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JONATHAN CHAVES

## A HAN PAINTED TOMB AT LOYANG

### I

In the second half of 1957 the Archaeological Team of the Honan Bureau of Culture excavated over one hundred eighty tombs to the northwest of the old city of Loyang. In one of these Han Dynasty tombs, to which the classification number M61 was given, was discovered a series of wall paintings, the great importance of which was immediately recognized. This tomb, perhaps the earliest and certainly the most beautifully decorated Han painted tomb yet found, was subsequently published twice in Chinese sources<sup>1</sup>. As yet it has not received any notice in a Western language. Since many of the problems it presents cannot be solved in our present state of knowledge, I propose to limit myself here to a fairly comprehensive description of the tomb and its paintings, as well as one or two tentative iconographic suggestions.

As can be seen in the plan reproduced in figure 1, the tomb lies on a roughly east-west axis with a southeast inclination of ten degrees. The entrance to the tomb, at the east end, consists of a level pathway 2.4 metres long leading up to the gate. This alignment allowed the artists, as we shall see, to paint a cosmological picture on the ceiling, with the sun shown at the front (i.e. the east) of the tomb, presumably moving westward. Apart from this, whatever significance the axial arrangement of the tomb may have had is greatly weakened by the fact that it is by no means universal among the known Han tombs. Tombs are known in which there is an east-west axis with the entrance at the *west*<sup>2</sup>, while others in the same area to the northwest of Loyang often display a north-south axis<sup>3</sup>. Other tombs with a similar east-west alignment and an eastern entrance do occur<sup>4</sup>.

Reference to the plan and to the sectional diagrams in figure 2 reveals that the tomb consists of the following elements: furthest to the east, an entrance gate; then a front chamber; two side chambers projecting to the north and south respectively; two smaller rooms projecting eastward from each of the side chambers respectively; a partition unit consisting of a pediment supported by a single central pillar of square cross-section; a rear chamber separated from the front chamber by this partition unit. The front and rear chambers actually form a continuous central area but it is convenient to refer to them as separate rooms because of the presence of the partition unit. Scattered about in these chambers, as can be seen in figure 1, were quantities of pottery objects, bronze mirrors and chariot fittings, weapons, coins, and other items with

<sup>1</sup> *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* 考古學報 (*KKHP*), 1964/2, pp. 107–125 and appended plates; and *Wen-wu ching-hua* 文物精華 (*WWCH*), III (1964), p. 2 and plates. I would like to acknowledge the generous help of Mr. William Trousdale of the Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>2</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/1, fig. 2 on p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *KKHP*, 1963/2, fig. 2 on p. 2; fig. 3 on p. 5; fig. 9 opposite p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *KKHP*, 1963/2, fig. 8 on p. 10.

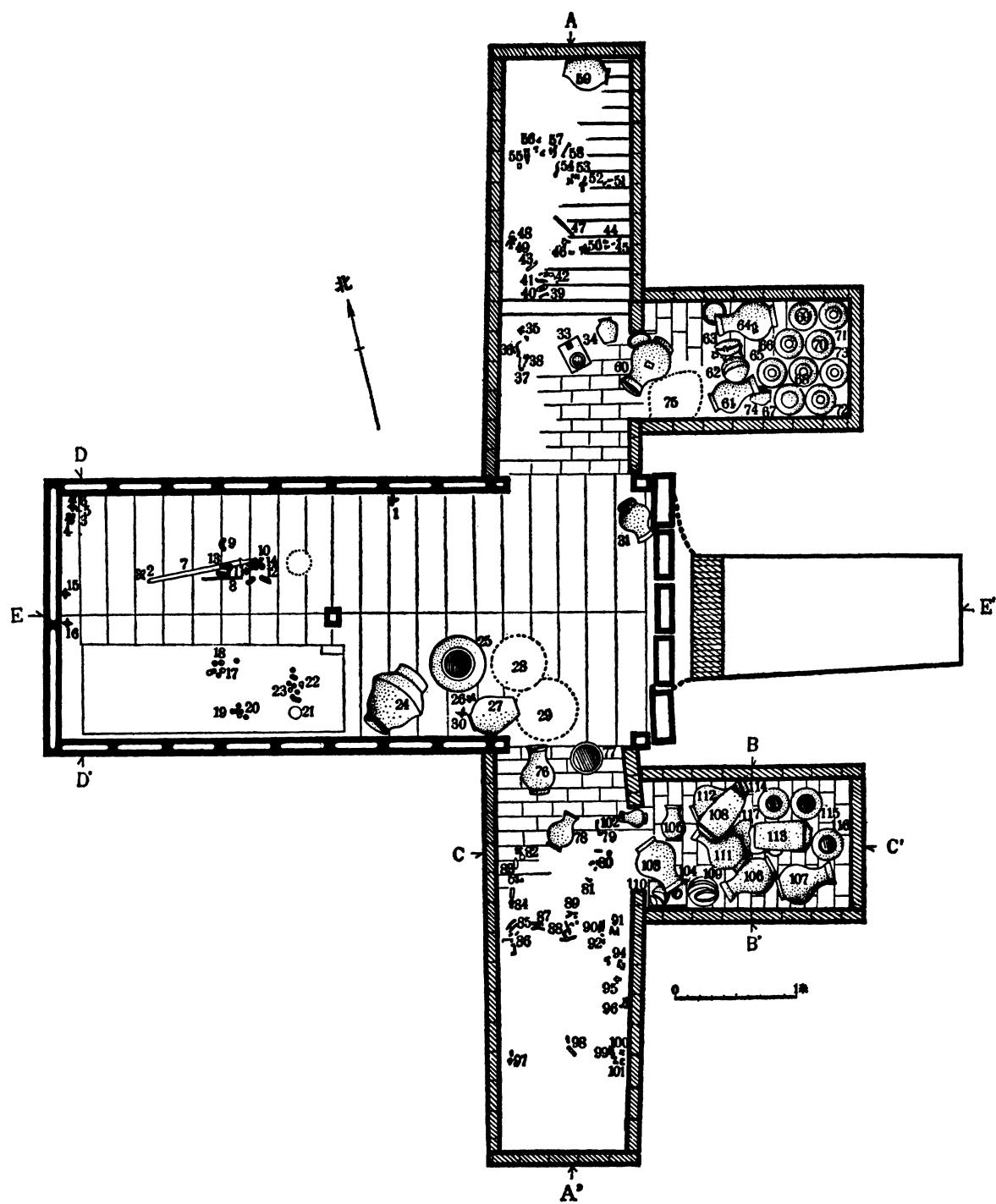


Fig. I Plan of Tomb M 61 (from *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*)

which we shall not be concerned here. They are fully dealt with in the report on the tomb in *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*, 1964/2.

The construction material of the tomb is brick throughout. The gateway, partition unit, and walls, floor and vaulting of the central chambers are constructed with large hollow tiles of rectangular or triangular shape<sup>5</sup>. The barrel-vaulted side chambers are constructed with small

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *KKHP*, 1964/2, black and white plates I and II after p. 125.

solid rectangular or wedge-shaped bricks. In some areas of the hollow-tile section mortise and tenon construction is employed.

The authors of the archaeological report on the excavations of a group of Han tombs at Pai-sha 白沙 in Honan have suggested that tombs constructed partly of large hollow tiles and partly of small solid bricks represent a transitional stage between earlier tombs completely of hollow tile and later tombs completely of solid brick. Such transitional tombs they would date to the late Western Han or to the early Eastern Han in accordance with the character of the burial objects (*ming-ch'i* 明器) found in them<sup>6</sup>. That the tombs entirely constructed of small solid bricks do seem to be rather late is indicated by the discovery at Hsiang-ch'eng 襄城 in Honan of such a tomb dated in accordance with A.D. 132<sup>7</sup>. The problem of the date of M61 will be touched on again at the end of this paper.

Li Ching-hua 李京華, the author of the reports on our tomb in *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* and *Wen-wu ching-hua*, has emphasized the care with which this tomb was built and the evident planning which must have preceded the actual construction. He points out that the hollow tiles in the central chambers bear numbers which apparently indicated the final position each was to occupy in the scheme, and he reproduces one of these marks: the number “14” in rather crude characters<sup>8</sup>.

The hollow tiles themselves (with the exception of those that have been painted) are in all cases stamped with patterns in accordance with a widespread Han practice. The most common motif is the lozenge, which appears in a great variety of sizes and forms. The decor on the tiles used for the vaulting of the central chambers consists of a central band of large lozenge or diamond forms, each enclosing a raised boss, on a plain ground, with borders of much smaller lozenge patterns on either side. The larger tiles display several rows of these lozenges, also with raised bosses in the center, surrounded by a double border of two different lozenge patterns. The areas between the lozenges with the bosses are themselves stamped with stylized designs and a checkerboard pattern is thus formed. The use of such lozenge patterns on Han stamped tiles or bricks was extremely common<sup>9</sup>. The relatively plain inner lozenge border of the M61 tiles (text figure 6 of the archaeological report in *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*) is also represented on a brick published by Michael Sullivan, and the more complex outer border, with its concentric diamond shapes, is found on another brick published by the same author<sup>10</sup>. Very similar stamped bricks are found in the Pai-sha tombs previously mentioned, where the greatly varied patterns seem to be at approximately the same stage of development as those in M61<sup>11</sup>. The Han brick tomb at Ying-ch'eng-tzu 營城子 in Manchuria excavated some years ago by the Japanese has many lozenge-patterned stamped bricks, which here are also used as elements in the actual fabric of the tomb<sup>12</sup>. The designs at Ying-ch'eng-tzu seem considerably less sophisticated than those

<sup>6</sup> KKHP, 1959/1, p.76.

<sup>7</sup> KKHP, 1964/1, pp.111-131.

