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# SHAPING THE WIND: TASTE AND TRADITION IN FIFTH-CENTURY SOUTH CHINA

BY AUDREY SPIRO

A mind which has become a prey to imbecility will reject even the Duke of Chou or Confucius, to say nothing of the teaching of the holy *hsien*.

—Baopuzi<sup>1</sup>

## *Introduction*

ONE FUNCTION OF STUDIES OF PATRONAGE IN THE VISUAL arts is to broaden our understanding, if not of artistic inspiration, at least of how certain art forms once created first gain acceptance and then authority, so shaping and dominating viewers' aesthetic sensibilities that they can but respond with the conviction that the imagery they behold is the "correct" imagery. A study of successful deviation from established forms—one, that is, that gains acceptance and influence—must therefore consider the taste of the intended viewers.

The figures that form the basis of this study are offered as examples of artistic response to the demands of taste. For the present purpose (unlike many others), it little matters whether their original invention was by artists or artisans; I assume that both played a part in the history of these images. Their roots in much earlier forms are clear; more complex are the religious, historico-social, and artistic processes that combined to create new aesthetic values that required alteration of old forms.

## *Upward Mobility in the Realm of Immortals*

Three brick tombs unearthed in recent years in present-day Danyang county in Jiangsu province are believed to have housed members of the Xiao family, which ruled as the Southern Qi dynasty from A.D. 479 to 502.<sup>2</sup> Relief murals in these tombs are pictorial evidence for the transformation of social ideals and religious beliefs that began with the fall of the Han dynasty. By the end of the fifth century, that transformation had sufficiently matured to leave its mark on conventional imagery, products of artisan workshops.

One of the three imperial tombs, the Xiu'anling at Huqiao, has been identified as that of Xiao Dao-sheng (d. A.D. 478), who was elevated posthumously as Emperor Jing. The tomb at Jianshan is tentatively assigned to either Xiao Changmao (known also as

Wenhui), crown prince and heir apparent to the second Qi emperor, Wu (r. A.D. 482–93), or to Xiao Baojuan, the penultimate Qi ruler, who ruled briefly from A.D. 499 to 501. A second tomb at Huqiao is believed to be that of the last emperor, Xiao Baorong, who ruled even more briefly until A.D. 502.

Thus, all three are likely to have been built within a space of nine years, between A.D. 493 and 502, and, although badly damaged, the remains suggest that their pictorial programs must have been very similar, if not identical. Construction of corridor and chamber walls included murals assembled from a multiplicity of small gray bricks, each bearing in mostly fine-line relief details of the total composition. The murals from two of the tombs very likely came from the same workshop, perhaps even from the same molds.<sup>3</sup>

Amidst swirling cloud dust and showers of blossoms, feathered, two-legged creatures with human—or almost human—faces prance before racing tigers and dragons on the long walls of the tomb chambers. They wave flywhisks or sheaves of grasses or extend to their animal companions small flaming ladles (figs. 1–2).<sup>4</sup>

Similar compositions that include feathered, two-legged beings are found so frequently in the funerary art of earlier centuries that their presence in these imperial tombs of the late fifth century evokes little surprise. They are merely more transcendentals (*xian*, *shenxian*) leading more auspicious and directional animals, the latter—the Green Dragon of the East and the White Tiger of the West—appearing in Chinese art as early as the fifth century B.C., if not earlier.<sup>5</sup> The later finds are thus pictorial conventions reflecting long- and commonly-held beliefs about cosmic relationships, the nature of immortality, and the afterworld.<sup>6</sup>

Close examination of these Qi transcendentals, however, suggests that they are notably different from their Han-dynasty ancestors—found in all regions of China—painted, carved, molded, or cast on lacquer furnishings, bronze mirrors, ceramic jars, tomb and coffin walls, etc. (figs. 3–6). Although these predecessors of the Qi images vary in appearance, they may all be characterized as somewhat brutish—humanoid, perhaps, in their two-legged prancing but goat-like in their facial characteristics and rearing stance. Sometimes slender, they are as often stocky or dumpy,

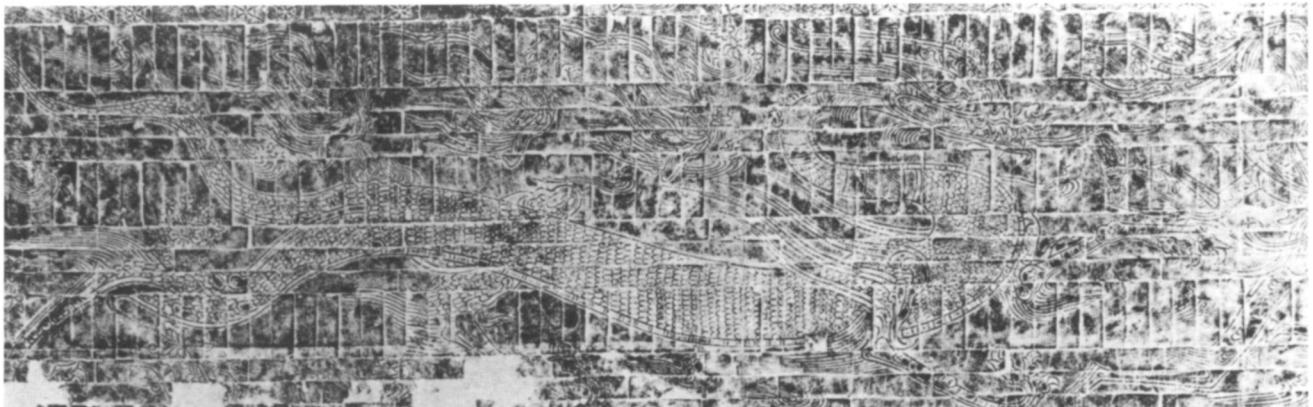


FIG. 1. *Immortal with Dragon*. Rubbing of brick relief mural, tomb at Huqiao, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century.  
After Yao and Gu, *Liuchao yishu*.

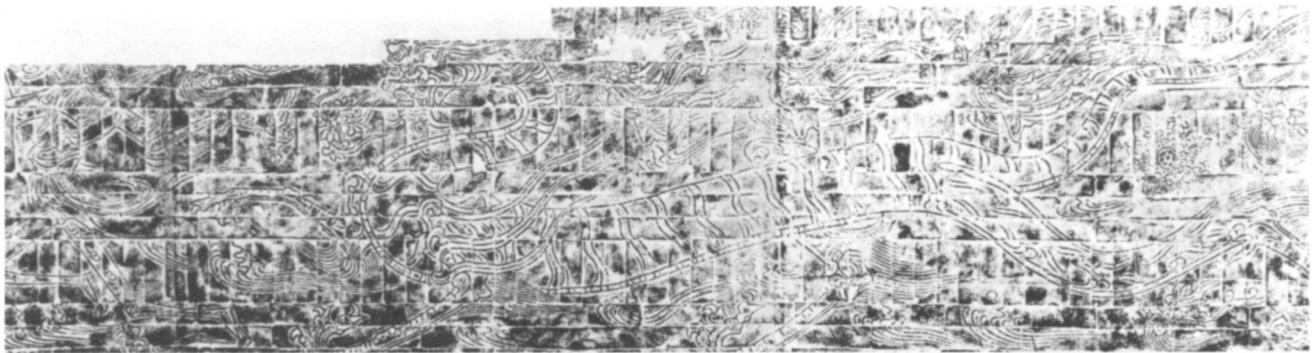


FIG. 2. *Immortal with Tiger*. Rubbing of brick relief mural, tomb at Huqiao, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century.  
After Yao and Gu, *Liuchao yishu*.

Disneyland characters improbably defying gravity as they gambol in the void. The formal variations derive in part from changing beliefs over the centuries, in part from regional differences in such beliefs as well as in art styles, and in part from developments over time. But they seem also to be a function of some uncertainty over the precise characteristics of transcends.

Immortals are mentioned in a variety of contemporaneous texts. Some of these, *fu* for example, fall into the category of literature. The artisans who fabricated the visual representations were unlikely to have been familiar with them, although their patrons surely were. For purposes of contrast, the other writings, varied as they are, may be classified, *faute de mieux*, as "how-to" or "prescription" texts. Such writings were not necessarily intended as prescriptions for achieving immortality. Yet from their accounts of immortals, lessons could be gleaned by those who yearned to join them. All such works drew on beliefs universally held; rich and poor, educated and illiterate—save for a few Wang Chongs, all believed in the possibility of cheating old age and death. Many texts, however,

would have had a limited readership (*Huainanzi* or *Lun Heng*, for example); others (e.g., *Liexian zhuan*) probably enjoyed wider circulation. Whereas the transcends in Han-dynasty *fu* are mere tropes of literature, at least some of the prescription texts of the same period, in contrast, were born of the same needs as funerary art—to cope with the greatest human fears. Even if we were to assume a connection between Han literature and its funerary art, we would have difficulty; for, although we are told in detail where transcends go, what they ride, or what they do, they are never physically described. Indeed, they seem to be shapeless, as Huan Tan suggests in his *Fu on Looking for the Immortals*—"Oh, how unsettled you were, how overflowing!"<sup>7</sup>

It seems more appropriate, therefore, to search the prescription texts for correlatives—as Jacobus a Voragine's *Golden Legend* was to early Renaissance narrative paintings, so, for instance, the *Liexian zhuan* may have been to later Han art. We learn from one text that transcends dwell in mountains and rivers, from another that they ride the clouds. The *Zhuangzi* says their skin is like ice or snow; *Huainanzi* implies a

FIG. 3. *Transcendent with Dragon*. Line drawing of a detail of a painted lacquer pillow excavated from a tomb in Hanjiang county, Jiangsu province. Late Western Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 9). After *Wenwu*, 1988, no. 2.



