Commoditizing Tombs: Materialism in the Funerary Art of Middle Imperial China and Korea

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Commoditizing Tombs: Materialism in the Funerary Art of Middle Imperial China and Korea

Abstract
This dissertation explores the funerary art of the middle class of the Central Plain of China from the 11th to the 13th centuries. In this period, the middle class experienced economic prosperity and a cultural flourishing, as evidenced by the hundreds of lavishly decorated tombs of the Northern Song and Jin periods, distributed heavily in southern Shanxi and northern Henan. These decorated tombs naturally reflect the tastes and desires of middle-class tomb occupants through many of their attributes including the style and content of their images, the ways they treat visual materials, and the forms of the tomb architecture. During the past decades, however, previous studies have interpreted these decorated tombs in the context of the Sinicization of Northern nomads or funerary symbolism, ignoring the unique socioeconomic circumstances of the period.

Rather than focusing on a few images of the tomb murals, this study posits the tomb as a cultural phenomenon that signaled the rise of popular art in pre-modern China. From this new perspective, I focus on the social class of patrons (local elites), the popular patterns of tomb murals, and the affordable mediums and materials used for tomb construction. I then argue that the development of material culture spurred by economic growth - the growing power base of local elites, commoditized images and objects in visual art. To support this argument, I examine how consumerism and commercialism affected the production, consumption, and circulation of the images of tomb murals within China. Broadening the regional scope, I also investigate the decorated tombs of Goryeo, Korea, to see how material circulation enabled the sharing of visual culture in East Asia.

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COMMODITIZING TOMBS: MATERIALISM IN THE FUNERARY ART OF MIDDLE IMPERIAL CHINA AND KOREA

Minkyung Ji

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In

East Asian Languages and Civilizations
Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

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2014

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COMMODITIZING TOMBS:
MATERIALISM IN THE FUNERARY ART OF
MIDDLE IMPERIAL CHINA AND KOREA

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This dissertation explores the funerary art of the middle class of the Central Plain of China from the 11th to the 13th centuries. In this period, the middle class experienced economic prosperity and a cultural flourishing, as evidenced by the hundreds of lavishly decorated tombs of the Northern Song and Jin periods, distributed heavily in southern Shanxi and northern Henan. These decorated tombs naturally reflect the tastes and desires of middle-class tomb occupants through many of their attributes including the style and content of their images, the ways they treat visual materials, and the forms of the tomb architecture. During the past decades, however, previous studies have interpreted these decorated tombs in the context of the Sinicization of Northern nomads or funerary symbolism, ignoring the unique socioeconomic circumstances of the period.

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**INTRODUCTION**

Funerary art is a resource for historical study. Social norms, customs, and beliefs are generally reflected in the visual artifacts related to funerals and burials, tomb and shrine architecture, and various mortuary goods of them in different mediums. The objects, as well as images of them found in funerary art provide evidence beyond that provided by written records.

To date, however, researchers have largely approached funerary art through iconographic interpretations based on the contexts of ritual, ideology, and mortuary aspects. Since the main role of funerary art is to serve the deceased in the netherworld, researchers have largely paid attention to its special function in rituals, which appears to have hardly changed over time. Thus, commonly interpreted as ritual art, the interpretation of funerary art has been limited to the art’s function and ritual meaning.¹

I begin this dissertation with questions that challenge the previous perspectives and methods for analyzing funerary art, seeking its socio-historical context as well as its connection to changes in material consumption.² My research aims to offer a fresh perspective to regional and time-specific changes in the funerary art of China and Korea from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.³ I shall attempt to interpret these changes

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² I do not interpret this phenomenon as Sinicization of the Steppes. Instead, I will explain the importance of region and time in the formation and dissemination of popular culture.

³ Kuhn in his pioneering research on Song tombs focuses on the relationship of tomb types and the tomb occupant’s social class, the period, and the region. A distribution map of the tombs in Northern China shows that the type of tomb found in the middle imperial period is related to a specific time and region.
through their socio-economic context by associating the tombs with the social circumstances of the era.