<sup>8</sup> KKHP, 1964/2, fig.5 on p.111.

<sup>9</sup> KKHP, 1964/2, fig.6 on p.112; color plate I; and black and white plates I and II.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), plates 37, 78, 80, 142 and *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, plates 140 and 146.

<sup>12</sup> KKHP, 1959/1, plates XI and XII after p.76.

<sup>13</sup> *Archaeologia Orientalis*, A series, Vol.IV: *Ying-ch'eng-tzu* 營城子, Tōkyō, 1934, frontispiece; figures 22 and 23 on pp.24 and 25; plates XLVI (misnumbered XLIV in Roman numerals) and XLVII.

in M61 (as is also the case with the wall-painting), but this may be attributable to provincialism rather than to earlier date.

## II

The most significant aspect of M61 is of course the group of paintings that adorn it. Reading from front to rear, i. e. east to west, these are located as follows (fig. 2):

The central panel of the pediment over the entrance doorway, which bears on its inner side a moulded ram's head in high relief and the remains of a painting;

The front side of the pediment of the partition unit, which is covered with mythological figures, and the lintel below, which shows a row of human figures;

The rear face of the same pediment, which shows a simulated doorway with mythological beings riding dragons on either side (the lintel being plain);

The square pillar of the partition unit, where the paintings are badly effaced;

The rear wall, where a long trapezoidal panel contains various paintings; and above it the character *k'ung* 恐, "fear" written in white three times.

Finally the vault over the central chambers has a remarkable cosmological painting which extends across twelve tiles.

The first attempt at a comprehensive interpretation of these paintings has been made by the indefatigable Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 and published in two sources<sup>14</sup>. Unfortunately, because of the scarcity of comparative material, most of Kuo's conclusions seem rather tentative. It might be best to begin with the one sure identification he makes. This is the scene on the east-facing side of the lintel of the partition unit (figs. 3 and 4)<sup>15</sup>. The lintel is 25 cm. high and 206 cm. broad. At the extreme right can be seen some stylized mountain forms identical with those in the rear wall picture. To the left of these are representations of human figures engaged in various activities. The only "prop" is a low table with a plate containing two round objects. Kuo Mo-jo has identified this scene as the episode *Two Peaches Kill Three Heroes* 二桃殺三士 related in the *Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu* 晏子春秋<sup>16</sup>. According to this text, when Yen Tzu was Prime Minister of the state of Ch'i, Duke Ching of Ch'i 齊景公 had in his service three powerful and brave warriors, Kung-sun Chieh 公孫接, T'ien K'ai-chiang 田開疆, and Ku Yeh-tzu 古冶子. When these gentlemen failed to pay Yen Tzu the proper respect, he became indignant and evolved an ingenious device for destroying his enemies. He suggested to the Duke that two peaches be sent to the three heroes with the message that they should divide them in accordance with their personal merits. When this was done, Kung-sun Chieh and T'ien K'ai-chiang each took a peach, boasting of their great deeds and claiming that it would be unjust for them to divide their peaches with anyone. Ku Yeh-tzu, infuriated, drew his sword and related his own great deeds, claiming that he too deserved a whole peach. The other two men, realizing the justice of his claim and yet unwilling to surrender their own peaches, decided to cut their throats and commit suicide! Ku Yeh-tzu, feeling it would be wrong of him to live while the others died, also cut his throat. Thus "two peaches killed three heroes."

In our painting, Kuo takes the figure at the far right who is brandishing his sword to be

<sup>14</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/2, pp. 1-7; and *WWCH*, III (1964), pp. 27-29.

<sup>15</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/2, color plate I and black and white plates II/2 and V after p. 125.

<sup>16</sup> *Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition), *nei-chien hsia* 內諫下, p. 20b.

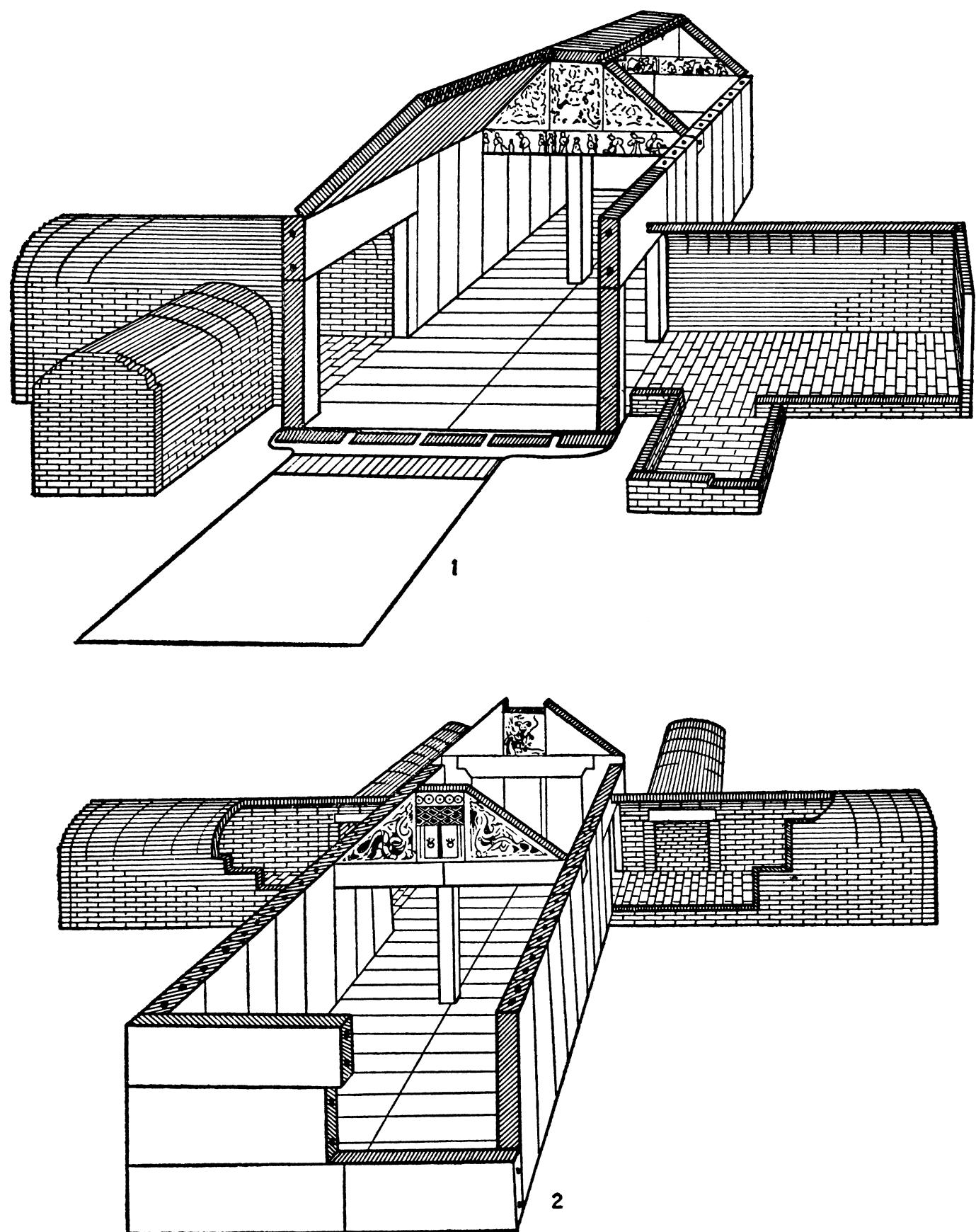


Fig. 2 Cross-sectional diagrams of Tomb M 61 (from *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*)

Ku Yeh-tzu, arguing his case before the other two heroes. The next figure Kuo considers to be in the process of cutting his throat, while the third hero is glaring down at the two peaches and either taking or replacing one of them, if the reconstructed line drawing in figure 4 is to be trusted. Further to the left is a group of five persons. A large figure in green is apparently the central character here. Another figure appears to be kneeling before him, and three others, holding staff-like insignia, are before and behind. Kuo suggests that the large man in green is Duke Ching of Ch'i, and that the other four are his attendants. Still further left an extremely small person seems to be engaged in conversation with another larger figure while a third looks on at the left. Kuo thinks the small figure might be Yen Tzu, who is stated in his *Shih-chi* 史記 biography to have been extremely short. Kuo is unable to identify the two figures on either side of him. Finally, the barely visible remains of two additional figures are discernable at the far left, but Kuo seems not to have taken them into account.

The identification of this scene seems virtually certain. It also appears among the famed *Wu Liang tz'u* 武梁祠 reliefs (figure 5)<sup>17</sup>, and was thus a current iconographical subject in Han art. In the *Wu Liang tz'u* relief, the short figure (third from the right) is quite obviously meant to represent Yen Tzu. The person to whom he is speaking would then be Duke Ching of Ch'i. That the story of the peaches was current and popular in Han times is also indicated by a Han *yüeh-fu* 樂府 poem, *The Song of Mount Liang-fu* 梁甫吟<sup>18</sup>. This poem may be translated as follows:

“Walking out of the gates of Ch'i City,  
In the distance I see the hamlet of Tang-yin.  
In the hamlet are three graves,  
Piled up and each alike.  
I ask whose tombs these are:  
They belong to T'ien (K'ai-) chiang and Ku Yeh (-tzu).  
Their strength was such that they could move Southern Mountain;  
Their wisdom exhausted the principles of the earth.  
But one morning they were slandered,  
And two peaches killed the three heroes.  
Who could have made such a plot?  
The Prime Minister Yen Tzu of Ch'i.”