FIG. 5. *Transcendent*. Rubbing of a detail from a stone relief, tomb in Suining county, Jiangsu province. Eastern Han (A.D. 25-221). After *Jiangsu Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi*, 1959.



FIG. 6. *Transcendent with Tiger*. Baked brick relief, tomb at Gaochun county, Jiangsu province. Eastern Han (A.D. 25-221). Zhenjiang Museum.



FIG. 4. *Transcendent with Dragon*. Rubbing of stone relief excavated from a tomb at Bo county, Anhui province. Eastern Han (A.D. 25-221). After *Wenwu*, 1978, no. 8.

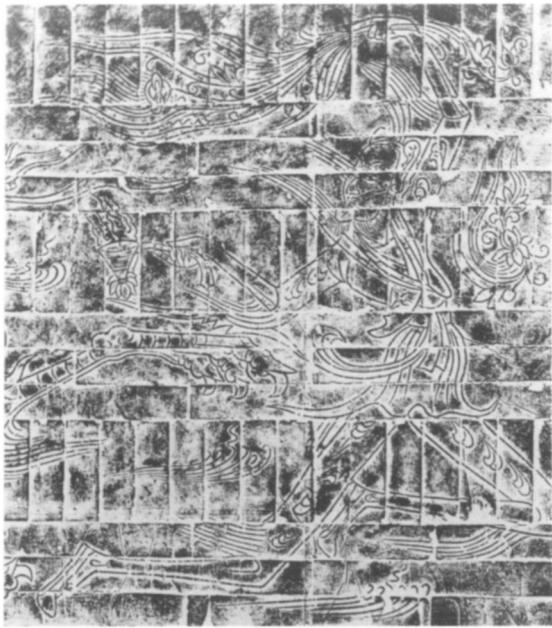


FIG. 7. *Transcendent*. Detail of fig. 1.  
After Yao and Gu, *Liuchao yishu*.

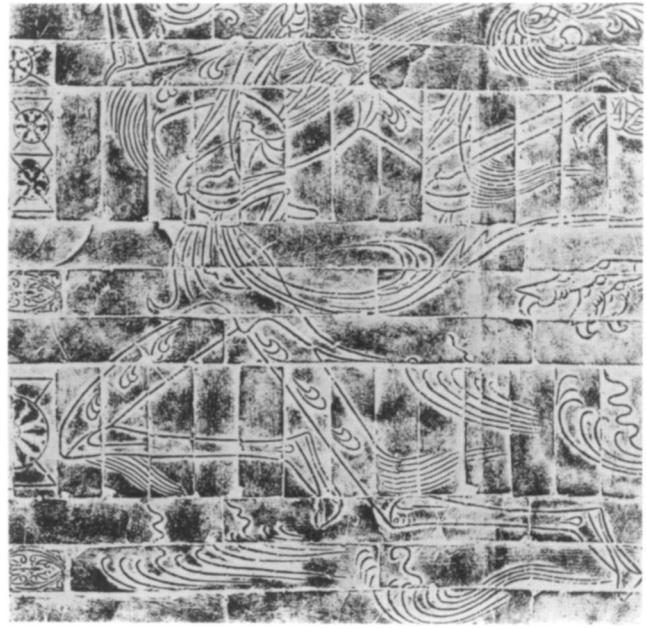


FIG. 8. *Transcendent*. Detail of fig. 2. After Yao and Gu, *Liuchao yishu*.

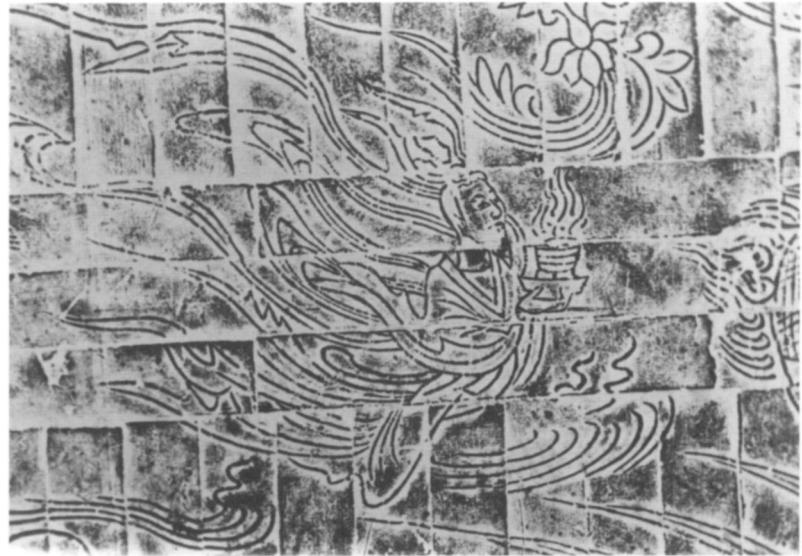


FIG. 9. *Celestial*. Detail of fig. 1.  
After Yao and Gu, *Liuchao yishu*.

scaly skin when it describes footless spirits (*shen*) with faces of men and bodies of dragons.<sup>8</sup> Many centuries later, Baopuzi tells us the *xian* have black down on their bodies.<sup>9</sup> They have wings, but then they do not have wings. Even though they do not actually have wings, they are nevertheless depicted with wings.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes they are men, but sometimes they are spirits (*shen*).<sup>11</sup> They jump over hills; but on the other hand, they fly through the air. Precise description, in fact, is noticeably rare.

The Southern Qi transients, in contrast to their Han-Wei predecessors, have more human features; their slenderness is elegant (figs. 7–8). They dance in

the clouds and lure their tigers and dragons with commanding, aristocratic gestures, while above them soar smaller creatures, human in form but identified by inscription as celestials (*tianren*, figs. 9–12). Some, with delicate oval faces, appear to be females; the squarer jaws and larger noses of others suggest that they are males. Decorously draped in voluminous, flowing garments, lacking wings or even feathers, they are yet so light they float. Erect, their backs slightly arched and their knees bent at an acute angle, they hover with dignity. As their skirts and ribbons twist and fly in the wind, they lose none of their unruffled composure.



FIG. 10. *Celestial*. Detail of fig. 2.  
After Yao and Gu, *Liuchao yishu*.

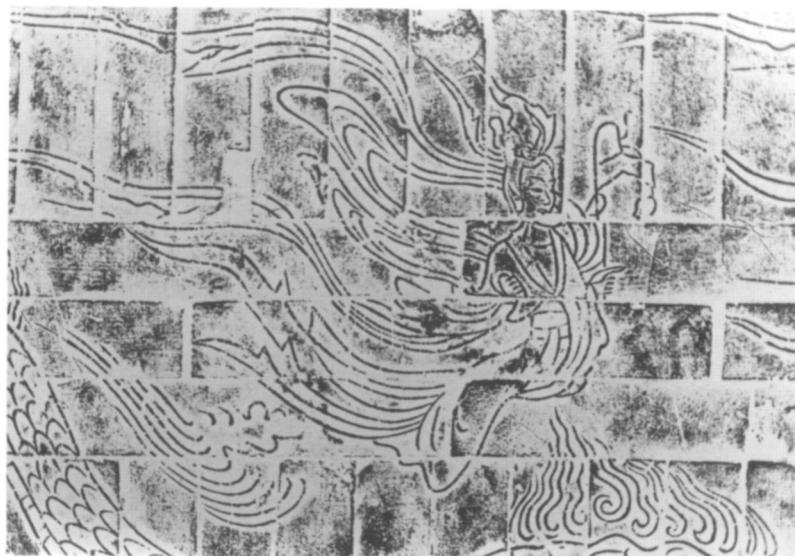


FIG. 11. *Celestial*. Detail of fig. 1.  
After *Liuchao yishu*.

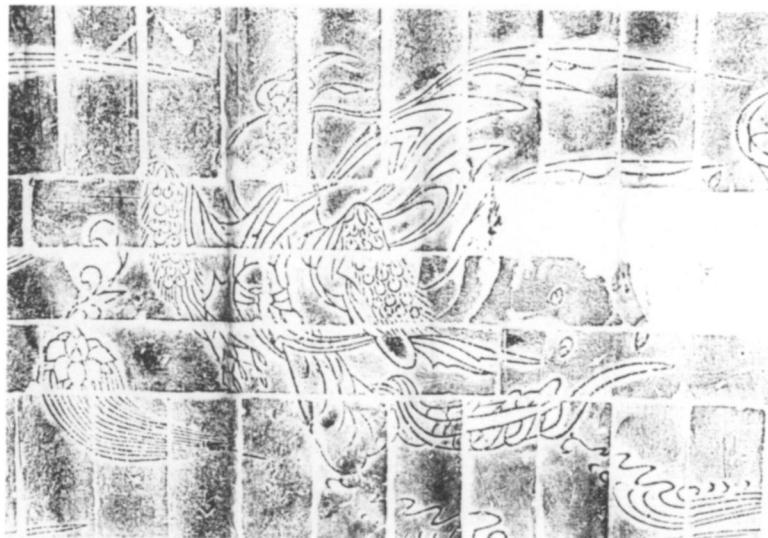


FIG. 12. *Celestial*. Rubbing, detail of brick relief mural, tomb at Jianshan, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century A.D.  
Courtesy Amy and Martin J. Powers.