This dissertation encompasses most of the Mid-Imperial period, the Northern Song (960–1127AD) through the Yuan (1271–1368 AD) periods in China and Goryeo (918–1392 AD)\(^4\), the contemporary Korean period. During these periods, the north and eventually all of China were ruled by non-Chinese dynasties. Foreign groups successively implanted and integrated their cultures into China Proper, primarily in the Central Plain, where northern nomadic states and their cities were located.

The Central Plain of China, from Hebei to Shanxi to northern Henan, was significant in the formation of the northern culture of the Mid-Imperial period. Despite political turbulence, the progression toward a unique regional culture developed through the strong economic base of the region, rather than from oppressive legislation.\(^5\) This economic strength and accumulated capital spontaneously stimulated the production and consumption of commodities, including visual materials which manifested the luxurious lifestyle of its owners, while also changing the ways in which those materials were circulated. In this economically developed region, the accumulated capital further accelerated commercialism in cities, also changing the social structure and lifestyle of the people.

\(^4\) From here on, I shall refer to this period as the Mid-Imperial period, which denotes the historical time from the late Tang dynasty through the Early Ming dynasty. Chinese periods were discussed by Richard von Glahn, “Imaging Pre-modern China,” in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, eds. Paul Jakov Smith and Ricard von Glahn (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 35-70.

The middle class, who developed out of this economic growth, rose to power in different localities, leading to cultural changes. The biggest cultural change was the burgeoning of popular art, which entailed striking changes, such as shifts in production methods and prices. Along with the wide utilization of visual materials in daily life, the middle class began to realize the value of visual art for exhibiting their wealth and cultural privilege. Among visual materials, funerary ritual art, which has the dual authorities of both art and ritual, was, at this time, reevaluated because of the desire for a higher social status.

In such circumstances, decorated tombs began to appear in great numbers, exhibiting the ways in which the middle class imposed its secular concerns on traditional and authoritative visual forms. Although their art utilized the basic elements of the traditional styles which originated in the period between the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song, these tombs exhibited unique features; they were small-scale single-chambered tombs, yet they contained extensive interior decoration with murals and sculptures of popular images.

The new subject matter and different style of the funerary art apparently conveyed the tastes of the middle class as well as their new conception of funerary art. The

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7 Evelyn Rawski argued a similar point, “the appropriation of the ritual of non-elite group since the Song dynasty,” in association with economic growth. Evelyn S. Rawski, “A Historical Approach,” in Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China, 20-34. I will discuss the socio-economic circumstances in detail in chapter 1.
uniformity seen in almost all tombs of the period was provided by new methods of image production, which yielded acceptable quality in a cost effective and timely manner. Furthermore, the popular images seen in these tombs can be interpreted from a socio-historical perspective – the organic relationship between the economy and the value of visual art.8

Focusing on the social function of decorated tombs through the social class of patrons (local elites), the popular patterns of tomb murals, and the affordable mediums and materials used for tomb construction, this dissertation argues that the development of material culture spurred by the economic growth of local elites commoditized images and objects in visual art. To support this argument, I examine how consumerism and commercialism affected the production, consumption, and circulation of images of tomb murals within China. Specifically, the uniform subject matters and style of mural images, and the use of affordable materials in tombs within a certain area demonstrate that those images were mass-produced on popular mediums and circulated within regional markets. Additionally, the way in which those images and styles were disseminated reveals how culture was shared in different areas. Market and market trade are the main keywords for explaining the dissemination of visual culture; it was not only a system in which visual material was circulated but also a motivation that made cultural agents – craftsmen – transmit their culture to different areas.