From a comparison with the *Wu Liang tz'u* relief, I am inclined to believe that the “kneeling” figure (fifth from the right) in our painting is Yen Tzu, and that the small figure to the left belongs to another scene. It will be noted that both the “kneeling” figure and the Yen Tzu of the *Wu Liang tz'u* sculpture are gesturing with both hands towards the three heroes. Perhaps our painter has not been entirely successful in rendering a dwarf, and thus Yen Tzu seems to be kneeling. The problem remains of accounting for the scene at the left. Li Ching-hua, also suspecting that it represents a separate episode, notes that various suggestions have been put forward. The most likely of these is that it represents the Duke of Chou with the child monarch Ch'eng Wang; but even this seems quite improbable as in all the representations of this scene

<sup>17</sup> Feng Yün-yüan 馮雲鶴 and Feng Yün-p'eng 馮雲鵬, *Chin shih so* 金石索, 1821, 13, pp. 8b-9a; and Edouard Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1909-1915, plate LXIII (central register).

<sup>18</sup> *Liang Han wen-hsüeh-shih ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao* 兩漢文學史參考資料, Peking, 1964, p. 534.

known to me, King Ch'eng is shown in the perfectly frontal pose befitting a royal personage<sup>19</sup>, while our figure is rendered in profile, apparently engaged in conversation with the expostulating man at the right.

It is interesting to speculate on the possible meaning of this episode of the peaches in such a context. Its inclusion in the *Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu* would seem to indicate that it was meant to redound to the credit of Yen Tzu. He is given an opportunity to hold forth to the Duke on proper relations between ruler and subject. (This interpretation is corroborated by the inclusion of the story in the book's section on "Remonstrances".) But the statement at the end of the story that the three heroes were given a most distinguished burial by the people of Ch'i would tend to show his rivals in a favorable light, and *The Song of Mount Liang-fu* translated above is quite definitely in sympathy with the heroes and antagonistic to Yen Tzu. Thus their great courage would be the main point of the story. In our painting the three champions are extremely fierce-looking characters indeed. They have bulging eyeballs outlined in red, bared teeth and hairy arms, and they strike powerful, vigorous poses. Their might is further expressed by the flowing, billowy folds of their robes.

Directly above the lintel with the peaches episode is a pediment consisting of a rectangular hollow tile flanked by two hollow tiles in the shape of right triangles (figure 3)<sup>20</sup>. Unlike the tiles of the lintel below, the ram's head panel, and the rear wall panel (discussed later) which are simply painted, these bricks are perforated as well. The figures thus articulated are painted in red, purple, yellow, green, blue, ochre and black (the colors which appear throughout the paintings in this tomb). The central panel is quite elaborate but, unfortunately, badly effaced in a crucial passage. At the very top is the Red Bird (not actually red here) of the south with very prominent peacock-eyes in its tail. The White Tiger of the west and the Green Dragon of the east are at the right and left sides of the panel respectively. The incoherent form at the bottom would thus be meant for the Black Warrior, or tortoise and serpent, of the north. Apparently seated on the Black Warrior is a monster of some sort with red painted areas. Li Ching-hua tells us that it has a tiger-like face, wears red cloth, and has four hairy limbs. The hairy limbs are not easily discernable in the published reproductions, although the grayish forms in the lower right-hand corner may be their terminations. On either side of the monster's head are circular forms which Kuo Mo-jo takes to be *pi* discs, and Li Ching-hua calls "drum-like objects". Careful examination reveals that each of these discs is held up by a small human figure apparently standing on some appendages protruding from the monster's body. A ferocious human (?) figure strides to the right just above the monster's head. Since Kuo Mo-jo failed to notice the small disc-holding figure on the right, he interpreted the one on the left and the striding figure above as symbols of the sun and moon and, by extension, of the Yin and Yang forces respectively. This interpretation need not be taken seriously. The complex panel is completed by three more animals: a bear (?) above and slightly to the left of the monster; a red tiger or leopard in the upper left-hand corner; and a green frog (Li Ching-hua) or monkey (Kuo Mo-jo) in the upper right-hand corner.

<sup>19</sup> *Chin shih so*, 13, pp. 9b-10a; Chavannes, *op.cit.*, plates LXIV and LXXVII no. 147; and Tseng Chao-yü 曾昭燏 et al. *I-nan ku hua-hsiang shih-mu fa-chieh pao-kao* 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告, *Report on the Excavations of an Ancient Stone Tomb with Sculptures at I-nan*, Nanking, 1956, plate 54.

<sup>20</sup> KKHP, 1964/2, color plate I and black and white plates II/2, VI/1 and VII.

The two triangular panels are perfectly symmetrical in design, although careful examination reveals that they were not painted with stencils but were done freehand. At the top of each is a white, winged stag looking back over its shoulder. Below is a ferocious bear running frantically toward the central panel and clutching with one paw a green *pi* disc, decorated with purplish dots and suspended by an elaborately knotted rope from a loop form. A wolf-like creature also grasps this *pi*, and brandishes a black knife in his other paw. This wolf is dressed in a green upper garment with brownish borders and a brownish lower garment. Finally, at the bottom, a winged gray horse with brown-edged green patterns on its body lunges toward the center panel. A hairy human (?) figure similar to the striding figure of the central panel runs after it and grabs its tail. The designs on the two horses are not identical, and recall the winding, cloudlike patterns seen in much Han art which represent mountains and/or clouds, as in a silk damask from Noin-Ula<sup>21</sup>.

Kuo Mo-jo considers the central panel of this pediment to be a symbolic representation of the universe with the Yin and Yang principles at the center of the four directions. We have seen that his interpretation of two of the figures in the panel as symbols of Yin and Yang is untenable. I suggest that the partly effaced monster seated on the Black Warrior is the same creature which figures so prominently elsewhere, most notably in the I-nan tomb in Shantung (figure 6)<sup>22</sup>. Although Hsiao-yen Shih has convincingly argued that this tomb is post-Han and dates from the period A.D. 290–310<sup>23</sup>, it represents traditions which can be considered to be much earlier. At I-nan the monster is highly conventionalized. It has a tiger face, pendent breasts, and limbs from which spring stylized hairs. A similar creature, holding weapons in all four limbs, frequently appears in the midst of the four directional animals, as it does in our painting (cf. figure 6). This being has been identified as the Han war god Ch'ih-yu 蟠尤 by Cheng Te-k'un. Cheng considers that he may have been impersonated in "dramatic performances"<sup>24</sup>. Of the association of Ch'ih-yu with the directional animals, Cheng says: "There is no doubt that here is the world or stage of Ch'ih-yu who stands in the centre and is protected by the Deities of the Four Quarters on all sides."

It seems likely that the function of this figure is protective. Related creatures appear in the Ying-ch'eng-tzu tomb where they are placed over doorways, obviously guarding the tomb entrances (figure 7)<sup>25</sup>. One holds a serpent in one hand. The scales on this serpent consist of groups of double, parallel curved lines alternating with dots, precisely as on the Dragon of the East in our panel. This kind of patterning also appears at I-nan<sup>26</sup>. On the other side of the Ying-ch'eng-tzu creature a tiger has been painted, as if the artist were trying here, too, to associate the monster with the directions. The monster in our painting is also placed over the entrance to the rear chamber of the tomb and would thus seem to have the same protective function. It may have been provided with weapons but in the present state of the painting these are illegible.

The other creatures in the pediment paintings are more difficult to interpret. They undoubt-

<sup>21</sup> Sullivan, *op.cit.*, plate 32.

<sup>22</sup> *I-nan Report*, pp. 15 and 43–44; plate 33 (flanked by the figures in plate 32) and *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Hsiao-yen Shih, "I-nan and Related Tombs", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXII, 4 (1959), pp. 277–313.

<sup>24</sup> Cheng Te-k'un, "Ch'ih-yu: the God of War in Han Art", *Oriental Art* (n.s.), Vol. IV, 2 (1958), pp. 45–54.

<sup>25</sup> Ying-ch'eng-tzu, plates XL and XLIV.

<sup>26</sup> *I-nan Report*, plate 29 (lower illustration).



Fig. 3 The obverse of the partition unit pediment of Tomb M61 (from *Wen-wu ching-hua*)

