Chinese Society of Archaeological Studies, Zhongguo kaogu xuehui diyici nianhui lunwen zhi*, hereafter, *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui DYC NHLWZ* (Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium of the Chinese Society of Archaeological Studies, 1979), (Beijing, 1980), pp. 363-65; Nanjing Museum, "Nanjing Fuguisan Dong Jing mu fajue baogao" (A report on the excavation of an Eastern Jin tomb at Fuguisan in Nanjing), *KG*, 1966/4, p. 198, fig. 3; and "Nanjing Yaohuamen Nanchao Liang mufajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of a Liang dynasty tomb at Yaohuamen in Nanjing), *Wenwu* (hereafter, *WW*), 1981/12, p. 15, fig. 3.

⁷ The Sui contributions to Tang were first put forward by the Chinese historian Ch'en Yin-ke. His pioneering interpretations of the political and social institutions of Sui-Tang published in his *T'ang-tai cheng-chih-shih shu-lun k'ao* (Manuscript of a discussion on the history of Tang institutions), (Taipei, 1972) and *Sui T'ang chih-tu yuan-yuan lueh-lun k'ao* [A draft outline of the origins of Sui-Tang institutions], rev. ed. (Hong Kong, 1974), inspired modern studies of the Sui dynasty outside China; see Twitchett, p. 10, n. 7; and Wright, pp. 62-81.

⁸ *Wenwu kaogu kongzuo sanshi nian, 1949-1979* (30 years of archaeological activities, 1949-1979), (Beijing, 1979), pp. 133-34; *Xian jiaoqu STM*, pp. 4-20, 37-41 and 85-87; and Duan Pengqi, pp. 581-84.

⁹ The theory that the development of Northern Wei Buddhist art was indebted to influences from the Southern dynasties was first pointed out by Professor Alexander C. Soper; see his "South Chinese influence on the Buddhist art of the Six Dynasties period," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm), 32 (1960), pp. 47-112. For subsequent extension of the theory, see Susan Bush, "Thunder monsters, auspicious animals and floral ornament in early sixth-century China," *Ars Orientalis*, X (1975), pp. 19-33; and "Thunder monsters and wind spirits in early sixth century China and the epitaph tablet of Lady Yuan," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, LXXII (1974), pp. 25-55.

¹⁰ Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Shaanxi sheng Sanyuanxian Shuangshengcun Sui Li He mu qingli jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Sui tomb of Li He at Shuangshengcun in Sanyuanxian, Shaanxi), *WW*, 1966/1, pp. 27-44 and figs. 2 and 3. His nearly square tomb chamber, 3.75 x 3.60 m., is reached by a 37.55 meter long sloping path and a 3.0 m. corridor. His sumptuously carved epitaph is 33 lines of text wide by 3.4 high. Li He's (505-582) grandfather and father served the Northern Wei as provincial governors in Gansu. As a gifted strategist whose rise in an age of constant warfare was already notable at the

Yuan Wei buried in 528 at Luoyang, Honan (fig. 1),¹² an Eastern Wei tomb of a Ruru princess buried in 550 at Cixian, Hebei (fig. 2),¹³ a Northern Qi tomb of Lou Rui buried in 570 at Taiyuan, Shaanxi (fig. 3),¹⁴ and a Northern Zhou tomb of Li Xuan buried in 569 at Kuyuan, Ningxia (fig. 4).¹⁵ All have in common a tripartite structure which consists of a sloping tomb path (*xiepo mudao*), a level corridor (*yongdao*), and a square coffin chamber. This type of single-chamber tomb (*danshi mu*) plan, already

beginning of Western Wei (535–556), he was awarded the non-Chinese surname Yuwen, as a special mark of gratitude. Having been given appropriate military and court titles of honor, he was enfeoffed as a high-ranking duke and a provincial governor; he was loved by his subjects for his compassion and sense of justice. In his old age, he was given the highest honor, Pillar of the State. He died a year after the Sui founder overthrew the disintegrating Northern Zhou regime. His official biographies are in *Zhou shu* (Northern Zhou History), 29, pp. 497–98; and *Bei shi* (Northern Dynasties History), 66, pp. 2323–24.

¹¹ Shaanxi Provincial Museum and Zhaoqing Cultural Relics Commission, "Shaanxi Liqian Tang Zhang Shigui mu" (Excavation of the Tang tomb of Zhang Shigui at Liqian, Shaanxi), KG, 1978/3, pp. 168–78, and fig. 1. His tomb measuring 57 meters in total length has an almost square brick tomb chamber, 4.3 × 4.05 m. His epitaph consists of 2,892 tiny characters, 55 columns wide by 57 high. Zhang Shigui, a born warrior, began his career as a bandit during the last years of the Sui dynasty. Having assisted the Tang emperor to establish his dynasty, he was made a governor and Duke of Guoguo. At his death in the 650s, he was honored with burial in the precincts of the imperial cemetery, Zhao Ling, in Liqian, Shaanxi. His official biographies are recorded in *Jiu Tang shu* (Old Tang History), 83, p. 2786; and *Xin Tang shu* (New Tang History), 91, p. 3803.

¹² Huang Minglan, "Xi Jin Pei Qi he Bei Wei Yuan Wei lingmu shiling" (More about the two tombs belonging to Pei Qi of Western Jin and Yuan Wei of Northern Wei), WW, 1982/1, pp. 71–73 and fig. 5. Yuan Wei's tomb chamber, 3.3 × 3.5 m., is reached by a 27 meter ramp and a short corridor. His epitaph, partly defaced, is a perfect square and has 33 by 33 lines of text.

Yuan Wei (d. 528), a descendant in the sixth generation of the first Toba Emperor Dao Wu (r. 386–408), inherited the title of Prince of Nan Ping. A skillful archer, he rose in military ranks, becoming general, governor, and finally commander-in-chief of the army in the Northwest. In 528, he was killed under suspicion of treason by the Northern Wei general, Xiao Baoyin, who himself was by birth a Southerner of royal blood. Five days later Xiao announced his own rebellion against the corrupt regime of Northern Wei, thus incidentally redeeming Yuan Wei's reputation. An incomplete biography is in *Wei shu* (Northern Wei History), 16, pp. 395 and 400.

¹³ Cixian Cultural Center, "Hebei Cixian Dong Wei Ruru gongzhu mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the tomb of the Eastern Wei Ruru princess at Cixian, Hebei), WW, 1984/4, pp. 1–15 and fig. 2. Her tomb chamber, almost square in form (5.23 × 5.58 m.), is reached by a 22.79 meter ramp and a 5.76 m. corridor. Her epitaph text consists of 22 by 22 lines of characters. In the middle of the sixth century, the nomadic Ruru people, after troubling the northern frontiers of the Wei empire for many generations, were themselves threatened by the rising Turks and sought a defensive alliance with the Eastern Wei. In 541, to solemnize the treaty that followed, the king-maker Gao Huan sent one of his daughters to be married to the heir of the Ruru chief. A few months later, he had his ninth son, Gao Zhan, married to the chief's granddaughter, Princess Lin He (538–550). At the time, the boy was eight years old and the girl was five. Gao Zhan eventually became the fourth Northern Qi Emperor, Wu Cheng (r. 561–564). When the ex-barbarian princess died at 12 in 550, however, Zhan was still a junior, with the rank of duke. Thus the girl's burial, though rich, was below the imperial level. She has a brief note among the Northern Qi empresses in *Bei shi*, 14, p. 517–18; and the marriage is recorded in the annals, *ibid.*, 8, p. 281; and section on the Ruru tribe, *Bei shi*, 98, p. 3265.

¹⁴ Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Taiyuan City Cultural Relics Commission, "Taiyuanxi Bei Qi Lou Rui mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Northern Qi tomb of Lou Rui at Taiyuan, Shanxi), WW, 1983/10 pp. 1–23 and fig. 1. His coffin chamber, almost square in form, 5.7 × 5.65 m., is reached by an unusual 8.25 meter long corridor that is preceded by a 21.3 meter ramp. His epitaph, engraved in a distinctive calligraphic style, consists of 30 by 30 lines of characters.

Lou Rui (531–570), a Xianbei tribesman from the far north, had the good fortune to be a nephew of the king-maker Gao Huan's first queen, the mother of his four sons, three of whom became emperors of Northern Qi. He held an extraordinary variety of grand military, provincial, and court titles. In 560, he was enfeoffed Prince of Dongan. At his death, he was honored as Grand Minister of War. The mural paintings of horsemen in his tomb are of such high quality that they must reflect the style of some known master. His biographies are in *Bei Qi shu*, 15, p. 197; *Bei shi*, 54, pp. 1955–56.

¹⁵ Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region Museum and Guyuan Museum, "Ningxia Guyuan Bei Zhou Li Xian fufu mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the tomb of Li Xian and his wife at Guyuan, Ningxia), WW, 1985/11, pp. 1–20 and fig. 2. His tomb chamber, 4.0 × 3.85 m., is reached by a 2.2 meter long corridor preceded by a 42 meter ramp. He was buried with his wife, a Lady Wu. Their epitaphs consist of 31 by 31, and 20 by 20 lines of text respectively. Li Xian (503–569) came from a distinguished office-holding family. His epitaph claims that it had held two Pillars of the State, three generals, nine holders of ranks with Pomp equal to the Three Lords, fifteen provincial governors and, also, numerous honorary titles. In the late Northern Wei upheavals, Xian chose to support the future Northern Zhou founder. In appreciation, the ruler paid him two personal visits at home, and made him a member of the ruling Yuwen clan. When he died in 569, the emperor personally mourned at his funeral. He was then honored as Pillar of the State Generalissimo, Commander-in-chief of the armies of ten provinces (lands west of north-south flow of the Yellow River), and Governor of Yuanzhou in western Gansu. His city in modern Ningxia was one of the important military strongholds of the Western Wei and Northern Zhou regimes. His biographies are in *Zhou shu*, 25, pp. 413–18; and *Bei shi*, 59, pp. 2105–07.

prevalent in late Northern Wei, Eastern Wei, Northern Qi, and Northern Zhou,¹⁶ was adopted in the Sui-Tang period with a minor adjustment: the entrance to the chamber was moved toward the right side to accommodate the coffin laid inside a house-like stone casket.¹⁷

¹⁶ For additional examples of such tombs, see: Luoyang Museum, "Luoyang Bei Wei Yuan Shao mu" (The Northern Wei tomb of Yuan Shao at Luoyang), *KG*, 1973/4, p. 218–23 and fig. 2. His almost square tomb chamber, 4.0×3.9 m., is reached by a 10.35 meter long corridor and ramp. His epitaph is 38 by 38 lines of text. Yuan Shao (d. 528) has no official biographies. According to his epitaph, he was a grandson of the Northern Wei Emperor Xiao Wen (r. 471–500), who moved the Wei capital south to Luoyang. Enfeoffed as Prince of Changshan, he was in favor as the husband of a cousin of the Dowager Empress Ling, but he died with her at 21 in the river-bank massacre in 528. Three months later, he was buried with full honors, posthumously awarded the titles of Courtier-in-Attendance, Grand General of Cavalry, Governor of Dingzhou, and Cultured and Reverential Prince of Changshan. (The murderous rebel leader, Erzhu Rong, is said to have quickly "repented," and formally installed a new, puppet ruler, Emperor Xiao Zhuang, (r. 528–530).

Cixian Cultural Center, "Hebei Cixian Dongchencun Dong Wei mu" (An Eastern Wei Tomb at Dongchencun in Cixian, Hebei), *KG*, 1977/6, pp. 391–400 and fig. 2. The tomb chamber, 4.8×4.26 m., is reached by a 1.82 meter long corridor and a 30.0 meter ramp. The epitaph, consisting of 29 by 29 lines of text, identifies the deceased as Zhao Huren (469–547), a daughter of Prefect Zhao Shang of Nanyang, who was married to Yao Rong, the third son of Yao Xuan (*Bei shi*, 27, p. 998), and had three sons, Yao Xiong (*Bei Qi shu*, 20, pp. 267–69; *Bei shi*, 27, p. 999–1000), Yao Fen (*Bei Qi shu*, 20, pp. 267–69), and Yao Jun (no biographies, but see the report on the excavation of his tomb in *WW*, 1984/4, pp. 16–22). Her 3 by 3 epitaph cover calls her "Wei, the late Yao shi, Zhao Jun Jun (wife of a 4th rank official)," as she had been honored as Lady Zhao, Jun Jun of Nanyang. And for other Northern Qi examples, see n. 47.

¹⁷ For another Sui dynasty example, see Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Xian Guojianan Sui Ji Wei mu qingli jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Sui tomb of the court official Ji Wei at Guojianan in Xian, Shaanxi), *WW*, 1959/8, pp. 4–7 and fig. 1. His tomb chamber, 4.1×4.0 m., is reached by a corridor (measurements not given) which is preceded by a 46.75 meter ramp. His epitaph has 33 by 33 lines of text.

Ji Wei (539–610) has no biographies. His epitaph addresses him as a "Gold-and-purple Guanglu dafu" of the Sui Court, General of the Heir Apparent's Bodyguard, Lord Director of Agriculture, Grand Warden of the Two Prefectures of Longquan and Dunhuang, and Virtuous Duke of Fenyang. He became conspicuous in top-level politics in 600, when he was bribed by the powerful minister, Yang Su, to discredit and destroy the original Sui crown prince.

In the Xian area, this type of tomb persisted into the eighth century Tang; see Shaanxi Provincial Museum and Cultural Relics Commission, "Tang Li Shou mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Tang tomb of Li Shou), *WW*, 1974/9, pp. 71–88 and figs. 14–15. His tomb chamber, 3.8×3.95 m., is reached by a 6.8 meter long corridor and a 33.8 meter ramp. His epitaph consists of 31 by 37 lines of text. Li Shou (577–630) was a grandson of the father of the first Tang emperor and so a cousin of Emperor Tai Zong (r. 627–650). He was given the rank of Tranquil Prince of Huai'an and held the usual high military commands and court titles including Superior Pillar of the State with Pomp equal to the Three Dukes, and Lord Director of Works. His biographies are in *Jiu Tang shu*, 60, 2340–41; and *Xin Tang shu*, 78, pp. 2527–28.

Shaanxi Provincial Museum, et. al., "Tang Cheng Rentai mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Tang tomb of Cheng Rentai), *WW*, 1972/11, pp. 33–44 and fig. 1–2. His 53 meter long tomb has a single brick chamber (measurements not reported). Cheng Rentai (d. 663) has no biographies. His epitaph has 37 by 37 lines of text and a damaged cover inscribed with the characters, "Great Tang Right Guard Great General..." He fought many battles for Emperor Tai Zong, was Commander-in-chief of six districts in the northwest, Governor of Liangzhou as well as honored as Pillar of the State.

Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Xian Yangtouzhen Tang Li Shuang mu di fajue" (The excavation of the Tang courtier Li Shuang's tomb), *WW*, 1959/3, pp. 43–53 and fig. 2. His tomb chamber, 3.9×4.3 m., is approached by a 20.6 meter ramp and a corridor (no measurements reported). His epitaph consists of 43 by 44 lines of characters. Li Shuang (593–668) has no biographies. The blurred title on his epitaph cover reads: "Great Tang, the Late Holder of the Court Title Silver-and-blue Guanglu dafu, President of the Ministry of Punishments, Lord Li."

Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission and Liqianxian Chaoling Cultural Relics Commission, "Tang Ashina Zhong mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Tang tomb of Ashina Zhong), *KG*, 1977/2, pp. 132–38, 80, and fig. 1. His 55 meter long tomb has a square tomb chamber, 3.17×3.7 m., and his epitaph consists of 44 by 43 columns. The epitaph cover cites his official titles, General of the Horse-guards, Superior Pillar of the Realm, and Duke of Xueguo. His biographies, incomplete and short, in *Jiu Tang shu*, 109, p. 3290; and *Xin Tang shu*, 110, p. 4116, mention that he died in 675 and was given the special honor of being buried in Emperor Tai Zong's mausoleum precincts; he was a Turk.

Shaanxi Provincial Museum, et. al., "Tang Li Feng mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Tang tomb of Li Feng), *KG*, 1977/5, pp. 3133–26 and fig. 1. His tomb measuring 63.38 meters in length has a tomb chamber 4.0×4.36 m. He was buried with his wife and their epitaphs are 56 by 56, and 36 by 36 lines of characters respectively. Li Feng (621–674), the 15th son of the first Tang emperor, was given the title Prince of Guo. His brief and incomplete biographies are in *Jiu Tang shu*, 64, p. 2431; and *Xin Tang shu*, 79, p. 3554.

Zhaoling Cultural Relics Commission, "Tang Yue Wang Li Zhen mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Tang tomb of Prince Yueh, Li Zhen), *WW*, 1977/10, pp. 41–49 and fig. 1. His 46.10 meter long tomb has a square brick chamber (no measurements reported), and his epitaph consists of 30 by 30 lines of text, the calligraphy of which imitated the Jin script style. Li Zhen (625–686), the eighth son of Tai Zong, was involved in the abortive "princes' rebellion" against their step-mother, the usurper Empress Wu, and committed suicide. Well after her retirement, he was reburied with proper honor in the imperial

The single-chamber brick tomb, according to recent excavations, originated in the Western Jin dynasty (256–316),¹⁸ an innovation resulting from a simplification of the conventional multi-chamber brick tomb of Han.¹⁹ During the Western Han (206 BC–AD 24), the tomb was either a rectangular pit excavated as a perpendicular shaft into the ground or dug horizontally into a hillside.²⁰ The former type enclosed the coffin in layers of wooden caskets,²¹ and the latter type, which appeared in late Western Han, made use of large-sized hollow bricks to form a flat or gable-roofed rectangular chamber.²² In the effort to pattern the underground structure after the houses of the living, small bricks came to be used to build tombs.²³ By the Eastern Han (25–220), the brick chamber tomb became common, especially in the Central Plains region, and expanded to encompass several rooms, having small ones annexed to the front and coffin chambers.²⁴

cemetery, Zhao Ling. His epitaph cover inscription reads: “Great Tang, the Late Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Governor of Yuzhou, and Prince of Yue.” His biographies are in *Jiu Tang shu*, 76, pp. 2661–63; and *Xin Tang shu*, 80, pp. 3575–76.

Also, *Tang Changan CJSTM*, pp. 29–43 and fig. 17 (Tomb of Duhu Sizhen); pp. 43–52 and fig. 27 (Tomb of Duhu Sijing); pp. 52–56 and fig. 32 (Tomb of Lady Yang); pp. 56–65 and fig. 35 (Tomb of Xianyu Tinghui); and pp. 65–86 and fig. 38 (Tomb of Yang Sixu). Duhu Sizhen (d. 686) and Duhu Sijing (d. 709) were first cousins and their epitaphs, 25 × 25 and 31 by 32 respectively, trace the family genealogy to their great grandfather who had served the Northern Qi, Northern Zhou, as well as Sui, as general and governor. Their grandfather even reached being honored as Pillar of the State and Duke of Lonan in Tang. But their fathers as well as themselves were given only honorary “Dafu” titles. They have no biographies.

Lady Yang (d. 687) was the second wife of Dugu Sijing. Also of aristocratic blood, her forefathers had served the Sui as well as Tang. Her epitaph is 26 by 25 columns and richly decorated with engravings. Xianyu Tinghui (659–723) has no biographies. His epitaph consists of 24 by 24 lines of text, with a cover of 3 by 3 which reads, “Great Tang, the Late Xianyu General.”

Yang Sixu (d. 740) has biographies in *Jiu Tang shu*, 184, pp. 4755–56; and *Xin Tang shu*, 207, p. 5857. A brave but cruel warrior, he fought many successful battles, put down the palace intrigues during the reign of Zhong Zong and the Kaiyuan era of Xuan Zong, and so rose in the ranks from seventh rank official to Generalissimo, to first rank Grand General of Cavalry, with enfeoffment as Duke of Guoguo. His 34 by 37 epitaph has a 4 by 4 cover that reads, “Great Tang, the Late Grand General of Cavalry, Duke Yang.”

¹⁸ Yu Weichao, “Handai zhuhou wang yu liehou mucang di xingzhi fenxi–jianlun ‘Zhou zhi’ ‘Han zhi’ yu ‘Jin zhi’ di san jieduan xing” (An analysis of the tomb structures of the Han feudal king and feudal lord—includes discussions on the tomb characteristics of the three periods of Zhou, Han, and Jin) in *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui DYC NHLWJ*, p. 337 states that the emergence of the single-chamber brick tomb in Western Jin marked the beginning of a new type of tomb structure which displaced that of the Han.

¹⁹ As recorded in the Jin dynasty history, the Jin rulers preferred to emulate the frugal practices of (Cao) Wei. Thus, not only was it forbidden to bury gold, jade and bronze objects but sumptuous burials were also forbidden, resulting in a considerable decrease in the quantity of *mingqi* (objects made specially for burial), as well as a total cessation of construction of both the Spirit Road, with its monumental stone steles and sculptures, and funerary shrines at the imperial tomb sites. In addition, the Han *qindian* (palace bedroom) or coffin chamber was also eliminated from the imperial tomb plan. See *Jin shu* (Jin History), 20, pp. 632–34.

²⁰ Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization*. Trans. by K. C. Chang and collaborators (New Haven, 1982), p. 175.

²¹ For examples of the Han “vertical pit” burials, see Hunan Provincial Museum et al., *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu chutu jianbao* (A brief report on the excavation of the Han tomb Number One at Mawangdui in Changsha), (Beijing, 1972), pp. 2–5 and figs. 2–3; and Jinancheng Fenghuangshan Han Tomb Number 168 Excavation and Reporting Team, “Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan Yiliubahao Han mu fajue jianbao” (A brief report on the excavation of the Han tomb Number 168 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, Hubei), *WW*, 1975/9, pp. 1–2 and figs. 2–3.

²² Wang Zhongshu, p. 177 and figs. 247–48. See also Luoyang District Archaeology Team, *Luoyang Shaoguo Hanmu* (Han tombs in Shaogou, Luoyang), (Beijing, 1959), pp. 8–21 and pls. 1–3; and p. 30 and pl. 6.

²³ Wang Zhongshu, pp. 177–78, mentions that the brick tombs of high nobles were constructed in large scale complexes having a layout similar to the mansions which they occupied during their lifetimes, and that the most obvious proof of the Han tomb imitating the house of the living is the one in Yinan, Shandong, which has a stone relief depicting the tomb occupant’s courtyard house with the same layout as the tomb in which it was found. See Zeng Zhaoxue et al., *Yinan gu huaxiang shimu fajue baogao* (A report on the excavation of the ancient tomb with pictorial stones in Yinan), (Beijing, 1956), fig. 2 and pl. 49 (rubbing no. 36). Yu Weichao, pp. 335–57 discusses how the divisions in the wooden coffins (vertical burials) as well as the chambers of the brick or stone tombs of the Han Dynasty correspond to the *mingtang* (front or reception room), *hougian* (rear bedroom), and *bianfang* (living quarters) in Chinese domestic architecture.

²⁴ The Eastern Han tomb at Wangdu, Hebei, is one example. See Beijing Historical Museum and Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, *Wangdu Han mu bishua* (Han tomb wall paintings at Wangdu), (Beijing, 1955), pl. 2.

This practice continued through the Three Kingdoms period (220–80)²⁵ to the Western Jin (265–316), when the single-chamber tomb emerged. Several tombs among the 54 excavated in 1953 at a site east of Luoyang, Henan, the region of the Western Jin capital, were found to have been constructed on a tripartite plan. One of them, an unusually large tomb of possibly royal status, dated AD 299 and ascribed to a Lady Xu by an epitaph tablet, already anticipated that of Sui-Tang tombs; it had a 37 meter long tomb path.²⁶ This new tomb plan, adopted by Northern Wei, was carried over into the succeeding dynasties, Eastern Wei, Northern Qi, and Northern Zhou. The Sui dynasty, having inherited it, transmitted it to Tang.²⁷

The Tang imperial tomb, characterized by two square brick chambers (*shuangshi zhuangmu*) joined by a second corridor and preceded by the long sloping tomb path, as typified in the plan of Prince Yi De, excavated at Qianxian, Shaanxi (fig. 8),²⁸ likewise had its prototype in late Northern Wei. The archaeological investigations of the Northern Wei imperial mausoleum, Yonggu Ling, at Fangshan in the eastern suburb of Datong, Shaanxi, uncovered a similar two-chamber brick tomb (fig. 7).²⁹ Belonging to Lady Feng, the Grand Dowager Empress Wen Ming (d. 490),³⁰ regent for her grandson, Emperor Xiao Wen (r. 471–500),³¹ it must have been designed by a Chinese architect in the tradition of Han. Recorded in the Wei dynastic history (*Wei shu*) are two talented Chinese who

²⁵ See the reports on the Wei Kingdom (220–65) tombs: Li Zongdao and Zhao Guobi, "Luoyang shiliu kongqu Cao Wei Wei mu qingli" (Excavation of a Cao Wei tomb in the 16th district of Luoyang), KG, 1958/7, pp. 51–52 and fig. 1; and Anhui Boxian County Museum, "Boxian Cao Cao zongzu muzang" (Excavation of the tombs of the Cao Cao family at Boxian), WW, 1978/8, pp. 32–35.

²⁶ Henan Provincial Bureau of Culture, Archaeology Team Number 2, "Luoyang Jin mu di fajue" (Excavation of Jin dynasty tombs at Luoyang), KGXB, 1957/1 pp. 169–75 and figs. 1 and 2. For a discussion on Western Jin tombs in the Central Plains area, see Yang Hong, "Wei Jin Nan Bei chao muzang di fajue" (Excavations of Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties tombs), in *Xin Zhongguo di kaogu FXHYY*, pp. 521–22.

²⁷ *Sui shu*, 8, p. 156 records that when the Sui founding Emperor Wen (r. 581–605) was confronted with the task of setting up the codes of funerary rites, he was advised of the Han-Jin models that had continued into pre-Sui dynasties by his counselors and ratified their proposals.

²⁸ Shaanxi Provincial Museum et al., "Tang Yi De taizi mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the tomb of Prince Yi De), WW, 1972/7, pp. 26–32 and fig. 1; and Wang Renbo, "Yi De taizi suo biaoxian di Tang dai huangshi maizang zhidu" (Tang imperial rites shown in the tomb of Prince Yi De) in *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui DYC NHLWJ*, pp. 400–406. The slightly smaller imperial tomb of Princess Yong Tai, likewise a two-chamber brick tomb, resembles Prince Yi De's in plan and structure; see Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Tang Yong Tai kongzhu mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the tomb of Princess Yong Tai), WW, 1964/1, pp. 7–9 and figs. 1–2. See also, Mary H. Fong, "Four Chinese Royal Tombs of the Early Eighth Century," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXV: 4 (1973), 307–21. Prince Yi De (Li Zhongrun, 682–701), eldest son of Emperor Zhong Zong (r. 684 and 705–710), was flogged to death in 701 by order of Empress Wu (r. 684–705) for having privately discussed with his sister Princess Yong Tai (Li Xianhui, 684–701) and her husband Wu Yanji the question of how the empress' favorites, Zhang Yizhi and his brother, had obtained the privilege of free access to the inner palace. In 706, Prince Yi De as well as his sister, who met the same fate, were reburied with due honors by special imperial order of their father at the imperial cemetery, Qian Ling; see *Jiu Tang shu*, 86, pp. 2834–35; *Xin Tang shu*, 4, p. 102, and 83, p. 3634; and *Tang hui yao* 4, pp. 48–49 and 21, p. 414.