8 The uniformity of ritual is related to the formation and dissemination of popular culture in the Mid-Imperial period in Northern China. Apart from religious and ethical ideas, ritual was customized regionally. According to the development of communication and transportation methods, regionally specific customs were disseminated to other regions. Susan Naquin, “Funerals in North China: Uniformity and Variation” in Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China, 42-43. Interestingly, we can trace the origins of the present funerals in China back to this time. Janet Lee Scott, For Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: the Chinese Tradition in Paper Offerings (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).
Based on the premise that the circulation of materials and human resources provided channels for cultural communication across different countries, I expand the scope of this research from the domestic phenomenon found within China to that of broad cultural sharing in Northeast Asia. Specifically, I examine Goryeo funerary art in particular decorated tombs to argue that Goryeo and Chinese states actively communicated through material exchanges. I show that changes in the style and images of tomb murals during Goryeo’s 500 year existence reflect well the influence of China, as well as Goryeo’s response to such cultural inflows.

For the remainder of this introductory chapter, I will discuss previous scholarship, methodology, and the structure of this dissertation.

*Previous Scholarship*

Most of the previous studies of the decorated tombs of the Northern Song and Jin Dynasties fall into one of the following three categories. In the first category, a segment of previous scholarship deconstructed Song-Jin tombs into architectural and decorative elements that supplemented the research of the visual materials of other fields of studies. In the second category, another segment of previous scholarship was inclined to view Song-Jin tombs as merely well executed examples of the world of the afterlife as laid out by the guidelines codified in the classics. Lastly, recent Chinese and Western scholarship has taken Song-Jin tombs themselves as an independent subject, and aiming to understand the tombs as a new phenomenon demonstrating a transition in the funerary culture of China – from that of ritualistic symbolism to that of material culture. Below, I will discuss these three trends of scholarship in more depth.
1) The Archeological Approach

The primary research and analysis of Song-Jin tombs began through archeological studies. Because funerary and burial objects have regional features reflecting regional customs and technologies, the archeological information of excavations provided the basic knowledge of Song-Jin tombs.

Dieter Kuhn is one of the representative scholars who conducted this type of research. Kuhn’s two consecutive studies in 1994 and 1996 are comprehensive surveys of Song dynasty tombs from all over the Chinese sub-continent. He compiled information drawn from archaeological documents composed as early as the early nineteenth century. Although many other Song-Jin tombs were excavated after this book was published, the book provides reasonably accurate findings, in particular the regional distribution of tombs of specific styles. Kuhn focuses on the classification of Song tombs according to architectural type, with sub-types such as ceilings and floor plans. The author represents each type with two to three particular tombs, and then traces their historical uses and origins through a literature review.

The significance of Kuhn’s book is in the scholarly revisiting of Song tombs, which had been relatively ignored in previous scholarship. His work also suggests that in the Song period, tombs began to reflect regional features and the characteristics of tomb owners rather than a strict adherence to the rules of funerary rituals. For example, the maps and figures in Kuhn’s books indicate that decorated Song-Jin tombs (the subject of

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this dissertation) are located specifically in south Shanxi and north Henan, as well as in south Hebei, which is adjacent to Henan province. This demonstrates that the tomb construction of the period was influenced by regionality.

Other archaeological studies include publications from Chinese scholarship. In particular, the most current monographs on Song-Jin tombs published in China mostly belong to archaeological studies. Su Bai’s *Baisha Song mu* in 2002 is one such example. 10 Many books focusing on Song-Jin tombs in specific regions are also compilations of archaeological reports. They contain numerical data, illustrations, and descriptions which provide important resources for further research. 11

2) Research on Images and Motifs in Murals

Many comparative studies have discussed the images and motifs that appear in the mural paintings of the interior spaces of tombs. As individual images and motifs in tombs are widely seen in the subject material or decoration of other types of art and crafts, the tombs are considered an important source for understanding the decorative art of the period. Most of the research which discusses Song-Jin tombs belongs to this category. The following two sections are two representative perspectives found in the studies of tomb mural images, each clarifying the uses and meaning of such images in real life.