Flying creatures are not an innovation; they appear in funerary art long before the fifth century. Horizontal and stiff, arms and legs outstretched, such Han-dynasty images are identical to their vertical counterparts, save that their forms have been rotated ninety degrees (fig. 13). All these flying images of Han have wings. Even post-Han images, such as the insouciant predecessor on the ceiling of a late fourth-/early fifth-century tomb in Gansu province, require wings to stay aloft (fig. 14). The wingless floating creatures of the Qi tombs, however, seem to be unknown in earlier centuries, although a few small flying creatures on mirrors of the Wu-Western Jin period are ambiguous in this respect. These latter images are usually regarded as early Buddhist forms.<sup>12</sup>

Yoshimura Rei has suggested that the Danyang celestials owe their transformation to the introduction of the Buddhist faith and its imagery.<sup>13</sup> Yet they

little resemble the small flying creatures of the mirrors nor such later depictions of *apsarases* as, for example, the anatomically impossible images painted on the walls of Caves 272 and 257 at Dunhuang—the former believed to have been made prior to, and the latter following, the accession of the territory by the Northern Wei in A.D. 439 (fig. 15).<sup>14</sup> Nor do the plump, round-faced *apsarases*, whether half nude or fully clothed, in the later fifth-century caves at Yungang seem likely predecessors (fig. 16). Reliefs from Caves 6 and 7, for example, with their awkward postures and almost strident joyousness, are unlikely models for the unobtrusively decorous celestials of the Danyang tombs.

An almost contemporaneous Buddhist image with figures similar to the new immortals of the Qi tombs exists, however, and it is of southern provenance. A small gilt bronze ex-voto in the Musée Guimet in Paris

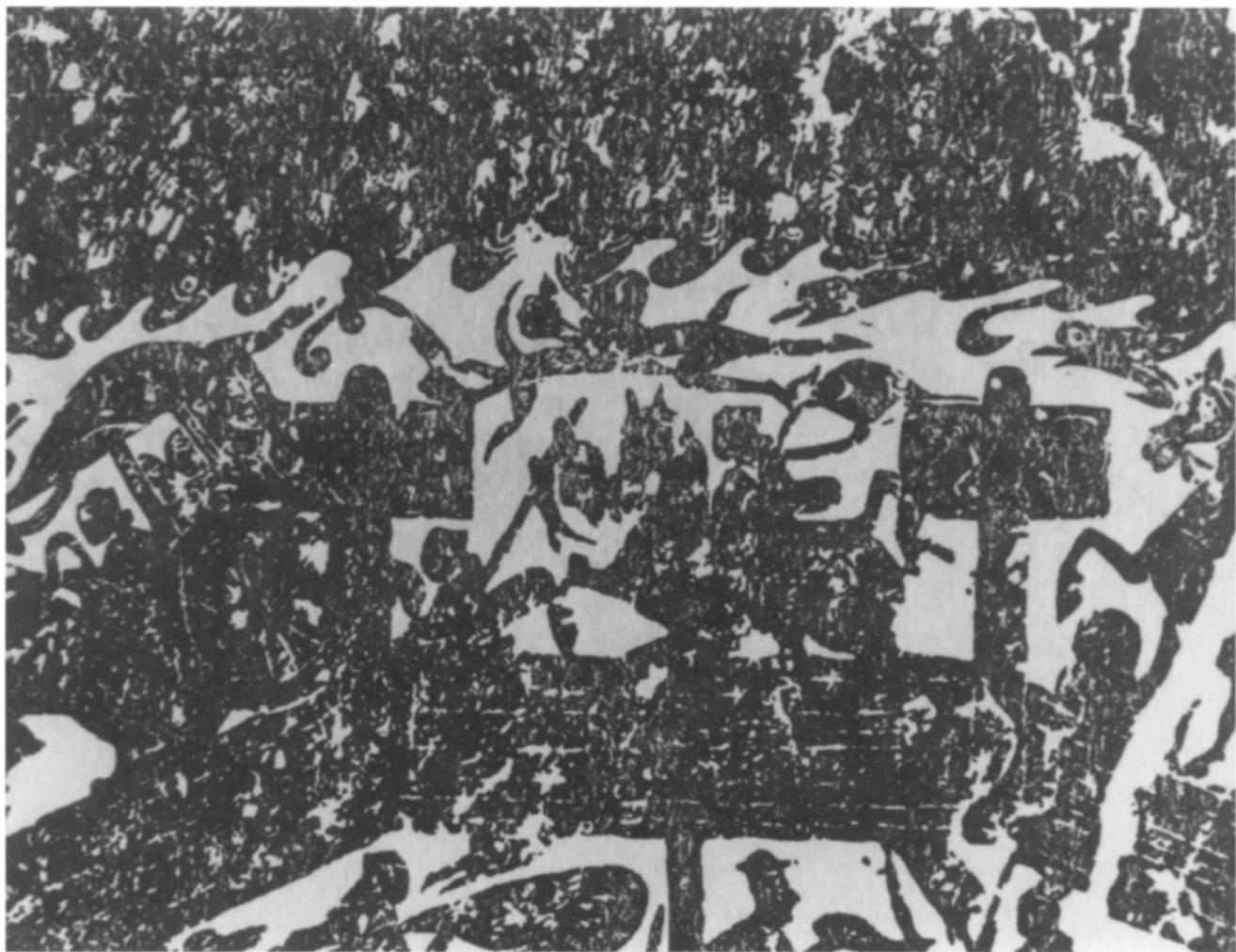


FIG. 13. *Flying Immortal*. Detail of a rubbing, stone relief, tomb in Suining county, Jiangsu province. Eastern Han (A.D. 25–221). After *Jiangsu Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi*, 1959.



FIG. 14. *Flying Immortal*. Detail of painted mural from a tomb at Jiuquan, Gansu province.  
Late fourth–early fifth century.  
After *Wenwu*, 1979, no. 6.



FIG. 15. *Apsarases*. Detail of a wall painting from Cave 272 at Dunhuang.  
Northern Liang (A.D. 421–39).  
After *Zhongguo shiku: Dunhuang Mogao ku 1*.



FIG. 16. *Apsarases*. Detail from the central pillar of Cave 6 at Yungang. Sandstone relief, A.D. 465–94.  
After *Yungang shiku*, 1977.



FIG. 17. Buddhist ex-voto, gilt bronze. Liu-Song dynasty, A.D. 478. H: 9.75 inches. Cliché Musées Nationaux, Paris.

bears an inscription dating the work to the Liu-Song dynasty, in accordance with the year 478 (fig. 17). The seated Buddha image is backed by a nimbus surrounded by a pierced border on which five flying *apsarases* alternate with lotus blossoms. The skirts and scarves of these tiny creatures, who are swathed in robes, billow rhythmically behind them, evoking the invisible wind that sustains them. They contrast markedly with the nearly contemporaneous small flying creatures carved in relief on the back of a sandstone Buddhist sculpture excavated in Xingping county in Shaanxi province (fig. 18). The inscription includes a date corresponding to A.D. 471.<sup>15</sup> There, two figures wearing trousers and one wearing a *dhoti* are joined in an international *pas de quatre en l'air* by a figure in Chinese robes, its body laterally bent to form an improbable right angle. Unlike the long upswept garments of the southern *apsarases*, the foot-length

hem of this Chinese figure's robe undulates in defiance of gravity and points both up and down, while the flying scarves suggest that the wind must be blowing from all directions at once. The posture of this fifth-century figure of northern provenance is very similar to the posture of flying creatures, who do not wear Chinese robes, on two much earlier mirrors from the south.<sup>16</sup> None of the Buddhist compositions discussed features the simple conventions of parallel swirls and lines or approximates the tumbling floral twists that accompany the Danyang celestials and transcendent beings and convey a sense of rushing movement.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, regardless of the certain impact of the Buddhist faith on Chinese ideas of death and the afterlife and regardless of its imagery—borrowed first perhaps as merely more auspicious symbols and later as true religious iconography<sup>18</sup>—it is unlikely that the style of the flying immortals of the Southern Qi tombs derives either from the early Wu-Western Jin forms of the south or from fifth-century examples of Buddhist art from the north.<sup>19</sup> That their closest stylistic counterpart, the Liu-Song ex-voto, is also a product of southern workshops is due, I will argue, less to the direct influence of Buddhist art and more to the fact that religious and funerary art of south China were affected by the values of an elite patron group.<sup>20</sup> With their Chinese robes, their slenderness of form, their elbows close to the body, their winding and floating draperies, these new celestials succeed, as earlier images of the tradition do not, in achieving a new authority: they have transcended gravity to float in a higher realm, ruled by a new *gravitas* of poise, dignity, and decorum. The style of these celestials—perhaps intended to represent deities of a specifically Daoist religious faith but most certainly the symbols of long-held, indigenous beliefs—is as much a function of taste and its history as it is of formal development.<sup>21</sup>

Relatively little southern mural art of the Period of Disunion has survived, and the few works extant are insufficient to enable us to trace the formal developments that must have occurred between such Latter Han productions as, to take but one example, the capering transcendent who faces and beckons with both hands to a racing tiger on a small relief brick from Gaochun county in Jiangsu province (fig. 6) and the large aristocratic images of the late fifth century. Small figures on Wu-Jin bronze mirrors (fig. 19), whatever their iconography, seem little different in style from the Gaochun image.<sup>22</sup> Neither the dumpy press-molded creatures—certainly otherworldly—found on Yue-ware of the third and early fourth centuries nor the accompanying feathered beings sprigged on the bodies of many of these urns suggests



FIG. 18. Detail from a stone Buddhist stele. Northern Wei, A.D. 471. Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an.



FIG. 19. Rubbing, detail of bronze mirror from Changsha, Hunan, latter half of third century.  
After *Kaogu*, 1985, no. 7.