²⁹ Datong City Museum and Shanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Work Commission, "Datong Fangshan Bei Wei Yonggu ling" (The Northern Wei Yonggu imperial cemetery at Fangshan, Datong), WW, 1978/7, pp. 29–31 and fig. 3. See also the study on Northern Wei ruins and remains, Su Bai, "Shengyue, Pingcheng yidai di Toba Xianbei–Bei Wei weiji; Xianbei weiji jilu, 2" (The Toba Xianbei remains in the regions of Shengyue and Pingcheng—Northern Wei remains; Notes on the remains of Toba Xianbei, 2), WW, 1977/11, pp. 42–44. This Northern Wei imperial burial site was first surveyed in the 1920s; see A. G. Wenley, *The Grand Empress Dowager Wen Ming and the Northern Wei Necropolis at Fang Shan* (Freer Gallery Art Occasional Papers, Vol. I, No. 1), (Washington, 1947).

³⁰ How the Empress Dowager Wen Ming selected her burial site is recorded in her biography; see *Wei shu*, 13, pp. 328–29.

³¹ Emperor Xiao Wen became a successor to the Northern Wei throne at the age of nine. The regent, his step-grandmother, the Dowager Empress Wen Ming, was a Chinese. A daughter of Feng Lang who was governor of two important western provinces, but was executed for some unspecified offense, she entered the imperial palace. In 454, she became a consort and soon afterwards empress of Emperor Wen Cheng (r. 452–465) and thus was the first Northern Wei empress of Chinese descent. In 465, when she was 23, she was widowed. Capable and intelligent, she plotted and succeeded in ruling Northern Wei as regent during 476–490, and thus Emperor Xiao Wen was educated and brought up in large part as a Chinese. He was instrumental in bringing more Chinese officials into the Northern Wei court, promulgating the adoption of Chinese models in government administration and style of living, moving the nation's capital from Pingcheng southward to the ancient Chinese capital site, Luoyang, and even changing the imperial family name to the Chinese surname Yuan; see *Wei shu*, 13, p. 328–30 and Soper (1960), pp. 67–68; and *Wei shu*, 7B, pp. 173–178, and p. 179.

served the Wei emperor—Jiang Shaoyou, an artist-architect originally from Shandong, and Li Chong, a prime minister and counselor from Gansu.³² Li Chong, highly trusted by both the Dowager Empress and Emperor Xiao Wen, supervised the construction of palaces and temples in the northern capital, Pingcheng (Datong today) and with the help of two other Chinese, Mu Liang, Minister of Works, and Dong Jue, an architect, planned the layout of the new capital of Luoyang.³³ Prototypes of the Dowager Empress's tomb structure existed in Han and Western Jin tombs, for example, the tomb of Prince Jing of Zhongshan (d. 113 BC), excavated in Mancheng, Hebei; and the Western Jin Tomb No. 34, excavated in Yanshi, Henan.³⁴ The former, though not lined with bricks, is similarly structured with a front chamber connected to the coffin chamber by a second corridor. The latter, already a forerunner of the Tang imperial tomb, has a sloping tomb path leading to the corridor of the front chamber, which is connected to the tomb chamber by a second corridor.

Related to the brick tomb chamber is the square-domed roof (*qionglong ding*), a type of construction first achieved in late Western Han and continued into Western Jin.³⁵ Characteristically, the walls of the brick tomb chamber which supported the spheroidal base of the domelike roof were shaped with a slightly outward curvature (*xiangwai hutu*).³⁶ Yet, due to the structural weakness inherent in such wide spanning, very few of these imposing tomb ceilings have been preserved. Surviving ceilings in the tombs of Sima Jinlong (484) excavated in Datong, Yuan Yi (526) in Luoyang, and Shao Zen (520), a rare undisturbed tomb at Renjiakou in Xian, Shaanxi (fig. 13),³⁷ fully attest to

³² On the contributions to Northern Wei by Jiang Shaoyou and Li Chong, respectively, see *Wei shu*, 91, pp. 1970–71, and Soper (1960), p. 75; *Wei shu*, 53, pp. 1179–89; Soper (1960), p. 72. Also P. Karetzky and A. Soper, "A Northern Wei Painted Coffin," *Artibus Asiae* 11, 1/2, 1991, pp. 10, 11.

³³ *Wei shu*, 7B, p. 173, and Ch'en Yin-k'e (1974), pp. 65 and 66. For a biography of Mu Liang, see *Wei shu*, 27, pp. 667–71.

³⁴ Respectively, see Mancheng Excavation Team, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, "Mancheng Han mu fajuejiyao" (Major results of the excavation of the Han tombs at Mancheng), *KG*, 1972/1, pp. 8–9 and fig. 2; and Second Henan Team, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, "Henan Yanshi Xinghuancun di liangzuo Wei Jin mu" (Excavation of the two tombs of Wei and Jin at Xingyuancun in Yanshi, Henan), *KG*, 1985/8, pp. 726–27 and fig. 10. The recently discovered two-chamber brick tomb, dated to 540 of Eastern Wei and belonged to Li Xizong, was considered by Chinese archaeologists to be an unusual exception to normal practices; see Shijiazhuang Prefecture et al., "Hebei Zanhuan Dong Wei Li Xizong mu" (The Eastern Wei tomb of Li Xizong at Zanhuan, Hebei), *KG*, 1977/6, pp. 382–90, 372, and fig. 3. Li Xizong (501–540) was a scion of a North Chinese family that had served the Northern Wei at high levels for a century. He furnished a daughter for the harem of the Eastern Wei king-maker Gao Huan. He held several secondary military posts and was a grand warden, but without fief. His wife, who was buried with him several years later, was a member of the distinguished North Chinese Cui clan. Their epitaphs consist of 30 by 30, and 36 by 37 lines of text respectively. His brief biography is in *Bei shi*, 33, p. 1216.

³⁵ The archaeological report on the excavation of the Jin tombs at Luoyang states that the square-domed roof first appeared in late Western Han; see *KGXB*, 1957/1, p. 174; *Luoyang Shaogou Hanmu*, fig. 33b, pl. 8.5–6, pl. 9.3; and Wang Zhongshu, fig. 256.

³⁶ *KGXB*, 1957/1, p. 174.

³⁷ Respectively see: Shanxi Datong City Museum and Shanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Work Commission, "Shanxi Datong Shijiazhai Bei Wei Sima Jinlong mu" (Excavation of the Northern Wei tomb of Sima Jinlong at Shijiazhai in Datong, Shaanxi), *WW*, 1972/3, p. 20 and fig. 10. Sima Jinlong (d. 484), was son of a celebrated refugee from the South who had claimed to be a member of the imperial Sima clan, and so had been treated very generously. Also, Jinlong's mother had been a Wei princess. His tomb, outside modern Datong in northern Shaanxi, is the earliest of the high-level Wei burials. His epitaph is engraved on a stone with an arched top, shaped like a squat stele. The title, carved in large seal script and set in a panel across the top, reads: "Tomb Record of the Minister of Works, the Kang Prince of Langye." The epitaph, in 10 columns of 7 characters, cites other functional or ceremonial posts, which include Defender of the West General, President of the Board of Civil Office, and Governor of Yizhou.

Luoyang Museum, "Henan Luoyang Bei Wei Yuan Yi mu tiaocha" (Excavation of the Northern Wei tomb of Yuan Yi in Luoyang, Henan), *WW*, 1974/12, p. 53 and c. pl. 1. Yuan Yi (486–526) was a great-great-grandson of the first Northern Wei emperor. He married a younger sister of the Dowager Empress Ling, a Lady Hu, and enjoyed high favor after the empress was widowed in 515. In 519, however, he and a confederate placed her under house arrest in the palace and ruled as dictators. In 526, she finally escaped and broke Yuan Yi's power. For her sister's sake, she allowed him to poison himself and awarded him posthumous promotions. His biography is in *Wei shu*, 16, pp. 402–408. The brief excavation report illustrates his damaged epitaph stone cover, a rare luxuriant type that depicts two quasi-heraldic "descending dragons" in the central square rather than a seal character title. The epitaph itself, 40 by 40 columns, is published in Zhao Wanli, *Han Wei Nan Bei chao muzhi jishi* (Catalogue of a Collection of Han, Wei, Southern and Northern Dynasties Epitaph Tablets), (Beijing, 1956), I, pp. 18b–19a (no. 78) and III, pls. 78a–b. At his death, he was titled Gentleman-in-waiting, General of Cavalry, Director of the State with Pomp equal to the Three Dukes, and Governor of Yizhou.

Also, Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Xian Renjiakou M229 hao Bei Wei mu qingli jianbao" (A Brief report on the excavation of the Northern Wei Tomb No. M229 at Renjiakou in Xian), *WW*, 1955/12, p. 59 and fig. on p. 61. See also n. 86.

the late Northern Wei adherence to an established tradition. Their preference for this type of roofing is further seen in the earthen tomb chamber of Yuan Wei (Fig. 1), the ceiling of which has the four sides slanted upward to meet at the topmost point (*sijiao cuanjian ding*) in the semblance of a square-domed roof. The practice evidently was upheld in the Central Plains area, as it was carried over into Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, also Northern Zhou, and, eventually, to Sui-Tang; some of them, having attained a height which exceeded that of the tomb chamber walls, resemble the shape of a beehive.

Likewise transmitted from late Northern Wei is the extraordinarily long tomb path of the Tang imperial tomb, sloping several meters down from the ground surface to the corridor that preceded the tomb chamber (fig. 8). As a type dug with more than one vertical airshaft (*tianjing*), it had already appeared in the recently discovered Northern Zhou tomb in Guyuan, Ningxia (Fig. 4)³⁸ as well as the Sui tomb in Sanyuan, Shaanxi (fig. 5).³⁹ However, since the tomb of Yuan Wei (fig. 1) was constructed with a tomb path 27 meters long, exceeding the length of that in the tomb of Prince Yi De (26.3 m),⁴⁰ the prototype should, more appropriately, be allotted to Northern Wei or, as mentioned earlier, even to Western Jin. Yuan Wei, a descendant of the Northern Wei founder Emperor Dao Wu (r. 386–409), was interred in the imperial burial grounds located northeast of their second capital, Luoyang; his tomb therefore must have been structured in accordance to the norm reserved for members of the Northern Wei ruling class.⁴¹ Their burial practice, having been transmitted to Sui, was fully incorporated in the Tang.

The use of pairs of niches (*xiaokan*), the small chambers constructed along the sides of the long tomb path for the storage of burial goods, as evidenced in the tombs of Zhang Shigui and Prince Yi De (figs. 6 and 8), is not a Tang invention. Though not found among the pre-Sui tombs, earlier prototypes are seen in the Han tombs of Prince Jing of Zhongshan found in Mancheng, Hebei, and Prince Lu of Qufu in Qufu, Shandong, as well as in the Sui tombs of Ji Wei at Guojitan in Xian, Shaanxi, and Zhang Sheng in Anyang, Henan.⁴² The only difference is that the Tang storage chambers are neatly structured and consist of more than one pair.

Turning to the corridor in the single chamber tomb, the level area stretching from the end of the ramp to the entrance of the coffin chamber, though comparatively short in length, is where the tomb door is installed. Most pre-Sui tomb chambers, following Han practice,⁴³ were sealed with at least one brick wall,⁴⁴ but the upper-class Sui and Tang tombs, like those of Li He and Zhang Shigui, were

³⁸ WW, 1985/11, p. 2, fig. 2.

³⁹ WW, 1966/1, p. 27, fig. 2.

⁴⁰ Respectively see WW, 1982/1, p. 71; and WW, 1972/7, p. 27.

⁴¹ For a study on the Northern Wei imperial cemeteries in the vicinity of Luoyang, see Luoyang Museum and Huang Minglan, “Luoyang Bei Wei Jing Ling weizhi di queding he Jing Ling weizhi di twice” (Identification of the location of the Luoyang Northern Wei imperial Jing [=view] cemetery and a conjecture of the site of the Luoyang Northern Wei imperial Jing [=quiet] cemetery), WW, 1978/7, p. 37 and fig. 3.

⁴² Respectively see KG, 1972/1, p. 9, fig. 2; and Shandong Provincial Museum, “Qufu Jiulongshan Han mu fajue jianbao” (A brief report on the excavation of the Han tomb at Jiulongshan in Qufu), WW, 1972/5, pp. 39–41, 43 and fig. 1; WW, 1958/8, p. 4, fig. 1; and Anyang Excavation Team, Institute of Archaeology, “Anyang Sui Zhang Sheng mu fajue ji” (Notes on the excavation of the Sui tomb of Zhang Sheng at Anyang), KG, 1959/10, p. 541, fig. 1.

Zhang Sheng (502–594) has a 20 by 20 epitaph which calls him “Sui, the Late Enemy-defeating General and Zhangsan Dafu (honorary court title).” His great grandfather and grandfather were named as middle-rank office-holders. He is not recorded in the dynastic histories.

⁴³ For a Han dynasty example, see Shijiazhuang Municipal Cultural Relics Commission, “Shijiazhuang Bei jiao Han Mu” (Excavation of a Han tomb in the northern suburbs of Shijiazhuang, Hebei), KG, 1984/1, p. 810 and fig. 1.

⁴⁴ For pre-Sui examples, see KG, 1973/4, p. 218 and fig. 2 (AD 528); KG, 1977/6, p. 391 and fig. 2 (AD 547); and Cixian Center of Culture, “Hebei Cixian Dongchencun Bei Qi Yao Jun mu” (Excavation of the Northern Qi tomb of Yao Jun in Dongchencun at Cixian, Hebei), WW, 1984/4, p. 16 and fig. 2 (AD 567). Yao Jun (505–566), a grandson of Yao Xuan, was buried with his two wives. His epitaph, 31 by 31 lines of text, mentions the familiar official posts, Provincial Governor, Generalissimo of Cavalry, etc. His first wife, a princess of the semi-barbarian Tukuhun state in western Gansu, has a 26 by 28 epitaph; the other wife, of the

equipped with a real stone door.⁴⁵ Yet such a practice, already prevalent in Han and Western Jin,⁴⁶ became common in Northern Qi.⁴⁷ The earliest known Northern Qi example is found in the tomb of Cui Ang, buried in 566 at Pingshan, Hebei; each granite door panel, according to the archaeological report, weighs at least 500 kilograms.⁴⁸ The one found in the 570 tomb of Lou Rui (fig. 9)⁴⁹ is structurally closest to that of Tang, for example, the one in the tomb of Prince Zhang Huai (fig. 10).⁵⁰

Dugu clan, has one of 21 by 21 lines of text. The Yao clan, as recorded in *Bei shi*, 27, pp. 998–1000; and *Bei Qi shu*, 20, pp. 267–70, owed its prominence in the northeast during the mid-sixth century to its early support of the king-maker Gao Huan against the briefly dangerous Erzhu clan.

⁴⁵ For an illustration of the one in Li He's tomb, see WW, 1966/1, fig. 44; and in Li Shou's tomb, see WW, 1974/9, figs. 9–10. Sui tombs that were sealed with a brick wall were also given a two-leaf stone door; see WW, 1959/8, p. 4 and fig. 3. The two-leaf stone doors in the Tang tombs are usually embellished with intricate incised patterns around the borders and a pair of guardian images in the center of the panels; see KG, 1978/3, p. 171 and fig. 2 (AD 658); WW, 1964/1, pp. 13–14 and figs. 50–51 (AD 706); and *Xian jiaoqu Sui Tang mu*, p. 8 and figs. 9 and 11–14 (AD 710).

⁴⁶ See An Jinhua and Wang Yigang, "Mixian Dahuting Han dai huaxiang shimu he bishua mu" (Han tombs embellished with stone reliefs and murals at Dahuting in Mixian, Henan), WW, 1972/10, p. 50 and figs. 2 and 8–9; and The Second Archaeology Team, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences "Henan Yanshi Xinyuancun Dong Han bishua mu" (Excavation of an Eastern Han tomb with wall paintings at Xinyuancun in Yanshi, Henan), KG, 1985/1, p. 18 and figs. 1–2. For an example from a Western Jin tomb, see Beijing City Center of Culture, "Beijing Xijiao Xi Jin Wang Jun qi Hua Fang mu qingli jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Western Jin tomb of Wang Jun's wife Hua Fang, in the western suburb of Beijing), WW, 1965/12, pp. 21–24 and fig. 1.

Wang Jun, son of a high Western Jin functionary, lived at the end of that dynasty and was killed by one of the early barbarian rulers of the North, Shi Le, in 314. The tomb is that of his wife, Hua Fang, who was given an epitaph stone very different from the late Northern Wei standard, a tall narrow rectangle engraved on all four sides in a handsome version of the Jin calligraphic style, 18 by 42 columns on the front, 21 by 49 on the rear, with a two-column strip on each end, and finally dated 307. The title lists Wang's military and civil posts, and the sinecures he held at the Jin court (most of these foreshadowing the Northern practices of the sixth century). The last noted is "Prince of Taiyuan, Jinyang, Lord Wang." He is briefly mentioned in *Jin shu*, 39, p. 1146–50.

⁴⁷ All five of the major Northern Qi tombs excavated so far have stone doors; see Hebei Provincial Museum and Cultural Relics Commission, "Hebei Pingshan Bei Qi Cui Ang mu tiaocha baogao" (A report on the excavation of the Northern Qi tomb of Cui Ang at Pingshan, Hebei), WW, 1973/11, p. 27. Cui Ang (508–65) has biographies in *Bei Qi shu*, 30, pp. 410–12; and *Bei shi*, 32, pp. 1179–82. He served as Governor of Zhaozhou and was President of the Board of Ancestor Worship; he held no fief. His first wife's epitaph is 22 by 21 and the second's 24 by 24 lines of text.

Tao Chenggang "Shaanxi Qixian Baigui Bei Qi Han Yi mu" (The Northern Qi tomb of Han Yi at Baigui, Qixian, Shanxi), WW, 1975/4, p. 65. Han Yi (514–67) was the father of the prominent high-ranking late Northern Qi official, Han Feng. Through the latter, who became a trusted counselor of the emperor and whose son married a Northern Qi princess (*Bei Qi shu*, 50, pp. 692–93), he was loaded with military and court titles of honor. His epitaph is 34 by 28, with a 3 by 3 cover which calls him, "The Late Techin (specially promoted) Duke Han of Northern Qi."

Wang Kelin, "Bei Qi Kudi Huiluo mu" (Excavation of the Northern Qi tomb of Kudi Huiluo), KGXB, 1979/3, p. 379 and fig. 3; Kudi Huiluo (506–62) has biographies in *Bei Qi shu*, 19, pp. 254–55; and *Bei shi*, 53, p. 1908. His epitaph, 31 by 31, has a 4 by 4 cover which reads: "Qi, the Late Governor of Dingzhou, Grand Chief of Armies, Prince Kudi of Shunyang." A warrior from the far north, whose career began in the service of the Erzhu family, he fortunately shifted allegiance to Gao Huan in time to share the generous benefits. His first wife, a Lady Hu-lu, with a 15 by 15 epitaph and a 4 by 4 cover, died in 545 at 33, was reburied with him in 562; another wife, Lady Wei, with an 18 by 21 epitaph and 3 by 3 cover, died in 559 and was also buried with him.

Cixian Center of Culture, "Hebei Cian Bei Qi Gao Run mu" (The Northern Qi tomb of Gao Run), KG, 1979/3, pp. 235–36 and fig. 2. Gao Run (d. 575), the 14th son of the king-maker Gao Huan, has biographies in *Bei Qi shu*, 10, pp. 139–40; and *Bei shi*, 51, p. 1868. His epitaph, 35 by 35, mentions his being enfeoffed as Prince of Fengyi with a fief of 3,000 households and the familiar honors of provincial governor, commander-in-chief, etc.

⁴⁸ WW, 1973/11, p. 27.

⁴⁹ WW, 1983/10, pp. 2–3 and pl. 2, fig. 1.

⁵⁰ Tokyo National Museum et al., *Archaeological Treasures in the People's Republic of China* (Tokyo, 1973), pl. 162; and Shaanxi Provincial Museum et al., "Tang Zhang Huai taizhu mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of the Tang tomb of Prince Zhang Huai), WW, 1972/7, p. 14 and fig. 1. See also Fong, pp. 321–24. The Heir Apparent, Li Xian (653–684), has biographies in the *Jiu Tang shu*, 86, pp. 2831–32; and *Xin Tang shu*, 81, pp. 3591–92. He was the sixth son of Emperor Gao Zong, and acceded to the rank of crown prince when an elder brother died in 674. His relations with his step-mother, the Empress Wu, became strained, and he was degraded under suspicion of treason in 680. When she assumed the functions of an emperor in 684, he committed suicide. She made a show of mourning him and gave him the posthumous rank of Prince of Yong. After her forced retirement in 705, he was properly reburied in the imperial mausoleum precinct, Qian Ling. His epitaph stone as Prince of Yong is 40 columns wide by 41, with a 4 by 4 cover. His epitaph as Chang Huai Heir is only 34 by 33, with a 3 by 3 cover, but has richly decorated borders.

They may be decorated differently, each according to the aesthetic trend of its time, yet both have the two door panels hinged to a finely cut stone frame, the lintel of which supports a lunette piece decorated with a pair of confronting phoenix-like birds executed in painting on one and in line-relief on the other. Similarly attesting to a continuity from Northern Qi to Tang is the use of a type of floral rinceau pattern on the door jambs. The Northern Qi use of the bird motif, not to mention the striking pair of dragons painted on the door panels – both common motifs in the repertoire of Han tomb ornaments⁵¹ – lends further support to the theory of the heritage stemming from the Han-Jin tradition.

Such Han decorative motifs have also appeared elsewhere in the pre-Sui tombs. The scattered fragments of tomb murals, while attesting to the continuity of the art from Han to Sui-Tang, provide a glimpse of strong adherence to an established tradition. The best preserved and the most persistent of all motifs are the Han cosmological symbols of the four directions – the Green Dragon of the East, the White Tiger of the West, the Red Bird of the South, and the Black Warrior (a tortoise and a snake combined) of the North. As visual expressions of Han cosmology, the set is first encountered on the eave-end tiles of the Western Han Weiyang Palace in Changan, Shaanxi,⁵² and, later decorated the backs of the Han TLV mirrors⁵³ and the four sides of stone coffins.⁵⁴ Recent archaeological excavations have found that all four were painted on the walls of a late Northern Wei tomb chamber,⁵⁵ and the popularly paired Green Dragon and White Tiger were used to adorn, respectively, the east and west wall spaces that flank the entrance of an Eastern Wei tomb path,⁵⁶ the sides of the Sui stone coffin of Li He,⁵⁷ and the tomb path of the Tang imperial tomb of Princess Yong Tai.⁵⁸

Epitaph Tablet

Aside from the tomb structure, other striking common features in the tombs of late Northern Wei through Early Tang are the orientation of the tomb site and the placement of the coffin in the tomb chamber (figs. 1–6). As the tomb became standardized in plan and structure, it conformed to a north-south orientation with the entrance on the south side. Accordingly, the deceased, whether buried in a wooden coffin, a stone coffin, or a wooden coffin within a houselike stone casket, was placed alongside the west wall of the tomb chamber, head pointed north.

Also buried along with the coffin was the epitaph tablet (*muzhi*) which recorded the name and family history of the deceased. Though often found dislodged by grave robbers, enough data in archaeological excavations have shown that from late Northern Wei onwards, a square (or nearly square) stone epitaph tablet was placed either in the tomb chamber or the corridor, invariably close to

⁵¹ *Henan sheng huaxiangshi beike taben zhan* (An exhibition of rubbings of stone reliefs and stele inscriptions from Henan Province), (Tokyo, 1973), pls. 11–12 (phoenix-like bird), 17, 37–47 (Green Dragon); and Richard C. Rudolph, *Han Tomb Art of West China: A Collection of First and Second Century Reliefs* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), figs. 4–5 and pls. 60–63.

⁵² Shaanxi Provincial Museum, *Qin Han wadang* (Eave-end tiles of Qin and Han dynasties), (Beijing, 1965), pls. 114, 115, 118, and 120.

⁵³ Bernard Karlgren, "Early Chinese Mirrors; Classification Scheme Recapitulated," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm), 40 (1968), pls. 104–05; and Schuyler Cammann, "The TLV pattern on cosmic mirrors of the Han dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 68:4 (1948), pp. 159–67 and fig. 1. For a recent study of the TLV mirror and its significance, see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise; the Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London, 1979), pp. 60–85.

⁵⁴ Rudolph, pls. 72–74.

⁵⁵ WW, 1974/12, p. 53. This Han schema of decoration is also found in the Koguryo tombs in Korea; see Yong Hong, "Kokuli bihua shiman" (Kokuli stone-tomb murals), WW, 1958/4, pp. 12–21.

⁵⁶ Tang Chi, "Dong Wei Ruru Gongzu mu bihua shitan" (Notes on the Eastern Wei wall paintings in the tomb of the Ruru princess), WW, 1984/4, p. 10, pl. 1.2 and figs. 2 and 3.

⁵⁷ WW, 1966/1, pp. 31–32 and figs. 40–41. See also Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, "The engraved designs on the late sixth century sarcophagus of Li Ho," *Artibus Asiae*, XLVII:2 (1986), figs. 4–6 and 9.

⁵⁸ WW, 1964/1, pp. 16–17 and fig. 4.

the entrance of the tomb chamber (figs. 1, 4–6).⁵⁹ The *New Tang History* (*Xin Tang shu*), in the section on mourning rites, relates that the epitaph tablet was carried in the funeral procession along with the exorcist image, *fangxiang*, and burial objects, *mingqi*.⁶⁰ The same text further mentions that following burial observances in the tomb chamber, the coffin was laid with the head of the deceased pointed north, burial objects and epitaph tablet were put in their designated places, and the door was locked.⁶¹ The epitaph tablet was not just a memorial to the deceased but an integral part of Tang burial rites.

Archaeological finds so far available for study have shown that the use of a two-piece epitaph tablet in the Central Plains area may be credited to the Northern Wei.⁶² From late Northern Wei through Tang, as shown in the selected examples (figs. 11 and 12), the stone epitaph tablet consisted of a cover on which the name and official court rank of the deceased was inscribed and a base where a eulogy with family history and dates of death and burial was recorded.⁶³ According to the collection of Han, Wei, and Southern and Northern dynasties epitaph tablets compiled by Zhao Wanli, the earliest known Northern Wei two-piece square epitaph stone was made for Lady Geng Shouji, a consort of Emperor Wen Cheng (r. 452–466), who was buried in 517.⁶⁴ Then, beginning around 520 a number of those belonging to the Northern Wei ruling class were decorated with intricate floral and figurative motifs.⁶⁵ As shown in the Northern Wei example (fig. 11), the beveled edges of the cover are filled with a stylized meandering pattern reminiscent of the Han cloud scrolls,⁶⁶ but on the flat surface, the areas adjacent to the central inscribed square are embellished with the four directional creatures of Han cosmology, and the upright sides of the base with twelve images of the Thunder Monster.⁶⁷ The insertion of the robed spirit-riders for the cosmic creatures may be a Northern invention, but the use of the Thunder Monster, though formalized into a distinctive Northern Wei iconography, was likewise derived from Han sources.⁶⁸

⁵⁹ This custom prevailed also in the Southern dynasties. According to the evidence provided by tombs in Jiangsu, the epitaph tablet was found in the tomb chamber, lying on the ground or leaning against a wall; see Luo Zongzhen, "Luelun Jiangsu diqu chutu Liu Chao muzhi" (A brief discussion on the Six Dynasties epitaph tablets unearthed in Jiangsu), *Nanjing bowu yuan jikan* (Bulletin of the Nanjing Museum), 1980/2, p. 51.