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A. Images as Reflections of Reality

In early studies of the decorative images of Song-Jin tombs, scholars singled out motifs from mural paintings and tried to use them as visual references for social phenomena occurring outside the tombs. For example, images which depict popular stories or which have origins in such narratives have been taken as visual evidence of the development of popular literature. Images of the stories of the twenty-four examples of filial piety, the eight immortals, and zaju performances are the subjects of such research.12

In addition, based on the assumption that tomb architecture resembled that of real life, scholars have also traced the forms and style of real architecture of the corresponding times through an analysis of tomb architecture. Nancy Steinhardt’s interpretation is one such example where the author takes Jin tombs and their interior decoration as important visual examples of Jin dynasty architecture. Steinhardt compares tomb interior decoration with the architecture of the few extant examples of Jin architecture, primarily in Shanxi Province.13 While highlighting the pseudo timber frames of tomb murals, the author points out that the most important characteristic of Jin architecture is commonly observed in two different types of architecture. Both tomb and

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12 Kim focuses on the filial piety story scenes in Song-Jin tomb mural paintings, regarding them as visual evidence of the northern version of filial piety stories. Kim Bunkyo, “Kōkōroku to nijūshikō sairon 孝行録と二十四孝 變論 (Rediscussion on the Tale of Filial Piety and Twenty-four Filial Piety Stories),” Geibun Kenkyu 藝文研究 (Journal of Art and Letters), Vol. 65 (1994); Liao takes Song-Jin tomb murals as important visual evidence that of developed zaju performances in the Song and Jin periods. Liao Ben, Zhongguo gudai juchang shi 中国古代剧场史 (History of theaters in ancient China) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe; Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1997).

temple architecture exhibit excessive decoration in contrast to the simplified structure and relatively small scale of its buildings.\textsuperscript{14}

B. Symbolism in Images

Many scholars also have thoroughly researched the individual images and motifs found in tomb murals through the perspective of symbolism. Along with the quantitative and geographic analyses of the tombs found in archeological studies, these iconographic studies constitute another important part of Song-Jin tomb studies. These studies trace the original meaning and uses of the images through the use of literary sources and the decorated tombs of previous periods. Scholars also have tried to tease out the ritualistic meanings of the images as defined in the tomb spaces.

Dieter Kuhn and Ellen Johnston Laing are both scholars who have conducted such symbolism studies of tomb mural images. In Khun’s \textit{A Place for the Dead} (1996) and Laing’s article, “Auspicious Motifs in Ninth-to-Thirteenth Century Chinese Tomb” (2003), the authors have tried to understand the images within the context of funerary symbolism or a new tomb mural program,\textsuperscript{15} formed in the Song-Jin period.\textsuperscript{16} In these analyses, the popular images and motifs found in tomb murals, such as cranes, boys,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14}In the article, Steinhardt raises the question on why there are no unique Jin characteristics in the Jin architecture, which in an aspect means stagnation at the architectural development. The author explains that the reasons are derived from different ideas on the use of architecture from the previous dynasties. Although Jin learned and adopted Song architecture, the government did not fully understand the symbolic meaning of the palace and temple architecture as a means to manifest the legitimacy and authority of the rulers. Instead, the Jurchens adopted stylistic forms of architecture as mere decorations. As a consequence, seven- or five-tiered bracket sets that once were used in only the most important buildings came to appear in architecture including the interior decorations of the middle class. Additionally, Steinhardt claims that the sumptuous decorative motifs on the pseudo wooden frames of tombs can be understood in a similar context.
\item \textsuperscript{15}A mural program defines a set of images and their composition on tomb murals.
\end{itemize}
lotuses, and peonies, are interpreted as conveying hopes for the longevity of the dead in their afterlife and wishes for luck to descendants. These talismanic functions of the images are emphasized throughout their studies, although there are also many other images which are unexplainable in the context of funerary symbolism.