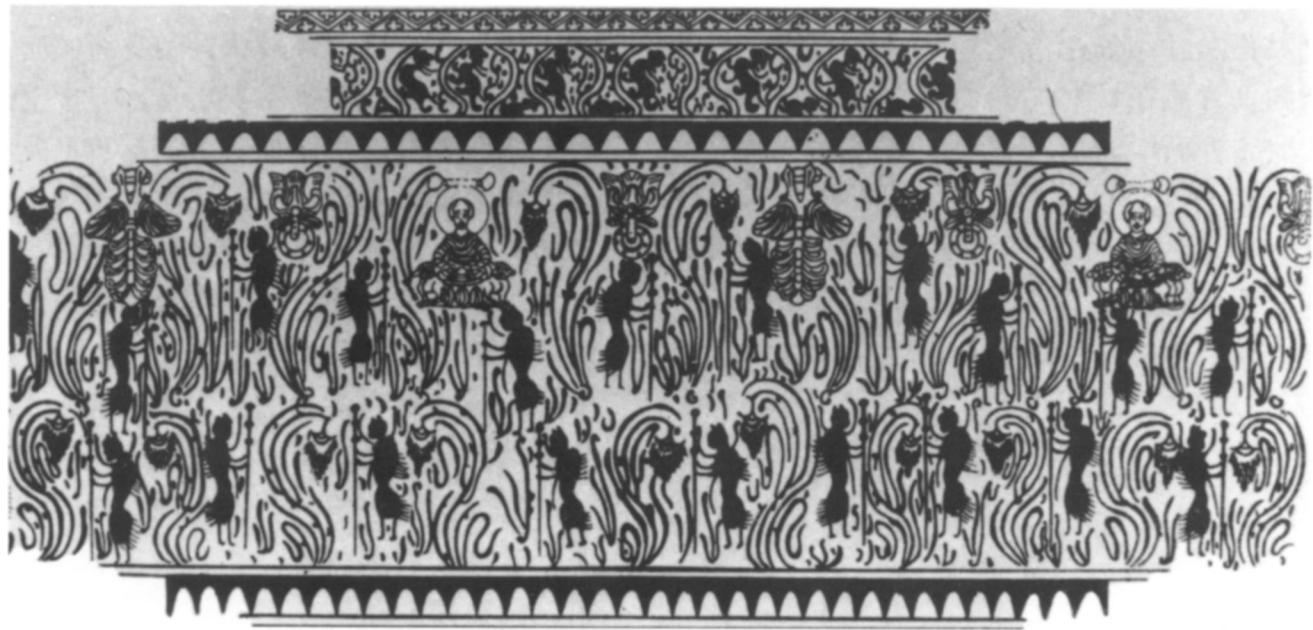


FIG. 20. Drawing of painted underglaze design from a Yue vessel excavated in Nanjing.  
Late fourth–early fifth centuries. After *Wenwu*, 1988, no. 6.

formal advances over their Han counterparts.<sup>23</sup> A recently published urn with underglaze painted decoration features slender creatures, standing erect, as if on guard (fig. 20).<sup>24</sup> They wear feathered garments and with both hands grasp long staffs with triple knobs, similar to the staff held by the Xuzhou *xian* of Han times (fig. 5) and by the walking figures often sprigged on other Wu-Jin vessels. Surrounding them, as overall ornamentation, are clusters of waving blades of grass. From each cluster a single blossom depends from one stalk; perhaps it is a plant of immortality—to judge from its hairiness, perhaps the *actractylis* (*zhu*), beloved of immortals. Sun Zuoyun has suggested that in the Han dynasty the staff was a tally for the feather-cloaked magician or wonderworker (*fangshi*), part human, part transcendent—the credential that identified him as heaven's emissary, sent to welcome the deceased.<sup>25</sup> Wu Hung has called attention to the second-century immortality scenes from Shandong in which Xi Wang Mu receives homage from figures holding stalks or branches. He relates this imagery to accounts of the Queen Mother's cult in the *Han shu*, in which worshippers held stalks of straw or hemp, "wand[s] of the goddess' edict."<sup>26</sup>

On the Qi murals, the staffs have disappeared, possibly to have merged with the stalks of grass now firmly grasped by the *xian*, who neither wait in attendance on the Queen Mother nor caper beseechingly. They seem more authoritative than their precursors as they stand tall and race ahead with such assurance they need not look towards their destination, all the

while brandishing their grasses (now both tally and food of immortality?) commandingly at their tigers and dragons. It is clear that these immortals, in form and composition, descend from earlier images, but they are much altered in style.<sup>27</sup>

As for the celestials, an *apsaras* similar to the Qi celestials can be seen in the fragmented upper left of a rubbing of relief scenes from the back of a stele reported to have been found at the Wanfosi in Chengdu in the nineteenth century. Early publications reported a date of A.D. 427 by inscription. A more recent publication, however, cautiously suggests either a Liu-Song (A.D. 420–79) or Liang (A.D. 502–57) date. Certainly on stylistic grounds a late fifth- or sixth-century date is more tenable.<sup>28</sup> Later documents report paintings of immortals (*xian*, *shenxian*) but fail to tell us what these figures looked like. In the ninth century, Zhang Yanyuan noted that Gu Kaizhi (ca. A.D. 345–406), for example, executed paintings of immortals, including one of three celestial maidens (*tiannu*).<sup>29</sup> Li Yanshou, writing in the seventh century, described in detail the decorations in the Yushou Hall, rebuilt following a late fifth-century fire in the palace. The emperor, Xiao Baojuan (who may have been the occupant of one of the Qi tombs), supervised the new construction. The décor in the bed-chamber included images of flying immortals (*feixian*) embroidered and woven on the hangings as well as of immortals (*shenxian*) painted on the walls.<sup>30</sup> Very likely these images, created for secular purposes, resembled their contemporaneous funerary

counterparts. Nonetheless, we can only speculate about the appearance of these images mentioned in texts or about the many depictions that must have been produced in the region over the centuries.

We need not speculate, however, about the importance of the new social ideals and religious beliefs that slowly evolved during these centuries and that affected formal developments in art. The literary and historical evidence for their importance is clear, and the pictorial remains from these Danyang tombs are prime visual examples of the new values. An examination of such evidence suggests that the new-style immortals of the Qi tombs, celestials and transcends, are visual reflections of emerging, systematized beliefs associated with prominent sects of the Daoist religion. This is not to suggest that they are esoteric images, associated with one or another specific sect and designed to convey hidden meanings to the elect. On the contrary, as I have noted, they are conventional funerary imagery, but old forms subtly altered to please new tastes. It is perhaps not so different from the process whereby Indian and Central Asian Buddhist forms (to say nothing of texts) were, over time, adapted to Chinese taste—witness the Buddha image and *apsarases* of the Liu-Song ex-voto. And although the iconography of the Xiao murals leads me to emphasize in this discussion developments in the Daoist religion, it is well to remember that many of the men who would have seen these murals—indeed, the families who commissioned them—were not only seekers of immortality but also often devout Buddhists. They may or may not also have been adherents of the Mao Shan or Ling Bao sects of Daoism; they clearly were interested in important revelations of both sects, for the revelations, regardless of source, were purported to hold the key to the real future that had been sought for centuries. Whatever the institutional competition for congregations and patrons, these believers were not bound by the demands of a Judaeo-Christian either/or, and they clearly saw neither logical nor spiritual conflict in keeping their options open.<sup>31</sup> As the late and greatly missed Anna Seidel reminded us, “Immortality is the name of the game in all Chinese religion.”<sup>32</sup>

Present-day Danyang is very near Zhurong, from the beginning associated with those wondrous revelations of the fourth century that were to win so many aristocratic adherents in the ensuing decades. Based on earlier beliefs and practices, the Mao Shan texts (*Shangqing jing*)—the sacred and tangible record of the revelations—circulated throughout the fifth century; they were collated and edited by Tao Hongjing (A.D. 456–536), probably in the last decade of that century. Presumably, Tao’s retirement from the Southern Qi court for that purpose, as well as to experiment

with elixirs for achieving immortality, was a dispensation granted by the emperor.<sup>33</sup> The dates of the Qi tombs thus correspond with known imperial interest in the texts.<sup>34</sup> These transformations of old beliefs—revealed by heavenly visitants to their earthly disciples—speak of new celestial forms, gracious and radiant creatures who dwell in heavenly palaces, not, like their predecessors, in tree hollows, gourds, or mountain caves. They float in the Void, wander hand in hand with their *bels amis*, unite in the Gauzy Canopy, sow aromatic mists, ascend to the Purple Court, follow the wind and sing with jade flutes.

These new-style celestials are not physically described. Rather, the description of their behavior and the style of that description evoke in the reader new images. They are aristocrats, who disclose themselves to believers with a literary expressiveness absent, for example, from Han-dynasty and even later prescriptive accounts of the transcendent Master Red Pine (*Chisongzi*) or from Ge Hong’s promises of the delights that follow the taking of a single spoonful of cold cinnabar (*handan*), after which immortal boys and jade ladies, not otherwise described, will come to serve you, the serving not otherwise described.<sup>35</sup> The new rewards to the faithful, set forth in the *Shangqing* texts, are more detailed, more complex fantasies. The lyricism of these accounts, often resulting in *double-entendres* almost impossible to translate without descending, at best, to banality, at worst, to vulgarity, transforms and ennobles ancient esoteric practices.<sup>36</sup> Literature has been joined to religion, as was surely necessary if the faith were to appeal to an aristocracy.

The imagery and the literary style of these new texts, now held to be not merely prescriptive but sacred, are the imagery and the literary style of third-century poets like the Cao family, Xi Kang, Ruan Ji—men celebrated and admired in the fourth and fifth centuries by the courtiers of the Southern dynasties—admired, that is, for what they were (or were believed to have been) quite as much as for their literary accomplishments. These Jin and Song courtiers praised, for example, Xi Kang and Ruan Ji as they praised one another—for their freedom from social constraint, their detachment from worldly affairs, their remarkable self-possession, their talents, and their cultivated refinement. All of which, in short, were social ideals of the period. And it is no mere chance that portraits of Xi Kang and Ruan Ji—along with their companions of the Bamboo Grove plus the legendary happy recluse Rong Qiqi (who confounded Confucius)—appear in these imperial tombs of Qi next to the compositions discussed here.<sup>37</sup>

The fourth- and fifth-century depictions of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove in Jiangsu



FIG. 21. *The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove: Xi Kang and Ruan Ji*. Details of a rubbing of a brick relief from a tomb at Xishanqiao, Nanjing, Jiangsu province. Late fourth–early fifth century A.D.