⁶⁰ *Xin Tang shu*, 20, p. 451.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁶² Ma Heng, "Shike" (Stone engravings), *KG*, 1956/1, p. 55; and T. H. Hsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk; the Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 70.

⁶³ These two examples are kept in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum; see Nishikawa Yasushi, *Seian hirin* (Xian Stelae Forest), (Tokyo, 1966), pls. 142–43 and 177–78 respectively.

⁶⁴ Zhao Wanli, vol. 1, p. 6b (no. 27) and vol. 3, pl. 27a–b. This epitaph tablet, found in Luoyang, measures 36.2×36.2 cm. The epitaph is 12 by 13 columns, with a cover inscribed in one column with the four characters "Geng pin mu zhi" (Geng consort tomb epitaph) in the middle. Consort Geng (d. 517), named Shouji, was from Quyang, Dingzhou. Her father held posts as general and prefect. Although the inscriptions were carved in the standard script style, some of the characters were erroneously written.

⁶⁵ The two earliest known two-piece square epitaph tablets that have incised embellishments are respectively dated 519 and 522. Only the base of the former, which belonged to Yuan Hui, is preserved; see Nishikawa, pls. 120 (69×68 cm). The latter belonging to a Lady Yuan is now kept in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; see Bush (1974), pp. 25–26 and fig. 1 (68×69.2 cm); and Zhao Wanli, vol. 1, p. 15a (no. 57) and vol. 3, pls. 57a–b. Susan Bush, who made a special study of these two epitaphs (1974, pp. 24–25) wrote that Yuan Hui's tablet "states that he died in 519 at the age of about fifty-four. He was given office in the T'ai-ho era (477–99) and held posts under three successive emperors, reaching the rank of court attendant and serving as 'Supervisor of the Left of the Masters of Writing' at the time of his death." And, on Lady Yuan (d. 522), a daughter of Yuan Hui, she explained, "She was a seventh-generation descendant of the so-called Emperor Chao-ch'eng, T'opa Shih-i-chien (315–76), through a line of imperial princes and dukes... Her husband, Feng Yung, was a member of a prominent clan that had earlier intermarried with the imperial family. He served as a general under the Northern Wei."

⁶⁶ For additional examples of late Northern Wei, see Nishikawa, pls. 130–31 (81.5×81.5 cm) and 135–36 (68.5×70 cm).

⁶⁷ For examples of the Western Han cloud scroll patterns, see Hunan Provincial Museum et al., *Changsha Mawangdui*, pls. 21, fig. 2 and 22, fig. 3. This Northern Wei epitaph tablet belongs to Erzhu Xi, who died at 18 and was not recorded in the Northern Wei history; see Chen Wanli, vol. 2, pp. 57a–58b (no. 274) and vol. 4, pls. 274a–b.

⁶⁸ For major studies of this apotropaic image, see Bush (1974), pp. 25–55 and Bush (1975), pp. 19–33.

The practice of having the epitaph tablet cover embellished with the animals of the four directions, as evidenced in the surviving examples, evidently persisted from late Northern Wei into Sui-Tang. The 1974 excavation of an Eastern Wei tomb in Cixian, Hebei, yielded the first known example of the period; it belonged to Zhao Huren who was buried in 547.⁶⁹ That of Northern Qi, dated 573 and belonging to the wife of Gao Jian, is documented in a relief rubbing,⁷⁰ and that of Sui, dated 595 and belonging to Tuan Wei, is kept in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum.⁷¹ However, the Eastern Wei as well as the Northern Qi tablets have embellishments only on the epitaph tablet cover; the four directional creatures are arranged in the spaces next to the central inscribed square, as found in the late Northern Wei example (fig. 11), but with fewer details and less refinement of execution. The Sui epitaph tablet, truly a transitional piece, has embellishments on both the cover and the base; the former is decorated with the traditional image repertoire but the latter shows a completely different set of motifs, the twelve Chinese zodiac animals, three on each of the four upright sides.⁷² This set of astrological motifs, as shown on the cover of the Tang epitaph tablet dated 706 and belonging to Princess Yong Tai (fig. 12), not only replaced the Han cosmological symbols but also heralded a new theme in funerary art. The zodiac animals, as shown in many recently excavated Tang tombs, appeared also in tomb figurines,⁷³ while continuing to adorn the epitaph tablet.⁷⁴

As the embellishment program for the epitaph stone emerged, a uniformity in script styles was maintained for inscriptions on both the cover and the base (figs. 11–12). The ornate seal script (*zhuanshu*) was chosen for the short title on the cover, and the elegant standard script (*kaishu*) for the long eulogy on the base.⁷⁵ The aesthetic contrast between the two inscriptions was further emphasized by the technique of relief execution on stone. The few seal-script characters were carved in the traditional Chinese technique known as reduced-background flat-relief (*jiandi pingdiao*), and the hundreds of tiny standard-script characters were incised.⁷⁶ Such permanent records have been treasured as a reservoir of referral materials for the dynastic histories⁷⁷ and, above all, as authentic models of contemporary Chinese calligraphic script styles from Northern Wei through Tang,⁷⁸ a topic well-studied by Chinese scholars but beyond the scope of this paper.

⁶⁹ *KG*, 1977/6, pp. 399–400 and fig. 10. Also see n. 16.

⁷⁰ Zhao Wanli, vol. 2, p. 68a (no. 310) and vol. 4, pl. 310.

⁷¹ Nishikawa, pls. 168–69.

⁷² Apparently the set had appeared earlier in funerary art. Fragments of the ceiling painting in the coffin chamber of the recently excavated Northern Qi tomb of Luo Rui (570) shows several of the animals, including a rat, cow, tiger, and rabbit; see *WW*, 1983/10, p. 19 and pl. 3, fig. 2.

⁷³ See, for example, Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, *Shaanxi sheng chutu Tang yong xuanji*, hereafter, *Shaanxi sheng chutu TYXJ* (Catalogue of Tang tomb figurines from Shaanxi), (Beijing, 1958), pls. 71–82; Sichuan Provincial Museum, “Sichuan Wanxian Tang mu” (Excavation of a Tang tomb at Wanxian in Sichuan), *KGXB*, 1980/4, figs. 1–3; and Hunan Provincial Museum, “Hunan Changsha Xianjiahu Tang mu fajue jianbao” (A brief report on the excavation of a Tang tomb at Xianjiahu in Changsha, Hunan), *KG*, 1980/6, pl. 7, fig. 6.

⁷⁴ The Second Henan Archaeological Team, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, “Henan Yanshi Xingyuancun di Jiang Tang mu” (The two Tang tombs excavated at Xingyuancun in Yanshi, Henan), *KG*, 1984/10, pp. 908–09 and fig. 6 (dated 709); and Nishikawa, pls. 235–36 and 238–41 (dated 727).

⁷⁵ It is interesting that the standard scripts of both Eastern Wei and Northern Qi continued the style of Northern Wei, generally known as the *Wei beiti* (the Wei stele style), wherein each character still retained features reminiscent of the Han clerical script (*li*). But the script of the Sui dynasty had already evolved into a refinement that reached a climax in the elegant standard script of the Tang; see *WW*, 1984/4, pl. 7 and fig. 15; and *WW*, 1973/11, p. 30 and figs. 4 and 5.

⁷⁶ For a study of these techniques in the art of Chinese stone relief carving, see Mary H. Fong, “Tang Line-engraved Stone Reliefs from Shensi,” *Ars Orientalis*, XVII (1987), pp. 44–45.

⁷⁷ This point has been raised repeatedly in studies on the epitaph tablet inscriptions; see: Shao Mingshen, “Jin Wang Jun qi Hua Fang muzhi ming shiwen” (Notes on the epitaph inscription of Wan Jun’s wife Hua Fang, of Western Jin), *WW*, 1966/2, pp. 41–44 and 59; Xinxian City Museum, “Bei Qi Dou, Luo, Shi, Liu si muzhi shong jige wenti di tantao” (An inquiry into the questions contained in the four Northern Qi epitaph inscriptions of Dou, Luo, Shi, and Liu), *WW*, 1973/6, pp. 8–15; and Luo Zongzhen (1980), pp. 48 and 51–56.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56–59; and Nishikawa, pp. 2–4.

The provision of an inscribed epitaph stone inside a tomb was first developed in Western Jin, as documented by the earliest known brick epitaph tablet of 287 and stone epitaph tablet of 299 excavated from Western Jin tombs near Luoyang.⁷⁹ At the time, it was shaped like the Han grave stele (*mubei*), rectangular in form, with or without a rounded or pointed top.⁸⁰ During Eastern Jin (317–420), as noted in Luo Zongzhen's study of the twelve pieces excavated in Jiangsu, a further development took place: the tablet itself could be simply a piece of rectangular brick or stone; its size was determined by the number of Chinese characters used in the inscription; the number of characters varied from nine to over 200; the inscription was carved on both the front and back surfaces, the front, back and sides, or the front surfaces of two or more pieces; and the content ranged from a simple recording of name, birthplace, age, court position, and death date, to a long eulogy including family history and date of burial.⁸¹ But not until 424, when the (Liu) Song Emperor Wen (r. 424–454) advocated using the epitaph tablet to commemorate the virtuous deeds (*jide*) of the deceased, did a formal eulogy begin to emerge; it was generally composed by a known scholar and written in literary Chinese.⁸² Thus, the standardized eulogy commonly found on tablets of late Northern Wei through Tang comprises a memorial title or *zhiming* (distinctly a heading, separated from the text of the eulogy) which identifies the deceased by name and court rank, and a long eulogy that gives a brief account of family history, the place and date of death and burial, and a specific mention of posthumous meritorious awards, all appropriately complemented with expressions of loss and sorrow.⁸³

The earliest known standardized eulogy by a known author and inscribed on a square epitaph tablet is the recently discovered Liang dynasty piece (dated 502) which belonged to Xiao Rong, a younger brother of the Liang Emperor Wu (r. 502–550).⁸⁴ Though its shape predates that of the earliest known Northern Wei two-piece square epitaph tablet of 517 belonging to Lady Geng Shouji, it lacks a cover and is unembellished. Apparently the standardized eulogy and square form which originated in South China was adopted in late Northern Wei when the two-piece square epitaph tablet was formulated.

Tomb Guardian Figurines

After the epitaph tablet, the most important burial objects are the two sets of guardian figurines (*zhenmu yong*), which consisted of a pair of apotropaic creatures (*zhenmu shou*) and a pair of fully armored warriors, their left hands resting on the short end of a tall rectangular shield (*andun wushi yong*). The importance of the latter's role in the tomb is emphasized by their significantly larger size than the other interred warrior figurines; – they vary in height from 30 to 150 centimeters, in

⁷⁹ KGXB, 1957/1, pp. 181–84 and figs. 16 and 14–15. See also Wang Zhongshu, p. 180.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180, states that the use of tomb inscriptions which became popular in (Cao) Wei and Jin was undoubtedly a further development of the Han tomb stele, and that the difference is that the latter was a large stone placed above ground, but the former was a small tablet buried inside the tomb.

⁸¹ Luo Zongzhen, "Nanjing xin chutu Liang dai muzhi pingshu" (A commentary on the inscription of the newly excavated Liang dynasty epitaph tablet in Nanjing), WW, 1981/12, p. 25.

⁸² *Ibid.*, and Nan Qi shu (Southern Qi History), 10, pp. 158–59.

⁸³ These standardized features were pointed out by Luo Zongzhen; (WW, 1981/12), p. 25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, and Yuan Guolin of the Nanjing Museum, "Nanjing Liang Guiyang Wang Xiao Rong fufu hezang mu" (Excavation of the Liang dynasty tomb of Prince Guiyang, Xiao Rong, and his wife, at Nanjing), WW, 1981/12, pp. 10–13 and fig. 6. Xiao Rong (d. 501) has a very brief note in Nan shi, 51, p. 1274. He was a younger brother of the Liang founder, who served the Southern Qi regime as an imperial son-in-law and was killed in the inter-clan confusion when the Qi collapsed and the Liang armies took over. His badly broken and abraded epitaph stone has 20 by 28 lines of text, but his wife's, in much better condition, has 31 by 23 lines (she died in 513 and was buried in his tomb). His brother promoted him to conventional honors, climaxed by enfeoffment as Prince of Guiyang.

contrast to the others which measure from 20 to 25 centimeters.⁸⁵ Both pairs have been found consistently included in burials from the latter part of Northern Wei into early Tang. The undisturbed tomb of AD 520 which held two sets of early Northern Wei style tomb guardian figurines placed one from each pair at each side of the entrance to the coffin chamber, confirms that they were designated to guard the occupant(s) of the tomb (fig. 13).⁸⁶

a. Tomb Guardian Creatures

The tomb guardian creatures from late Northern Wei (528), (fig. 21a-b);⁸⁷ Eastern Wei (550), (fig. 22a-b);⁸⁸ Northern Qi (567), (fig. 23a-b);⁸⁹ Sui (595), (fig. 24a-b);⁹⁰ and early Tang (663), (fig. 25a-b);⁹¹ appear as fantastic beasts, one having a fearsome lion's head and the other a human face. Features common to all these sets are the lionlike body and the flamelike dorsal spikes. In late Northern Qi, as if to match the truncated protuberance on the head of the human-faced image, a pair of horns sprouted on the lion's head, and an emblem resembling the two-pronged metal head of a lance was implanted immediately behind the head of both figures. In the Sui dynasty, the human-faced guardian was given a fleshy horn atop its head. By the Tang dynasty, both had taken on a newly ominous appearance; a pair of wings had grown from their forequarters near the shoulder and their lion's paws were exchanged for cloven hoofs.

Their identities, long a puzzle, have been variously interpreted. The author of *Chinese Tomb Figurines* (1928) considered them the genii of the earth.⁹² Another, commenting on an eighth century Tang human-faced guardian creature in the catalogue of an exhibition of archaeological finds from the People's Republic of China, *The Genius of China* (1973), described it as the apotropaic genie, *qitou*.⁹³ A third, author of *Chinese Mythology* (rev. ed., 1983), believing it to be "the sort of hybrid animal which was supposed to guard the entrances to Kunlun," even suggested it was a tomb guardian that leads "the soul to the Kunlun paradise."⁹⁴ No one has explained why one of the pair should have a human and the other a lion face, why both their bodies should resemble a lion, nor the change of the lion's paws to cloven hoofs.

Today, as a succession of scientifically controlled data has become available for study, it appears that the human-faced guardian was not given a *qitou* mask to wear but was a distinct form created in accordance with traditional Chinese burial customs. In 1956, the excavation of a Wu Kingdom (222-280) tomb in Wuchang, Hubei, brought out a creature with a human face standing on all fours, which the Chinese archaeologists, classifying it as a strange animal (*guai shou*), suggested might be a

⁸⁵ These data are obtained from a survey of the archaeological reports on the tombs in which the pair of tomb guardian warriors were found; see fns. 87-91.

⁸⁶ This Northern Wei tomb is remarkable not only for its well-preserved condition but also for having contained a nearly square-shaped epitaph tablet, a pair of tomb guardian creatures, and a pair of tomb guardian warriors; see WW, 1955/12, pp. 59-65. Shao Zhen (422-520), as a Provisional Grand Warden, was given an epitaph of 11 by 15 lines of text. The inscription states that it was his great grandfather, once a Prefect of the Wei Country, who decided to move to Shaanxi.

⁸⁷ Luoyang Museum, "Luoyang Bei Wei Yuan Shao mu" (The Northern Wei tomb of Yuan Shao in Luoyang), KG, 1973/4, p. 222 and pl. 12, fig. 2. Yuan Shao, though not recorded in either *Wei shu* or *Bei shi*, is identified by the epitaph inscription as a grandson of Emperor Xiao Wen. He was killed by the rebel, Erzhu Rong, in the 528 massacre of the Northern Wei ruling family and courtiers.

⁸⁸ WW, 1984/4, p. 4 and p. 5, fig. 5. Also see n. 13.

⁸⁹ WW, 1984/4, p. 19 and p. 18, fig. 9. Also see n. 44.

⁹⁰ KG, 1959/10, p. 541 and pl. 9, figs. 5 and 8. Also see n. 42.

⁹¹ WW, 1972/7, p. 35 and figs. 6-7. Also see n. 17.

⁹² Carl Hentze, *Chinese Tomb Figurines; A Study of the Beliefs and Folklore of Ancient China* (London, 1928), pl. 55.

⁹³ William Watson, *The Genius of China; An Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China* (London, 1973), pp. 143-44 and fig. 298.

⁹⁴ Anthony Christie, *Chinese Mythology*, re. ed. (New York, 1985), p. 77.

tomb guardian.⁹⁵ In 1983, another tomb in Ma'anshansi, Anhui, yielded a second creature similar in both form and size (fig. 14)⁹⁶ – the former measures 21 cm in height and 27 cm in length and the latter 20.4 and 25 cm respectively. Like the previous one, the Ma'anshansi tomb had been robbed, but fortunately most of the burial goods were left in their original positions, and the human-faced creature was found standing near the left side of the doorway to the coffin chamber, facing the main entrance to the tomb. The Chinese archaeologists, therefore, designated it as a tomb guardian creature (*zhenmu shou*).⁹⁷

It seems no accident that the human-faced guardian creature should have surfaced in Hubei and Anhui, regions once belonging to the state of Chu of the Warring States period (480–221 B.C.). The 1976 excavation of over 500 Chu tombs in Jiangling, Hubei, the former capital site of the state, netted 155 tomb guardian creatures.⁹⁸ The individual images are made of wood and painted with lacquer; most simply have a square pillar for the body and stand on a square plinth. Moreover, whether human or animal-headed, each has a pair of deer horns and displays an extraordinarily long tongue hanging from its mouth.⁹⁹ A remarkably well-preserved animal-headed and sculpturally better articulated piece unearthed in Xinyang, Henan, sits upright like a man, bites on a snake it holds to its mouth by two front paws, and also lets its long tongue hang down.¹⁰⁰ Sun Zuoyun, in his study of mythical human-like creatures, suggested that the Warring States tomb guardian creature is a representation of Hou Tu, spirit of the earth (or god of soil, namely Sheji), who was also known as Tu Bo, who protected the dead from the attacks of snakes.¹⁰¹ He contended that the earliest known literary reference to Tu Bo in the Chu poem "The Summons of the Soul" (*Zhao hun*), described him as the spirit dwelling in Youdu who had sharp horns on its head; and, as Youdu was a realm belonging to the spirit of the earth,¹⁰² therefore Tu Bo and Hou Tu were one and the same deity. Furthermore, citing several ancient texts – the *Zuo Commentary* (*Zuo zhuan*) stating that Hou Tu was the son of Gong Gong, the "First Rebel" of the mythical age; the *Book of Rites* (*Li ji*) that Gong Gong's son was worshipped as a Spirit of the Earth for having controlled the great flood; and the miscellaneous compilation sponsored by Liu An, King of Huainan (d. 122 B.C.), *Huainan zi* as well as the *Records of the Historian* (*Shi ji*) that Yu, the founder of the Xia dynasty, was also worshipped as Sheji for having controlled the floods of the Yellow River – he concluded that Yu was deified after his death

⁹⁵ Hubei Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Wuchang Lianxisi Dong Wu mu qingli jianbao" (A brief report on excavation of a Wu Kingdom tomb at Lianxisi in Wuchang), *KG*, 1959/6, p. 189 and pl. 5, fig. 1.

⁹⁶ Anhui Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, "Anhui Ma'anshansi Jiashan Dong Wu mu qingli jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of a Wu Kingdom tomb at Ma'anshansi in Jiashan, Anhui), *KG*, 1986/5, p. 408 and pl. 1, fig. 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 405, fig. 3.

⁹⁸ Wang Ruiming, "Zhenmu shou' kao" (A study of the tomb guardian creature), *WW*, 1979/6, p. 87. see also Hubei Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, "Hubei sheng Jiangling chutu huzuo niaojiagu liangzuo Chu mu di qingli jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of two tiger-bird drum stands from the Chu tombs in Jiangling, Hubei), *WW*, 1964/9, pp. 28–30 and fig. 5.4, and p. 30 and fig. 8.4.

⁹⁹ Sun Zuoyun, "Mawangdui yihao Han mu qiquan hua kaishi" (The mythological paintings on the lacquer coffin of Han Tomb No. 1 from Mawangdui), *KG*, 1973/4, p. 250 and fig. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Henan Provincial Bureau of Culture et al., "Woguo kaogu shishang di kongqian faxian Xinyang Changtaiguan fajue yizuo Zhanguo daimu" (An unprecedented discovery in China's archaeological history of a large Warring States tomb at Changtaiguan in Xinyang), *WW*, 1957/9, fig. on p. 22; and Akiyama Terukazu et al., *Arts of China; Neolithic Cultures to the Tang Dynasty: Recent Discoveries* (Tokyo, 1968), fig. 98. This Warring States tomb guardian creature, carved of wood and painted with lacquer colors of black, red and yellow, has real deer horns and is 195 cm high. For two additional examples, see The Henan Provincial Institute of Archaeology, *Xinyang Chu mu (Two Tombs of the Chu State at Xinyang)*, (Beijing, 1986), pls. 58–59 and 108–109.

¹⁰¹ *KG*, 1973/4, pp. 248–50. For an identification of Hou Tu, see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C. – A.D. 220* (Princeton, 1975), p. 197.

¹⁰² *Ch'u tz'u* (Ch'u poems), (Taipei, 1972), p. 121; and David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South* (Boston, 1962), p. 105.

and became Hou Tu.¹⁰³ It seems to explain the use of the human face on some of the Chu tomb guardian creatures. By the Western Han, the tomb guardian appears to have become more human-like; the pair of kneeling images (described as *ou ren* in the archaeological report) made of wood strips, straw, and mud, but carrying three-foot long deer horns on their heads, from Han Tomb Number Two at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan,¹⁰⁴ suggest a continuity of the Chu burial custom. Quite possibly, then, the Wu Kingdom human-faced creatures were variations of such tomb guardian creatures.

So far as is known, human-faced tomb guardian creatures have not been found in any of the numerous Han tombs excavated during the last decades. The lack of continuous evidence through the four centuries of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. – A.D. 221) suggests that the Wu Kingdom artist could have creatively turned to ancient literary texts for inspiration, just as his Han predecessors had done for their illustrative art.¹⁰⁵ The *Classic of Spirits and Marvels* (*Shen yi jing*), composed by the Western Han imaginative writer Dongfang Shuo, describes specifically an animal known as Taowu, which resembles a tiger but wears the coat of a dog, measures two feet (*chi*) long and has a human face.¹⁰⁶ Another Western Han text, the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing*), which contains descriptions of fantastic gods, demons, and animal deities, mentions several such supernatural anomalies. The one which describes Kaiming, an animal creature that carried as many as nine human heads, who guarded the nine entrances to Mount Kunlun, the home of the Queen Mother of the West, has been found illustrated on stone reliefs from Han tombs and a sixth century ceiling painting at Dunhuang.¹⁰⁷ Another which describes Shan Hui, a human-headed animal dwelling in the northern Yufa Mountain could have been the immediate prototype:

Two hundred *li* further north is the Yufa Mountain... There dwells an animal which resembles a dog but has a human face, and is clever at hurling [things]. When it sees a man, it howls. Its name is Shan Hui.^{108(a)}

Since a specific reference to this creature, "Up there [in the hills] Hui howls long and loud..." is contained in the famous rhapsody on the Wu Kingdom capital (*Wudu fu*) by the Jin scholar, Zuo Si,¹⁰⁹ it is likely that the Wu Kingdom artist was aware of the human-headed creature Shan Hui.

The human-faced tomb guardian creature from the Wu Kingdom tombs, the earliest known of the type, could very well have been a prototype of the early Northern Wei human-faced guardian creature, such as that found in the tomb of Sima Jinlong (fig. 18); it resembles the late Northern Wei pair in posture, that is, sitting on its haunches, but differs in that its head is lowered to look

¹⁰³ KG 1973/4, pp. 248–50, and for the references to these texts, see respectively: *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* in *Sibu beiyao* (hereafter *SBBY*), (Zhao Gong 29th Year), 53.6a; *Liji Zhengzhu* in *SBBY* (Ji fa), 14.4b; *Huainan zi* in *SBBY* (Fanlun pian), 13.22a; and *Shi ji*, 28, p. 1357.

¹⁰⁴ Hunan Provincial Museum et al., "Changsha Mawangdui erh, sanhao Han mu fajue jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of Han Tombs Numbers 2 and 3 at Mawangdui in Changsha), WW, 1974/7, p. 40.

¹⁰⁵ F.S. Drake, "Sculptural Stones of the Han Dynasty," *Monumenta Serica*, VIII (1943), pp. 186–93.

¹⁰⁶ *Shou ku* in *Sibu zayao* (Zi bu), p. 16.

¹⁰⁷ *Shanhai jing* in *SBBY*, 2.17a-b, 2.190a-b, and 11.3a-4a; and respectively see, Li Falin, "Luetan Han huaxiangshi di diaoke jifa ji qi fenqi" (A brief discussion on the carving techniques of Han pictorial stone reliefs and their periods), KG, 1965/4, p. 200, fig. 2; and Dunhuang Research Institute, *Dunhuang di yishu baocang* (Art Treasures of Dunhuang), (Hong Kong, 1980), pl. 22 (Cave 249). For studies on this mythological image, see Li Falin, "Han huaxiang zhong di jiutou renmian shou," (The nine-headed creature in Han representations), WW, 1974/12, pp. 81–86; and Sun Zuoyun, "Dunhuang huazhong di shenguai hua" (The mythological images in the paintings at Dunhuang), KG, 1960/6, pp. 24–25.

¹⁰⁸ *Shanhai jing* in *SBBY*, 3.6a-b.

¹⁰⁹ Zuo Si, spent ten years writing his famous *Rhapsody of Three Capitals* (*Sandu fu*), one of which is the *Wudu fu*. See his biography in *Jin shu* (Jin History), 92, pp. 2375–77.

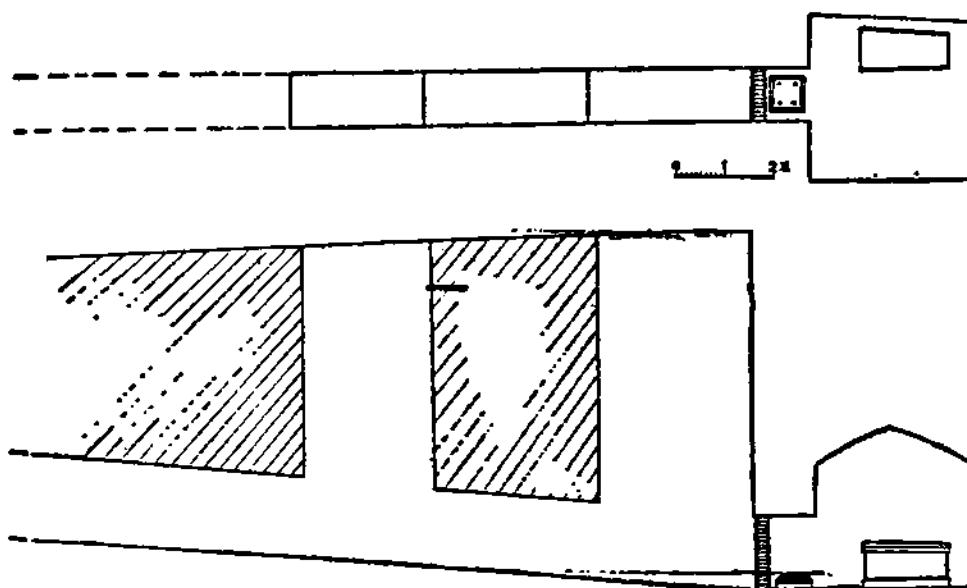


Fig. 1 Ground plan and longitudinal section. Tomb of Yuan Wei, Northern Wei (528), Luoyang, Henan.
From *Wenwu*, 1982/1, p. 72, fig. 5.