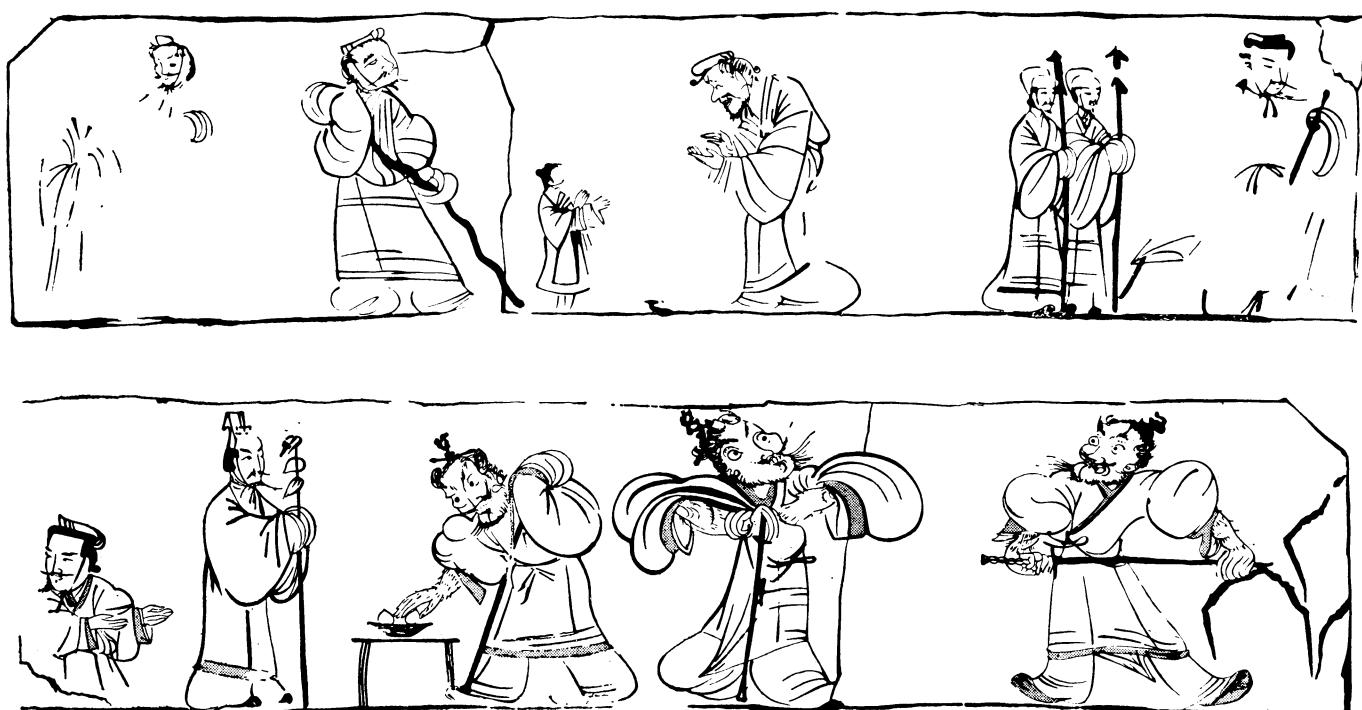


Fig. 4 Drawing of the episode *Two Peaches Kill Three Heroes* from the lintel of figure 3  
(from *K'ao-ku hsieh-pao*)



Fig. 5 Drawing of the episode *Two Peaches Kill Three Heroes* from the *Wu Liang tz'u* (from *Chin shib so*)

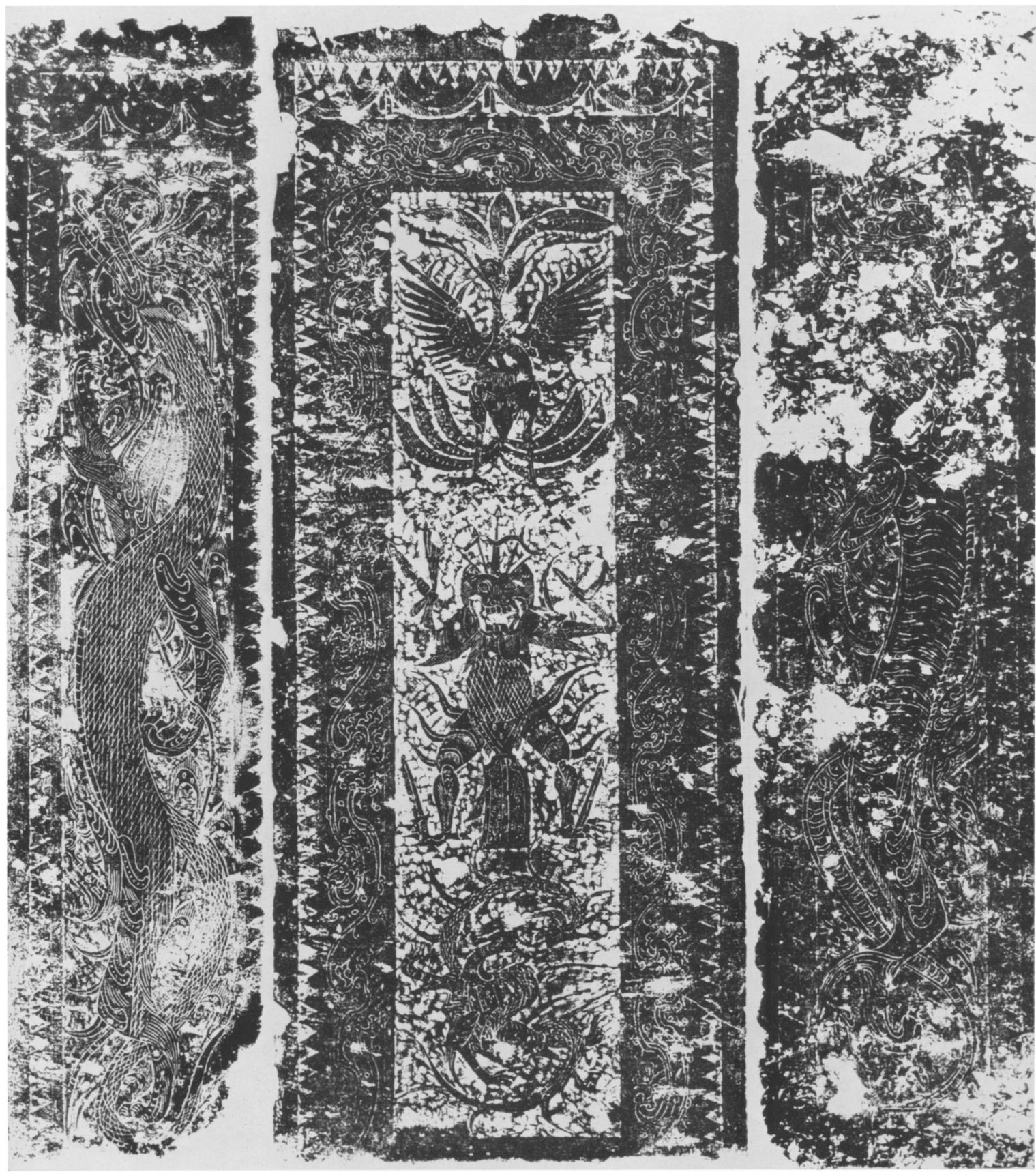


Fig.6 Rubbing of an I-nan relief showing Ch'ih-yu surrounded by the directional animals (from *I-nan Report*)

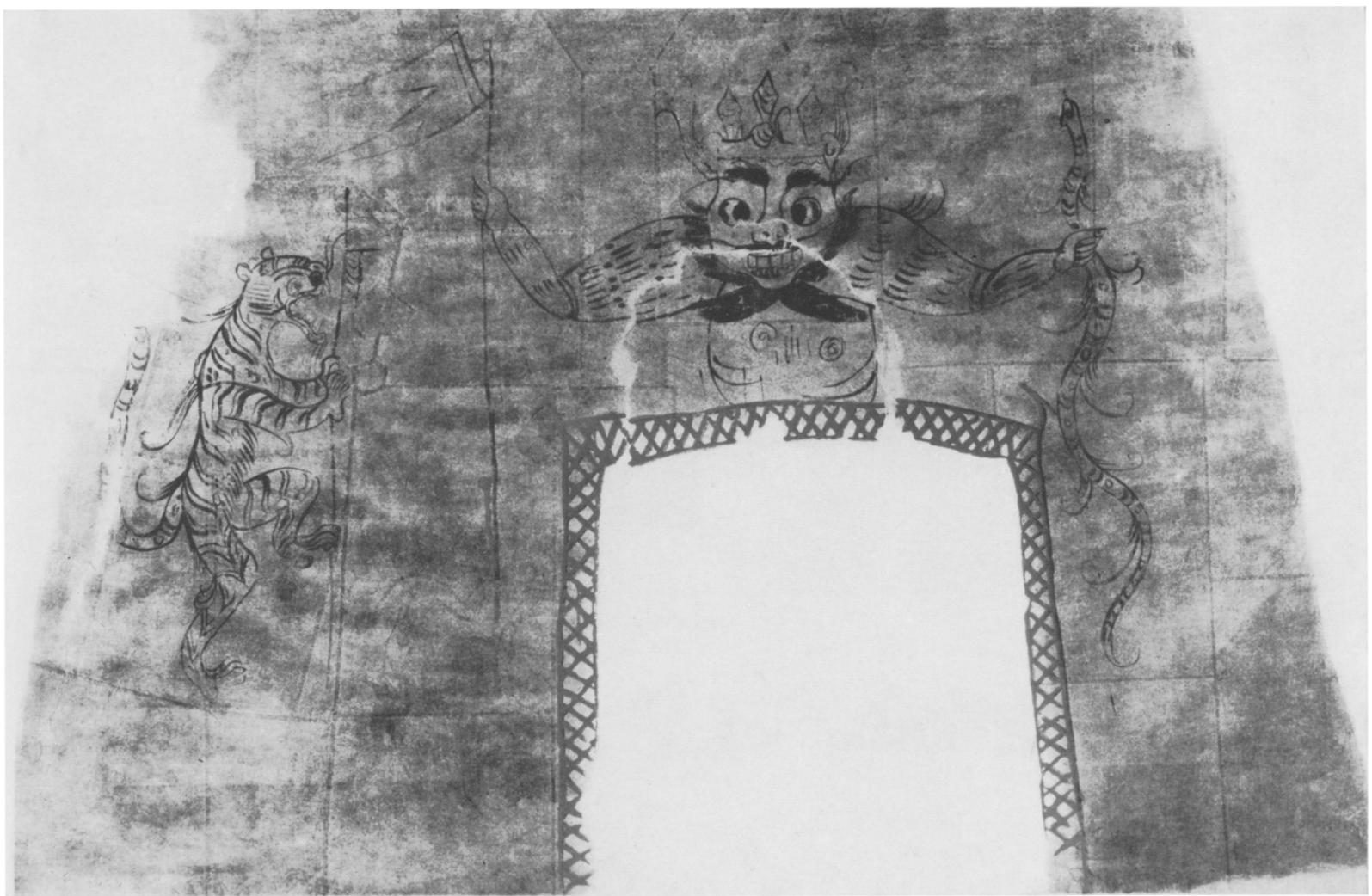


Fig. 7 Painting over a tomb entrance at Ying-ch'eng-tzu  
(from *Archaeologia Orientalis*, Vol. IV: *Ying-ch'eng-tzu*)