FIG. 22. *The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove: Wang Rong and Shan Tao*. Detail of a rubbing of a brick relief from a tomb at Wujiacun, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century A.D.  
Photograph courtesy James and Nicholas Cahill.

tombs are the earliest extant images of Cultivated Gentlemen (*wenren*) in Chinese art (figs. 21–22). They do not, of course, resemble precisely the immortals depicted in the same fifth-century tombs—that would be inappropriate. But we may note certain similarities in their slenderness, in the floating and tumbled draperies framing motionless bodies, in the isolation of each figure set off by trees; and we may observe how cleverly these elements convey a sense of weightlessness, of dignified composure, and of remoteness—as if the gentlemen have withdrawn to another plane of existence. Unfettered by and scornful of convention yet always refined and cultivated, thoroughly self-possessed whatever the circumstances, drunk or sober, they were social exemplars for the aristocrats of the fourth and fifth centuries at the southern court.

It was these social ideals, aristocratic ideals, that contributed to the shaping of the new Daoist faith, as well as to the Buddhist faith propagated in the south, and to the imagery of both.<sup>38</sup> As the imagery slowly took shape for the aristocratic exemplars of the terrestrial world, so the celestial world followed suit. In turn, the new resplendent visions of the celestial world would reinforce earthly ideals. In the third century, Cao Zhi had praised his nephew's concern for his subjects' well-being. "His Majesty's body floats and is airy," he remarked, in delicate allusion to the ruler's far-reaching, suprahuman vigilance for the welfare of his subjects. By the fourth century, the men at the Eastern Jin court in Jiankang characterized one another similarly—not, however, for their stewardship but for their style. Wang Shao "unmistakably had the plumes of a phoenix." Xie Shang was free, "naturally on a transcendently higher plane of existence (*lingshang*)."<sup>39</sup> Some characterized Wang Xizhi, *not* his calligraphy but the man, as "now drifting like a floating cloud; now rearing up like a startled dragon." (It is perhaps significant that Wang and his family were associated with the recluse Xu Mai, whose kinsmen were the elected beneficiaries of the Mao Shan revelations.) "How light and airy his graceful soaring," the renowned Buddhist Zhi Dun once said of the courtier Wang Meng.<sup>40</sup>

The Mao Shan celestials, as revealed in the texts, are thus remarkably like Xie Shang and Wang Meng, the embodiment of the social ideals of this courtly world. As such, their appeal to adherents, or to potential adherents, must have been greatly enhanced. The fifth-century recluses who had wandered off in pursuit of long life and who were repeatedly summoned—with small success—by members of the imperial family were no untutored wonderworkers. The ruler's gifts to Gu Huan, for example, a deer-tail whisk and a zither (*qin*), were hallmarks of cultivation, appropriate bestowals to a learned man, one whose critical

studies of Mao Shan texts were to be the models for Tao Hongjing's labors.<sup>41</sup> Tao himself, the Ninth Patriarch of the Mao Shan sect, was a scholar and poet. He loved to play the *qin* and excelled in two styles of calligraphy.<sup>42</sup> His first appointment to office came directly from the Qi emperor. Later, as he rambled in nature at his retreat at Mao Shan, those who saw him from afar took him for a transcendent (*xianren*).<sup>43</sup>

The great scholar and poet Shen Yue (A.D. 441–513) dedicated poems to the famous recluse of Mao Shan, and in his inscriptions composed for temple stelae he refers to the Mao Shan hierarchy of transients, among whom the Perfected, undreamed of by Bao-puzi, are as refined as Tao Hongjing and Shen Yue.<sup>44</sup> It is little wonder, given the emphasis of many *Shangqing* texts on internal alchemy, visualization, and interiorization, that the exquisite sensibilities of these famous terrestrials were by their day matched by their celestial counterparts, the Perfected.<sup>45</sup> For the Perfected also "rein in the clouds and sunrise mists" and recline on stars, as Shen Yue described the Ninth Patriarch.<sup>46</sup> The new pictorial versions of these immortals conform to the new beliefs. Shen Yue vainly sought "the glorious spirit" of Chisongzi, who "pushed aside the mists and took his leave." When he yearned that he too "might obtain the Golden Fluid recipe / And with one word sprout feathered wings," what image could he have envisioned for himself?<sup>47</sup> It is difficult to imagine either of these two cultivated men yearning to be like the transients of Han, or even later (fig. 23). But not so difficult to imagine their



FIG. 23. *Transcendent*. Line drawing, detail of a stone relief from a tomb excavated at Yinan, Shandong province. Late second–early third century A.D. After *Yinan guhuaxiang shimu fajue baogao*.

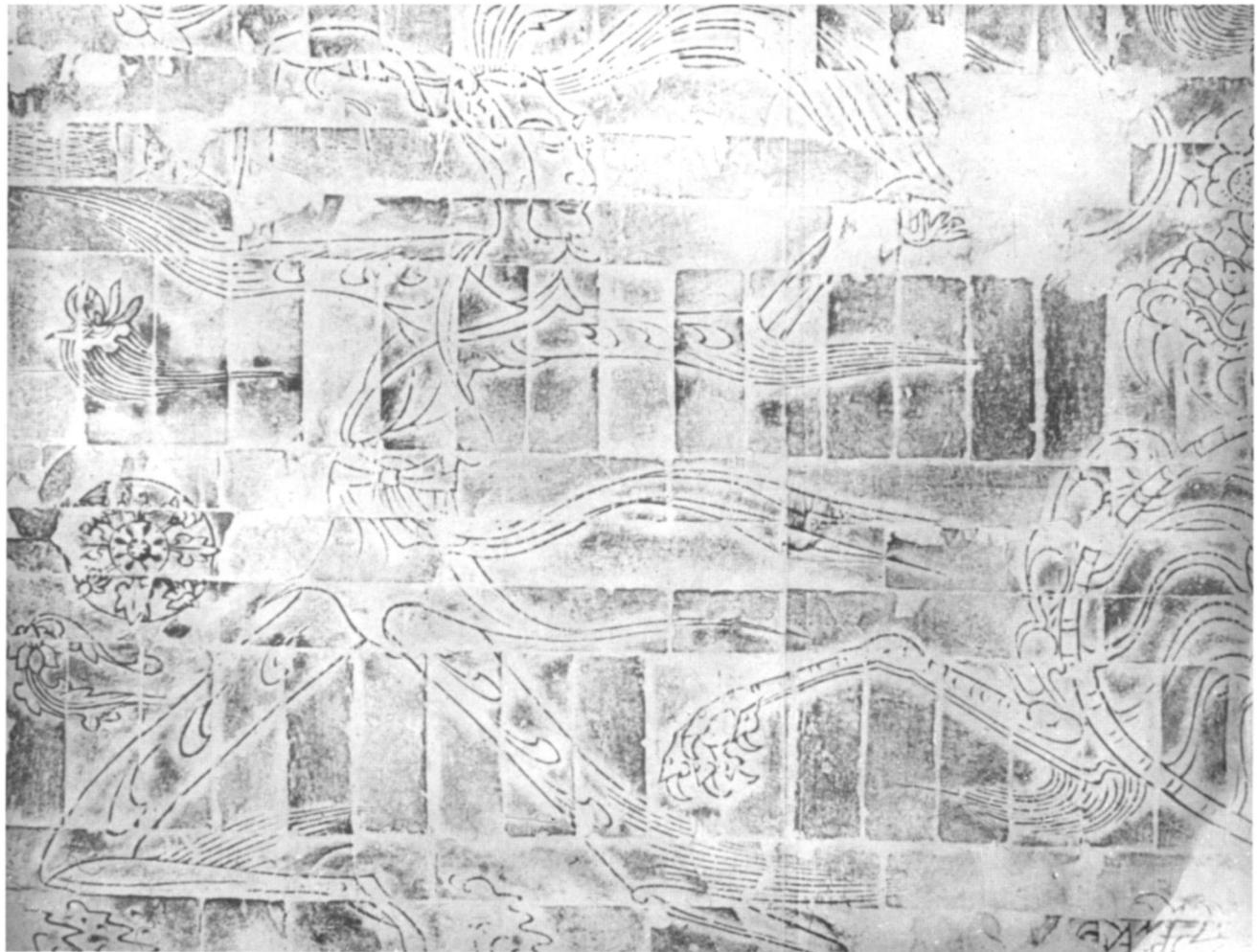


FIG. 24. *Transcendent*. Rubbing of a detail from a brick relief mural, the Xiu'anling at Huqiao, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century A.D. Photograph courtesy James and Nicholas Cahill.

identifying with the immortals of Southern Qi (fig. 24).

Shen Yue, of course, was writing within a well-established tradition, as were the third-century poets I have mentioned, and the yearning to be like Chisongzi was, already in the third century, a trope. But by the fifth-century Chisongzi (and others of his ilk) had become more than a literary commonplace for these aristocrats. The ambiguities of his earlier image had dissolved, replaced by a new, more distinct image. The new vision displayed a celestial world as firmly hierarchical as the human world, and the aristocrat of this world now had religious reassurance that he might find his rightful place in the next. In the context of the new values, the old literary commonplace (Cao Zhi had even wondered if an immortal were a "kind of ape")<sup>47</sup> now bore a religious and social freight that enforced a different perception of Chisongzi for the poet and his reader alike.