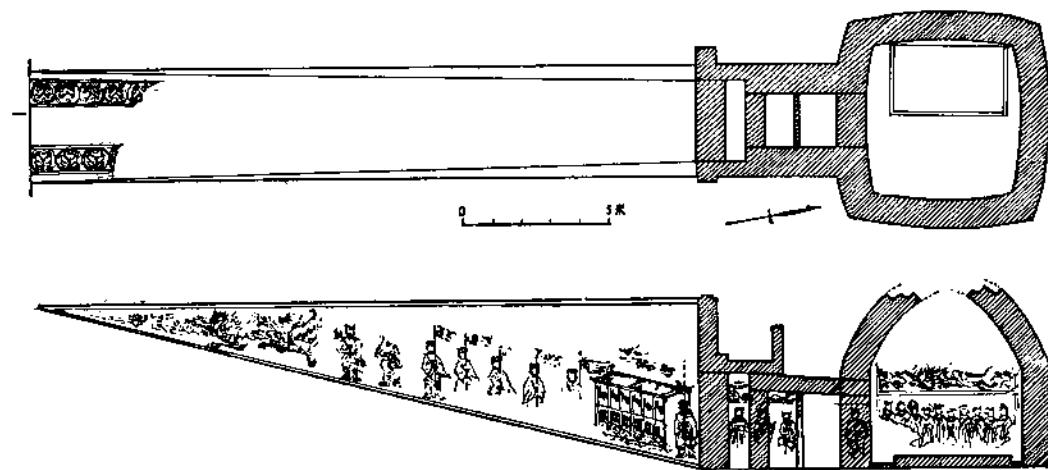


Fig. 2 Ground plan and longitudinal section. Tomb of a Ruru princess, Eastern Wei (550), Cixian, Hebei.
From *Wenwu*, 1984/4, p. 2, fig. 2.

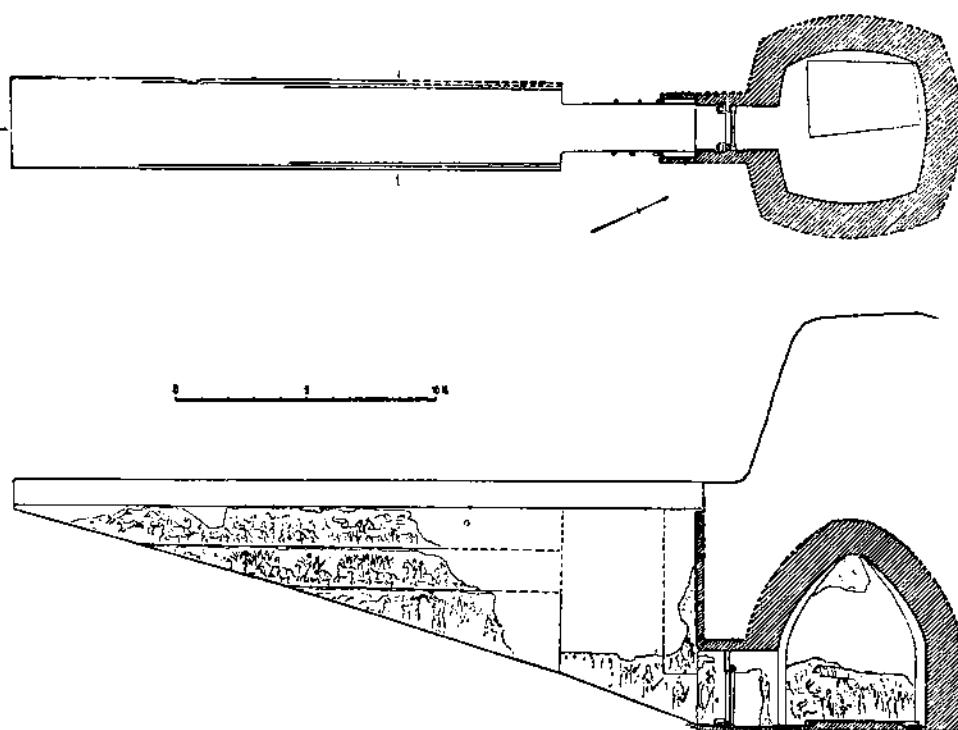


Fig. 3 Ground plan and longitudinal section. Tomb of Lou Rui, Northern Qi (570), Taiyuan, Shanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1983/10, p. 2, fig. 2.

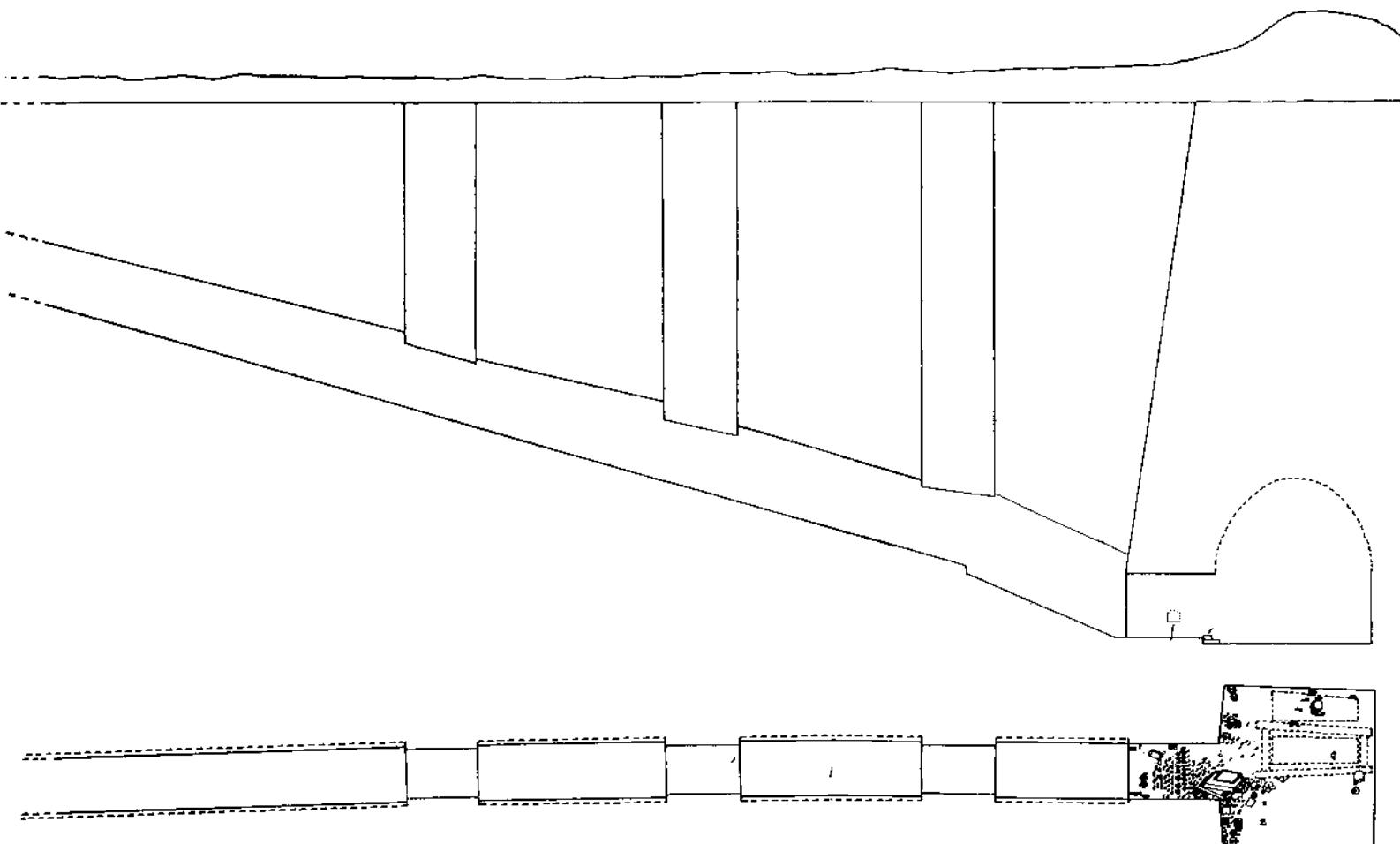


Fig. 4 Ground plan and longitudinal section. Tomb of Li Xian, Northern Shou (569), Guyuan, Ningxia.
From *Wenwu*, 1985/11, p. 2, fig. 2.

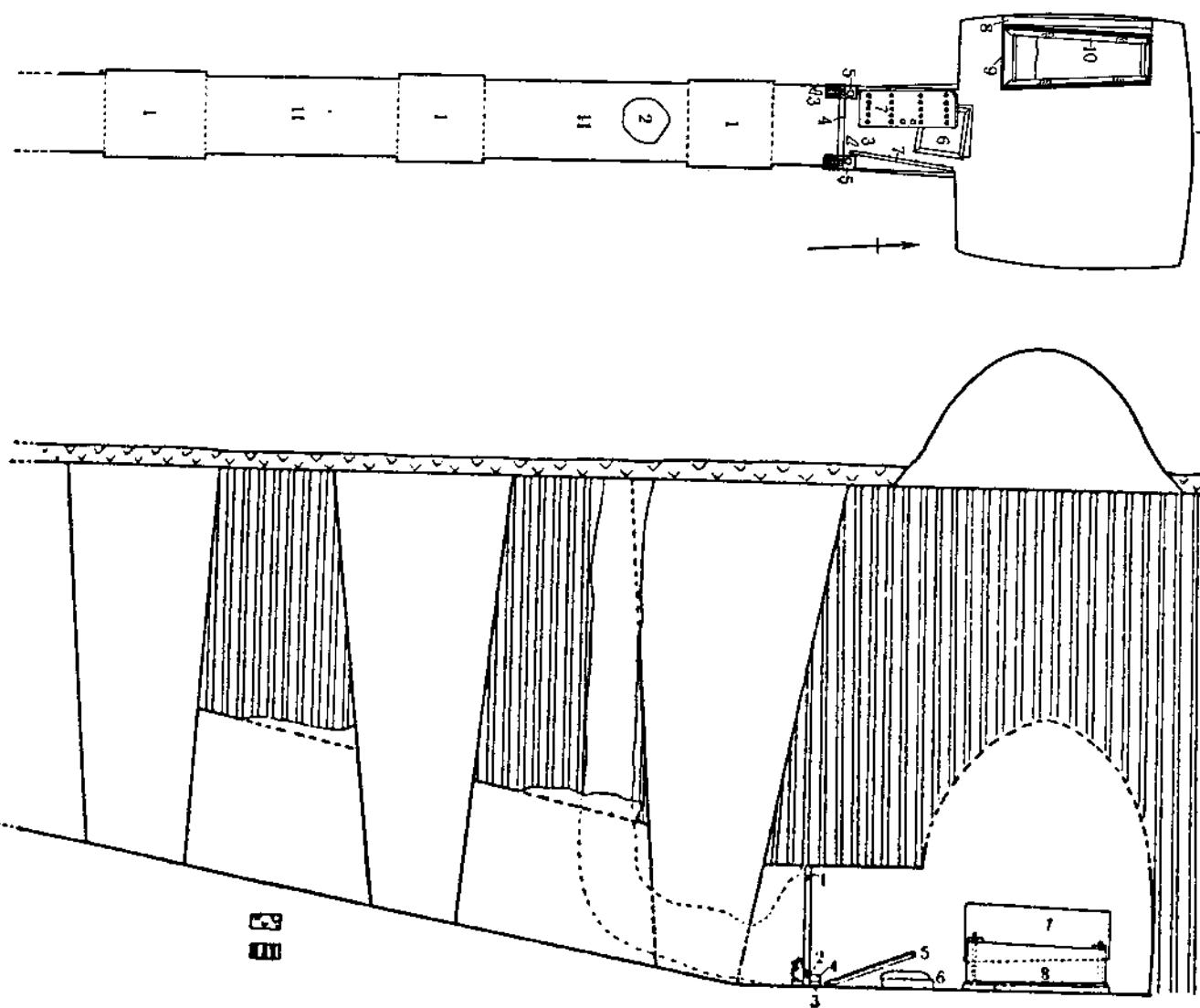


Fig. 5 Ground plan and longitudinal section. Tomb of Li He, Sui (582), Sanyuan, Shaanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1966/1, pp. 27-28, figs. 2 and 3.

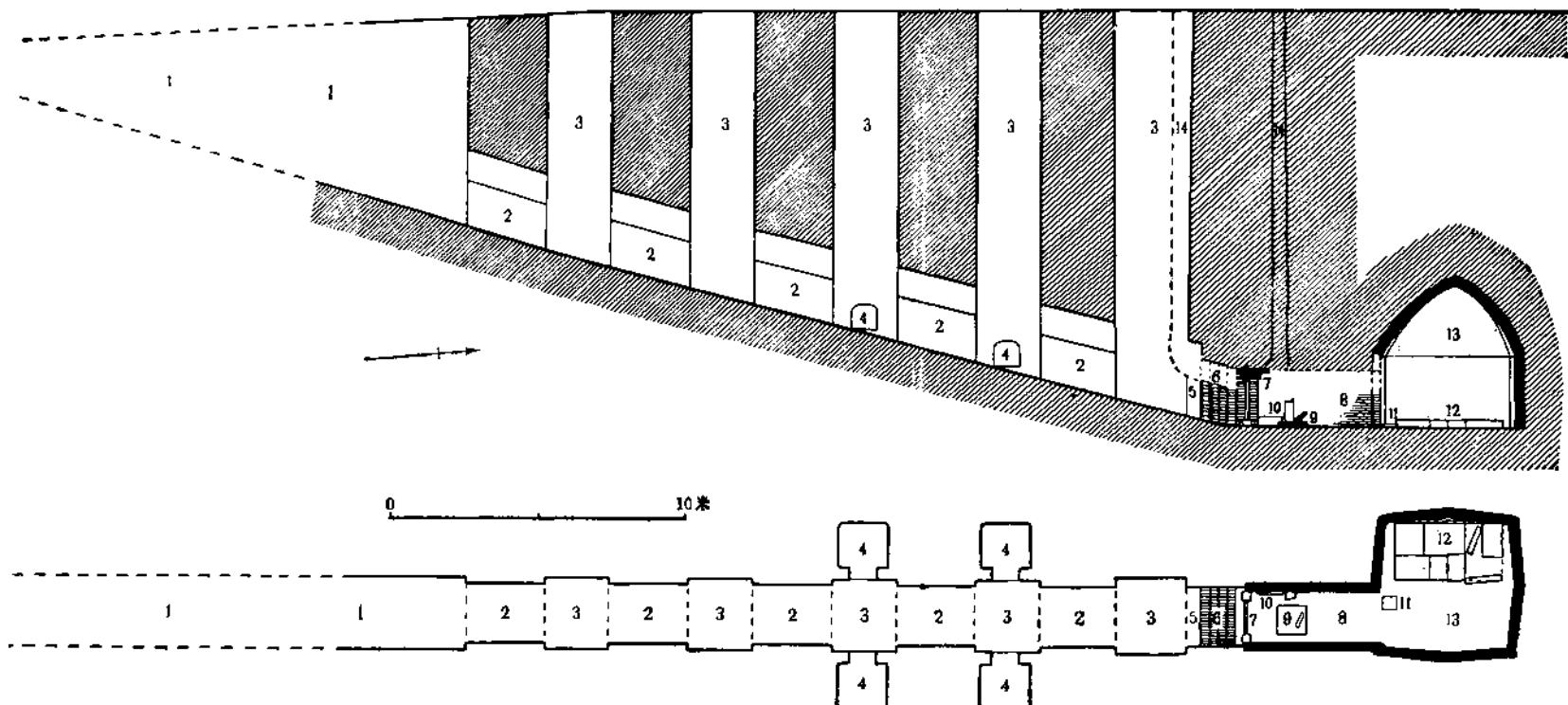


Fig. 6 Longitudinal section and ground plan. Tomb of Zhang Shigui, Tang (658), Liqian, Shaanxi.
From *Kaogu*, 1978/3, p. 169, fig. 1.

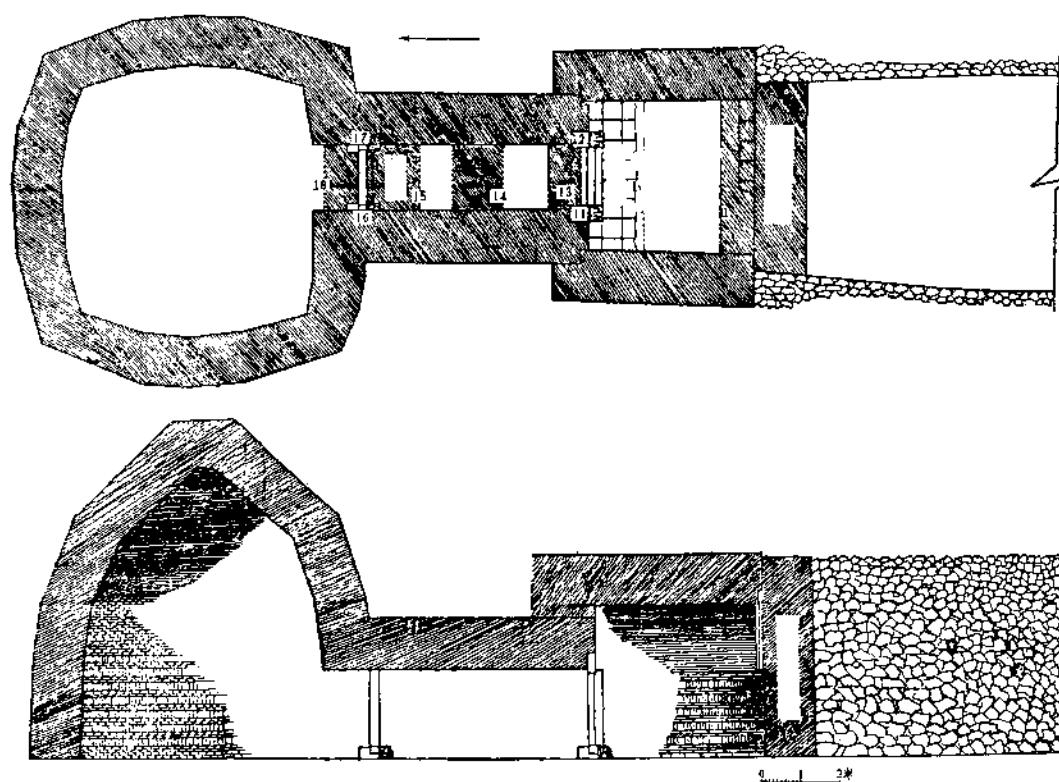


Fig. 7 Ground plan and longitudinal section.
Tomb of Dowager Empress Wen Ming, Northern Wei (481-483), Fangshan, Datong, Shanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1978/7, p. 30, fig. 3.

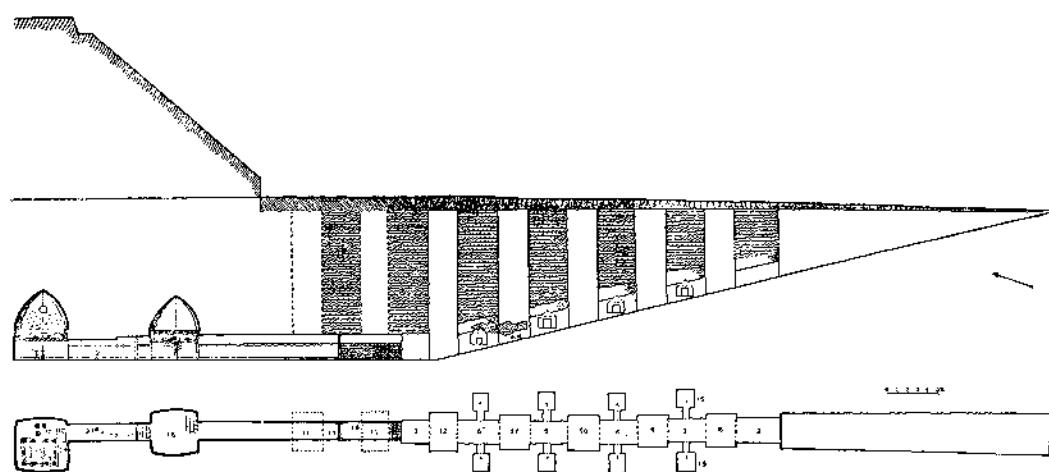


Fig. 8 Longitudinal section and ground plan. Tomb of Prince Yi De, Tang (706), Qianxian, Shaanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1972/7, p. 26, fig. 1.

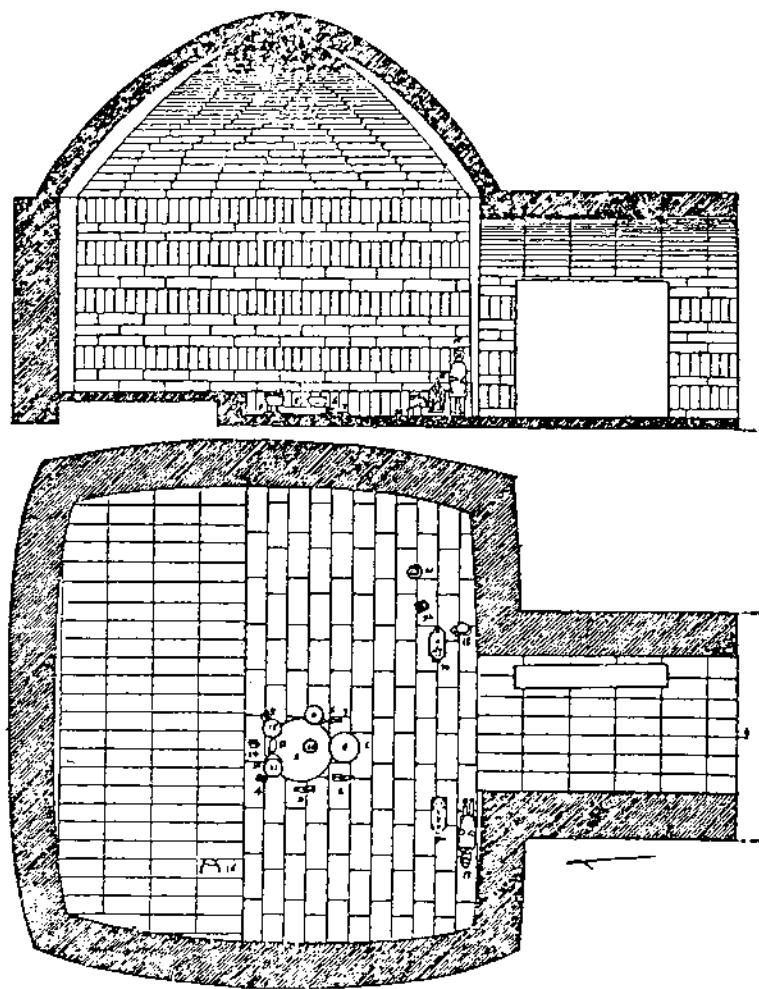


Fig. 13 Longitudinal section and ground plan.
Tomb of Shao Zhen, Northern Wei (520), Renjiakou, Xian, Shaanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1955/12, p. 61.



Fig. 9 Stone door with painted decorations.
Tomb of Lou Rui, Northern Qi (570), Taiyuan, Shanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1983/10, pl. 2, fig. 1.

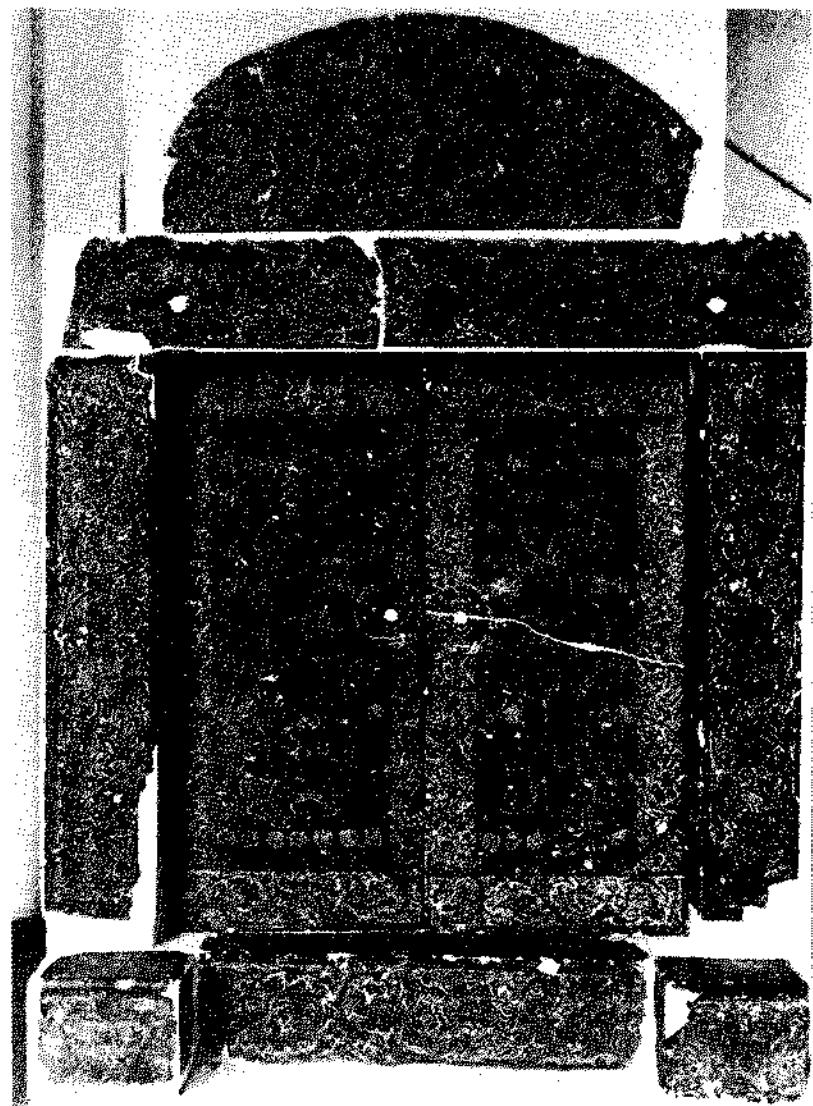


Fig. 10 Rubbing of engraved stone door.
Tomb of Prince Zhang Huai, Tang (706), Qianxian, Shaanxi.
From *Archaeological Treasures Excavated in the People's Republic of China*
(Tokyo, 1973), pl. 162.

