in all, spread out over eight pages which contain 20 asterisks, 15 imitations, 10 copies, and seven attributions (a category not yet explained).

In the case of Wang Meng there are 113 entries, 25 with asterisks, 37 imitations, five copies, and one "poor forgery." 12 of the asterisks fall in the Taipei museum's group of 38.

In the case of Huang Kung-wang there are 56 entries, 10 asterisks (three in the Taipei museum), 26 imitations, of which four are called "copy or imitation."

It has been a familiar truism since the 1950's that from the Yüan dynasty on Chinese art historians, theorists, and collectors turned away in boredom or contempt from the works of Ma Yüan, Hsia Kuei, and their followers. With this in mind, it is surprising to find in the Index that Ma Yüan's total is 149, 38 of them in the Taipei Museum. None are dated. There are 26 asterisks. If one takes into account the particularly close relationship between the works that may be assigned to a Ma Yüan family or school style (in Cahill these amount to 19 entries for Ma K'uei, 59 for Ma Lin, 13 under "Landscapes with Figures, of the Ma Yüan Type and Tradition," as Anonymous Sung, plus 10 album leaves); the grand total representing the Ma branch of the Sung Academy style, or even Ma Yüan alone, is larger than any other in the Index. The very different documentation for the Northern Sung master Fan K'uan is a total of 23 entries with four asterisks, these characterized as:

> Taipei "Sitting Alone," late Sung work
> Taipei "Travellers," genuine
> Boston fan, snow scene, "Southern Sung work"
> Boston gorge in snow, fine work of late Sung date

The other work in the Taipei museum which this reviewer would like to see marked by an asterisk, the large snowcovered mountains (SV 6) is relegated to Ming. If not a harshly cleaned original, this might at least be called a faithful copy.

The samples given above of Cahill's opinions imply no disrespect; rather they illustrate the impossibility of accomodating endless variety within any simple prearranged categories. If the reader cannot be certain of tracing the ins and outs of the author's opinions with full understanding, that is inherent in the material studied.

Institute of Fine Arts *Alexander C. Soper*

Michael Loewe, Ways to Paradise, the Chinese Quest for Immortality. London 1979. xiii plus 270 pp., 28 pls. 28 text figs. Bibliog. for English, German, French titles, plus Chinese and Japanese, both romanized and rendered as characters, plus character glossary of Chinese and Japanese names and terms. Index. $34.

Michael Loewe has in recent years published interesting articles and books over a wide range of subjects from the Chou and Han dynasties. In the present instance he has devoted two compact books to two aspects of the same Han theme, burial practises as revealed first by literature in relation to myth-making, religion, poetry, and philosophy, and again in the arts of the same era.

Ways to Paradise describes with great care two bodies of material evidence, the unique paintings recently excavated from two richly equipped tombs of the second century B.C. at the Ma-wang-tui site near Ch'ang-sha, Hunan; and the iconographic variations in the designs of the familiar Han TLV mirror type. The bibliography reveals very extensive reading in all necessary languages, both up-to-date (to 1978) and early. Characters are generously provided in a handsome legible hand.

The key monument found at Ma-wang-tui no. 1, the painted "flying mantle" banner, is made accessible for close study by a clear line-drawing. The author's argument in dealing with the TLV mirror may be followed through 15 photographs of varying quality, a few rubbings and schematic drawings, and nine sample inscriptions transcribed and translated. The presentation, with many tables of the mirror sub-types, carefully composed footnotes, and appendices, is that of a PhD dissertation; and post-graduate students are likely to be the book's most fully attentive readers.

Loewe follows closely the Chinese reports describing the shape, construction, and contents of Tomb no. 1, summarizes the evidence that makes it possible to identify the female occupant as the wife of the first chancellor of the Han kingdom of Ch'ang-sha. Her husband had died in 186 B.C.; his tomb is the relatively modest no. 2. The partially looted tomb no. 3, presumably that of a son, contained a library with important manuscripts and maps, which accidentally provided a post quem date of 168 B.C. The lady presumably was buried between that date and 145.