While the above iconographic studies separated certain motifs from tomb murals and focused on the meaning of individual motifs, some recent studies have tried to locate the function of the images through emphasizing the spatial meaning of a tomb as a place for the dead. Based on the premise that tomb murals represent the multi-tiered world, that of the heaven-earth-netherworld triad, according to a horizontal spatial division from the ceiling to the floor, scholars have explained how each image aptly portrays each world in its proper place. For example, in Deng Fei’s interpretation, at images of the different worlds – the different tiers of a tomb – interact with each other within the universe, which is represented by the entire tomb. In particular, for the images of the stories of filial piety decorating spaces between the wall and the ceiling, Deng argues that all of these images connect the heaven of the ceiling and the earth on the wall because all the stories depict humans receiving responses from heaven for their good deeds.¹⁷

A few other studies have extended the above concept of a tomb being an intermediary space between life and death. Wu Hung suggests that everyday items depicted in tomb murals characterize the tomb space as a realistic but still imaginary world.¹⁸ Wei-Cheng Lin adopts Wu’s idea and expands it to the images on timber frames

¹⁷ Deng Fei 鄧菲, “Guanyu SongJin muzangzhong xiaoxingtude guannian (About the ideals imbued in the filial piety iconography at the Song and Jin tomb murals),” Zhongyuan wenwu 中原文 4 (Dengzhou: Zhongyuan wenwubianjibu, 2009): 75-81.
¹⁸ This is the author’s firm interpretation on the tombs of all periods so this claim is noted in most of Wu’s studies on tombs. The recent book, The Art of the Yellow Spring is one of such examples. Wu Hung, The
in tombs.\textsuperscript{19} Additionally, Hong Jeehee interprets the images of \textit{zaju} performances as visual indications of the realm between life and death. This idea is derived from the qualities of dramatic performances, which are virtual realities in themselves. Hong claims that this characteristic of performance corresponds to the spatial duality of the tomb which relays the concept of life and death.\textsuperscript{20}

3) New Directions: Material Culture and Decorated Tombs

While studies on the archaeological, ritualistic, and symbolic aspects of Song-Jin tombs discussed so far have focused on the images themselves, some recent studies approach the subject from a sociological perspective.\textsuperscript{21} These newer studies revisit the material value of the subject, revealing new perceptions of tombs and tomb mural images from their users. As summarized below, the thesis discusses two representative interpretations that focus on 1) the decorative value of tomb mural images, and 2) the aspects of their materiality that clarify their immaterial aspects, such as of rituals.

In the first category of interpretations, some scholars believe that Song-Jin tomb murals are useful for revealing aspects of the lives of tomb occupants, particularly their consumption (or use) of visual materials. When comparing images of tomb murals with decoration found on craftwork, scholars have assumed that the images of murals exactly reflect images that tomb occupants consumed in their daily lives.

\textsuperscript{19} Wei-Cheng Lin, “Underground Wooden Architecture in Brick: A Changed Perspective from Life to Death in 10\textsuperscript{th} through 13\textsuperscript{th} Century Northern China,” \textit{Archives of Asian Art}, Vol. 61 (New York: Asia Society, 2011): 3-35.
\textsuperscript{20} Jeehee Hong, “Theatricalizing the Death: Performance Images of Mid-imperial China in Mortuary Contexts (11th -13th Centuries)” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008).
\textsuperscript{21} This dissertation also utilizes this perspective.
For example, Laing argues that the material culture of the late Northern Song and Jin period affected the use of popular images in tomb murals. Specifically, Laing claims that the affluence found in the images of Jin tomb murals reflected the increased production and consumption of decorative images in real life. As more images began to be used in real life, more images also came to decorate the walls of tombs that resembled the spaces of real life. As evidence, Laing points out that most of the decorative images found on Cizhou ware – one of the ceramic types famous for its use as daily utensils, also appeared in tomb murals.