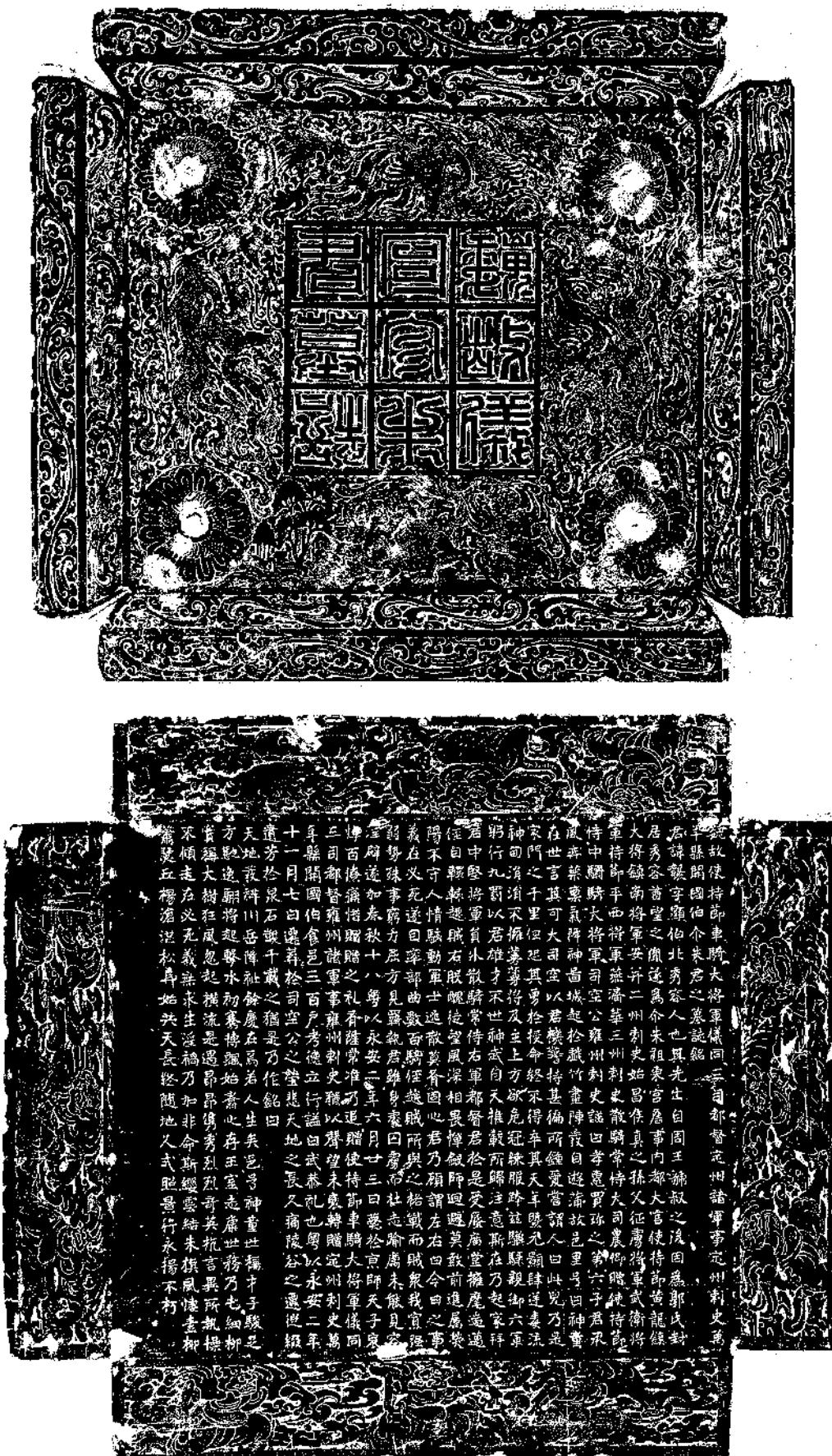


Fig. 11 Rubbings of engraved stone epitaph tablet cover (top) and base (bottom).
 Tomb of Erzhu Xi, Northern Wei (529), 62×74 cm, Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xian, Shaanxi.
 From Y. Nishikawa, *Seian hirin* (Tokyo, 1966), pls. 142 and 143.

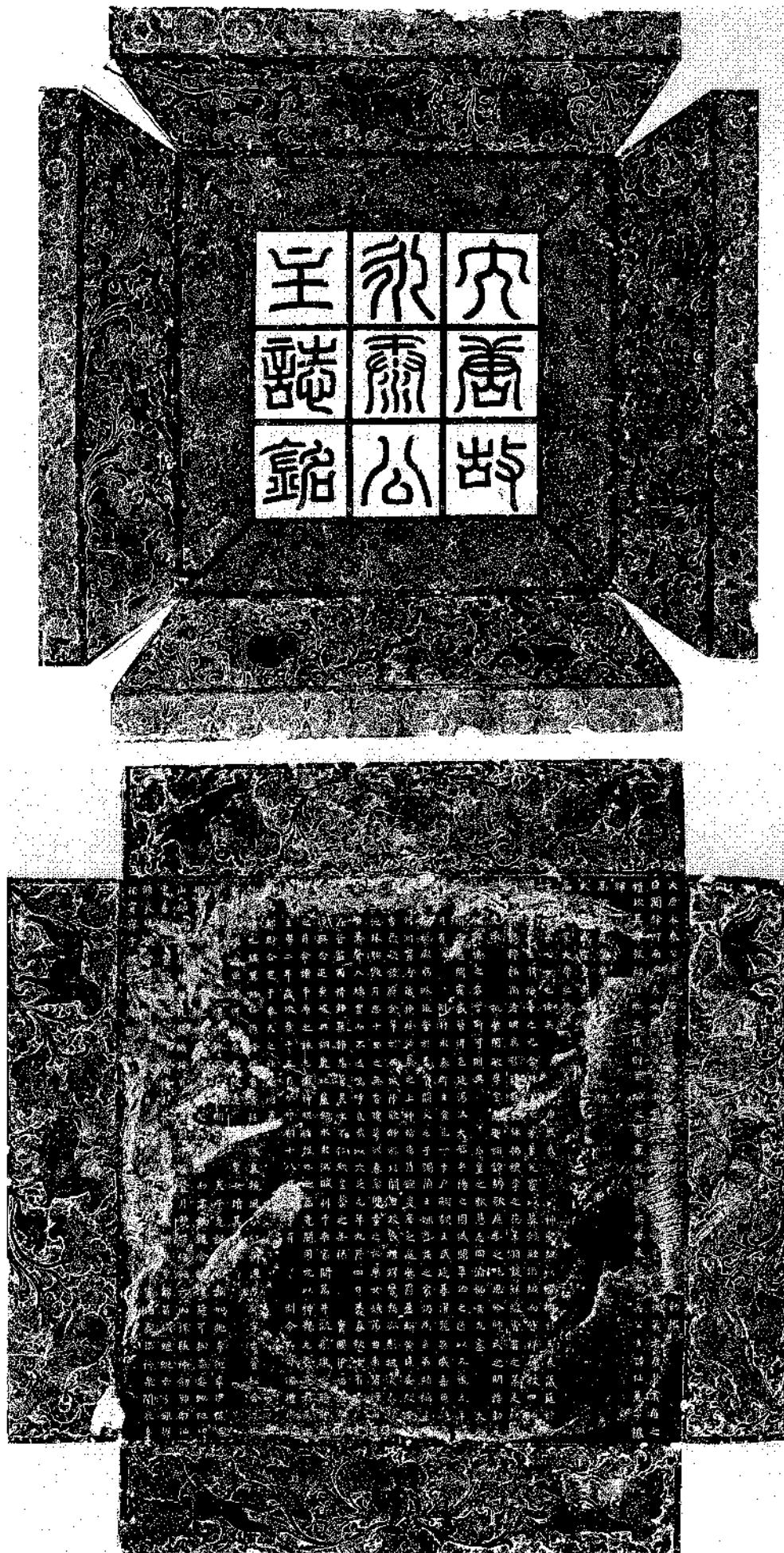


Fig. 12 Rubbings of engraved stone epitaph tablet cover (top) base (bottom).
 Tomb of Princess Yong Tai, Tang (706), 119×119 cm, Qianxian, Shaanxi.
 From Y. Nishikawa, *Seian hirin* (Tokyo, 1966), pl. 177.

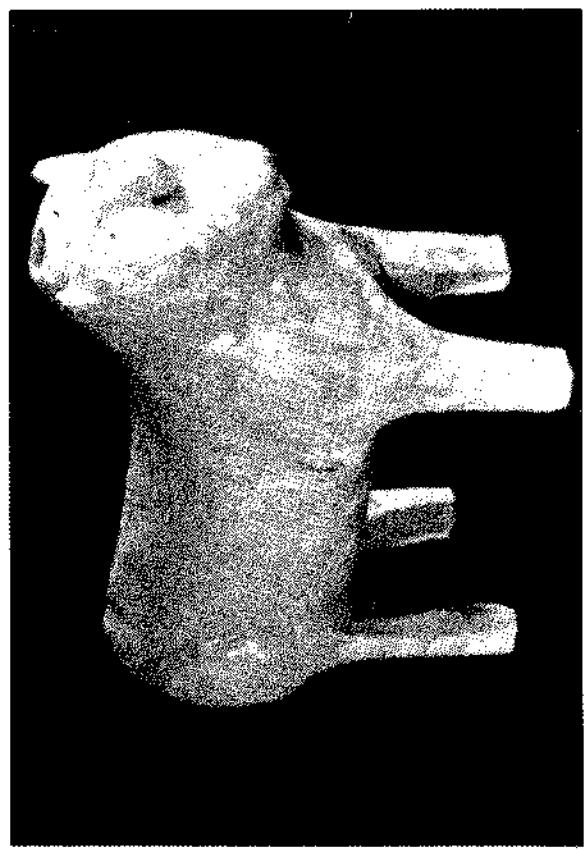


Fig. 14 Human-faced tomb guardian creature. Stoneware with a greenglaze, H. 20.4 cm, L. 25 cm.
Excavated from a tomb of the Wu Kingdom (222–280), Ma'anshansi, Anhui.
From *Kaogu* 1986/5, Pl. 1, fig. 5.



Fig. 16 Rhinoceros-like tomb guardian beast. Earthenware, H. 21.5 cm, L. 29.7 cm.
Excavated from a tomb of Eastern Jin (317–420), Shizigang, Nanjing (Zhonghuamenwai), Jiangsu.
From *Nanjing Lin Chao chuntu wenwu xuanji* (Nanjing, 1957), pl. 23.



Fig. 15 Rhinoceros-like tomb guardian beast. Earthenware with slip colors, H. 23.7 cm, L. 34.5 cm.
Excavated from a tomb of Western Jin (265–316), Xingyuancun, Yanshi, Henan.
From *Kaogu*, 1985/8, Pl. 6, fig. 3.

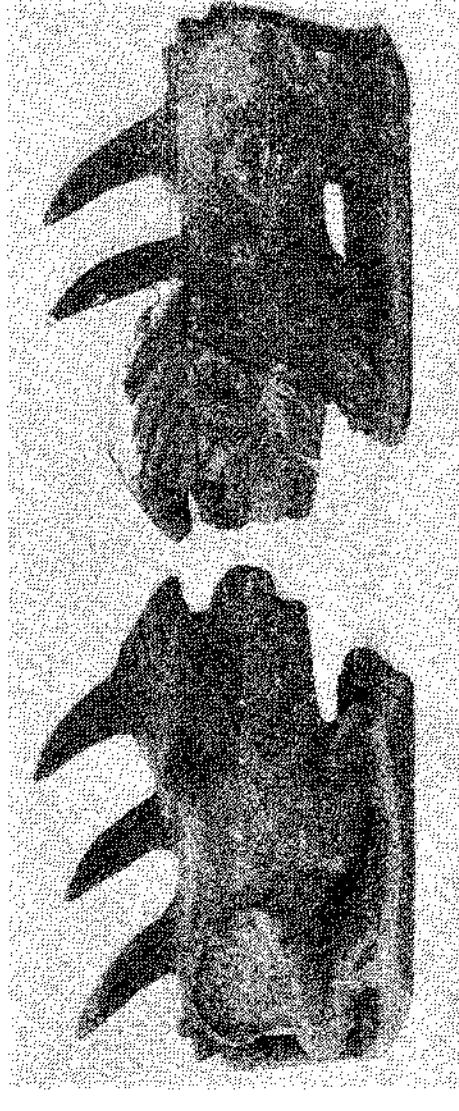


Fig. 17a-b A pair of tomb guardian beasts. Earthenware, mold-made, H. 15 cm, L. 22 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Shao Zhen, Northern Wei (520), Renjiakou, Xian, Shaanxi.
From *Wenwu* 1955/12, p. 63, fig. 2.



Fig. 18 Human-faced tomb guardian creature. Earthenware with slip colors, H. 34.5 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Sima Jinlong, Northern Wei (484), Datong, Shanxi.
From *Cultural Relics Unearthed During the Cultural Revolution* (Beijing, 1972), pl. 142.



Fig. 19 Rubbing of impressed brick relief of a seated lion.
West wall, corridor of a tomb of Southern Qi (479-501), Jinwangchen, Jianshan, Jiangsu.
From Yao Qian, *Liu Chao yishu* (Beijing, 1981), pl. 202.



Fig. 20 Stone relief of a seated lion.
Cave of the Six Lions, Northern Wei (c. 516-528), Longmen Cave Temples, Luoyang, Henan.
From *Longmen shiku* (Beijing, 1981), pl. 102.



Fig. 21a-b A pair of tomb guardian creatures.
Earthenware with traces of slip colors, H. 25.5 cm.
Excavated from the tomb of Yuan Shao, Northern Wei (528), Luoyang, Henan.
From *Kaogu*, 1973/4, pl. 12, fig. 2.

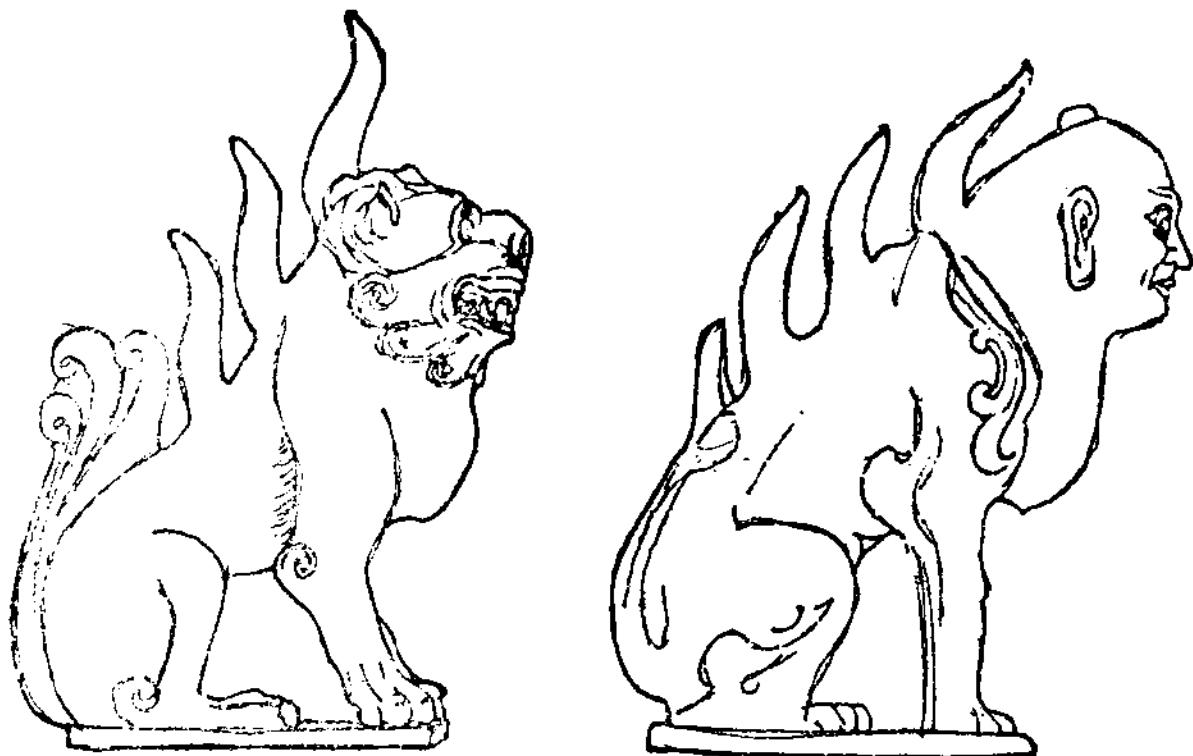


Fig. 22a-b Drawing of a pair of tomb guardian creatures. Earthenware with traces of slip colors, H. 32 and 35 cm.
 Tomb of a Ruru princess, Eastern Wei (550), Cixian, Hebei.
 From *Wenwu*, 1984/4, p. 5, fig. 5.

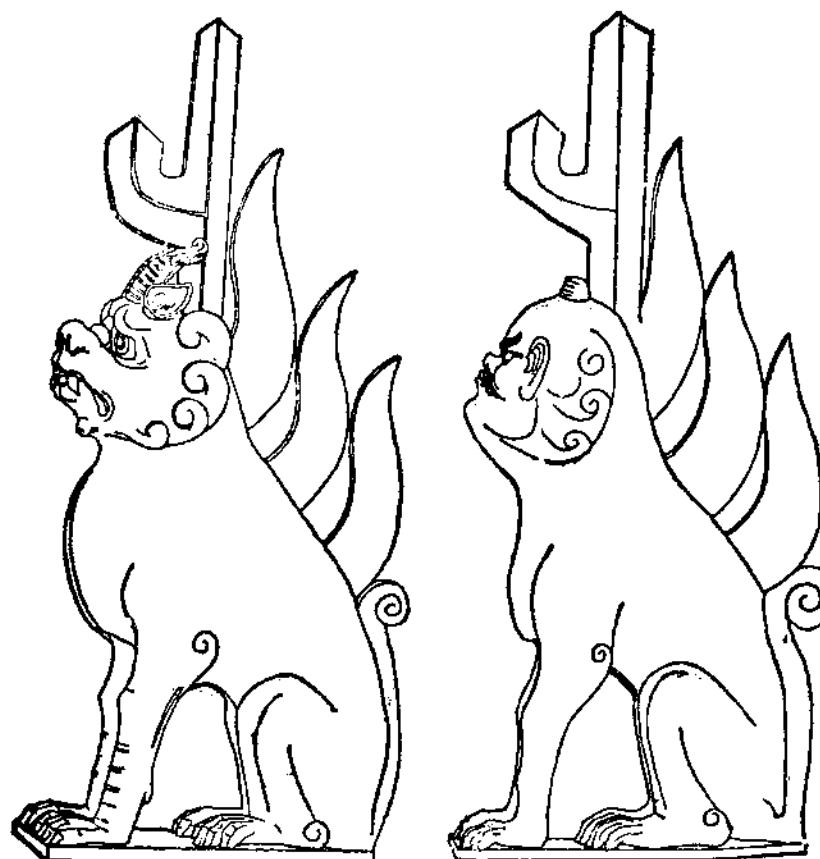


Fig. 23a-b Drawing of a pair of tomb guardian creatures. Earthenware with traces of slip colors, H. 40 and 46 cm.
 Tomb of Yao Jun, Northern Qi (567), Cixian, Hebei.
 From *Wenwu*, 1984/4, p. 18, fig. 9.

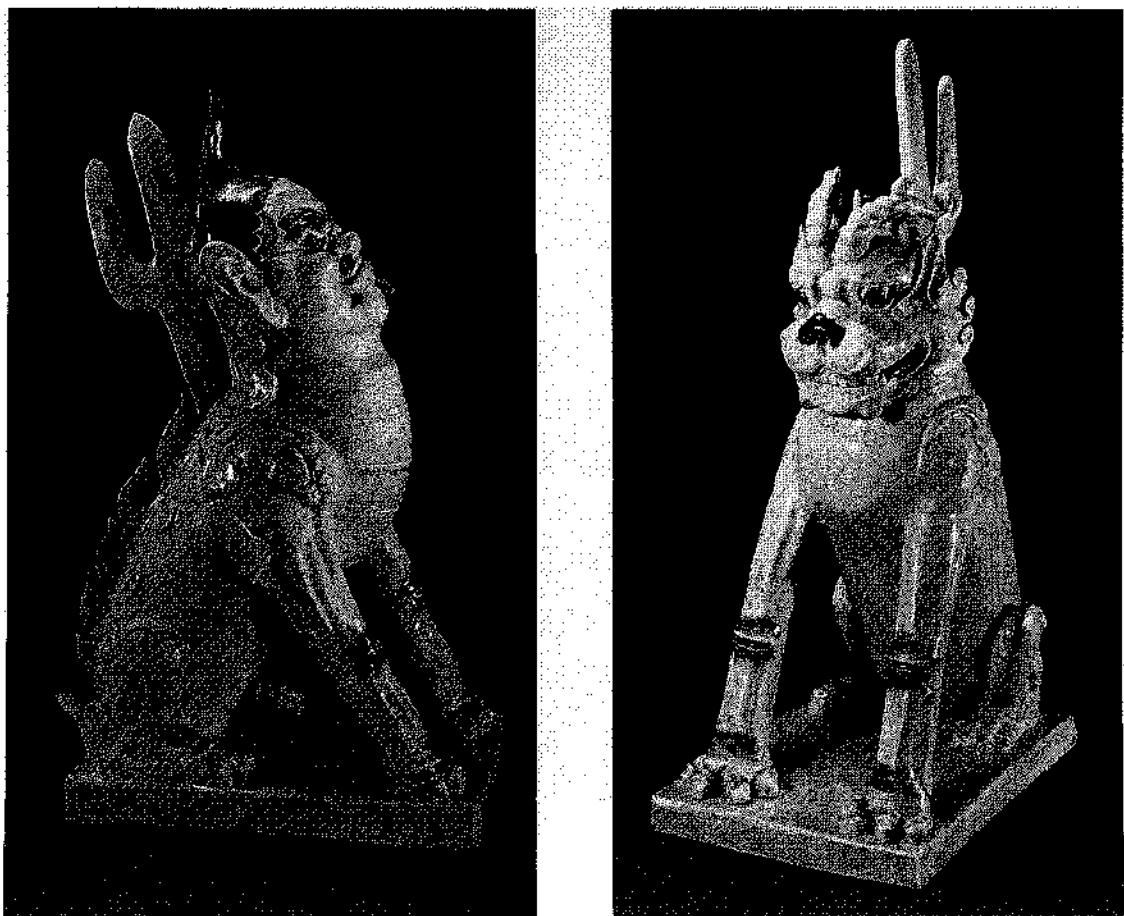


Fig. 24a-b A pair of tomb guardian creatures. Gray-white stoneware with a greenish clear glaze, H. 48.5 and 50 cm.

Excavated from the tomb of Zhang Sheng, Sui (595), Anyang, Henan.

From *Henan sheng bowu guan* (Beijing, 1985), pls. 106-7.

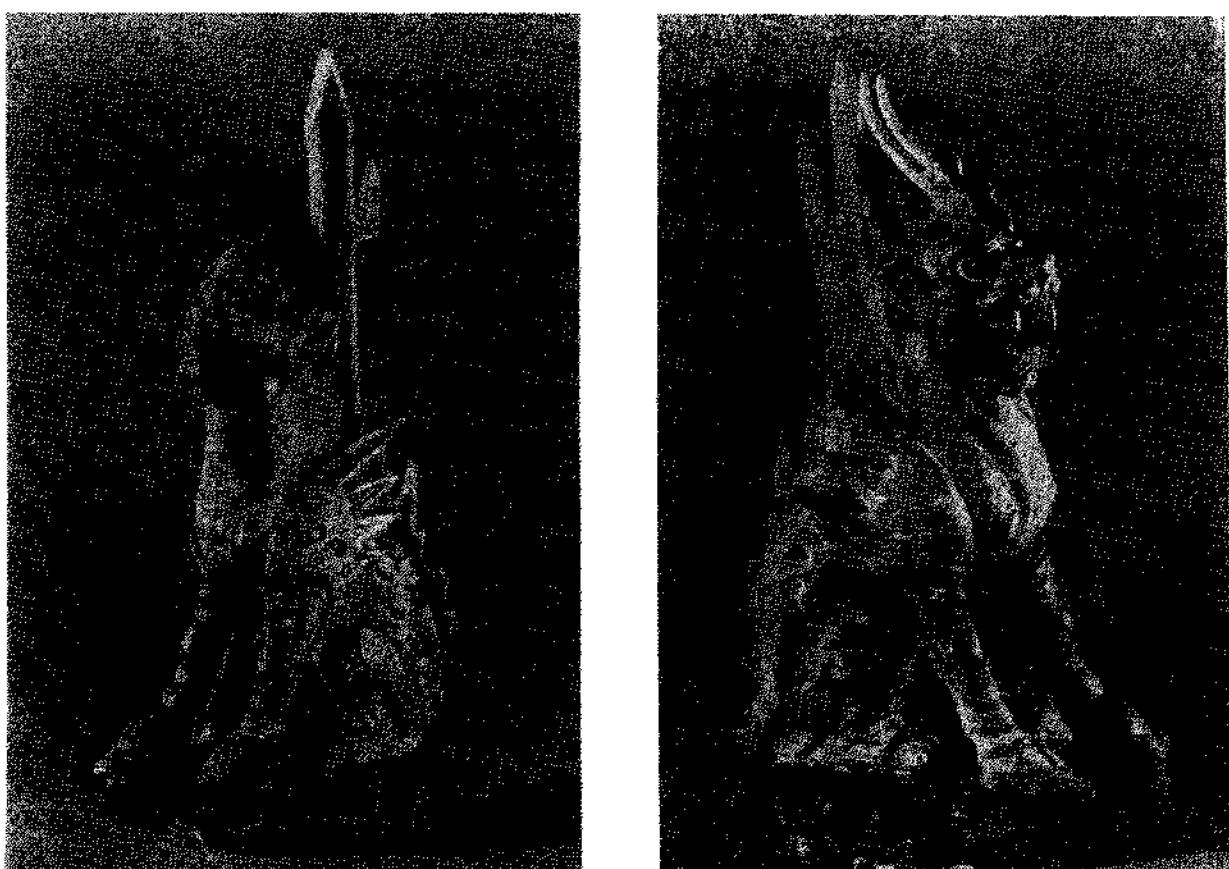


Fig. 25a-b A pair of tomb guardian creatures. White *gaoling* clay with a yellowish glaze, painted colors, and applied gold, H. 63 cm. Excavated from tomb of Zheng Rentai, Tang (663), Liquan, Shaanxi.

From *Wenwu*, 1972/7, p. 35, figs. 6-7.



Fig. 27a-b A pair of tomb guardian warriors. Earthenware, mold-made, H. 43 cm. Excavated from tomb of Shao Zhen, Northern Wei (520), Renjiakou, Xian, Shaanxi. From *Wenwu*, 1955/12, 63, fig. 1.



Fig. 26 Tomb figurine of a warrior holding a shield. Earthenware with slip colors, H. 52.8 cm. Excavated from a tomb of Eastern Jin (317-420), Fuguisan, Nanjing, Jiangsu. From *Nanjing Museum* (Beijing, 1984), pl. 85.



Fig. 28 One of a pair of tomb guardian warriors with a large shield. Earthenware with traces of slip colors, H. 30.8 cm. Excavated from tomb of Yuan Shao, Northern Wei (528), Luoyang, Henan. From *Kaogu*, 1973/4, pl. 8, fig. 1.



Fig. 29 One of a pair of tomb guardian warriors with a large shield.
Earthenware with traces of slip colors, H. 47.5 cm. Excavated
from tomb of Zhao Huren, Eastern Wei (547), Dongchencun, Cixian, Hebei.
From *Kaogu*, 1977/6, pl. 8, fig. 3.