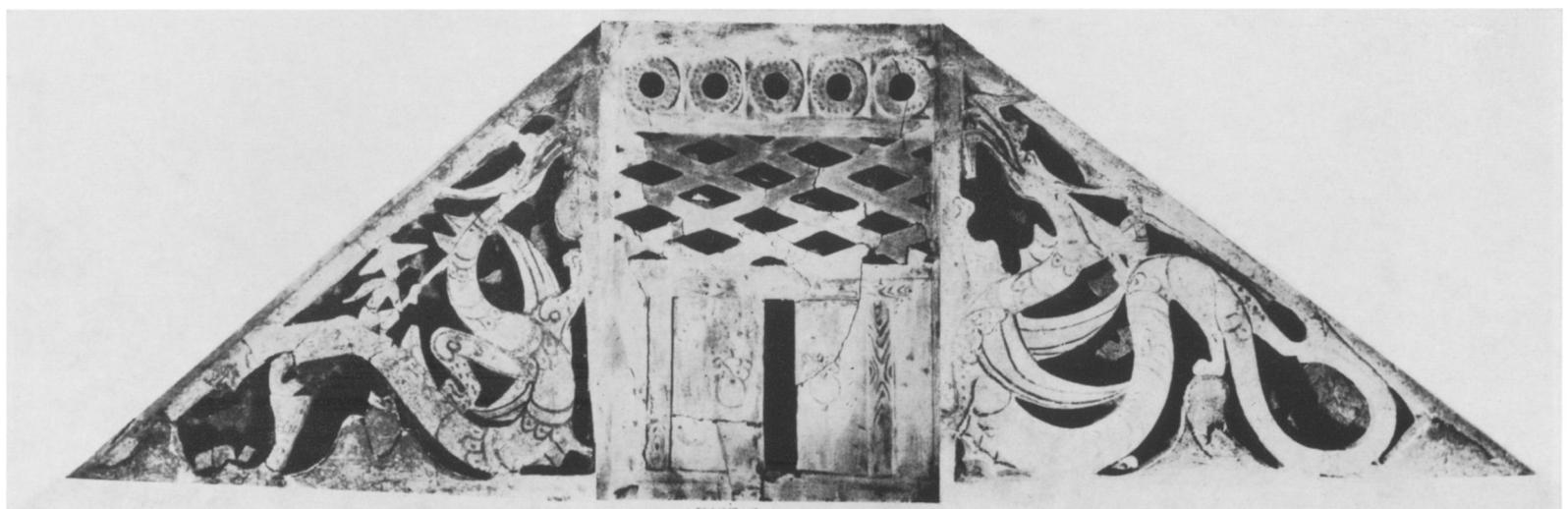


Fig. 8 The reverse of the partition unit pediment of Tomb M61 (from *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao*)



Fig. 9 The central panel of the gateway pediment of Tomb M61 (from *Wen-wu ching-hua*)

Fig. 10 a Left half of the painting on the rear wall of Tomb M61



b Right half of the painting on the rear wall of Tomb M61  
(from *Wen-wu ching-hua*)



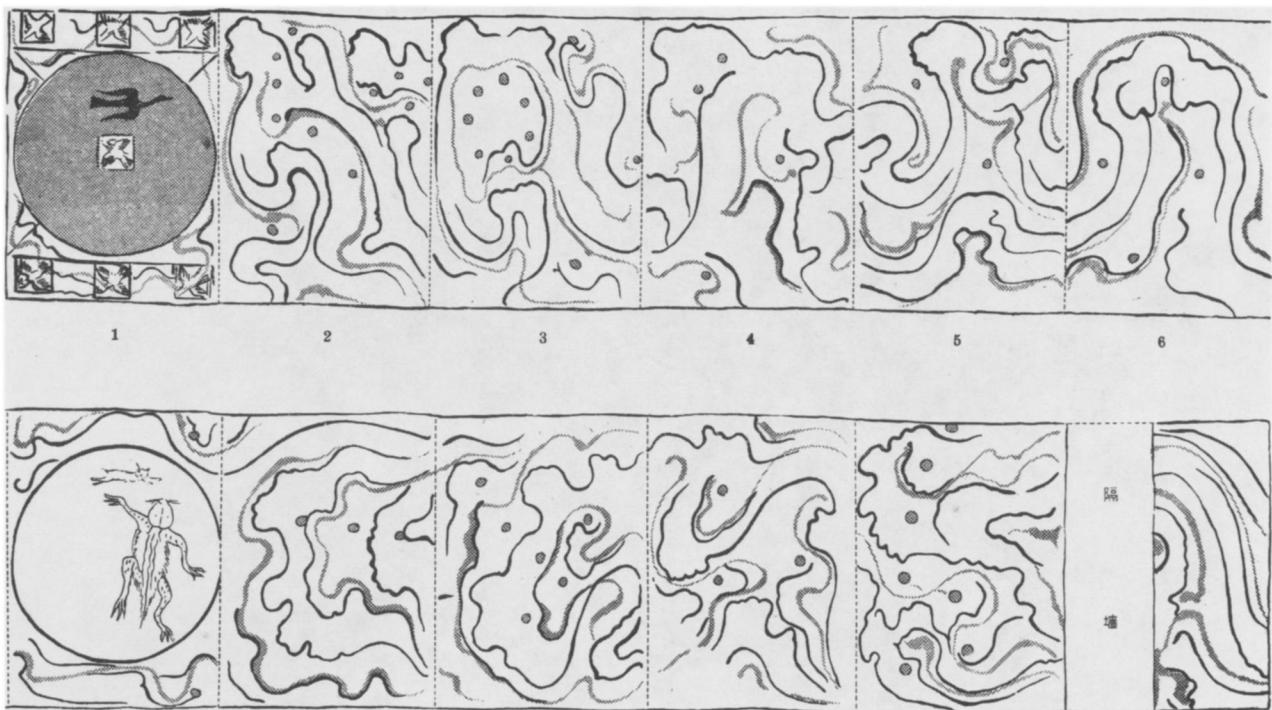


Fig. 11 Drawing of the cosmological paintings on the ceiling of Tomb M61 (from *K'ao-ku*)



Fig. 12 Cosmological painting on the ceiling of The Tomb of the Dancing Figures at T'ung-kou (from *T'ung-kou*)



Fig. 13 Han Dynasty tiles at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (from the *Boston Portfolio*)

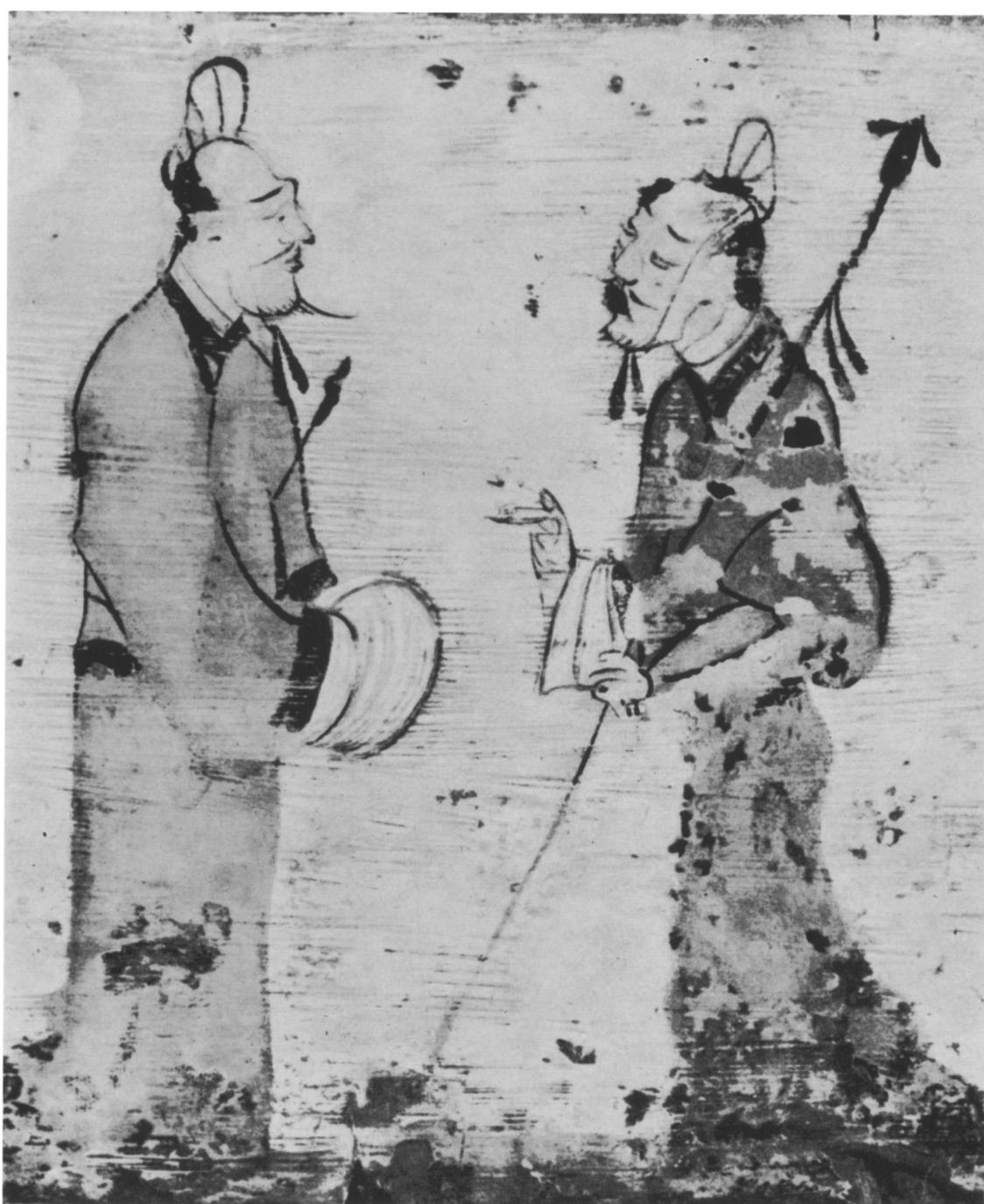


Fig. 14 Detail of the lintel of figure 13 (from Cahill, *Chinese Painting*)