Light and airy, soaring above the *xian* in these funerary murals, the celestials demonstrate the increased social complexity of the other world. Composed and unruffled, their substance so refined they require no wings, they exemplify the new decorum—and the new heights to which mortals could aspire.

As for the *xian*, mere immortals on a lower plane than the celestials, they are no longer brutes but transcendent gentlemen of the Supreme Clarity (*Tai-qing*). Stock funerary images, products of workshops, they have been reworked, graceful as a floating cloud, in the ideal shape of aristocrats (figs. 25–26). In conformance with new social values, new religious convictions, and a new aesthetic, they no longer strut or somersault but glide and twist with a becoming grace.

The cavorting of earlier images is their one constant. Leaping, flying in the air, running in the mountains—motion, which is to say, transformation, was



**FIG. 25.** *The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove: Xi Kang.* Rubbing of a detail from a brick relief mural, tomb at Jianshan, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century A.D. Photograph courtesy Amy and Martin J. Powers.



**FIG. 26.** *Transcendent.* Detail of a rubbing of a brick relief mural, tomb at Jianshan, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century. Photograph courtesy Amy and Martin J. Powers.

the only perceptual certainty. Short or tall, fat or slender, furry or crystalline—all were acceptable because irrelevant to the immortal's ability to transform himself. The Han, and even later, depictions correspond to the old traditions and their paucity of physical description—whether in the *Zhuangzi* or the centuries' later *Liexian zhuan*—or their ambiguities—whether in *Lun Heng* or the fourth century *Baopuzi*. Ge Hong, that arch-conservative, preserves the old tradition when he tells his doubter that anyone could recognize the *xian*—if only they *all* had square pupils, as some do, or ears reaching to the tops of their heads, as some do, or scales on their bodies, as some do.<sup>48</sup> Such, however, is not the case; from Ge Hong's point of view, these physical signs are irrelevant to the crucial sign of transformation. He does not seek to look like the various legendary immortals to whom he refers; he seeks only their ability to transform himself.

When the immortal becomes an aristocrat, however, and, even more importantly, when the aristocratic adept identifies with that immortal, as the courtier Shen Yue does with Chisongzi, the irrelevant becomes highly relevant. Once more, the literature of the third century provides early models for the later religious values and imagery. In Cao Zhi's description of Fufei, the spirit of the Luo River, for example, the constant of transformation remains, but it is graphically enriched as metaphor. Whereas in *Liexian zhuan* Chisongzi merely ascends and descends,<sup>49</sup> the Wei prince's goddess, always in motion, soars like a swan, flies like a dragon; her form is now bright as the

autumn chrysanthemum, now dim as the clouded moon; she is as restless as wind-driven snow. Metaphor, of course, is to be found in Han literature as well—Huan Tan's immortals soared like the phoenix.<sup>50</sup> Cao Zhi's description of Fufei's physical appearance, however, eschews metaphor and (a rarity) is concrete in detail: her white teeth gleam, her long eyebrows arch; her waist is narrow, her throat slender.<sup>51</sup> The substance into which one is transformed is as important as the act of transformation. By the fifth century, the once-new social and religious values had completed their conquest. The ambiguities of the old tradition had lost their authority; the new images were solidly entrenched. They were now pleasing to rulers, inspiring to cultivated gentlemen—beings with whom one could identify. These were no longer *others* but what *I* might become.

The earlier uncertainty of how transcendent *should* look had allowed artisans degrees of freedom in their depictions that were no longer possible. Whatever the craftsman's own beliefs (and cynic he may have been), the new religious beliefs of his aristocratic patrons imposed, of psychological and aesthetic necessity, a new taste. The fantasy images of Han owe their survival as conventions to the craftsman's ability to reshape old images in conformance with his patrons' increasing certainty about how they looked. The many depictions, evolving over time, that undoubtedly intervened between the earlier forms and the immortals of Qi must have paralleled the cognitive developments of that certainty, their trajec-



FIG. 27. *Apsaras*. Rubbing of relief detail from the Lianhua cave, Longmen, A.D. 516–28. After *Longmen shiku*.

tories intersecting, influencing, and reinforcing one another. Certainty fostered a new decorum, restricting artistic fantasy (at least when commissioned by patrons) to the bounds of the new ideal.

"The distant aims of men of understanding / Are invisible to those of vulgar feeling," Shen Yue remarked in a famous poetic essay.<sup>52</sup> For most who gazed upon the transcendent and celestials of the Qi tombs before their doors were closed, their significance lay in their familiarity. Creatures who flew or danced before tigers and dragons reflected beliefs so long and so commonly held as to warrant an easy acceptance, regardless of their style. For a select few, however, these pictorial conventions had gained a

new authority. The old basic forms (figures dance, figures fly), crucially altered in style (and therein lies artistic creativity), could now bear the freight of personal interpretation and identification. There was no turning back.

#### *Afterward/Afterword*

The conquest of the "southern taste" in Buddhist art has been traced many times.<sup>53</sup> The source for the relief *apsarases* of late Northern Wei at the Longmen caves could not be more apparent (figs. 11, 27, 28, 29), nor the swiftness of its journey west



FIG. 28. *Apsaras*. Rubbing of relief detail from the Lianhua cave, Longmen, A.D. 516–28. After *Longmen shiku*.

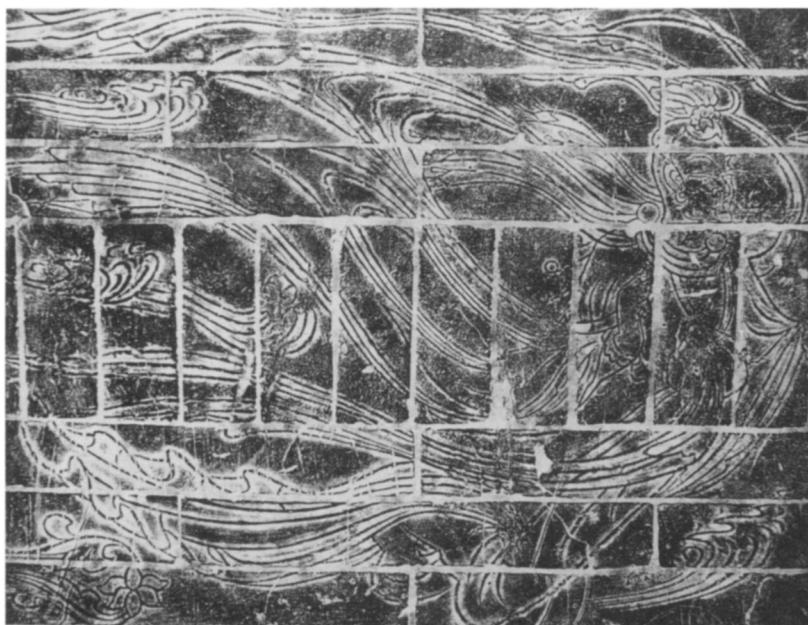


FIG. 29. *Celestial*. Rubbing of a brick relief fragment from a tomb at Huqiao, Danyang county, Jiangsu province. Late fifth century A.D.

more surprising. By the end of Northern Wei rule, the soaring southern aristocrats are seen as *apsarases* in paintings on the gable ceiling of Cave 248 at Dunhuang (fig. 30). The native faith has not been forgotten, however. In paintings on the north and south walls of Cave 249 (datable to the Western Wei period, A.D. 535–57), hovering and bending with seemly grace and fully clad in Chinese robes, Daoist celestials pay homage to the One Who Preaches the Law. In the upper left corner of the painting on the south wall, the celestial grasps firmly a tiny figure, a winged racing dragon (fig. 31). In this cave, the ceiling is painted with a panoply of foreign and

traditional Chinese images, including the deity Xi Wang Mu and her consort, Dong Wang Gong. With their cortèges, they race through the heavens in gorgeous gondolas to witness the miracle.<sup>54</sup> It is a marvelous example of the universal religious strata-gem: what you cannot drive out, take in.

Subservient to the Buddha, as they are in Cave 249, these traditional images may be interpreted, deservedly, as exemplifying the Buddhist conquest of China. Yet they also exemplify a counter-conquest, for the taste of the southern, native aristocracy can here be seen in the process of domesticating the foreign faith. It is the Chinese conquest of Buddhism.