Her tomb, with all its undisturbed wealth, has been published and republished in China since 1972 from

widely differing viewpoints. Its T-shaped "flying mantle," some two meters tall and 92 cm across the arms, has been rendered in large color plates. Tomb no. 3 was also found to contain a banner, which in shape, size, and many details resembled no. 1's. Probably because of its damaged condition it has been given much less attention, and the photographs that show its principal feature are much less informative.

The decorative and iconographic features of the no. 1 banner, after a decade of specialized attention, have become fairly well known, even to many Westerners. (Within the first year of Chinese reports a substantial account was given in English by Fong Chow in *Artibus Asiae* XXXV, 1–2, 1973). Loewe discusses these features under 26 sub-headings, keyed into the line drawing. When the treatment has been commented on in more than one way by previous writers he summarizes the points in dispute, and frequently gives his own opinion.

His choices have been made in conformity with a striking interpretation of the whole T-shaped design. The crowning horizontal area has normally been recognized as symbolic of heaven in one way or another: the upper part of the vertical trunk has been linked to the earthly life of the deceased, and the bottommost portion has been seen as a watery subhuman underworld. Loewe joins all three areas as successive stages in the ascent of the soul to full liberation and freedom from death. The top part of the "painting is conceived as the destination to which the soul was successfully escorted, the world of paradise." Reading upward "the vertical part is regarded as depicting the road taken by the soul to its destined abode." Through most of the trunk the vertical silhouettes on left and right, formed by the heads, bodies, and tails of two rising dragons, recall the outlines of a ceremonial vase, *fang hu,* and so may be taken as standing for the magical and mysterious island mountains imagined in the Han period as the abode of happy immortals – one of the peaks called P'eng-lai, another Fang Hu, the name written with the same characters. The two turtles, shown on either side of the lower constricted zone, must recall the giant tortoises sent by God to serve as foundations for the islands and keep them in their proper positions. The "large fish" or "leviathans" speak of the ocean. The "linkage of their tails, as if to form another jade ring" – repeating the central motif through which the dragons pass in the next zone above – remains unexplained. The lower "tableau" shows seven robed figures, one standing and the rest apparently seated on left and right; a row of large vessels below (or in front), and others in a lesser row above (or behind). Centered between the figures is a richly patterned shape with four legs and carrying poles, and a curving top. It is not a table, and the occasion is not a human feast. Loewe shares the opinion of William Watson that the shape is the coffin in which the lady's body is contained and invisible. The seven actors are "a white-robed attendant waiting on six participants... who may be identified as the deceased herself and the five servants who accompany her in the upper tableau" – the next figure group above. If the first "appearance" of the lady may be traced to the closed coffin, the figures on either side show her "partaking of the elixir, possibly under the direction of An Ch'i or one of his colleagues" – Taoist magician-immortals presiding over the ascent.

"In the upper tableau she has reached a further stage in her journey, properly dressed and accompanied as before by her acolytes, and with the bird of heaven acting as a harbinger to waft her on her way to her final destination." This is the scene that centers on the profile, stooped figure of a lady with a cane, wearing an elaborately patterned and colorful robe, and characterized by a portrait-like, middle-aged face. Behind her are three standardized maidens in echelon, while two male servants knee with offerings on the left, and a strange bat-like creature with spread wings hovers above.

At the junction between the banner's trunk and cross-piece are the "portals of paradise," with formally robed and capped wardens and leopards to convey awe. The major theme on the right above, where one sees a large red disk enclosing a profile blackbird, a fantastically writhing tree entwined with a wingless dragon, and eight red disks, is not likely to be an allusion to the myth of the cosmic Fu-sang tree on the eastern rim of the world; nor should the eight plus one disks be taken to recall the story of the hero-archer I, who shot down the superfluous suns when they all rose together. No such person is referred to in any discernible way, and the mythical number of disks is not fully rendered. The reference may be simply to a recognizable stage on the journey from earth to paradise."