edly represent some of the fantastic beings mentioned in the *Ch'u Tz'u* 楚辭 and the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經 but specific identifications are impossible at present. The *pi* discs with purple dots probably are generally auspicious symbols. The auspicious *pi* shown in the *Wu Liang tz'u* reliefs is also covered with dots<sup>27</sup>. A number of actual Han *pi* decorated with raised bosses have been found<sup>28</sup>. Equally prevalent are *pi* decorated with raised spiral patterns, usually considered to date from the late Chou period<sup>29</sup>. Such *pi* are sometimes interpreted as *ku-pi* 穀璧 or “*pi* with grain patterns.” The *ku-pi* was among the Six Auspicious Treasures 六瑞 mentioned in the *Chou Li*. Its appearance was believed to be an omen of a good harvest of the “five grains.” The *ku-pi* was held as an emblem of rank by a viscount<sup>30</sup>. It is unlikely that this rather involved interpretation was intended in our painting, but certainly the *pi* with dots on it was meant as a generally auspicious sign. A row of such *pi* is also found above the lattice work on the central panel of the reverse (i.e. west-facing) side of the pediment.

The composition on this rear side of the partition unit pediment consists of a doorway in the central panel flanked by two triangular panels in open-work depicting two winged figures wearing hats and mounted on dragons which in turn step on raised hillocks (figure 8)<sup>31</sup>. A jade sculpture of a figure riding a “stalking feline, or chimera” has recently been published by Desmond Gure who considers it to be a work of the late Han<sup>32</sup>. Gure takes the figure on the back of the chimera to be a baboon-like ape. It wears a cape-like garment on its back, as do the figures in our paintings (this is more clearly seen in the lefthand panel). For further representations of this kind reference may be made to Gure’s article. All such figures are probably to be interpreted as mythological beings with no specific symbolic meaning.

The doorway between the triangular panels consists of two wings on each of which a *t'ao-t'ieh* mask with a ring held in its mouth is depicted. One wing of the doorway is ajar. The jambs and lintel of the door seem to be patterned with natural wood markings. Above the doorway is a broad lattice-work panel surmounted by the five *pi* mentioned earlier. Kuo Mo-jo has expressed the opinion that the doorway represents the Gate of Heaven stated to be in the west by the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子. The five *pi* above would be the stars which preside over the five elements (water, fire, wood, metal, earth). Kuo also thinks that the two figures riding the dragons are the deceased couple ascending to heaven.

A much more likely explanation of the doorway is suggested by one of the I-nan reliefs<sup>33</sup>. A doorway appears here which is nearly identical to that depicted in our tomb. There are two wings, each with the ring-monster head; patterns of wood markings on the jambs (understandably misread as lozenge decor by the authors of the I-nan report: it is by comparison with the M61 example that this conclusion has been reached); a large lintel formed of lattice-work for half its length which is nearly identical with that in our example. At I-nan the doorway in

<sup>27</sup> *Chin shih so*, Vol. 13, p. 17a.

<sup>28</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/2, fig. 20, no. 2 on p. 145; and plates VIII/2 and IX 2,3 after p. 194.

<sup>29</sup> *Relics of Han and Pre-Han Dynasties* 周漢遺寶, Tōkyō, 1932, plates 28 and 35; for an Eastern Chou example, cf. Max Loehr, *Relics of Ancient China*, Asia House exhibition, New York, 1965, catalogue 76, ill. on p. 110 and commentary on pp. 77 and 158.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *P'ei-wen yüan-fu* 佩文韻府 and *Tz'u-hai* 辭海, sub voce.

<sup>31</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/2, plates IV/3, VI/2, and VIII after p. 125.

<sup>32</sup> Desmond Gure, “Some Unusual Early Jades and their Dating”, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 33, 1960–1962, plate 38 and pp. 44, 47–48.

<sup>33</sup> *I-nan Report*, plates 28 (lower illustration) and 105/1.

question is quite obviously meant to represent the entrance to the tomb itself before which sacrificial rites are being conducted<sup>34</sup>. It thus seems quite likely that our doorway is also meant to represent the entrance to the tomb. Actual tomb doors of Han date with ring-heads are quite frequently encountered<sup>35</sup>. It is not immediately apparent why one of the wings of our doorway should be ajar. Arguing again from the I-nan relief, which also displays this feature, it might indicate that the deceased will receive sacrificial offerings. I would not ascribe more than generally auspicious significance to the five *pi* discs. The lattice-work area above the doorway is closely echoed by the patterns on stone ceiling slabs at I-nan where they clearly have a decorative function<sup>36</sup>.

The final group of paintings on the partition unit appears on the supporting pillar, but these are almost completely effaced. A dragon can be discerned on the north and the Red Bird on the east. I cannot understand why the animals should have been placed in the wrong directional positions.

The central panel of the pediment above the entrance gate bears on its inner or west-facing side a three-dimensional ram's head with the remains of painting around it (figure 9)<sup>37</sup>. The panel is 52 cm. high and 45 cm. wide. The triangular side panels consist of the usual stamped tiles in this case, and are unpainted. The ram's head projects from the wall in a perfectly frontal pose. It is covered with a white ground over which colors have been applied for the eyes and the striations on the horns; the tips of these horns also project forward from the wall surface. The nostrils and mouth are indented.

Both Kuo Mo-jo and Li Ching-hua agree that the ram's head is unrelated to the painting around it and that it must be read as a generally auspicious symbol. The old form of the character *hsiang* 祥, "auspicious", was the same as the character for ram or sheep, *yang* 羊, the "spirit" radical being added only at a later date. I am inclined to accept this interpretation. The nearly identical ram's head on the Boston tiles (figure 13) to be discussed below is associated with an entirely different painting. In addition, the use of the ram as an auspicious, protective creature is known in China from Shang times on. On a remarkable *tsun* vessel probably of Chou date (although published as Shang) preserved in the Chinese Historical Museum, Peking, the fore-quarters of a ram appear at each corner, facing outward<sup>38</sup>. The heads project fully from the surface of the vessel and the tips of the horns, which are marked with striations, project forward. The nostrils are also indented. Han examples abound and do not seem to be limited to any one particular region. In Honan, two well-known tomb pillars, the *T'ai-shih ch'üeh* 太室闕 and the *Shao-shih ch'üeh* 少室闕 display frontal ram's heads in low relief<sup>39</sup>. On the latter example the horns are marked with striations. On a relief from Chiating in Szechwan, a full ram is shown in kneeling position, but with its head turned toward the viewer in a perfectly frontal pose<sup>40</sup>. In none of the above examples does the ram seem to have more than a generally auspicious significance.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13 and 30.

<sup>35</sup> Richard C. Rudolph, *Han Tomb Art of West China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), figures 4 and 5; and *Shen-pei tung-Han hua-hsiang shih-k'o hsüan-chi* 陝北東漢畫象石刻選集 (*Collection of Eastern Han Sculptured Stones from North Shensi*), Peking, 1958, plates 4 and 5.

<sup>36</sup> *I-nan Report*, plates 18/3, 4; 20; 74.

<sup>37</sup> *WWCH*, III (1964), plate on p. 1; and *KKHP*, 1964/2, plates II/1 and IV/1 after p. 125.

<sup>38</sup> *Wen-wu* 文物, 1959/10, plate on p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Chavannes, *op. cit.*, plates VIII no. 12 and V (at bottom of pillar); and Vol. I, p. 45.

The painting on the panel in question presents a much more difficult problem. Unfortunately, nearly the entire right-hand side of this picture has been effaced. On the left of the panel can be seen a gracefully curving tree with red buds at the tips of the branches. A red cloth is thrown over one branch, and just below it a human figure is shown with his (or her) hair tied to the tree trunk. He raises his right hand in a gesture of fear or hopelessness, because a huge winged tiger, painted in white, is attacking him and biting his left shoulder. The picture is completed by three or four black birds flying through the branches of the tree. To the upper right of the ram's head can be discerned the remains of another creature of some kind.