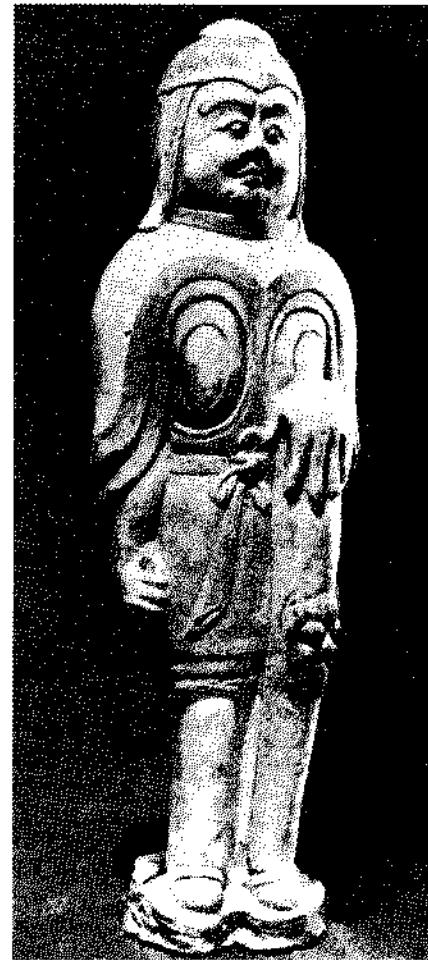


Fig. 30 One of a pair of tomb guardian warriors with a large shield.
Stoneware with slip colors and applied gold, H. 58 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Kudi Huiluo, Northern Qi (562), Shouyang, Shanxi.
From *Kaogu xuebao*, 1979/3, pl. 7, fig. 1.



Fig. 31 One of a pair of tomb guardian warriors with a large shield.
Earthenware with slip colors H. 34 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Li Jingxun, Sui (608), Xian, Shaanxi.
From *Tang Changan chengjiao Sui Tang mu* (Beijing, 1980), pl. 20.



Fig. 32 One of a pair of tomb guardian warriors with a large shield.
Earthenware with slip colors, H. 47.5 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Dugu Kaiyuan, Tang (642), Xianyang, Shaanxi.
From *Shaanxi sheng chutu Tang yong xuanji* (Beijing, 1958), pl. 1.



Fig. 33 One of a pair tomb guardian warriors (*Wushi yong*).
Gray-white stoneware with clear glaze, H. 73 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Zhang Sheng, Sui (595), Anyang, Henan.
From *Henan sheng bowu guan* (Beijing, 1985), pl. 109.



Fig. 34 One of a pair of tomb guardian warriors (*wushi yong*).
White "gaoling" clay with yellowish glaze, painted colors,
and applied gold, H. 72 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Zheng Rentai, Tang (663), Liqian, Shaanxi.
From *Shaanxi sheng bowu guan* (Beijing, 1983), pl. 44.

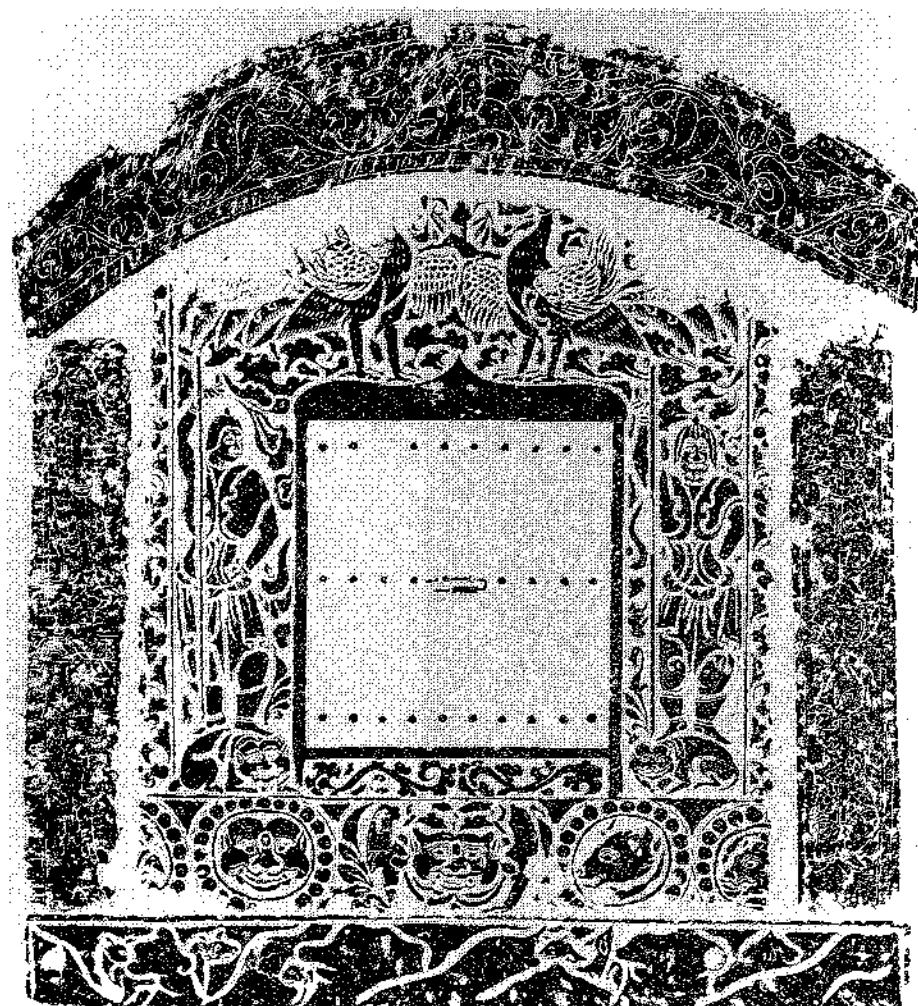


Fig. 35 Rubbing of relief on short end of stone coffin. Tomb of Li He, Sui (582), H. 99 cm. Sanyuan, Shaanxi.
From *Wenwu*, 1966/1, fig. 41.

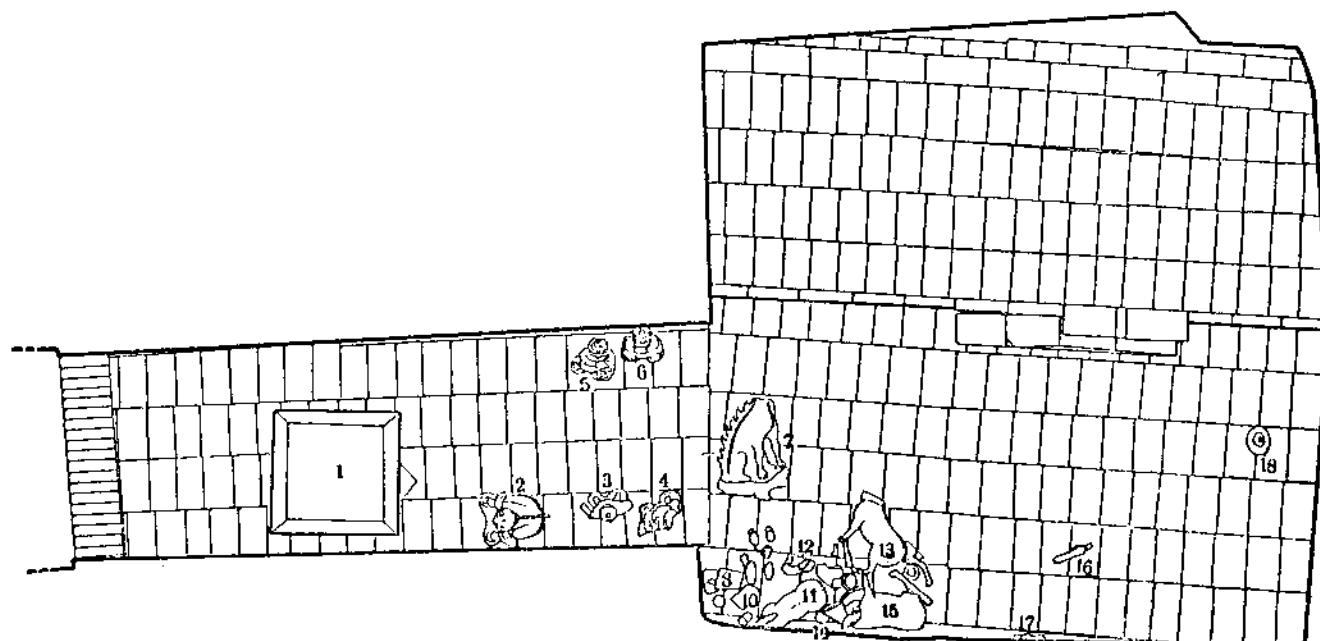


Fig. 38 Ground plan of a tomb corridor and chamber with contents.
Tomb of Dugu Sizhen, Tang (698), Xian, Shaanxi.
From *Tang Changan chengjiao Sui Tang mu*, (Beijing, 1980), p. 33, fig. 22.



Fig. 36a-b A pair of Heavenly King tomb guardians. Earthenware with slip colors, H. 98.5 cm. Excavated from tomb of Li Shuang, Tang (668), Yangtouzhen, Xian, Shaanxi.
From *Shaanxi sheng chutu Tang yong xuanji* (Beijing, 1958), pls. 20 and 21.

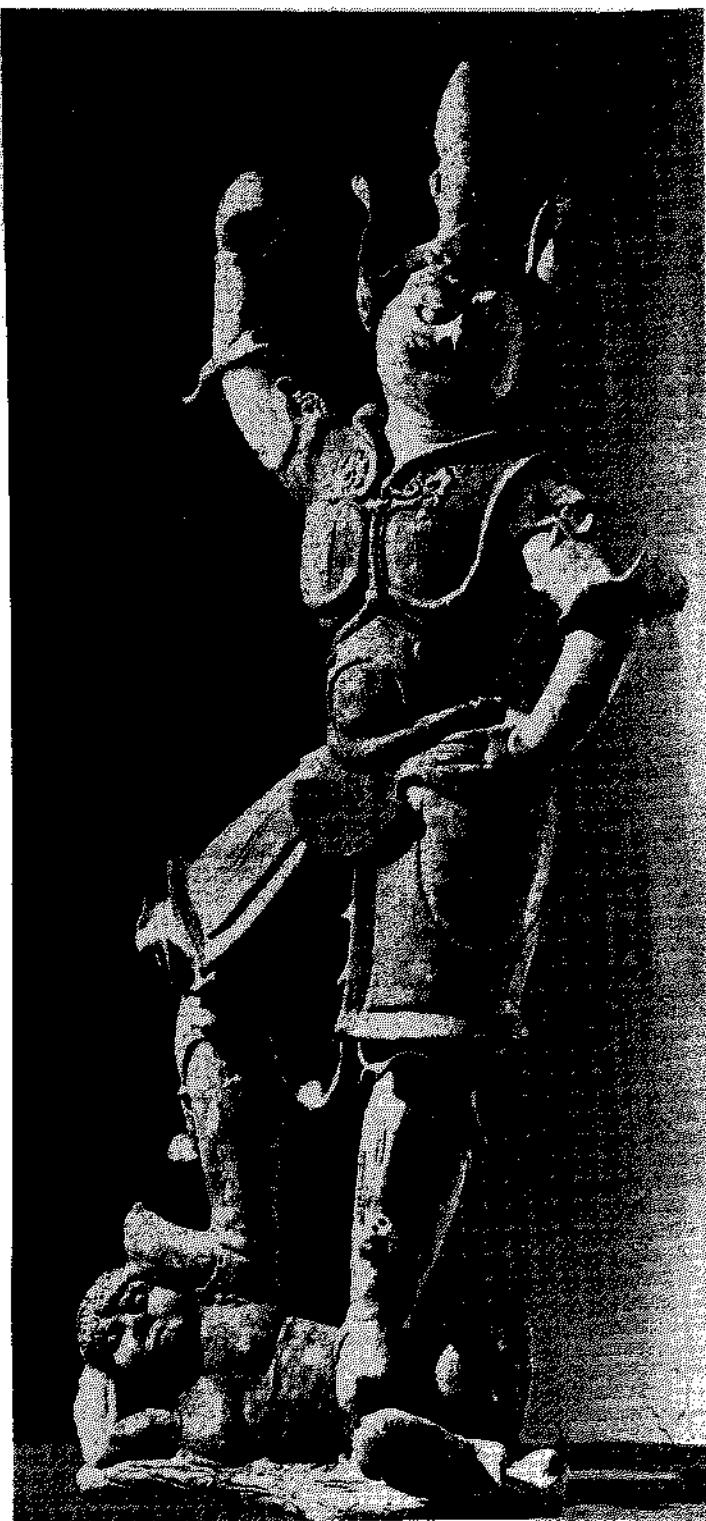


Fig. 37a-b A pair of Heavenly King tomb guardians. Earthenware with slip colors, H. 106 and 103 cm. Excavated from tomb of Dugu Sijing, Tang (709), Xian, Shaanxi.

From *Shaanxi sheng chutu Tang yong xuanji*, (Beijing, 1958), pls. 26 and 27.

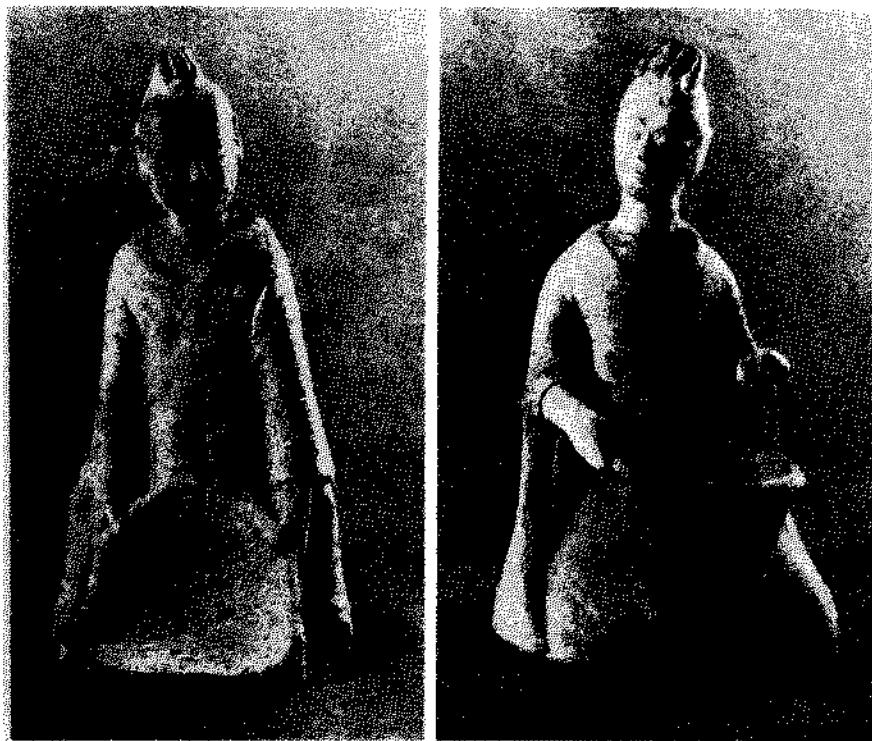


Fig. 39a-b A pair of female tomb figurines with winnowing baskets.
Earthenware with slip colors, H. 11.8 and 12.7 cm. Excavated from the tomb of Yuan Shao
Northern Wei (528), Luoyang, Henan.
From *Kaogu*, 1973/4, pl. 9, figs. 1 and 2.



Fig. 40a-b A pair of female tomb figurines with winnowing baskets.
Earthenware with slip colors, H. 12 and 14 cm.
Excavated from tomb of a Ruru princess, Eastern Wei (550), Cixian, Hebei.
From *Wenwu*, 1984/4, pl. 4, figs. 6 and 7.



Fig. 41 Tomb figurine of a shaman.
Earthenware with slip colors, H. 29.8 cm.
Excavated from tomb of a Ruru princess, Eastern Wei (550), Cixian, Hebei.
From *Wenwu*, 1984/4, c. pl., fig. 2.



Fig. 42 Tomb figurine of a shaman. Stoneware with slip colors, H. 25.3 cm.
Excavated from tomb of Kudi Huiluo, Northern Qi, (562), Shouyang, Shanxi.
From *Kaogu xuebao*, 1979/3, pl. 9, fig. 3.

downward.¹¹⁰ These features suggest a transitional stage and an attempt to create a new image out of an earlier established tradition. The *Wei shu* relates that Sima Jinlong's father Sima Chuzhi, a descendant of the Jin royal house, fled to the north when the Eastern Jin dynastic house was being overthrown by rebels in South China; there he became a high ranking Wei general and court official in Pingcheng (Datong today).¹¹¹ Having inherited his father's court position, Sima Jinlong faithfully served the Wei emperor and even won the title prince.¹¹² He died in the North and was buried in Pingcheng. His large tomb, rich in burial goods, contained objects clearly South Chinese in character. Most striking are his epitaph tablet cut in the stele shape of the Han-Jin tradition and the lacquer screen painted with images in the Southern style.¹¹³ His human-faced tomb guardian creature, in a posture resembling the seated lion depicted on the tomb reliefs in South China rather than the traditional "striding" posture of the Han stone lions,¹¹⁴ should be regarded as an immediate prototype of the late Northern Wei human-faced tomb guardian creatures (fig. 21a).

Comparing the early and late Northern Wei tomb guardian creatures (figs. 18 and 21) with the depiction of a lion, one of a pair of impressed brick reliefs on the outer ends of the side walls in the entrance corridor to a large Southern Qi tomb excavated in 1968 at Jinwangchen (or Jinjiacun) in Jianshan, Jiangsu (fig. 19),¹¹⁵ the source of pictorial influence becomes clearly evident. From the better executed late Northern Wei examples, it is obvious that this pair of tomb guardian creatures conformed to the essential body characteristics of a male lion: having a hairy mane, slender body proportions, narrow waist, large paws and above all, assuming the regal posture of sitting on its haunches, head held high. The artistic achievements at the late Northern Wei Buddhist cave site, Longmen, near Luoyang, provide one of the clearest proofs of Chinese influence from South China. The relief carvings of lions in the so-called Cave of the Six Lions, opened during the reign of Emperor Xiao Ming (r. 516-528), are virtual extensions of the lion depiction from South China (fig. 20).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ WW, 1972/3, pp. 22, 24 and figs. 14.4; *Wenhua dageming qijian chutu wenwu* (Cultural Relics unearthed during the Cultural Revolution), (Beijing, 1972), pl. on p. 142; and the catalogue, *The Quest for Eternity: Chinese Ceramic Sculptures from the People's Republic of China* (Los Angeles, 1987), p. 124 and fig. 52. A human-faced tomb guardian creature of unknown provenance which has been assigned to the Northern Wei dynasty stands on all fours but its head is similarly lowered; see Annette L. Juliano, *Arts of the Six Dynasties: Centuries of Change and Innovation* (New York, 1975), pl. 41. This image, a refined version of the image from the Wu Kingdom tomb, is perhaps a closer prototype of the one found in Sima Jinlong's tomb.

¹¹¹ *Wei shu*, 37, pp. 855-57.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 857; and WW 1972/3, pp. 27-28.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29, fig. 7 and pls. 12-13.

¹¹⁴ Barry Till, "Some Observations on Stone Winged Chimeras at Ancient Chinese Tomb Sites," *Artibus Asiae*, XLII:4 (1980), pl. 8a-b. This posture was maintained all through the Six Dynasties, not only for the monumental stone lions but also for the stone chimeras (*tianlu*, *qilin* or *bixie*) that guarded the Spirit Roads of the Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen imperial tomb sites in Jiangsu; see Yao Qian and Gu Bing, *Liu Chao yishu* (Arts of the Six Dynasties), (Beijing, 1981), pls. 2, 4, 7, 12, 19, 44, 50, 66, 79, 92, 100, 105 and 111.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 202; and Nanjing Museum, "Jiangsu Danyangxian Huqiao, Jiangshan liangzuo Nan Chao muchang" (Two Southern Dynasties tombs at Huqiao and Jiangshan, Jiangsu), WW, 1980/2, p. 4, fig. 5. There seems to be no doubt that the tomb which contained the depiction of the lion belongs to Southern Qi; see *ibid.*, pp. 8-10. Its structure as well as its brick reliefs are closely similar to the one identified as belonging to Xiao Daosheng (buried around 478 or after 494); see Nanjing Museum, "Jiangsu Danyang Huqiao Nanchao da mu ji shuanke bishua" (Excavation of a large tomb with impressed brick reliefs at Huqiao in Danyang, Jiangsu), WW, 1974/2, pp. 45-54; and Susan Bush, "Floral Motifs and Vine Scrolls in Chinese Art of Late Fifth to Early Sixth Centuries, A.D." *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVIII: 1 (1976), pp. 49-50.

¹¹⁶ Longmen Institute of Cultural Preservation, *Longmen shiku* (Longmen Cave Temples), (Beijing, 1981), pl. 102. The Cave of the Six Lions is located north of Kuyang Cave; it contains a triad of Buddhas, each of which is flanked by a pair of relief lions seated in the regal posture. The same iconography appears in one of the Northern Qi Buddhist caves at Xiangtangshan; see Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *The Buddhist Cave Temples of Hsiang-t'ang-ssu* (Kyoto, 1937), pls. 10B and 11B (Cave I). It appears in the early Tang Thousand Buddha Cave (Wanfo si) at Longmen; see Edouard Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909-1915), pl. clxxxii. This pair of lions were removed from their places and are now kept separately, one in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, and the other in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; see David B. Little, "A Chinese stone lion from Lung-men datable to A.D. 680-81," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, XXXVIII: 228 (August, 1940), pp. 52-53.

Iconographic idioms such as the seated-on-haunches posture, the raised right paw, the upswept raised tail, the round staring eyes, and the tongue hanging from an open mouth are present in both reliefs. With the exception of the raised right paw and upswept tail, they are also found in the late Northern Wei lion-headed guardian creature.

The decision to make the tomb guardian creatures resemble the lion in its essential aspects may have been prompted by its prevalence in contemporary Buddhist art. In the late Northern Wei, pairs of lions sculpted in the round were already widely used; they were placed like guards flanking the Buddha's throne in many of the caves at Yungang, Shanxi,¹¹⁷ and Longmen, Henan, that were constructed under the patronage of the late Northern Wei emperors.¹¹⁸ Yet, it was most likely that the lion's innate awesomeness as the king of beasts influenced this choice of a model. Recorded in Yang Xuanzhi's record of Buddhist temples in Luoyang, *Luoyang jialan ji* (composed after 532), is an incident which describes graphically the majestic aura of the lion:

A lion, sent as a tribute gift from the King of Persia, was intercepted and retained by the treacherous Wanhou Chounu. Toward the end of the Yongan era (528), when the Chounu revolt was put down and tribute finally reached the capital, emperor [Xiao] Zhuang turned to his court attendant, Li Yu, and said: "I've heard that the tiger would fall prostrate at the sight of a lion. Let's find out." So orders were issued to districts located near the mountainous regions to catch some tigers for the emperor. Gongxian and Shanyang presented two tigers and one leopard. The emperor made his observation in the Hualin Park. Both the tiger and leopard indeed closed their eyes and did not dare to look up [at the lion].^{119(b)}

Traditionally, lion images have been guardians of the dead in China. Since their introduction in the form of tribute gifts from the Western kingdoms, such as the Yueshi (Yuezhi), Anxi (Parthia), and Shulei (Kashgar). During Eastern Han,¹²⁰ pairs of stone lions have been placed at important tomb sites. The best known are the ones found at the second century Wu family cemetery in Jiaxiang, Shandong.¹²¹ Others are those in Lushan, Sichuan,¹²² and the recently unearthed pair from Xianyang, Shaanxi.¹²³ Toward the end of the fifth century when, adhering to the Indian Buddhist iconography, pairs of stone lions proliferated beside Buddhist images at Yungang,¹²⁴ there seemed to be a new surge of interest in the image of the lion in South China. On the one hand, the magician-general Wang Jingze, as recorded in the *Southern Qi History* (*Nan Qi shu*), is said to have dreamed of a five-color lion;¹²⁵ on the other, Southern Qi imperial tombs excavated in the 1960s had pairs of lions depicted

¹¹⁷ Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *Unko Sekkutsu* (Yun-kang: The Buddhist Cave Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China), (Kyoto, 1951-56), vol. II, pls. 21 and 48 (Cave 5); vol. IV, pls. 33-39 and 40 (Cave 7); and Vol. V, pls. 34 and 37 (Cave 8). For suggested dates of Cave 5, and Caves 7-8, see Alexander C. Soper, "Imperial Cave-chapels of the Northern Dynasties: Donors, Beneficiaries, Dates," *Artibus Asiae*, XXVIII:4 (1966), pp. 244 and 243 respectively.

¹¹⁸ Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Ryūmon Sekkutsu no kenkyū* (A Study of the Buddhist Cave Temples at Lung-men, Honan), (Tokyo, 1941), pl. on p. 9 (Central Binyang Cave); and *Longmen shiku*, pls. 58 (Central Binyang Cave), 71 and 72 (Guyang Cave).

¹¹⁹ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang jialan ji* (A Record of the Buddhist Temples in Luoyang), annotated by Fan Xingyong (Shanghai, 1958), pp. 161-62.

¹²⁰ For tributes from the Yueshi, see *Hou Han shu* (Later Han History), 3, p. 158 and 47, p. 1580; from Anxi, see *ibid.*, 4, pp. 168 and 189; and from Shulei, see *ibid.*, 6, p. 263. See also He Zhenghuan, "Shike shuangshi he xiniu" (Stone sculptures of a pair of lions and a rhinoceros), *WW*, 1961/12, p. 48; Till, p. 262, n. 6; and Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Leiden, 1909), pp. 236-38.

¹²¹ Till, p. 262 and fig. 4. See also, Osvald Siren, "Indian and other influences in Chinese sculpture," in J. Hackin, et al., *Studies in Chinese Art and Some Indian Influences* (London, 1938), fig. 2.

¹²² Tao Mingkuan and Cao Hengjun, "Lushanxian di Dong Han shike" (The Eastern Han stone sculptures from Lushanxian), *WW*, 1957/10, pp. 41-42 and figs. 2 and 5; and Till, fig. 7.

¹²³ He Zhenghuan, pp. 48-49; and Till, figs. 8a-bf. This pair of sculptures resembles more the lioness than its counterpart, with its hairy mane, and hence is stylistically different from the Wu Liang lion. He Zhenghuan has some reservations in assigning it to Eastern Han and believes it was probably produced during the early part of the Six Dynasties period.

¹²⁴ *WW*, 1980/2, p. 4.

¹²⁵ *Nan Qi shu*, 25, p. 479.

on the side walls of the outermost section of the entrance corridor to the tomb.¹²⁶ These lions were undoubtedly designated as tomb guardians, as their depictions immediately preceded the pair of tomb guardian warriors shown on the side walls of the second or innermost section (depending on whether there are two or three divisions) of the same corridor.¹²⁷ Evidently the adoption of the lion image for late Northern Wei tomb guardian creatures (fig. 21) was simply following a tradition already established in the tomb art of South China.

The pairing of a human face with that of a lion, most unusual and new at the time, was likewise fully sanctioned by an established precedent. Bird deities consisting of a pair of human-headed and deer-headed birds, which the 1972 excavation of a dated Eastern Jin tomb at Zhenjiang (near Nanjing), Jiangsu, has revealed in molded tile reliefs,¹²⁸ were incorporated in late Northern Wei funerary art. As traditional auspicious symbols for longevity, identified as such by inscription on a tile relief found in a Six Dynasties tomb excavated in Dengxian, Henan,¹²⁹ the pair adorns the late Northern Wei epitaph tablet cover along with the four directional creatures,¹³⁰ thus echoing once again the South Chinese decorative tradition.