The crescent moon on the other arm of the T, enclosing both a profile hare and a toad seen from above, are familiar references to the moon as a seat of endless life. The female figure just outside the crescent, sitting on a dragon's wing, has been accepted as Heng O, the archer-hero's wife, who stole the drug of immortality from him and fled with it to the moon.

(A parenthetical comment by this reviewer: it has escaped attention that this disreputable anti-heroine is represented as non-Chinese. Her full head of black hair frames her face in soft curves, and her big eyes are non-Mongolian. Her costume is worn without modesty, since her skirt bares both legs, one to mid-thigh. Perhaps she is taken from a slave girl from the south, a type which must have been common in the Ch'ang-sha markets.)

The half-woman, half-snake being at top center has been variously identified by Chinese scholars without finding any perfect match in the texts. Loewe mentions as a possibility one or another of the half-serpent creator deities Fu Hsi (male) and Nü Wa (female), who before they became iconographically fixed as an entwined pair might be imagined singly. His preference is given, it seems a little hesitantly, to a reference to the lady herself, at a "final stage in her journey, when she has reached her destination, and we see her in the company of the hosts of heaven, sloughing off her mortal coil as easily as a snake sheds the skin that he discards." A later stage of this iconographical formula he finds in "figures who are seen elsewhere in attendance on the Queen Mother of the West, and whose legs have been replaced by a serpentine coil, who are likewise to be explained as successful seekers of the elixir of immortality."

The author underlines his emphasis on the overall iconographic unity maintained throughout the successive stages of ascent, by calling attention to a curious numbering pattern, a two on the left and a three on the right. This is seen in the crane-like birds that point their long bills upward on either side of the snake coil. They recall in the bottom-most scene the grouping of ceremonial vessels in front of the seated figures just above. Most noticeably the two-three grouping is seen in the upper tableau, where two males kneel at left and three girls stand behind the lady on the right. It is of course strange that this assymmetry should be absent from the human meeting scene at the bottom, where the six figures facing each other are evenly divided – in dress and in non-action, as well as in position; and the standing figure that throws off the balance is on the left. All seven participants are dressed and capped like the kneeling males in the tableau above. How can the tomb's proprietor be in this group? Is she receiving a lesson in Taoist humility, as well as the elixir?

Loewe says little about the remarkable paintings on the stacked coffins that enclosed the lady's body. He gives a line drawing for the highly assymmetrical scheme on the "second coffin." Two half-tones reproduce the quasi-heraldic ends of the "third coffin." Nothing is said to suggest that the little creatures on the second coffin that stalk or scamper among the cloud swirls are anything but serious.

Repeating with simpler, larger elements the scheme of coffin no. 3 is a pair of wash drawings copied from the ends of a Ch'u state coffin about a century earlier than Ma-wang-tui, from Sha-tzu-t'ang, a nearby site. There is a very useful line drawing of the vault-of-heaven painting on the underside of the roof of the tomb of Po Ch'ien-ch'iu at Loyang, assigned to the middle of the first century B.C., which shows how much the iconography of tomb paintings could change in a busy age.

The greatest share of Loewe's study of the funerary art of the Western Han dynasty is devoted to a tightly organized examination of the TLV mirror type. An introductory chapter describes the cultural environment in which these diagrammatic designs – utterly different from the playful themes and variations of Late Chou – came to be formulated; and summarizes the shifting values within the Han ruling class that permitted these forms to be from time to time altered.

In the course of his demonstration the author discusses in some detail the many resemblances between the bronze TLV mirrors and the traditional diviner's board known in early examples in bronze, ivory, and lacquered wood. Tabulated descriptions in Appendix Three and figures 11, 12 furnish basic information. Loewe explains the similarities by supposing that the fixed mirror pattern was derived from the board, not merely in general but in particulars.

"The TLV mirrors... were deliberately made as stylized versions of these instruments... Their design exemplified the most favorable position that

could be obtained by manipulating the two disks (of heaven and earth) of the diviner's board; and was set so as to retain that combination in perpetuity. The designers adapted the pattern of Ts, Ls and Vs . . . and they did so in order to provide the bearer of the mirror, alive or dead, with an assurance that he or she was situated in a correct relationship with the cosmos. The cosmic significance and benediction of the mirror remained valid for ever."