Kuo Mo-jo and Li Ching-hua have outdone themselves in interpreting this painting. Kuo suggests that it refers to the famous story recorded in the *T'an-kung* 檀弓 chapter of the *Li Chi*<sup>41</sup> according to which Confucius and Tzu-lu encountered a woman weeping at a tomb. Upon questioning her they discovered that her uncle, husband, and son had all been killed by a tiger. When asked why she did not leave the area, she replied that the government there was not oppressive. Confucius draws the moral: "An oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger." Kuo thus takes the figure whose hair is tied to the tree to be the woman and considers that the tiger is shown attacking her simply to express the suffering that it has caused her. This is frankly a most unsatisfactory interpretation as it leaves unexplained the fact that the figure's hair is tied to the tree, as well as the cloth in the tree (Kuo says it indicates that the woman is not suffering from the cold!). Li Ching-hua, on the other hand, believes that the tiger is good and the figure it is attacking is evil. He identifies the attacked figure with *Pa* 魔, demon of the drought, who is referred to in the poem *Yün-han* 雲漢 of the *Shih Ching*<sup>42</sup>, and states that the tiger eating the demon represents the people's desire to end the drought. This explanation may be equally far-fetched, but I believe that it is correct at least in identifying the tiger with the forces of good. We have ample evidence from Han literary sources that the tiger was believed to be an auspicious creature who would drive away evil. In the *Feng-su t'ung-i* 風俗通義, a work of the Eastern Han, there occurs the following passage: "The tiger is a Yang 陽 creature, and the chief of the hundred beasts... He devours ghosts and demons. Today, when men encounter evil, they cook the tiger's skin (in a soup) and drink it, and they also tie on its claws, thus averting evil"<sup>43</sup>." This passage, which certainly seems to bear some relevance to our painting, is presented as an explanation of a popular myth:

[There were two brothers named Shen-t'u 神荼 and Yü-lü 鬼壘 who could control demons.] "On Tu-shuo Mountain, below a peach tree, they would inspect and review the hundred demons. If any of these had acted badly and foolishly harmed people, (Shen-) t'u and Yü-lü would tie them up with reeds and feed them to a tiger. In later times, on New Year's Eve, the local officials would always carve men in peachwood, hang reeds from them, and paint pictures of tigers on the gates. These practices were all recollections of past events [i.e. the story just related] and were aimed at guarding against ill luck<sup>44</sup>."

<sup>40</sup> Rudolph, *op. cit.*, plate 23.

<sup>41</sup> *Li-chi cheng-i* 禮記正義 (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition), 10/9b.

<sup>42</sup> Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, Stockholm, 1950, pp. 223-226.

<sup>43</sup> For the Chinese text see the edition of the *Feng-su t'ung-i* published by the *Centre Franco-chinois d'études sinologiques*, Peking, 1943, pp. 62-63.

<sup>44</sup> *Loc. cit.*

Whether our painting is in fact one of these “pictures of tigers on the gates”, showing a tiger devouring one of the hapless demons below a peach tree, is difficult to determine. Kuo Mo-jo does indeed take the tree for a peach tree. But in the one clear case of a depiction of an auspicious white tiger, at the *Wu Liang tz'u*, the animal is shown alone<sup>45</sup>. Here the inscription, as reconstructed by the authors of the *Chin shih so*, informs us: “When the king is not tyrannical the white tiger appears. It is humane and does not harm men.” And the presence of the black birds among the branches of the tree is reminiscent of the mythical Fu-sang tree in the east from which the sun arises at dawn. Trees of similar form bearing the ravens which are sun symbols and indicate the Fu-sang, appear on a Han clay house<sup>46</sup>. That our tree is a Fu-sang is also indicated by its presence at the eastern extremity of the tomb, facing toward the west. The sun painted on the ceiling abuts directly on this panel and contains a black bird almost identical to those in the painting under discussion<sup>47</sup>, which would seem to indicate that the artists meant to show the sun arising from the Fu-sang tree and starting on its diurnal journey across the sky.

It appears, then, that our painting represents a complex fusion of popular belief that tigers could devour evil with the Fu-sang mythology. The only other literary source I can adduce which brings together some of the elements of this picture is the poem *Ai shih-ming* 哀時命 in the *Ch'u Tz'u*. At one point in this poem we find the following lines (as rearranged and translated by David Hawkes):

To the right my coat-front brushes on Pu Chou Mountain;  
To the left my sleeve catches on the Fu-sang tree<sup>48</sup>.

Further on we read:

I send Hsiao Yang (a man-eating beast) in front to guide me;  
The White Tiger makes up my retinue<sup>49</sup>.

Here we have an association of a sleeve caught in the Fu-sang tree, a white tiger, and a man-eating beast, but again the painting in question does not agree with the actual wording of the literary source, nor does the source explain the tying of the hair to the tree. But perhaps these suggestions may serve as starting points for further research.

On the rear wall of the tomb appears another painting which is most difficult to interpret (figure 10)<sup>50</sup>. The painting is in the form of a long trapezoidal panel, 23 cm. high and 140 and 143 cm. long at the top and bottom respectively. The entire scene is set against a background of rolling mountain forms articulated by a broad band of black paint as an outline with a still broader band of purple paint within it. The main body of each mountain is left white. It will be recalled that a similar mountain convention made its appearance at the far right of the lintel with the peaches story, only to disappear almost immediately. Kuo Mo-jo states that these mountains are a “wall painting within the wall painting”, presumably meaning that they form a decorative background and are not to be read as an actual landscape setting. At the far right

<sup>45</sup> *Chin shih so*, 13, p. 14a.

<sup>46</sup> Sullivan, *op. cit.*, plate 19 and p. 39.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *KKHP*, 1964/2, plate II/1 after p. 125.

<sup>48</sup> *Ch'u Tz'u* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition), 14/4a; and David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, Songs of the South*, (paperback edition: Boston, 1962), p. 137, lines 23a-22b.

<sup>49</sup> *Ch'u Tz'u* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition), 14/7b-8a; and Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 139, line 57.

<sup>50</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/2, color plate II after p. 125.

of the picture, a figure leaning on a staff gazes down at a second kneeling figure who is engaged in roasting a joint of meat over a fire. Several blood-stained cuts of beef, including a cow's head, are hanging on hooks suspended from the top of the picture-space. Further left are two seated figures, one of whom holds a ram's horn drinking cup in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. His companion looks back at him over his shoulder as if in conversation. This second figure holds a black, bow-shaped object in his left hand. Whatever he held in his right hand is effaced. Both these figures, as well as the cook, have coarse hairs on their arms. Left of the second drinker is a standing figure who faces a huge monster, seated cross-legged on the ground. The monster is gray and covered with hairs. His face, seen frontally, is nearly identical in outline to that of the effaced monster seated on the Black Warrior in the east-facing pediment of the partition unit. He is dressed in a broad, flowing robe and seems to be drinking from a ram's horn cup. The monster's barely visible left arm bends down to grasp a long black spear-like object laid across his lap. To his right are two refined gentlemen, approaching the monster with hands joined in reverence. Finally there is a ferocious figure brandishing a sword at the left.

The only suggestion thus far advanced on the subject of this picture has been that of Kuo Mo-jo. Kuo takes it to represent the famous Feast at Hung-men 鴻門宴. At this feast, Liu Pang, the future first emperor of the Han Dynasty, met with his rival Hsiang Yü. At the instigation of Hsiang's minister Fan Tseng, Hsiang Chuang performed a sword dance in the course of which he attempted to murder Liu Pang. He was thwarted by Hsiang Po who stood before Liu Pang to protect him. Kuo thus takes the figures at the right to be servants preparing the meal, while the drinking figure in purple is Hsiang Yü and his companion is Liu Pang. The standing figure to the left would be Hsiang Po, protecting Liu Pang from Hsiang Chuang, the ferocious character at the far left. The first of the two refined gentlemen would be Chang Liang, who arranged the confrontation and is said in the *Shih-chi* to have looked like a woman, and the second would be Fan Tseng.

I find it very difficult to accept this interpretation of the scene. Why should Hsiang Chuang be placed so far away from Liu Pang and Hsiang Po? And of course the chief weakness of this theory is that it fails to account adequately for the monster in the center. Kuo says that this creature is the tiger painted on the gate outside the main audience chamber of a king according to the annotation to a passage in the *Chou Li*. But the monster in our painting may not be a tiger and is certainly not painted on a gateway. Moreover his huge size and central position would seem to indicate that he plays a more important role in the painting than Kuo's explanation would admit.

I would like to suggest that in the "monster" of this painting we have a representation of the *fang-hsiang* 方相 or something similar. The *fang-hsiang*, a sort of exorciser of demons who dressed himself in a bearskin to frighten his victims, has been most fully discussed by the modern scholar Sun K'ai-ti who has advanced the theory that *k'uei-lei* or puppet-plays originated in the *fang-hsiang*<sup>51</sup>. The first reference to the *fang-hsiang* is found in the *Chou Li*<sup>52</sup>, and reads:

<sup>51</sup> Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第, *Ts'ang-chou chi* 滄州集, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 212 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *Chou-li cheng-i* (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition), 59/19b.

"The *fang-hsiang*'s duties (are as follows): he wears a bearskin, has four eyes of gold, and wears a black upper garment and a red lower garment. He carries spear and shield, and leads the Hundred Servants. At certain times he exorcises (evil spirits), searching about for them in houses and beating away the pestilence. On the occasion of a Great Funeral he precedes the coffin (during the funeral procession). Upon reaching the tomb he enters and strikes the four corners with his spear, thereby beating away Fang-liang [a demon who eats the liver and brains of the deceased]."

At another point in the *Chou Li* we are told that the *fang-hsiang* had in his employ "four wild men" who are said in the commentary to have been warriors<sup>53</sup>. The *fang-hsiang* continued to be used in Han times, both in burials and in the ceremony known as the Great Exorcism 大饑. In a passage dealing with the latter from the now lost *Hsü Han shu* 續漢書 quoted by Sun K'ai-ti can be found precisely the same description of the *fang-hsiang* as is given in the *Chou Li*. The figure in our painting might easily be meant for a man dressed in a bearskin and holding his spear. It is true that his robe is neither black nor red, but it might at one time have been close to the reddish-brown *che* 赤 color which is given as the color of the *fang-hsiang*'s robe in an Eastern Han commentary to the *Huai-nan tzu*<sup>54</sup>, and Sun K'ai-ti demonstrates that a *fang-hsiang* with two eyes was known at least by Chin times<sup>55</sup>. The figures at the far right might be preparing the funeral feast, while the two large drinking figures could be the chief mourners. The three attendants might be waiting on the *fang-hsiang* who is having a drink before or after engaging in his exorcising duties. The respectful attitude of the attendants towards the "monster" is now easier to understand. The ferocious fellow at the far left might be one of the "wild men", brandishing his sword to help in the exorcism; he certainly looks wild enough.