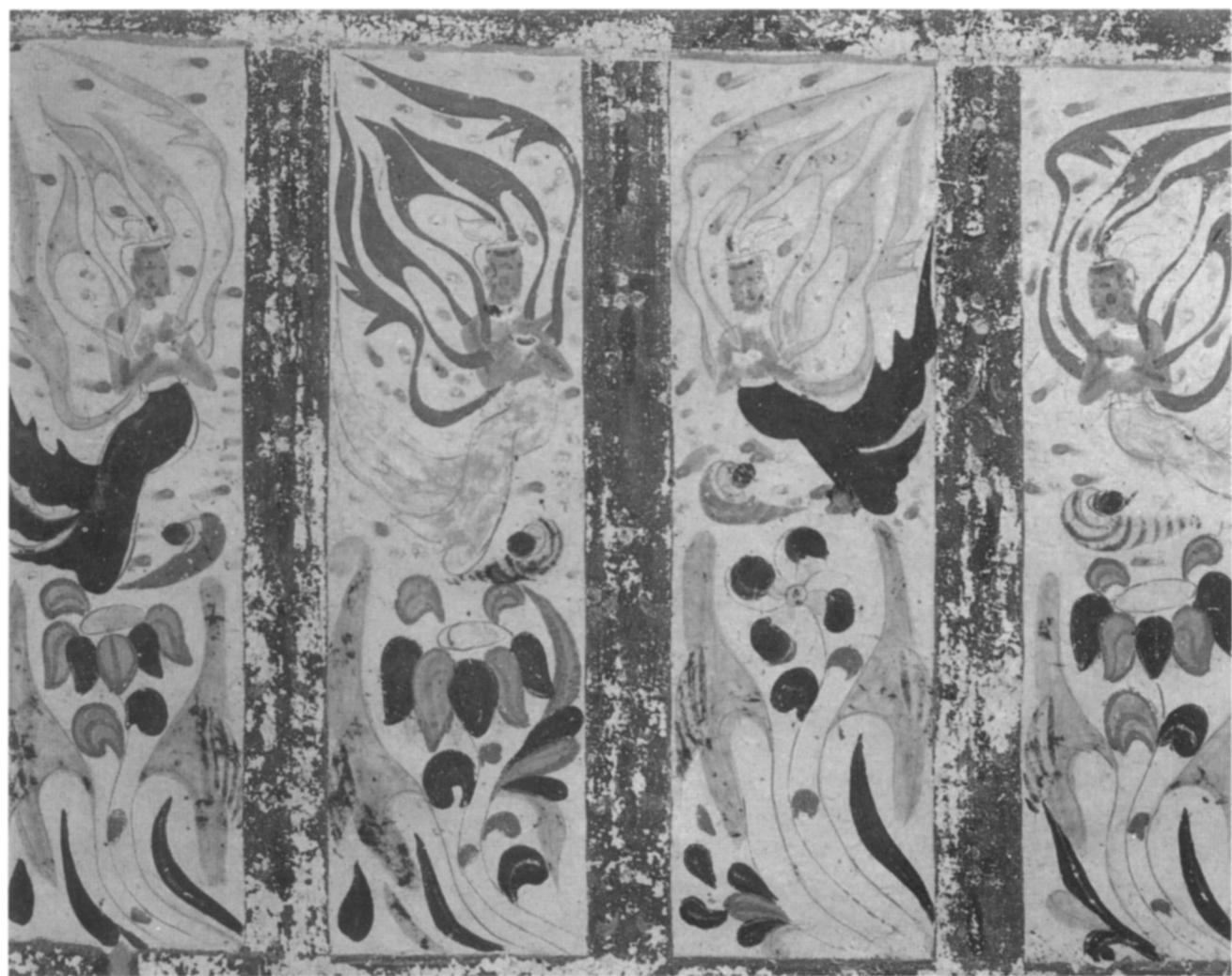


FIG. 30. *Apsarases*. Detail of a mural from the gable-ceiling of Cave 248, Dunhuang, Northern Wei.  
After *Zhongguo shiku: Dunhuang Mogao ku 1*.



FIG. 31. *Celestial with Dragon*. Detail from a mural on the south wall of Cave 249 at Dunhuang. Western Wei.  
After *Zhongguo shiku: Dunhuang Mogao ku 1*.

## Notes

A germinal version of this paper ("How Light and Airy") was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D. C., March 18, 1989, and printed, with other panel papers, in *Taoist Resources* 2, no. 2 (November 1990): 43-55. I wish to thank Judith Berling, Gail Bryant, Suzanne Cahill, Donald F. McCallum, and Martin Powers for their helpful comments. Responsibility for errors is mine alone.

1. *Baopuzi neipian*, by Ge Hong, *Baopuzi neiwaipian* (Taipei: Taiwan shangshu yinshuguan, 1979), *juan* 2:14. Translated in Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954-), 2:438.
2. Nanjing bowuyuan, "Jiangsu Danyang Huqiao Nanchao damu ji zhuankebihua," *Wenwu*, 1974, no. 2:44-56; Nanjing bowuyuan, "Jiangsu Danyangxian Huqiao, Jianshan lianzuo Nanchao mu zang," *Wenwu*, 1980, no. 2:1-10; Barry Till and Paula Swart, "Two Tombs of the Southern Dynasties at Huqiao and Jianshan in Danyang County, Jiangsu Province," *Chinese Studies in Archeology* 1, no. 3 (1979-80): 74-124. Pictorial remains from the three tombs here discussed are now housed in the Nanjing bowuyuan, Nanjing. I wish to thank the authorities for the many courtesies shown me when I visited there in 1984.
3. Compare, for example, the rubbing from the tomb identified as the Xiu'anling, reproduced as figures 180-81, with that from the tomb at Jianshan, reproduced as figures 213-14, in Yao Qian and Gu Bing, *Liuchao yishu* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1982).
4. The murals measure approximately 2.40 x 0.94 meters.
5. Suixian Leigudun yihao mu kaogu fajue dui, "Hubei Suixian Zeng Hou Yi mu fajue jianbao," *Wenwu*, 1979, no. 7:10 and pl. 5.2. For Neolithic finds of reproductions of (presumed) dragons and tigers, see Puyang bowuguan et al., "Henan Puyang Xishuipo yizhi fajue jianbao," *Wenwu*, 1988, no. 3:3 and pl. 1.
6. For histories of the subject, see Max Kaltenmark's introduction to his translation, *Le Lie-sien tchouan: biographies légendaires* (Peking, 1953); Needham, *Science and Civilisation* 5.2:93-114. See also Ying-shih Yu, "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964-65): 80-122. For earlier discussions of the Qi transients, see Lin Shuzhong, "Jiangsu Danyang Nan Qi lingmu zhuanyin bihua," *Wenwu*, 1977, no. 1:64-73; Annette L. Juliano, *Teng-hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1980).
7. *Fanfan hu/lan lan hu*. Timoteus Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu on Looking for the Immortals," *Archiv Orientalni* 28 (1960): 365, l.19. The chanter of "Far-off Journey" (*Yuan you*) notes that "My corporeal parts dissolved into a soft suppleness; / And my spirit grew lissom and eager for movement" (David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South* [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985], 196).
8. Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 33; *Huananzi* (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1969), *juan* 4:14a.
9. *Baopuzi neipian*, *juan* 11:207-8.
10. E.g., Alfred Forke, trans., *Lun Heng* by Wang Chong (1907, 1911; reprint, New York: Paragon, 1962), 1:293, 330. For Wang Chong's insistence that humans cannot become immortals, 1:335ff.
11. E.g., Forke, *Lun Heng*, 1:330-31, 335, or the ambiguities throughout *Lixian zhuan* (Kaltenmark, *Lie-sien tchouan*).
12. See, for example, Wang Zhongshu, "Lun Wu-Jin shiqi de Foxiang kuifeng jing," *Kaogu*, 1985, no. 7, figs. 2, 4, 5. For an excellent summary of early Buddhist art in China and its ambiguities, see Chang Zong, "Zhongguo zaoqi Fojiao zaoxiang," *Meishu yanjiu*, 1988, no. 4:80-87; see also, Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1986): 263-376.
13. Yoshimura Rei, "Tennin no gogi to Chūgoku no sōki tennin-zō," *Ars Buddhica* 193 (November 1990): 73-90.
14. Clear evidence that the décor of Cave 257 was designed to appeal to Chinese viewers are the objects carried by two *apsarases* painted on the west wall: the messengers of a foreign faith claim legitimacy by their association with the sacred vessels. See Dunhuang wenwu yanjiu suo bian, *Zhongguo shiku: Dunhuang mogao ku* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), 1:pl. 44. There are Northern Wei flying creatures in the Dunhuang caves that more closely resemble the Danyang images; however, they appear to postdate the southern reliefs. See, e.g., *Dunhuang mogao ku* 1:pls. 64 and 71 (Cave 437) and 83 (Cave 248).
15. The stele is now housed in the Shaanxi Provincial Museum in Xi'an. See *Wei Jin Nanbeichao diaosu* (vol. 3 of *Diaosu bian in Zhongguo meishu quanji*), 74-75, fig. 69. This stele warrants further and more comprehensive examination than it can receive here. I hope to deal more fully with its imagery in a future study.
16. Chang Zong, "Fojiao zaoxiang," 82.
17. Susan Bush, "Floral Motifs and Vine Scrolls in Chinese Art of the Late Fifth to Early Sixth Centuries A.D.," *Artibus Asiae* 38 (1976): 49-83.
18. Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements"; Chang Zong, "Fojiao zaoxiang."
19. The absence of wings may well be an effect of Buddhist art, as are surely the lotus blossoms.
20. This is not to deny the important influence of Buddhism on Daoist beliefs. See, for example, E. Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence in Early Taoism," *T'oung Pao* 66, nos. 1-3: 84-147; Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Stages of Transcendence: The *Bhumi* Concept in Taoist Scripture," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1990), 119-47.
21. As is the style of the *apsarases* of the ex-voto.
22. Yoshimura Rei suggests that the standing image reproduced in fig. 19 may be a hare pounding elixir ("Tennin," 85); Wang Zhongshu describes it as a "feathered man" ("Wu-Jin shiqi de Foxiang," 7 and pl. 5).
23. See, e.g., *Nanjing liuchao muchutu wenwu xuanji* (Shanghai, 1957), fig. 25; *Zhongguo taoci: Yueyao* (Shanghai: Shanghai

- renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983), figs. 26, 36, 57, 63, 96. See also Wai-kam Ho, "Hun-p'ing: The Urn of the Soul," *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin* 48, no. 2 (February 1961): 26–34.
24. Yi Jiasheng, "Nanjing chutu de liuchao zaoqi qingci youxian pankouhu," *Wenwu*, 1988, no. 6:72–75.
25. Sun Zuoyun, "Luoyang Xi Han Bo Qianqiu bihua kaoshi," *Wenwu*, 1977, no. 6:21.
26. Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 130 and figs. 41, 47, 48. See also Zeng Zhaoyu et al., *Yinan guhuaxiang shimu fajue baogao* (Shanghai: Wenwu chubanshe, 1956), pl. 65, fig. 54. For other possible botanical identifications, see, e.g., Needham, *Science and Civilisation* 5.2:122; Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975): 275–76, 303.
27. Compare, as another example, the Qi reliefs with an Eastern Han stone relief from Suining county, Jiangsu, in which a gaunt and angular transcendent turns at the waist and beckons to an oversized fowl (*Jiangsu Xuzhou Han huaxiangshi* [Beijing, 1959], fig. 19). The shapes of the Suining and Danyang figures are remarkably similar. Yet the analytical construction of the Suining image fails to convey the sense of motion so powerfully conveyed by the more synthetic construction of the Danyang figures. For discussion of the Suining composition and its analytic construction, see Martin J. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 117–21.
28. Liu Zhiyuan and Liu Tingbi, *Chengdu Wanfosi shike yishu* (Shanghai, 1958), fig. 31; Alexander Soper, "South Chinese Influence on the Buddhist Art of the Six Dynasties Period," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 32 (1960): 107 n. 243 and fig. 22; for the cautious date, Needham, *Science and Civilisation* 4.8:fig. 970. A small reproduction of the rubbing, captioned as A.D. 427, has appeared recently in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao diaosu* (p. 14); the elusive original is said to be in France.
29. Translated by William R. B. Acker as "apsaras" (*Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954–74], 2.1:47; Chinese text, 2.2:69).
30. *Nan shi*, by Li Yanshou (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 5:53; Alexander C. Soper, *Textual Evidence for the Secular Arts of China in the Period from Liu Sung through Sui* (A.D. 420–618) (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1967), 19–20.
31. For examples of Liu Song and Qi rulers' interest in both Buddhism and Daoism, see, for Buddhism, Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959), 53, 54, 56, 58. For the same rulers' support of Daoism, see Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments—Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha—," *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 21 (1983): 350–51. Many other examples could be cited. The Daoist and Buddhist interests of Shen Yue, mentioned below, are discussed in Richard B. Mather, *The Poet Shen Yueh (441–513): The Reticent Marquis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), chs. 6 and 7, respectively; see also p. 220 for his Daoist concerns at the approach of death.
32. Anna Seidel, "Post-Mortem Immortality or: The Taoist Resurrection of the Body," in *Gilgul*, ed. S. Shaked, D. Schulman, and G. G. Strousma (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 225.
33. Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," in *Facets of Taoism*, ed. Anna Seidel and Holmes Welch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 123–92. For the Mao Shan sect, see also Strickmann, *Taoïsme du Mao chan*, Mémoires de L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 17 (Paris, 1981) and "The Mao-shan Revelations; Taoism and the Aristocracy," *T'oung Pao* 63 (1977): 1–64; Isabelle Robinet, *La Révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du Taoïsme*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 137 (Paris, 1984). For the development of the Ling Bao sect during the same period, see Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-Pao Scriptures," *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 21 (1983): 434–85.
34. Pieces of jade, amber, agate, and rock crystal were found in one of the tombs. Some are beads or other ornaments; others, whose functions are not clear, may have been intended for the compounding of elixirs of immortality. See Nanjing bowuyuan, "Jiangsu Danyang Huqiao Nanchao damu ji zhuanke bihua," 47.
35. For the Han-dynasty accounts of *Chisongzi*, see B. Karlgren, "Legends and Cults in Ancient China," *Bulletin of The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Östasiatiska Samlingarna) 18 (1946): 288. For a later account, see Kaltenmark, *Lie-sien tchouan*, 35–42. For Ge Hong's promise, *Baopuzi neipian*, *juan* 4:63. In re: another elixir, he notes, not very imaginatively, that the jade ladies will cook for you (*juan* 4:70).
36. As merely one example, see *Zhengao*, *juan* 3:10b–11a, in the *Zhengtong Daozang* reproduction (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu, 1977), 34:27357–58. For an extended analysis of the *Shangqing* texts and their relation to third-century literature, see Robinet, *Révélation* 1, ch. 10.
37. See n. 2. For the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove see Donald Holzman, "Les Sept Sages de la Forêt des Bambous et la société de leur temps," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1956): 317–46. For interpretation and significance of the Seven Worthies murals, see Audrey Spiro, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Functions of Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).
38. For the propagation of Buddhism in the south, see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).
39. Cao Zhi's *laudatio* is published in *Caozi jianji* (Taibei: Zhonghua shuju, 1966), *juan* 7:3b. The E. Jin characterizations are from *Shishuo xinyu* [jiaojian], comp. Liu Yiqing (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), *juan* 14.28, 8.104, 14.30, and 14.29, respectively. Translations, with the same reference numbers, are by Richard B. Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World by Liu I-ch'ing, with commentary by Liu Chün* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).
40. Gu Huan's biography, including accounts of his prodigious learning and the gifts, is found in *Nan Qi shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), *juan* 54:928–36. For his important role in the Mao Shan lineage, see Strickmann, "Revelations," 31–34.
41. Biography in *Liang shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), *juan* 1:742–43.

42. *Liang shu, juan* 1:743.
43. Richard B. Mather, "Shen Yüeh's Poems of Reclusion: From Total Withdrawal to Living in the Suburbs," *CLEAR* 5 (1983): 62–63.
44. Robinet, *Révélation* 1:ch. 11, esp. pp. 168 and ff.
45. Mather, *Shen Yüeh*, 116.
46. "Chisongzi jian," translation and accompanying Chinese text in Mather, *Shen Yüeh*, 112–13.
47. Donald Holzman, "Ts'ao Chih," *Asia Major*, 3d ser., 1, no. 1 (1988): 21.
48. *Baopuzi neipian, juan* 2:17.
49. Kaltenmark, *Liesien tchouan*, 35.
50. Pokora, "Huan T'an's Fu," 365, l. 10.
51. "Luoshen fu," *Caozi jianji, juan* 3.2a–4b.
52. "Poetical Essay on Living in the Suburbs," translation and Chinese text in Mather, *Shen Yüeh*, 195.
53. In 1960 Alexander Soper argued that southern Buddhist art forms were the models for the later Buddhist art of Northern Wei ("South Chinese Influence"). With only a few, much-damaged, southern remains at his disposal, Soper brilliantly marshalled a wealth of textual evidence to support his hypothesis. Years after the publication of that major contribution, the (non-Buddhist) Danyang celestials (as well as other non-Buddhist finds such as the Seven Worthies' murals) have emerged as important visual confirmation of his general argument.
- The connection between these later finds and the Buddhist art of the north has since been noted and argued many times; Soper's wheel, with appropriate rearrangement of a few spokes, has been reinvented more than once. See Su Bai, "Rakuyō chihō ni okeru Hokuchōki sekkutsu no shohō-teki kōsatsu," in *Ryūmon sekkutsu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987–88), 1:233–34; Duan Wenjie, "Feitian—Cantapo yu Jiunaluo—zaitan Dunhuang feitian," *Dunhuang yanjiu*, 1987, no. 1:1–13; Hinako Ishimatsu, "Ryūmon Koyotō shoki zōzō ni okeru Chūgoku-ka mondai," *Ars Buddhica*, no. 184 (May 1989): 49–67; Yoshimura Rei, "Nanbokuchō butsuzō yōshiki shiron," *Kokka*, no. 1066 (1989): 5–18; Yoshimura Rei, "Ryūmon yōshiki Nancho kigen ron," *Kokka*, no. 1121 (1989): 7–18.
- For important studies utilizing other southern finds to demonstrate the linkages between southern and northern styles of religious and funerary art, see the following articles by Susan Bush: "Thunder Monsters, Auspicious Animals, and Floral Ornament," *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 19–33; "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits in Early Sixth Century China and the Epitaph Tablet of Lady Yuan," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 72 (1974): 25–54; "Floral Motifs and Vine Scrolls" (see n. 17).
54. For a study of Cave 249, see Judy Chungwa Ho, "Tunhuang Cave 249: A Representation of the Vimalakīrū-nirdeśa" (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1985).

## Glossary

Baopuzi	抱朴子
Cao	曹
Cao Zhi	曹植
Chisongzi	赤松子
Dong Wang Gong	東王公
Dunhuang	敦煌
<i>fan fan hu/lan lan hu</i>	汜汜乎/濫濫乎
fangshi	方士
feixian	飛仙
<i>fu</i>	賦
Fufei	宓妃
Ge Hong	葛洪
Gu Huan	顧歡
Gu Kaizhi	顧愷之
<i>handan</i>	寒丹
Huainanzi	淮南子
Huan Tan	桓譚
Li Yanshou	李延壽
<i>Liexian zhuan</i>	列仙傳
Ling Bao	靈寶
<i>lingshang</i>	令上
Longmen	龍門
<i>Lun Heng</i>	論衡
Mao Shan	茅山
<i>qin</i>	琴
Rong Qiji	榮啓期
Ruan Ji	阮籍
Shangqing	上清
<i>Shangqing jing</i>	上清經
<i>shen</i>	神

<i>shenxian</i>	神仙	<i>xian</i>	仙
Shen Yue	沈約	<i>xianren</i>	仙人
<i>Taiqing</i>	太清	Xiao	蕭
Tao Hongjing	陶弘景	Xiao Baojuan	蕭寶卷
<i>tiannu</i>	天女	Xiao Baorong	蕭寶融
<i>tianren</i>	天人	Xiao Changmao	蕭長懋
Wanfosi	萬佛寺	Xiao Daosheng	蕭道生
Wang Meng	王濛	Xie Shang	謝尚
Wang Shao	王劭	Xiu'anling	修安陵
Wang Xizhi	王羲之	Xu Mai	許邁
Wenhui	文惠	Yungang	雲岡
<i>wenren</i>	文人	Zhang Yanyuan	張彥遠
Xi Kang	嵇康	Zhi Dun	支遁
Xi Wang Mu	西王母	<i>zhu</i>	朮