The same source in divination probably explains the similarities noted in the popular *liu-po* game from the Han period on.

As in his treatment of the Ma-wang-tui painting, Loewe's chief interest in the mirrors is devoted to their iconographic factors: the T's, L's, and V's, the bosses, squares, and circles, the borders filled with cloud swirls, chevrons, or imaginative plant scrolls; these receive the same sort of emphasis as is given to the miniature creatures of the Four Directions. The latter get little attention as demonstrations of figure drawing, lively or rigid or limp; as elements in a grouping that may be crowded or open; as personifications that may be routinely shown as profiles, or for greater drama may be given sharply turned heads, or may even be shown doing a cart-wheel, upside down.

Almost nothing is said about the relationship of the creatures that are paired at the corners of the square, on either side of the V motif. There the little shape on the left side is given the major role in the whole iconographic program. But because directional symbolism knows only one creature at a time, the thematic function of the other, on the right, must be entirely different. Sometimes it draws on life: opposite a fiercely arched tiger may be a startled, galloping antelope. Opposite the proud Bird of the South may be a similar bird, a full-sized fledgling waiting to be fed by its parent. Sometimes the relationship may touch the fringes of comedy: what faces the rampant dragon may be a spindly feathered Immortal, bending the knee in what seems like mock worship. Or a kind of similarity may be tried: the tiger may be opposed by a surprised-looking little monster with wings and a long tail, and a frontal, hairy lion's face. In weaker or later schemes the pairing may be meaningless.

The space available for some sort of moving shape between the L and the T, on the crossing axes of the square, is always restricted and so can be assigned only a relatively small filler. One or two chubby birds like quail are frequent (and pose a special problem for the iconographer). The "most excellent" mirror in the V and A Museum, Loewe's C3101 (pls. XII–XIV) has in that location what seems to be a wildly prancing Immortal. Perfunctory designs are likely to show merely the tip of an elongated, dragon-like tail.

Loewe considers his mirrors under main headings, denoted by capital letters. A and B are very small groups, in which the novel T, L, and V marks are superimposed on earlier designs. They appear about 100 B.C.

C are regular TLV mirrors with long inscriptions in an outer band. The author distinguishes five subtypes, which vary in their inscriptions. The C group seems to have been in fashion and creatively handled from ca 50 B.C. to A.D. 150.

D mirrors lack outer inscriptions; some also lack the conventional cyclical characters spaced around the square. Since the group exists as a simplification, its members may occur very early or late.

X mirrors are irregular, and probably extend beyond the Han in date. In them the usual design features may be abbreviated, and/or replaced by new motifs.

In an appendix 188 mirrors are listed and characterized, running between A and X. They number: A 5; B 6; C 115; D 32; X 29.

Virtually all the themes developed in the TLV mirror inscriptions can be found within the C category. The development was not a tidy one. Some inscriptions show long familiar phrases continued alongside novel ones. Others appear ready made, so to speak, with everything new. Loewe has attempted to provide a guide to this process by systematically grouping and numbering his catalogue entries. For example C11, C12, C13, C19 constitute one group. "C11" refers to two mirrors, C1101 and C1102. These have a quasi-philosophical turn and refer specifically to the Wu Hsing, Five Phases. C1101 is transcribed and translated on pp. 192–193.

"C12" refers to seven mirrors, C1201 through C1207. These refer to the security and prosperity of the realm, citing the submission of foreign tribes. Mirrors C1202–1205 and C1207 contain a reference to the Hsin dynasty, Wang Mang's interregnum. 1207 mentions the Han instead. Members of the sub-group refer to four different mirror-makers. C1201 names the Shang Fang, the govern-

ment bureau regulating the crafts. The others name instead private individuals, Wang, Ch'iang, or Tu. C1201 is transcribed and translated on pp. 194–195. "C13" refers to six mirrors, C1301 through C1306. All contain a quasi-magical phrase, alluding to the mystical power of the seven-character poetic form seen in the inscription itself. They refer also to the "beneficent influence of the dragon and tiger." The type *may* be archaistic, because of irregularities. C1302 is transcribed and translated on pp. 194–195. Skipping to "C21" which refers to eight mirrors, C2101 through 2108: C2101 is transcribed and translated on pp. 196–197. High quality of the copper, owned by the Hsin dynasty, from Tan-yang, casting, workmanship. "Dragon and tiger forfend all evil; bird and dark warrior [tortoise and snake, North] accord with Yin and Yang." C2104 is illustrated opp. p. 81.