If this interpretation is accepted, a pattern of sorts begins to emerge in the decor of tomb M61. The auspicious ram's head, the white tiger devouring a demon, Ch'ih-yu surrounded by the four directional animals, and the demon-exorcising *fang-hsiang* with the word "fear" written three times above him, are all intended to protect the deceased and his tomb from the forces of evil.

There remains the ceiling painting which depicts the sun and moon and a number of constellations in a whirl of cloud forms (figure 11)<sup>56</sup>. The sun is shown in red in the first of the twelve panels. In the sun itself is a black bird in flight, while seven other birds appear in the six squares on either side of the sun disc and in the square in the center of the sun. In the seventh panel appears the moon in green, enclosing the familiar frog and rabbit. Aside from the green of the moon, the only colors used here are red and black on the ubiquitous white ground. The dots representing the stars are in red. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this, the earliest such cosmological representation yet found in China, is that all the constellations depicted in it are identifiable. The first effort at identifying them was made in the archaeological report on the tomb written by Li Ching-hua, but a more expert, specialized study by Hsia Nai 夏鼐 has been published subsequently<sup>57</sup>. Hsia corrects several errors made in the earlier account and states

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 54/13a.

<sup>54</sup> *Huai-nan-tzu* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition), 7/5b.

<sup>55</sup> Sun K'ai-ti, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 217-218.

<sup>56</sup> *KKHP*, 1964/2, plate III after p. 125.

<sup>57</sup> *K'ao-ku* 考古, 1965/2, pp. 80-90.

that he believes the picture to represent an effort to depict the sky as known to Han astronomers by selecting some of the more important constellations. He denies that the twelve panels symbolize the twelve periods of the day, as Kuo Mo-jo and Li Ching-hua had maintained. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the actual constellations identified by Hsia Nai, but it is of interest to note the inclusion of the Great Bear, which also appears on later reliefs from Hsiao-t'ang shan 孝堂山 and the *Wu Liang tz'u*. In the relief at the former site, the sun appears with a flying bird in it, as does the moon with a frog and rabbit<sup>58</sup>. As in our painting, the frog is much larger than the rabbit. The stars here are connected by lines. Are these stylized reminiscences of the more naturalistic cloud forms in our picture? In the *Wu Liang tz'u* relief, the Great Bear is depicted as seven large circles connected by lines<sup>59</sup>.

The practice of painting cosmological pictures on the tomb ceiling survives in the Korean T'ung-kou 通溝 tombs in Manchuria. Michael Sullivan is of the opinion that these tombs date from the early sixth century A.D. but represent a "late archaic survival (of Han style) in a remote area." He writes: "The Han style must have persisted in the outlying region of T'ung-kou long after the decay of the Chinese colonies which had flourished there in the Han Dynasty<sup>60</sup>." In the Tomb of the Dancing Figures and the Tomb of the Wrestlers there appear cosmological ceilings with the sun, enclosing a three-legged crow, shown to the east, and the moon, enclosing a frog, to the west (figure 12)<sup>61</sup>. The stars are depicted by big red circles connected, again, by lines. Another convention at T'ung-kou which appears to be related to our tomb is the use of alternating, flowing bands of black and red or yellow for the depiction of mountains<sup>62</sup>. This may be compared with the mountains appearing in the panel on the rear wall of our tomb.

### III

Stylistically, the paintings in tomb M61 are very similar to those on the famous painted hollow tiles in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts<sup>63</sup>. This similarity does not end with the style of the paintings themselves. The Boston tiles consist of a pediment over a lintel, the pediment in turn consisting of a central rectangular panel flanked by two triangular panels, just as in the gateway and partition unit of tomb M61. The proportions are also very close: for example, the lintel in Boston is 19.5 cm. high and 240.7 cm. long as compared with the 25 × 206 measurements of the lintel with the peaches story. The Boston tiles are also stamped along their edges with lozenge patterns quite similar to those in our tomb. Finally, the central panel of the Boston pediment displays a projecting ram's head which is essentially identical to that on the rear of the entrance gate in M61 (figure 13). Both rams have curving horn tips and indented nostrils, and both are placed slightly above the center of the panel. A tiger appears on the Boston pediment which has stripes depicted precisely as are those of the tiger in the perforated panel with the

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 3 on p. 85; and Chavannes, *op. cit.*, plate XXX no. 53.

<sup>59</sup> *K'ao-ku* 1965/2, fig. 2 on p. 83; and Chavannes, *op. cit.*, plate LXIX no. 133 (bottom register).

<sup>60</sup> Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 and 144.

<sup>61</sup> Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏 and Umehara Sueji 梅原末治, *T'ung-kou/Tsūkō* 通溝 (Tōkyō, 1938–1940; cited as *T'ung-kou*), plates XVIII–XXII; XXXI/1; XLV–XLVI.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, plate X.

<sup>63</sup> Kojiro Tomita, *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum (Han to Sung Periods)* Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1933; cited as *Boston Portfolio*), plates 1–8 and p. 3; and James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, Skira, Geneva, 1960, plate on p. 13.

four directional beasts in our tomb: in both cases there is a series of broad, black "S" curves with a much narrower line running roughly parallel to each.

Most striking, however, are the similarities between the group of figures standing in conversation in the Boston lintel (figure 14) and those in our "peaches" lintel and in the rear wall panel. In both cases a fluent black line of modulated width is used to define the forms, and color is always applied within the strict outline delineated by this line. The impression is one of considerable freedom and calligraphic vitality, a quality which will later become a *sine qua non* of Chinese painting. James Cahill's description of the Boston paintings is equally applicable to those in M61: "The lineament... suggests that painters may have been experimenting already with idiomatic brushwork. Fluctuations in breadth of line serve to enliven the drawing with an air of spontaneity, to accent contours, to intensify that sense of movement which seems to have been the objective of much of Han art<sup>64</sup>."

In both groups of paintings there is also seen a tendency toward expressive exaggeration of facial features which often are quite angular<sup>65</sup>. Other minor features which are shared by both groups of pictures are: the use of red for the lips; extremely free sketching of the hands which are sometimes hardly recognizable as such;<sup>66</sup> sharply drawn, wispy mustaches and beards, the latter often consisting of merely a few short strokes; bulbous sleeve ends, lighter in color than the rest of the robe;<sup>67</sup> tall black insignia-rods; high-perched hats held on by a thin string passing under the chin. This last feature is very similar to the official *fa-kuan* 法冠 cap pictured in the *Tz'u-hai* where a *Hou Han shu* passage describing it is quoted<sup>68</sup>.

Several of the features detailed above would appear to have been fairly widespread Han conventions. The wispy mustaches and beards as well as the hats tied on with strings appear at Ying-ch'eng-tzu, albeit with much less refinement<sup>69</sup>. The same features, as well as the bulbous sleeve-ends, can be seen on a lacquer-painted tortoise-shell box from Lo-lang, the Han colony in Korea<sup>70</sup>. Here the picture is framed by the familiar lozenge pattern. The wispy mustaches and beards are also among the Han conventions which survive at T'ung-kou<sup>71</sup>. The universality of this figure style in Han times can be deduced from a relief from Hsin-chin in Szechwan<sup>72</sup> where the gaunt, angular faces and the hats tied on with strings, as well as a generally similar mode of linear definition, are all in evidence, this time in sculpture rather than in painting.

James Cahill has said of the Boston tiles, and by extension his remarks would also refer to our tomb, that they do not represent "the highest achievements of Han painting<sup>73</sup>." Presumably those fine works which adorned temples and palaces or were kept in scholars' homes have all disappeared. But we must be thankful for the survival of these tomb paintings as they provide

<sup>64</sup> Cahill, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, plate on p. 13 (right-hand figure) and *KKHP*, 1964/2, color plate II after p. 125 (figure at far left of bottom illustration).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Cahill, *op.cit.*, plate on p. 13 (right-hand figure); *WWCH*, III (1964), large black and white illustration on p. 5; and *Boston Portfolio*, plate 3.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *KKHP*, 1964/2, color plate II after p. 125 (second and third figures from the left in bottom illustration); and *Boston Portfolio*, plate 4a (figure at right).

<sup>68</sup> *Tz'u-hai*, *sub voce*.

<sup>69</sup> *Ying-ch'eng-tzu*, plates XXXVI-XXXIX.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 35 opposite p. 36.

<sup>71</sup> *T'ung-kou*, plates V and XXV.

<sup>72</sup> Rudolph, *op.cit.*, plate 37.

<sup>73</sup> Cahill, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

us with some idea, however inadequate, of the nature of Han painting. Unfortunately, it does not seem possible at present to date them with any degree of certainty. According to the Chinese scholars who prepared the archaeological report on tomb M61, it is to be dated in the reigns of Emperors Yüan and Ch'eng, i.e. between 48 and 7 B.C. This date, which was arrived at on the basis of an examination of the burial objects found in the tomb, tallies with the suggested late Western Han-early Eastern Han date for tombs constructed of both large hollow tiles and small solid bricks mentioned earlier<sup>74</sup>. As the Chinese scholars had access to the original tomb, and as our knowledge of Han painting is so slight, we must accept this dating for the present. It may be necessary to reconsider the date of the Boston tiles, dated "second to fourth centuries A.D." by Kojiro Tomita<sup>75</sup> and "second or third century A.D." or "latter part of the Han dynasty" by James Cahill<sup>76</sup>. Although somewhat more refined in style than the paintings of tomb M61, the Boston tiles should be fairly close to them in date. It might be tentatively suggested that the Boston tiles be now dated to the first century A.D.

<sup>74</sup> See note 6 above.

<sup>75</sup> *Boston Portfolio*, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> Cahill, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 13 (caption to illustration).