What seems to be a mystery, as this writer has not found any literary documentation on the subject, is the bannerlike metal lance head implanted immediately behind the head of the tomb guardian creature. There is no question as to this object's identity, because the same type of lance is shown on a wall painting of the Eastern Wei tomb of the Ruru princess.¹³¹ If the depiction of a warrior holding a lance signifies human protection, then the insertion of the metal lance head should symbolize the same type of protective power accorded the tomb guardian creature. Since its appearance in late Northern Qi (fig. 23), it has been found in certain sets of Sui and early Tang tomb guardian creatures (fig. 24 and 25),¹³² and in most of the later images of the eighth century, when the iconography for the pair of tomb guardian creatures was fully established.¹³³

As to the row of stylized flamelike projections along the spine, which by late Northern Wei had become a conventional feature of the tomb guardian creature, it must have been adopted from the earlier dorsal-spiked beast, also a tomb guardian creature but portrayed usually in a standing posture. Found in tombs belonging to both Western Jin in Luoyang and Eastern Jin in Nanjing, it has been variously designated as a beast, a rhinoceros, or an oxlike being.¹³⁴ Its prototype unquestionably is

¹²⁶ Four imperial size tombs excavated in the 1960's were found to have identical depictions of the lion on the side walls of the entrance corridor; all of them evidently were derived from the same source, probably a painting. See: Luo Zongzhen, "Nanjing Xishanqiao Youfangcun Nan Chao damu di fajue" (Excavation of a large Southern dynasties tomb at Youfangcun in Xishanqiao, Nanjing), *KG*, 1963/6, p. 297, fig. 16; *WW*, 1974/2, p. 48–50; and *WW*, 1980/2, p. 4, fig. 5.

¹²⁷ For illustrations of the impressed brick-relief depictions of the pair of lions and the two tomb guardian warriors in the imperial tomb of the Southern Qi ruler Donghun Hou, see Yao Qian and Gu Bing, pls. 201–202 and 203–204 (fn. 114).

¹²⁸ Zhenjiang City Museum, "Zhenjiang Dong Jin huaxiang zhuanmu" (The impressed brick-relief representations of an Eastern Jin tomb in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu), *WW*, 1973/4, pp. 51–55 and figs. 10–11; and Yao Qian and Gu Bing, pls. 150–53.

¹²⁹ Henan Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, *Dengxian caise huaxiang zhuanmu* [The colorful mold-impressed representations from a brick tomb in Dengxian, Henan] (Beijing, 1959), color pl. on p. 9; Akiyama (1968), color pl. 190; and Annette L. Juliano, *Teng-hsien, An Important Six Dynasties Tomb* (Ascona, Switzerland, 1980), fig. 28. For a study on the representation of this pair of mythological images, see Bush (1974), pp. 30 and 49–50.

¹³⁰ Nishikawa, pls. 135, 138 and 140; and Bush (1974), fig. 11.

¹³¹ *WW*, 1984/4, p. 14, fig. 3.

¹³² Most of those of this period unearthed in the Xian area do not carry the weaponlike emblem; see *Xian jiaoqu STM*, pls. iv and v; *Tang Changan CJSTM*, pl. xxi, figs. 3 and 4; and *Shaanxi sheng chutu TYXJ*, pls. 12–13 and 22.

¹³³ See *WW*, 1972/7, p. 20, figs. 11–12 (A.D. 706); and *WW*, 1977/10, p. 45, figs. 9–10 (A.D. 718).

¹³⁴ *KGXB*, 1957/1, p. 177 and pl. 3, fig. 8 (beast, Western Jin); Nanjing City Cultural Relics Commission, "Nanjing Banqiaozhen Shizhahu Jin mu qingli jianbao" (A brief report on the excavation of a Jin tomb at Shizhahu in Banqiaozhen, Nanjing), *WW*, 1965/6, p. 43 and pl. 5, fig. 1 (beast, Western Jin); Li Weiran, "Nanjing Liu Chao mu cang" (Excavation of a Six Dynasties tomb in Nanjing), *WW*, 1959/4, p. 22 and fig. 15; and Akiyama, pl. 362 (rhinoceros, Eastern Jin); and Luoyang Excavation Team, Institute of Archaeology, "Luoyang Xijiao Jin mu di fajue" (Excavation of a Jin tomb in the suburb of Luoyang), *KG*, 1959/11, p. 606 and pl. 4, fig. 6 (oxlike tomb guardian creature, Western Jin).

the late Eastern Han rhinoceros-like tomb guardian beast exemplified in the bronze ones excavated from tombs in Shandong and Gansu; each of these images is characterized by four bundles of hair, matted into stiff and pointed locks arranged in a single row, like a cock's comb, atop the head.¹³⁵ The Western Jin rhinoceros-like tomb guardian beast (fig. 15),¹³⁶ which bears only three similarly placed locks, is clearly a derivation from the Han beast. By the Eastern Jin, the locks became flamelike dorsal spikes evenly spaced along the length of the back (fig. 16).¹³⁷ Since the earlier Northern Wei tomb of Shao Zhen contained precisely such a pair of dorsal-spiked tomb guardian beasts (fig. 17a-b), there seems to be no doubt that the iconography for those of the late Northern Wei was derived from the Jin prototype. In fact, the transitional piece from the tomb of Sima Jinlong (fig. 18) has five holes, which originally must have held dorsal spikes, running in a row from the head down the neck and back.

Other features attesting to a Chinese heritage are the horns and cloven hoofs. Mentioned in one chapter of the *Han History* (*Han shu*), "Records from the Western Regions," is the exotic *taoba*, along with the lion and rhinoceros found in the Wuyishanli Kingdom. The Wei Kingdom (220-65) scholar Meng Kang, who annotated the text, appended the following explanation:

Taoba, also known as *fuba*, resembles a deer with a long tail. If it has one horn, it may be a *tianlu* (heavenly deer); if it has two horns, it may be a *bixie* (one who averts evil).^{138(c)}

This passage must have prompted the addition of pair of horns on the Northern Qi lion-faced tomb guardian creature (fig. 23a), a move already sanctioned by South Chinese precedents, the monumental stone images of *tianlu* and *bixie* that guarded the imperial tombs.¹³⁹ However, the incorporation of the idea of *bixie* was not fully carried out until early Tang when the paws were replaced by cloven hoofs, a distinctive characteristic of the *taoba* or deer (fig. 25a-b). Thus the Tang human-faced and cloven-hoofed creature, also bearing a single horn on its head, functions as a *tianlu*, a symbol of heavenly blessings, and a perfect complement to its counterpart *bixie*, a symbol of evil averted. It seems more than likely that this kind of auspicious symbolism caused the change in the Tang tomb guardian creatures.

Finally, the insertion of a pair of wings, a borrowing of the Han artistic device, differentiates the representation of an immortal, whether man or beast, from that of a mortal, and endows the images with a sense of supernatural power; at the same time, it provides assurance of everlasting protection. In *Doctrines Evaluated* (*Lun heng*), Wang Chong (27-c. 100) writes: "All those who can fly have wings; those who do not have wings and can[not] fly are [not] immortals, therefore depictions of immortals are given wings."^{140(d)} One of the most remarkable examples is the spectacular ceiling painting discovered in 1976 in a Western Han tomb at Luoyang. It thoroughly illustrates the use of

¹³⁵ Ren Rixin, Zhucheng County Museum, "Shandong Zhucheng han mu huaxiangshi" (Stone reliefs from a Han tomb in Zhucheng, Shandong), WW, 1981/10, pp. 1 and 17, and fig. 14. Evidently, those from Gansu were not published, as this report does not give a reference for the find.

¹³⁶ KG 1981/8, pp. 733-74, fig. 17.6, and pl. 6, fig. 3. Although tomb No. 34, in which the splendid tomb guardian creature was found, cannot be dated by its epitaph tablet (broken beyond repair by grave robbers), the Chinese archaeologists are thoroughly convinced by the types of burial objects in the tomb that it belongs to Western Jin; see *ibid.*, p. 735.

¹³⁷ Jiangsu Provincial Cultural Relics commission, *Nanjing Liu Chao mu chutu wenwu xuanji* (A Catalogue of Cultural Relics Excavation from the Six Dynasties Tombs in Nanjing), (Shanghai, 1957), pl. 23.

¹³⁸ *Han shu*, 96A, p. 3889.

¹³⁹ Till, p. 261 mentions that these monumental sculptures were known by several terms *fuba*, *taoba*, *tianlu*, *bixie* and *qilin*, and that even the Chinese scholars are not sure which term or terms are correct. Chu Hsi-tsui, "T'ien-lu, p'i-hsieh k'ao" (A study on *t'ien-lu* and *p'i-hsieh*), *Monumenta Sinica*, I (1935), pp. 183-99, pointed out that besides the lion there was the *taoba*, the tribute animal that was introduced to China along with the lion in Western Han. He further mentioned that in the Han dynasty, the *tianlu* was placed on the left and the *bixie* on the right side of the tomb, but their positions were reversed in the Six Dynasties, and that the use of the term *qilin* for identifying *tianlu* and *bixie* was a misnomer which occurred during Southern Qi or Liang and persisted into Tang-Song times.

¹⁴⁰ *Lun heng* in *SBBY*, VI.18a.

the device; the “souls” of the deceased, Bu Qianqiu and his wife, are shown escorted to paradise amidst floating clouds by winged dragons and other winged beasts.¹⁴¹ Closer in time are the Six Dynasties monumental stone sculptures of beasts which guarded the Spirit Roads of the Six Dynasties imperial cemeteries near Nanjing; all of them, the *tianlu* or *jilin* and the lions of the imperial tomb sites, were given a pair of wings.¹⁴² And so were the tomb guardian creatures of the Tang dynasty.

Hence, it was in mid-seventh century Tang, after centuries of artistic development beginning from Han through the Sui dynasties, that the tomb guardian creatures as composite beasts with the horns and feet of a deer, the head and body of a lion, as well as the face of a man with the body of a lion, and the wings of a supernatural being, emerged in their fully established iconography to function as a pair of auspicious images protecting the deceased in the coffin chamber.¹⁴³

Of interest to note here is the Xian variation, which is better known today than other areas, because more tombs have been excavated in its vicinity. In the late sixth – early seventh century, they were simple renditions of the essential features of the pair, human-headed and lion-headed creatures with doglike or lionlike bodies. By the late seventh – early eighth century, they were made to sit erect like humans, given horns and wings like their Central Plains counterparts, with cloven hoofs only added to the one with a human head. In the mid eighth century, they were made to stand upright with a hind leg stepping on a small ferocious-looking beast and a foreleg raised high in the about-to-strike position, in perfect imitation of the threatening posture of the Heavenly King guardian.¹⁴⁴

b. Tomb Guardian Warriors

Similarly unique as part of the paraphernalia for an upper class burial is the pair of tomb guardian warriors (*andun wushi yong*) which are distinguished from other warrior figurines in the tomb by a large rectangular shield, at least half the height of the image itself and placed before the left leg. The persistence in type and form, as shown in the recent archaeological finds dating to late Northern Wei (528), (fig. 28);¹⁴⁵ Eastern Wei (547), (fig. 29);¹⁴⁶ Northern Qi (562), (fig. 30);¹⁴⁷ Sui (608), (fig. 31);¹⁴⁸ and Tang (642), (fig. 32);¹⁴⁹ indicates that existing all through the successive Northern dynasties into Sui and Early Tang was a strong and conscientious adherence to an already established burial practice.

This warrior figurine, even though armed with a shield and a lance (the latter must have been held in the right hand, as the clasping fingers make an aperture intended for insertion of a pole), is definitely not the exorcist Fanxiang (sometimes known as Fangxiang shi) who, according to the

¹⁴¹ Luoyang Museum, “Luoyang Xi Han Bu Qianqiu bihu mu fajue jianbao” (A brief report on the excavation of the Western Han tomb with wall paintings of Bu Qianqiu in Luoyang), *WW*, 1977/6, p. 8, figs. 31, 33–34 and pls. 2–3.

¹⁴² Yao Qian and Gu Bing, pls. 1–2 (Song); 19–20 (Southern Qi); 35, 43, and 50 (Liang); and 106 and 111 (Chen).

¹⁴³ Further examples of the Central Plains tradition are found in the tombs of Dugu Sizhen (698), Prince Zhang Huai (706), Princess Yong Tai (706), Li Siben (709), and Li Yanchen (709); see *Tang Changan CJSTM*, p. 35; *WW*, 1972/7, pp. 14–15; *WW*, 1964/1, p. 10; *KG*, 1986/5, p. 436; and *KG*, 1984/10, pp. 904–5, respectively. A flamboyant mid-eighth century type is found in the tomb of Xianyu Tinghui (723); see *Tang Changan STM*, pl. 74. All of these are well-executed three-color glazed figurines.

¹⁴⁴ *Xian jiaoqu STM*, pl. IV, figs. 1–4 (592) and pl. VI, figs. 1–2 (708); *Tang Changan CJSTM*, pl. XXI, figs. 3–4 (608); Akiyama (1968), pls. 385–86 (668); and *Shaanxi sheng chutu TYXJ*, pls. 12–13 (667) 28–29 (703); and 86–87 (745).

¹⁴⁵ *KG*, 1973/4, p. 219 and pl. 8, fig. 1.

¹⁴⁶ *KG*, 1977/6, p. 392, fig. 3.8 and pl. 8, fig. 3.

¹⁴⁷ *KGXB*, 1979/3, pp. 391, 399–40, and pl. 7, fig. 1. Also see n. 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Tang Changan CJSTM*, pp. 10, 25–28, and pl. XX. Li Jingxun (599–608) has a 20 by 20 epitaph with a 3 by 3 cover that reads: “Sui, Left Guanglu Dafu’s daughter.” She was the fourth daughter of Li Min, Governor of Qizhou, and great granddaughter of Li Xian, who served the first Northern Zhou emperor and whose tomb was excavated in 1985 (see note 15 above).

¹⁴⁹ *Shaanxi sheng chutu TYXJ*, pl. 1. The excavation of this tomb was never published.

record in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li*), was an officer assigned to expelling the spirits of diseases and demons:

In his official function, he wears [over his head] a bearskin having four eyes of gold, and is clad in a black upper garment and a red lower garment. Grasping his lance and brandishing his shield, he leads the many officials to perform the seasonal exorcism, searching through houses and driving out pestilences. When there is a great funeral, he goes in advance of the coffin, and upon its arrival at the tomb, when it is being inserted into the [burial] chamber, he strikes the four corners [of the chamber] with his lance and expels the Fang-liang.^{150(e)}

Clearly, neither the tomb guardian warrior's contemporary armor nor his motionless stance at attention correspond in any way to the description of a Fangxiang clothed in a four-eyed bearskin who, in the discharge of his duty, would brandish his shield and wave his lance. This pair of tomb guardians, being fully attired as warriors of the time, most likely represent the bodyguards of the deceased. Wearing the newly popularized "liangdang" or "mingguang kai" (bright and shining) armor¹⁵¹ with circular plaques on breast, back plates held in place by straps, and shoulder guards surmounted by a round collar, for which Yang Hong in his study of Chinese armors traces a Wei Kingdom (220–265) precedent,¹⁵² they must represent a select group of trained combatants. Moreover, they are distinguished from other tomb figurine warriors by being equipped with large rectangular shields. In the mural which depicts an official procession in the tomb of the former North Chinese minister, Cong Shou (d. AD 357), buried in Anak, North Korea, such warriors were positioned in the forefront, flanking the left and right sides of the parade formation.¹⁵³ Evidently the tomb guardian warriors with large shields were made in accordance with a contemporary model that specifically symbolized military prowess and which was deemed most suitable to stand guard at the entrance to the coffin chamber along with the tomb guardian creatures in order to challenge all unwanted visitors.

Prior to the availability of archaeological data, the Wei-Jin ferocious looking warrior figurine depicted in the threatening pose of having the right arm raised in the gesture of throwing a spear and the legs spread apart in a corresponding movement was identified as a representation of the exorcist, Fangxiang.¹⁵⁴ Xu Pingfang, who disagreed with the identification, pointed out in her study of Tang-Song burial practices that the Fangxiang image was traditionally made of perishable straw or bamboo, which accounts for its total absence in the excavated tombs.¹⁵⁵ For evidence, Xu cited the reference

¹⁵⁰ The translation is from Bodde, pp. 78–79. For the text in Chinese, see *Zhou li* in *SBBY*, 31.6b-7a. Fangliang as explained by Bodde, pp. 103–104, is a demon of pestilence. For a study of the exorcist, Fangxiang shi, see Kobayashi Taichiro, "A Study of the Fang-hsiang Expelling Pestilences," (in Japanese) *Shinagaku*, XI:4 (1946), pp. 401–417.

¹⁵¹ Albert E. Dien, "A Study of Early Chinese Armor," *Artibus Asiae*, XLIII:1/2 (1981–82), pp. 31–32 and fig. 33; and Yang Hong, "Zhongguo gudai di jiazhou, xiapian" (Studies on the ancient Chinese armor, Part 2), *KGXB*, 1976/2, pp. 68–70 and figs. 28–29.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁵³ Hong Qingyu, "Guanyu Dong Shou mu di faxian he yanjiu" (Concerning the discovery and research on the tomb of Dong Shou), *KG*, 1959/1, p. 32, fig. 11; and Alexander C. Soper, *Textual Evidence for the Secular Arts of China in the Period from Liu Sung through Sui* (Ascona, Switzerland, 1967), p. 54 and fig. 1. Dong Shou (288–357) had his brief epitaph written in ink on a wall of his tomb. He served one of the barbarian régimes in northeast China, fled to the North Korean kingdom, Kokuli, as a refugee, and finished his career there. He helped to keep the Korean king in contact by sea with the Eastern Jin regime in the south. On his death, he was granted middle-rank military, provincial, and court titles by the Jin.

¹⁵⁴ See Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, Part I, in Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago), Publication 177, Anthropological Series, XIII:2 (1914), pp. 198–99 and pls. xv–xvii; Hentze, p. 72 and pl. 22; Bodde, p. 118, and fig. 1; and Ezekiel Schloss, *Ancient Chinese Ceramic Sculpture from Han through Tang* (Stamford, Connecticut, 1977), pp. 79–80 and pl. 10. This particular type of warrior figurine has been found in excavated Western Jin tombs and identified simply as *wushiyong* (warrior tomb figurine); see *KGXB*, 1957/1, p. 177 and pl. 3, fig. 6; *KGXB*, 1976/1, pp. 59–60 and fig. 19; *KG*, 1985/8, p. 733, fig. 17.1, and pl. 6, fig. 5; and Zhang Xiaozhou, "Beifang diqu Wei-Jin shiliu guo muzang di fenqu yu fenqi" (A study of the periods and regions of the tombs of Wei-Jin-Sixteen States in North China), *KGXB*, 1987/1, pp. 24–27.

¹⁵⁵ Xu Pingfang, "Tang Song muchang shou di 'mingqi shensha' yu 'muyi' zhidu – du Da Han yuanling Bicanq qing zhaji" (the exorcistic burial objects and burial rites of Tang-Song funerary rituals – notes from reading the *Da Han yuanling Bicanq qing*), *KG*, 1963/1, p. 91.

from the Tang-Song handbook on burial practices, the *Bicanq jing*, which mentions that the Fangxiang figures were “woven in five colors, had four eyes and held tree branches in their hands.”¹⁵⁶ It seems likely, then, that the Fangxiang image was never made in clay or in the semblance of a warrior figurine, as has been mistakenly claimed in Western publications.¹⁵⁷ Recent excavations of perfectly preserved Western Han tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan, and at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, Hubei, have produced a number of wooden images quite different from our tomb figurines, and for that reason have been considered by Chinese archaeologists as a type of *bixie* images.¹⁵⁸ Those from Mawangdui consist of split peachtree branches¹⁵⁹ and those from Fenghuangshan of wooden slips.¹⁶⁰ Both types were simply notched at one end to indicate the human head, the facial features of which were summarily rendered in ink. What confirms beyond doubt that even in Tang times a clear distinction between the Fangxiang and the tomb guardian warrior images was maintained is the passage in the book of Tang institutions, *Da Tang liudian*, which states that if a person were to perform the task of Fangxiang shi, he would put on “a mask with four golden eyes and wear a bear-skin outfit.”¹⁶¹ Another passage in the same work which gives the number and size of tomb figurines allowed in accordance with the court rank of the deceased, mentions the two sets of tomb guardian figurines by their special names, *dangkuang* and *dangye* for the pair of warriors and *zuming* and *dizhou* for the pair of creatures,¹⁶² terminology that persisted into Northern Song (960–1127).¹⁶³

These textual references indicate that in the Tang dynasty, neither the tomb guardian warrior nor the tomb guardian creature was ever confused with the Fangxiang image. Hence, William Watson’s statement that the Heavenly King Guardian is “a T’ang transformation of the ancient genie Fang-hsiang,”¹⁶⁴ is inaccurate. Moreover, he confused not only the tomb guardian warrior but also the tomb guardian creature with the Fangxiang shi, as he indicated further, “another apotropaic genie, Ch’i-t’ou [Qitou], originally only a mask worn in the devil-clearing ceremony at the New Year, took on a new guise and assumed the function of the earlier Fang-hsiang.”¹⁶⁵ The confusion apparently comes from a misinterpretation of the term *qitou* which the Han scholar Zheng Xuan used to annotate the passage on “Fangxiang shi” in the *Rites of Zhou*. One should note that Zheng Xuan clearly began his annotated sentence with the explanation that the character *meng* meant *mao*, that is “to wear over one’s head,” and so the sentence that followed: *mao xiongpi zhe, yi jinggu yi li zhi qui, ru jin qitou ya*¹⁶⁶⁽⁶⁾ means, “the bear skin worn over one’s head to expel the demon of pestilences is [what is known] today as *qitou*,” and not “the one who wears the bear skin to expel the demon of pestilences is today’s *qitou*.” That the term *qitou* signifies a mask is corroborated in a passage in the

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ See n. 164.

¹⁵⁸ Zhang Guangli, “Manhua Xi Han muyong di zaoxing tedian” (A preliminary discussion on the structural characteristics of the Western Han wooden tomb figurines), WW, 1982/6, p. 80 and fig. 9.

¹⁵⁹ Hunan Provincial Museum and Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu* (The Han Tomb Number One at Mawangdui, Changsha), (Beijing, 1973), pp. 100–101, fig. 93, and pl. 200.

¹⁶⁰ Jinancheng Fenghuangshan Han Tomb Number 168 Excavation and Reporting Team, “Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan yilubahao Han mu fajue jianbao” (A brief report on the excavation of Han Tomb Number 168 at Fenghuanshan in Jiangling, Hubei), WW, 1975/9, p. 5 and fig. 11.

¹⁶¹ *Da Tang Liudian*, reprint, (Taipei, 1962), 14.62b; and *KG*, 1963/1, p. 90.

¹⁶² *Da Tang Liudian*, 23.18b.

¹⁶³ *Song shu*, 124, p. 2910; and *KG*, 1963/1, pp. 90–91. Wang Qufei, “*Sishen, jinzi, gaoji*” (Four Spirits, headkerchiefs, and tall coiffures), *KG*, 1956/5, pp. 50–52, points out that the two sets of tomb guardian figurines were known as *sishen* (Four Spirits) during the Kaiyuan era (713–742).

¹⁶⁴ Watson, p. 143.

¹⁶⁵ See n. 93 and, also his more recent work, *Tang and Liao Ceramics* (London, 1984), p. 205.

¹⁶⁶ *Zhou li*, 31.7b.

Eastern Han text, *Comprehensive Meaning of Customs* (*Fengsu tongyi*); the author Ying Shao wrote, “It is commonly said that the *hun*-spirit of the dead would float away, so a *qitou* was made to keep it in place, that is, the head was made to appear frighteningly larger.”^{167(g)} The definition given in Chinese dictionaries for *qitou* is *mianju*, a mask.¹⁶⁸

The late Northern Wei practice of burying a pair of warrior figurines together with a pair of guardian creatures as two special sets of tomb guardian figurines was most likely introduced from South China; its immediate prototype is exemplified in the previously mentioned brick-relief depictions of a pair of warriors placed right next to the pair of lions on the walls flanking the entrance to the imperial-scale Southern Qi tomb. The frequent diplomatic relations with Southern Qi and the influx of Southern Qi leaders who moved north and offered their services to the Northern Wei regime during 499–500, when their dynasty collapsed under the stronger forces of Liang, certainly initiated channels of artistic diffusion. Among the refugees, Wang You, for example, who was a scholar and an expert copyist of painting, could very well have been responsible for making known the existing burial customs prevalent in Southern Qi.¹⁶⁹

Of significance to the evolution of the tomb guardian figurine is that during Sui and at the beginning of Tang, when marked improvements were attained in the art of ceramic sculpture, the old Northern Wei style tomb guardian warrior armed with shield and lance was soon supplanted by a new image without the shield. Although the right hand was still modeled to hold the handle of a spear or lance, the left was simply shown with a clenched fist. The change, initiated in the Sui dynasty, as evidenced in the find from Zhang Sheng’s tomb of 595 (fig. 33), appeared in early Tang in the image from Cheng Rentai’s tomb of 663 (fig. 34).¹⁷⁰ However, this new type of tomb guardian figurine was identified in the archaeological reports simply as warrior figurines (*wushi yong*).¹⁷¹ The Sui image, in fact, still bears strong resemblances to the guardian warriors of the previous ages in features such as the trousers tied at the knees (fig. 28), the elbow-length shoulder guards (figs. 29–30), and the helmet with two-layered, shoulder length ear flaps (figs. 28–30). The Tang image, though obviously derived from the Sui model, had been changed to wear the typical armor of the new dynasty, which Yang Hong identified as an elaborate version of the Six Dynasties “bright and shining” type.¹⁷² Its distinguishing features consist of the shoulder guards made in the form of a tiger head, and a colorful trimming that decorated the edges of the helmet, collar, breast plaques, and thigh guards. In addition, the breast plaques were stylized into confronting D-shapes with scalloped edges on the straight side; the midriff guard became a distinctly form-fitting corset-like piece; and the split-front thigh guard wrapped tightly around the hips like a skirt. The row of pleats around the lower edge of the thigh guard and the cascade of drapery folds over the legs suggest the presence of knee-length as well as ankle-length garments worn under the armor – the flaring sleeve cuffs pushed up to the elbows by what seems to be forearm guards must belong to one of the garments.¹⁷³ Such an ornate outfit, impractical for combat, must have been designed for the palace guard, especially as the upper class Tang tomb was designed to resemble the residence of the deceased in real life.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁷ *Fengsu Tongyi xiaoshi* (Tianjin, 1980), p. 428.

¹⁶⁸ *Ciyan*, p. 1676 (Hai 26); *Cihai*, p. 3280 (Hai 53); and *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien* (The Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Chinese Language), (Taipei, 1968), Vol. 38, p. 68.

¹⁶⁹ Soper (1960), pp. 77–80. Wang Yu’s accomplishments are recorded in *Wei shu*, 71, pp. 1588–59.

¹⁷⁰ Respectively see *KG*, 1959/10, p. 541 and pl. 9, figs. 6 and 7; and *WW*, 1972/7, p. 35 and pl. 4, fig. 1.

¹⁷¹ See *KG*, 1959/10, p. 541; and *WW*, 1972/7, p. 35.

¹⁷² *KGXB*, 1976/2, pp. 76–79.