C4311 and C5001 are transcribed and translated on pp. 200–201. Their inscriptions show the new priority given the details of the blessings enjoyed by the Immortals. Climbing Mt. T'ai (in Shantung) one may see them. Their pure diet; their roaming above clouds in carriages yoked to dragons, led by the white tiger (C4311).

C5001 refers to the longevity of Hsi Wang Mu (pp. 200–201).

All this is clearly the result of meticulous study. In the book, where only a meagre sampling of illustrations and inscriptions is given, and where the tabulation in the text is too brief for ready understanding, merely to follow the author carefully is a full-scale project. As a whole the book is awkwardly arranged. The plates are dispersed through the text in single sheets, and to find where these occur requires exploration; the List of Illustrations runs through the plates without giving any page references (although these are provided for the list of text figures). Footnotes for the five regular chapters are grouped at the end of the text proper. Footnotes for the six appendices are placed separately, each at the end of its appendix. Readers beyond a certain age will be relieved that the Romanization follows the clumsy but familiar Wade-Giles system. Those who have acquired their knowledge and skills since 1949 may be confused to find that *pin-yin* is banned even when an original publication uses it. Thus the Peking publication called *Kaogu Xuebao* on its cover must be for some Western readers perplexingly concealed by the abbreviation KKHP.

In the course of writing the above, the present reviewer has read two other reviews that may be profitably read, in a thoroughly accessible language:

Bodde, Derk, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 42, 1982, pp. 321–326.

Buck, David D., "Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Ma-wang-tui," *World Archaeology* 7,1, pp. 30–45.

Buck presents an abstract of the reports on the three tomb finds as a whole, concluding with sections devoted to the Ch'u State culture; to Li Ts'ang , the first chancellor, and his descendants; and to the significance of the Ma-wang-tui tombs. Bodde, writing as a wise humanist, remains close to the Loewe book and so to the "flying mantle."

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Prithvi Kumar Agrawala: Śrīvatsa, The Babe of Goddess Śrī, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, Indian Civilization Series No. XVI, 1974, 74 pp.

"Śrīvatsa" is often translated "beloved of fortune." As is evident in his book's title, P.K. Agrawala prefers the translation of *śrīvatsa* as "babe of Śrī," Śrī being the goddess of beauty and fortune. The term lends itself to multiple translations. The forms of the symbol of *śrīvatsa* in art are also multiple. In late examples *śrīvatsa* appears and is described as a whorl of hair, a triangle, or a cruciform flower. But in its early form it has four upwardly curved "limbs" symmetrically paired. This form has been described as shield-shaped. The actual form of the early *lakṣaṇa,* Agrawala asserts, is that of a crudely rendered baby. It is an abstraction of a human figure, with upreaching arms and spread legs reduced to nubs, and the head likewise a nub at center top. An Indus Valley terracotta mother holding something at her chest and representations from Lauriya Nandangarh (pls. 1–3) of mothers holding babies abstractly formed are offered as a suggestion of the probable origin of the emblem *śrīvatsa.*

Agrawala's thesis that the mark of Śrī derives from the form of her offspring suggests a startlingly literal source, though one that is not implausible. A.L. Srivastava, writing at about the same time as Agrawala, also is of the opinion that *śrīvatsa* is derived from a human figure ("The Śrīvatsa Symbol in Indian Art," *East and West* 29, 1979, p. 51). To support his own suggestion Agrawala points to the similarity of a certain type of archaic bronze anthropomorph which has nub "arms" and "legs"