¹⁷³ For a similar piece dated to 698, see *Tang Changan CJSTM*, pl. 39.

¹⁷⁴ *Tang ta chao ling chi*, reprint, (Taipei, 1968), 80.12a; and Wang Renpo, pp. 401–402.

This pair of new images did not last very long. The popularity of the Buddhist cult of the Four Lokapalas, or Four Great Heavenly Kings (*sida tianwang*), which had been gathering momentum since the Sui dynasty, came to prominence during Early Tang.¹⁷⁵ The iconography of the Heavenly King, which shows a warrior standing on a demonlike dwarf, had become such an extraordinarily impressive symbol of “evil successfully averted” that it was incorporated into funerary art. It appeared first in the Sui dynasty and was adopted by Tang in the mid-seventh century. A striking Sui example is found on the stone coffin dated 582 belonging to Li He, a highly placed Northern Zhou general who was equally honored by the first Sui Emperor Wen (r. 581–605).¹⁷⁶ On the short or south end of the coffin, a pair of Heavenly King guardians standing atop demon-faced crouching creatures, all carved in relief, flanks the simulated doorway (fig. 35).¹⁷⁷ This strikingly novel addition to the Sui repertoire of funerary art no doubt was derived from Buddhist art; the Northern Zhou Emperor Ming (r. 559–560) had ordered a temple dedicated to the Four Great Heavenly Kings built in his capital, Chang'an,¹⁷⁸ which later became the Sui dynasty capital. The Sui devotion to the Heavenly King was continued into Tang in the form of guardian images of Buddhist temples¹⁷⁹ as well as of tomb chambers.

At this writing, the earliest known dated pair of Heavenly King tomb figurines (*tianwang yong*) is from the tomb of Li Shuang, dated 668 and excavated in Yangtouzhen near Xizn, Shaanxi (fig. 36a-b).¹⁸⁰ The image wears the same type of outfit as Cheng Rentai's *wushi yong*; the only difference is the shortening of the thigh guard as well as the ankle length robe, thus revealing the greaves on a pair of stiff legs. Shown standing on a buffalo, it probably represents the heavenly King Guardian of the South, Zenchang (Sanskrit: *Virūdhaka*), the only one of the four that stands on an animal instead of a monster. The choice may have been governed by the fact that the entrance to the coffin chamber was located on the south side.¹⁸¹ Later, as evidenced in the pair from the tomb of Li Mengjiang, dated 682 and excavated at Liquan, Shaanxi, the Heavenly King guardian, like those depicted on Li He's stone coffin, stands atop a demon-like dwarf.¹⁸² This version was carried into eighth century Tang as exemplified in the pair excavated from the tomb of Dugu Sijing (709) in Xian, Shaanxi (fig. 37a-b).¹⁸³

The replacement of the set of tomb guardian warriors (*wushi yong*) by that of the Heavenly King guardian is well verified by archaeological data. Tang tombs in which the latter is present do not contain the former. And both are found accompanied by a pair of civil official figurines (*wenguan yong*) originally developed to complement the pair of military guard figurines (*wushi yong*). An early Tang tomb of Dugu Sizhen (698) excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi, in which most of the tomb guardian images were found in their original positions, shows that the civil officers were placed together on one side of the entrance to the coffin chamber, standing directly opposite the warrior

¹⁷⁵ One of the most striking pieces of evidence is the pair of colossal Heavenly King Guardians in the Fengxian Cave Temple at Longmen; see *Longmen shiku*, pls. 154 and 159. For the origin and evolution of the Four Heavenly King Guardians, see Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona, Switzerland, 1959), pp. 231–35.

¹⁷⁶ See n. 10.

¹⁷⁷ WW, 1966/1, fig. 41 (left).

¹⁷⁸ Soper (1959), pp. 234–35.

¹⁷⁹ See n. 175, and *Dunhuang di yishi baocang*, pls. 44 (cave 46) and 50 (cave 45).

¹⁸⁰ WW, 1959/3, pp. 44 and 53, and fig. 17; and *Shaanxi sheng chutu Tang Yong*, pls. 20–21.

¹⁸¹ According to the surviving images of the Four Heavenly King Guardians in Japan, there does not seem to be a formula for the allocation of the demon-buffalo to a specific Heavenly King guardian. In the group at Horyūji, Nara, Chiguo (Dhṛtarāṣṭra) of the East stands on a buffalo, but in the group at Daishogun-ji, Osaka, Guangmu (Virūpākṣa) of the West stands on it; see Ishida Shigeru, *Bukkyō Bijutsu no Kihon* (Fundamentals of Buddhist Art), (Tokyo, 1968), p. 125.

¹⁸² Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, “Tang Lin Chuan gongzhu mu chutu di muzhi he zhaoshu” (The excavation of the epitaph and imperial edict tablets of the Tang Lin Chuan Princess), WW, 1977/10, pp. 50–59 and figs. 9–10. This princess (623–682), the 12th daughter of Tai Zong, died at 59 and was buried in his mausoleum precincts. She is mentioned in *Xin Tang shu*, 83, p. 3646.

¹⁸³ *Shaanxi sheng chutu TYXJ*, pls. 26–27.

guardians (fig. 38).¹⁸⁴ The earliest known dated pair of civil officers made to become part of the tomb guardian group appeared in the Sui tomb of Zhang Sheng,¹⁸⁵ the same one in which the tomb guardian warrior without the rectangular shield was found; and in the Tang dynasty similarly in the tomb of Cheng Rentai,¹⁸⁶ in which the same new type of tomb guardian warrior was also present. Dressed in a wide-sleeved garment over which is donned the *liangdong* armor (the type in which front and back plates are joined by shoulder straps),¹⁸⁷ they are shown standing with their hands clasped inside their long sleeves, displaying a posture both formal and static. This pair of civil officers, like the tomb guardian warriors or Heavenly Kings, are also distinguished from the other tomb figurines by their larger size.

In addition to scale, an outstanding characteristic of all tomb guardian figurines dating from late Northern Wei into Sui and Tang including the Heavenly Kings and civil officers, is that they were made with the most advanced ceramic technology and the best available sculptural skill of their respective ages, both of which serve to indicate the importance given to these sets of tomb figurines in the burial ritual of the times. The tomb guardian warriors, though mold-produced (head and body separately, then fitted together), were first made with a reddish or grayish clay and the slip colors applied on a preliminary white-slipped surface coating.¹⁸⁸ Significantly, a gradual technological progress began to emerge in the Northern Qi dynasty; as exemplified by finds from the tomb of Fudi Huilo, dated 562, the guardian warriors are high-fired images, made of a fine-grained gray stoneware clay and decorated not only with slip colors but also gold.¹⁸⁹ In the Sui dynasty, as shown in the warrior figures from Zhang Sheng's tomb, dated 595, the images were made with a nearly white stoneware clay and covered with a clear glaze.¹⁹⁰ After mid-seventh century Tang, seen in the warriors from the tomb of Cheng Rentai, dated 663, a white *gaoling* quality clay was used and a variety of colors as well as gold were painted on a straw color glazed surface.¹⁹¹ The development of the famous three-color Tang glaze that followed soon after, which required a white surface for successful brilliant coloring effects, led to the use of the protoporcelainous *gaoling* clay for the guardian images.¹⁹²

In sculptural rendering, as mentioned in the archaeological reports, the tomb figurines dating to the last decade of late Northern Wei show a definite trend toward realistic portrayal.¹⁹³ This point becomes quite obvious in comparing the A.D. 520 tomb guardian warriors (fig. 27a-b)¹⁹⁴ with those of 528 (fig. 28). The earlier pair, though belonging to a low rank official's descendant buried near Xian, a long way from the Northern Wei capital Luoyang, are nevertheless indicative of the Northern Wei early style; the images have typical Western Jin characteristics, such as the awkwardly conceived human proportions and the demonlike face with a pair of thick-rimmed round eyes and a

¹⁸⁴ *Tang Changan CJSTM*, pp. 32-33 and figs. 20-22, and pl. 29.

¹⁸⁵ *KG*, 1959/10, p. 541 and pl. 9, figs. 1-2.

¹⁸⁶ *WW*, 1972/7, p. 36 and pl. 10, fig. 1.

¹⁸⁷ *KGXB*, 1976/2, pp. 60-63 and fig. 22.1.

¹⁸⁸ *KG*, 1973/4, p. 219 (Northern Wei); *KG*, 1977/6, p. 392 (Eastern Wei); *KG*, 1979/3, p. 236 (Northern Qi); *Tang Changan CJSTM*, p. 10 (Sui); and *Xian jiaoqu STM*, p. 37 (early Tang).

¹⁸⁹ *KGXB*, 1979/3, p. 391.

¹⁹⁰ *KG*, 1959/10, p. 541 mentions specifically that out of the 95 tomb figurines found in the tomb, only the sets of tomb guardian images were made with white stoneware clay.

¹⁹¹ The 466 tomb figurines found in this tomb were made with *gaoling* white clay, glazed in yellow or green, painted with bright colors and, on certain pieces, further decorated with gold; see *WW*, 1972/7, pp. 35 and 41. For quality color reproductions of some of the figurines, see *Shaanxi Provincial Museum of the Chinese Museum series* (Beijing, 1983), pls. 42-47.

¹⁹² *Shaanxi Provincial Museum*, pp. 195-96 and pl. 86. See also, Luoyang Museum, *Luoyang Tang sancai* [Tang three-color glazed ceramics from Luoyang] (Beijing, 1980), pp. 1-3 (in Chinese) and 6 (in English), and pls. 41-55.

¹⁹³ Hebei Provincial Museum and Cultural Relics Commission, "Hebei Quyang faxian Bei Wei mu" (Discovery of a Northern Wei tomb at Quyang, Hebei), *KG*, 1972/5, p. 35; and *KG*, 1973/4, p. 243.

¹⁹⁴ *WW*, 1955/12, p. 63, fig. 1; and Akiyama (1968), fig. 327.

rectangular mouth.¹⁹⁵ In striking contrast, the later pair, found in the tomb of a descendant of the Northern Wei ruling house excavated near Luoyang, displays an advance closer to the refinement achieved in South China during the Eastern Jin, as shown in the warrior figurine (Fig. 26) excavated in 1964–1965 from a large imperial-type tomb at Fuguihan in Nanjing, Jiangsu.¹⁹⁶ The distinctive, well-proportioned articulation and subtle elegance of this Southern Chinese image were most likely a product of a workshop that carried on the achievements of the famed father-son sculptors, Dai Kui and Dai Yong (378–441).¹⁹⁷ Their legacy, introduced to the Luoyang region of Northern Wei through repeated cultural influences from South China,¹⁹⁸ produced a quasi-realistic style which made possible more accurate studies of contemporary dress code and style. Recent articles on the evolution of the Chinese armor attest to the pre-Sui and Sui-Tang achievement in sculptural realism¹⁹⁹ – a subject outside the scope of this paper. However, with reference to the question of the lineal heritage of Sui-Tang burial practices discussed here, it is important to recognize that the Tang maker of tomb figurines had benefited from the cumulative sculptural experience of the pre-Sui ages, that the dramatic image of the Heavenly King guardian, for example, could not have been a result of a sudden burst of Tang artistic skill.

Two major elements in the iconography of the Tang Heavenly King guardian are the remarkably ferocious facial expression and the threatening arm gestures, both of which became dramatically exaggerated in the eighth century.²⁰⁰ Their beginnings can be traced back to earlier periods. First, the facial ferocity, which incorporated a pair of deep-set bulging eyes and a high-bridged nose,²⁰¹ was already present in the pre-Sui tomb guardian warriors (figs. 28–30). This facial type, characteristically non-Chinese, was likely modeled on that of the Hu people, the tribute bearers, traders, and Buddhist missionaries from the Western countries.²⁰² It is possible that this visage of the tomb guardian warrior was directly modeled on the sentinels of the time, as Toba tribesmen were appointed to military posts and the Chinese to offices in civil administration during the greater part of Northern Wei rule.²⁰³ Their facial appearance, precisely because it was the very opposite of the delicate Chinese facial bone structure, must have appeared fearsome, and for that very reason was adopted for the tomb guardian warrior to convey a sense of intimidation. Second, significant scientifically controlled tomb finds in the last decade have revealed that the achievement in the art of tomb figurine sculpture

¹⁹⁵ See *KGXB*, 1957/1, pl. 3, fig. 7 – the Western Jin warrior figurine from Tomb No. 1, dated 287 and excavated in the Luoyang region, has similar facial features.

¹⁹⁶ Nanjing Museum, *Nanjing Museum, Museums in China Series* (Beijing and Tokyo, 1984), pl. 85; and *KG*, 1966/4, pp. 201–202 and pl. 6. The Chinese archaeologists, having made comparative studies of the tomb structure and burial goods and consulted relevant literary works, are convinced that the tomb in which the image was found belongs to Eastern Jin; see *ibid.*, pp. 204–5. For a Han prototype of the image, see Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission et al., “Xianyang Yangjiawan Han mu fajue jianbao” (A brief report on the excavation of a Han tomb at Yangjiawan in Xianyang), *WW*, 1977/10, p. 17, fig. 11.

¹⁹⁷ Soper (1960), pp. 48–49: “As a sculptor of Buddhist images he [Dai Kui] is remembered as an inventor who raised his craft from archaic rudeness to a new level of emotional expressiveness and beauty... His son Yong (378–441) carried the family supremacy into the early years of the Sung dynasty; stories told about his work emphasize no new inventiveness, but a subtlety and sureness of proportioning.” For Chinese literary references on these two sculptors, see Liu Dunzhen, “Zhejiang lu, xu” (Records of Court Artists, II), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* (Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture), VI:2(1935), pp. 116–19.

¹⁹⁸ For a study of the continuous cultural diffusion from South China during late Northern Wei, especially since the 470s when the Chinese Empress Dowager Lady Feng came to the throne as regent, see Soper (1960), pp. 72–81.

¹⁹⁹ See *KGXB*, 1976/2, pp. 60–79 and pls. 7, 10 and 12; and Dien, pp. 21–35 and pls. VIII, X–XIX.

²⁰⁰ For High Tang examples, see *Shaanxi sheng chutu TYXJ*, pls. 84–85 (745); and Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Relics Commission, “Xian Xijiao Zhongbaocun Tang mu qingli jianbao,” (A brief report on the excavation of a Tang tomb at Zhongbaocun in Western Suburb of Xian), *KG*, 1960/3, pl. 10, figs. 1–2.

²⁰¹ To the Chinese, the deep-set eyes and high-bridged nose were characteristic facial features of a Westerner; see *Bei shi*, 97, 3209.

²⁰² *Wei shu*, 102, pp. 2259–81; and Soper (1960), pp. 56–57 and 81.

²⁰³ The Northern Wei policy change in the employment of Chinese personnel in military as well as administrative posts occurred only in the late fifth century when the young Chinese-educated Emperor Xiao Wen (r. 470–500), supported by his foster grandmother, the Chinese Empress Dowager Lady Feng, came to the throne; see Soper (1960), pp. 52–53 and 72.

during the pre-Sui period was appreciably more advanced than had previously been assumed.²⁰⁴ Toward the end of the Northern Wei period (c. 525–535), after having successfully produced the standing figurine in greater conformity to the realistic proportions of the human image, the innovative efforts turned to one calling for a more lively and complex posture, such as the seated figurines with winnowing baskets from the tomb of Yuan Shao (Figs. 39a–b),²⁰⁵ a type that was accepted in the following Eastern Wei period, as shown in the pair from the tomb of a Ruru princess (fig. 40a–b),²⁰⁶ and carried forward through Sui into Early Tang.²⁰⁷ In the Eastern Wei, progress seems to have been made in imparting to the clay image the important quality of movement. The Eastern Wei figurine of a shaman in his act of exorcism, excavated from the same Eastern Wei tomb mentioned above (fig. 41) is an example.²⁰⁸ The similarly executed Northern Qi figurine of a shaman found in the tomb of Kudi Huiluo (fig. 42)²⁰⁹ attests to the continuity of the trend. Both already exhibit the concept of movement that was to be articulated in the Heavenly King guardian. The slightly twisting body, the outstretched arms, and the differently positioned legs are artistic precedents to the summation of sculptural skill attained in the Early Tang Heavenly King images (figs. 36a–b and 37a–b).

Significantly, the two sets of tomb guardian figurines that made their debut in late Northern Wei and prevailed all through the Northern dynasties into Sui and early Tang do not have exact counterparts in the Southern dynasties. But, as the above discussions have demonstrated, the two pairs, though they first emerged in the late Northern Wei, were built on the traditional burial customs of Han-Jin and were developed with artistic influences from South China. Professor Alexander C. Soper's statement published in 1967, "Every major cultural advance in North China during the period of 450 to 590 that made possible the fully civilized empire of the Sui was probably the result of a transmission of cultural assets from the south to the north,"²¹⁰ fittingly expresses today the evolution of the tomb guardian figurines found in the Central Plains area.

²⁰⁴ See the significant archaeological finds of Northern Wei: *KG*, 1973/4, pp. 219–22 and 243, figs. 3–8 and pls. 8–2; Eastern Wei: *KG*, 1977/6, pp. 392–97, figs. 3–8, and pls. 8–9; *WW*, 1984/4, pp. 2–5, figs. 3–5, and pls. 3–5; and *KG*, 1977/6, pp. 384–86, figs. 5–6, and pl. 7; and Northern Qi: *WW*, 1975/4, pp. 66–67, figs. 10–16 and pl. 3; *KGXB*, 1979/3, pp. 391–92 and pls. 7–9; and *WW*, 1983/10, pp. 5–9, figs. 7–17 and pls. 5–6.

²⁰⁵ *KG*, 1973/4, p. 221 and pl. 9, figs. 1–2.

²⁰⁶ *WW*, 1984/4, p. 4 and pl. 4, fig. 6–7.

²⁰⁷ See, respectively, *KG*, 1959/10, pl. 11, fig. 12 (A.D. 595); and Relics Commission, et al., "Shanxi Changzhi Beishicao Tang mu" (Excavation of Tang tombs at Beishicao in Changzhi, Shanxi), *KG*, 1965/9, p. 463 and pl. 10, fig. 10 (A.D. 684).

²⁰⁸ *WW*, 1984/4, c.pl., fig. 3.

²⁰⁹ *KGXB*, 1979/3, p. 392 and pl. 9, fig. 3. This tomb figurine, though termed a dancer in the archaeological report, is remarkably similar to the Eastern Wei shaman figurine (n. 205) and, also, to the one kept in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri; see Jan Fontein and Tung Wu, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston, 1973), pl. 70. Their faces are characterized by similar deep-set eyes, large pointed noses, and high cheekbones. Moreover, they also closely resemble the shaman image depicted on a tile relief of a Six Dynasties tomb excavated in Dengxian, Henan; see *Dengxian caise huaxiang zhuannmu*, pl. 30 and Juliano (1980), fig. 52. Thus, it should be identified as a shaman figurine but, as noted by Fontein, not a Fangxiang shi.

²¹⁰ Soper, Addendum, "The 'Jenshou' Mirrors," to Nancy Thompson, "The Evolution of the Tang Lion and Grapevine Mirror," *Artibus Asiae*, XXIX:1 (1967), p. 59.

CHINESE TEXTS

- (a) 又北二百里曰獄法之山 . . . 有獸焉。其狀如犬而人面，善投，見人則笑（嘯），其名山揮。
- (b) 獅子者，波斯國胡王所獻也，為逆賊萬俟醜奴所獲，留於冠中。永安末，醜奴破，始達京師。莊帝謂侍中李或曰，朕聞虎見獅子必伏，可覓試之。於是詔近山郡縣捕虎以送。鞏縣，山陽並送二虎一豹，帝在華林園觀之，於是虎豹見獅子，悉皆瞑目，不敢仰視。

- (c) 桃拔一名符拔，似鹿，長尾，一角者或為天鹿，兩角(者)或為辟邪。
- (d) 飛者皆有翼，物無翼而飛謂仙人，畫仙人之形，為之作翼。
- (e) 方相氏，掌蒙熊皮，黃金四目，玄衣朱裳，執戈揚盾，帥百隸而時難。以索室敵疫。大喪，先齋，及墓入壙，以戈擊四隅，敵方良。
- (f) 蒙冒也，冒熊皮者，以驚敵疫腐之鬼，如今魖頭也。
- (g) 俗說，亡人魂氣浮揚，故作魖頭以存之，言頭體魖然盛大也。

CHINESE CHARACTERS

<u>andun wushiyong</u>	按盾武士俑
Anxi	安息
Anyang	安陽
<u>Bicangjing</u>	秘葬經
<u>bixie</u>	辟邪
Bu Qianqiu	卜千秋
Changsha	長沙
Chen Yinke	陳寅恪
<u>chi</u>	尺
Chu	楚
Cixian	磁縣
Cui Ang	崔昂
<u>Da Tang liudian</u>	大唐六典
Dai Kui	戴逵
Dai Yong	戴顥
<u>dangkuang</u>	當壙
<u>dangye</u>	當野
<u>danshi mu</u>	單室墓
Datong	大同
Dengxian	鄧縣
<u>dizhou</u>	地軸
Dong Jue	董爵
Dongchencun	東陳村
Dongfang Shuo	東方朔
Dugu Kaiyuan	獨孤開遠
Dugu Sijing	獨孤思敬
Dugu Sizhen	獨孤思貞
Erzhu Xi	爾朱襲
Fangshan	方山
Fangxiang shi	方相氏
Feng	馮
Fenghuangshan	鳳凰山
<u>Fengsu tongyi</u>	風俗通義
<u>fuba</u>	符拔
Fuguishan	富貴山

Gao Jian	高建
Gao Run	高潤
Gao Tan	高潭
Gao Ya	高雅
gaoling	高嶺
Geng Shou	耿壽
Gong Gong	共工
Gongxian	鞏縣
Gu Kaizhi	顧愷之
guashou	怪獸
Guo Heng	郭恒
Guyuan	固原
<u>Han shu</u>	漢書
Hou Tu	后土
Hu	胡
<u>Huainan zi</u>	淮南子
Hualin	華林
Ji Wei	姬威
jiandi pingdiao	減地平雕
Jiang Shaoyou	蔣少游
Jiangling	江陵
Jianshan	建山
Jiaxiang	嘉祥
jide	紀德
Jing	靖
Jingxian	景縣
Jinwangchen	金王陳
kaishu	楷書
Kudi Hui Luo	庫狄迴洛
Kunlun	崑崙
Li Chong	李沖
Li He	李和
Li ji	禮記
Li Jingxun	李靜訓
Li Mengjiang	李孟姜
Li Shuang	李爽
Li Siben	李嗣本
Li Yanzhen	李延貞
Li Yu	李或
Li Zhen	李貞
<u>liangdang</u>	兩當(褚福)
Liquan	禮泉
Liu Shigong	劉世恭
Longmen	龍門
Lou Rui	婁叡
Lu	魯
Lu Wu	呂武
<u>Lun heng</u>	論衡
Luo Zongzhen	羅宗真
Luoyang	洛陽
<u>Luoyang jialanji</u>	洛陽伽藍記
Lushan	廬山
Ma'anshanshi	馬鞍山市
Mancheng	滿城
mao	冒
Mawangdui	馬王堆
<u>meng</u>	蒙

Meng Kang	孟康
mianju	面俱
<u>mingguang kai</u>	明光鎧
mingqi	明器
Mu liang	穆亮
<u>mubei</u>	墓碑
muzhi	墓誌
<u>Nan Qi shu</u>	南齊書
<u>ouren</u>	偶人
Pingcheng	平城
Pingshan	平山
Qianxian	乾縣
<u>qionglong ding</u>	穹隆頂
<u>qitou (ch'i-tou)</u>	憩頭
Qufu	曲阜
Renjiakou	任家口
Ruru	茹茹 (芮芮) (蠕蠕)
Sanyuan	三原
Shan Hui	山揮
<u>Shanhaijing</u>	山海經
Shanyang	山陽
Shao Zhen	邵真
Sheji	社稷
<u>Shenyi jing</u>	神異經
<u>Shi ji</u>	史記
Shizigang	石子岡
Shouyang	壽陽
<u>shuangshi zhuannu</u>	雙室磚墓
Shulei	疏勒
<u>sida tianwang</u>	四大天王
<u>sijiao cuanjian ding</u>	四角攢尖頂
Sima Jinlong	司馬金龍
<u>Sui shu</u>	隋書
Taiyuan	太原
<u>taoba</u>	桃拔
<u>taowu</u>	櫓杌
Tian Deyuan	田德元
<u>tianjing</u>	天井
<u>tianwang yong</u>	天王俑
Toba	拓跋
Tu Bo	土伯
Tuan Wei	段威
Wang Chong	王充
Wang Jingze	王敬則
Wang You	王由
Wanhou Chounu	萬候醜奴
<u>Wei shu</u>	魏書
Wei yang	未央
Wen	文
Wen Cheng	文成
Wen Ming	文明
Wenguan yong	文官俑
Wu	武
Wuchang	武昌
<u>Wudu fu</u>	吳都賦
<u>wushi yong</u>	武士俑
<u>WuyishanTi</u>	烏弋山離

<u>Xian</u>	西安
<u>xiandiao</u>	線雕
<u>xiangwai hutu</u>	向外弧凸
<u>Xianyang</u>	咸陽
<u>Xiao Ming</u>	孝明
<u>Xiao Rong</u>	孝融
<u>Xiao Wen</u>	孝文
<u>(Xiao) Zhuang</u>	孝莊
<u>xiaokan</u>	小龕
<u>xiepo mudao</u>	斜坡墓道
<u>Xin Tang shu</u>	新唐書
<u>Xingyuancun</u>	杏園村
<u>Xinyang</u>	信陽
<u>Xu</u>	徐
<u>Xu Pingfang</u>	徐蘋芳
<u>Yang Hong</u>	楊泓
<u>Yang Xuanzhi</u>	楊衒之
<u>Yangtouzhen</u>	羊頭鎮
<u>Yanshi</u>	偃師
<u>Yao Jun</u>	堯峻
<u>Yi De</u>	懿德
<u>Ying Shao</u>	應劭
<u>Yongan</u>	永安
<u>Yongdao</u>	甬道
<u>Yonggu</u>	永固
<u>Yong Tai</u>	永泰
<u>Youdu</u>	幽都
<u>Yu</u>	禹
<u>Yuan Shao</u>	元邵
<u>Yuan Wei</u>	元暉
<u>Yuan Yi</u>	元義
<u>Yuezhi</u>	月氏
<u>Yufa</u>	獄法
<u>Yungang</u>	雲岡
<u>Zengchang</u>	增長
<u>Zhang Huai</u>	章懷
<u>Zhang Sheng</u>	張盛
<u>Zhang Shigui</u>	張士貴
<u>Zhao Huren</u>	趙胡仁
<u>Zhao Wanli</u>	趙萬里
<u>zhaohun</u>	招魂
<u>Zheng Rentai</u>	鄭仁泰
<u>Zheng Xuan</u>	鄭玄
<u>Zhenjiang</u>	鎮江
<u>zhenmu shou</u>	鎮墓獸
<u>zhenmu yong</u>	鎮墓俑
<u>zhiming</u>	誌銘
<u>Zhonghua menwai</u>	中華門外
<u>Zhongshan</u>	中山
<u>Zhongyuan</u>	中原
<u>Zhou li</u>	周禮
<u>zhuanshu</u>	篆書
<u>zuming</u>	祖明
<u>Zuo Si</u>	左思
<u>Zuo zhuan</u>	左傳