In the second category of interpretations, scholars focus on the function of Song-Jin tombs as a means of manifesting the hopes and desires of tomb occupants. On the surface these studies seem to be similar to symbolism studies, because of their similar conclusions, however, their scopes of desire are different. While symbolism studies see tomb murals as a means for invoking a good afterlife, recent studies have considered such images as representations of the social desires of tomb occupants, such achieving and cementing the longevity of a family in society.

Christian De Pee is one scholar who takes this second perspective, in his study on Song dynasty family rituals – The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China. De Pee doubts if the extant literature can reveal the substance of ritual because written facts easily could be biased, or have been distorted or omitted on purpose or due to limitations in description. Rather than relying on written records, De Pee attributes more importance to objects that were actually used, discarded, or preserved in the sites where the rituals

were held, in order to clarify their forms and meaning. Based on the observation that all family rituals were to reinforce familial bonds and the lineage, De Pee argues that the images in tomb murals, methods of interment, and the arrangement of tombs in family graveyards all together symbolize the desires of tomb occupants, including the harmony of a husband and wife, the prosperity of descendants, and the longevity of fortunes.

Methodology

This dissertation consists of two main parts. In the first part of the dissertation, Chinese tombs will be the main subject. In the second part, a comparative study, Korean tombs will be analyzed and compared with Chinese examples.

In order to explore tombs from a variety of different regions and periods, I rely on primary and secondary sources. First and foremost, I take excavation reports published in journals or monographs as primary sources. Fortunately, there are many extant tombs for the Chinese section of the study, and most of them have been given at least a cursory analysis in their excavation reports. Using these reports, I analyze tombs and classify them by type and region. This will be the foundation for discussions throughout the dissertation.

I then investigate classical Chinese sources of various forms, including official historical records, encyclopedias, anthologies, and biji 筆記 literature, to understand the socio-historical context of the period. 23 First, based on official historical records, I

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23 The primary sources written in or later the Song period include histories such as Songs S《宋書》, Jinshi 金 《史》, Sanchao beimeng huibian 《三朝北盟會編》, various biji 筆記 literature like Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) ed., Taiping guangji 《太平廣記》and Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095), Mengxi bitan 夢溪筆談, and the historians
attempt to comprehend the political circumstances of China during this time. Secondly, in the encyclopedic literature of pre-modern China I look at how the development of technology was related to changes in decorated tomb styles, and if applicable I also use illustrations. Thirdly, through other types of literature containing personal thoughts and opinions such as essays, I seek to demonstrate how the middle class appropriated funerary art for its own purposes. Finally, the written texts left on tomb murals will reveal the reality concerning the use of tombs.

In many places in this thesis, I cite the research results of modern Chinese and Western scholarship to raise questions and to support my arguments. Although the canon of in-depth research focusing on Song-Jin tombs is relatively smaller than that of excavation reports, there are many different fields of study that discuss Song-Jin tombs. Such diversity provides opportunities for viewing the tombs from a variety of angles.

In contrast to the Chinese section of the study, secondary sources will be the main research material for the Korean section. As most of the Goryeo tombs are located in North Korea, it is difficult to physically access them. Even worse, the excavated tombs are poorly analyzed. I thus must rely on the facts and images that are graspable in published excavation reports, and infer the original shape and decoration of those tombs through comparisons with similar Chinese examples from the Liao, Song, Jin, and Yuan periods. In addition, I critically review the existing research on Goryeo tombs, and discuss its significance and its limitations.  

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and other individuals’ records like Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), “Zanglun 葬論 (Discussion on Burial),” in Shuyi 書儀.

24 This thesis will thus argue against the publications of Ahn Hui-joon on Goryeo, such as “Song-eun Bak Il myo byeokhw 墳 瑚 碑 (Mural of Song-eun Park Il Tomb),” Gogo yeoksa hakji 考古歷史學志 (Studies of archaeology and history), Vol 17, 18, (2002): 579-604; “Paju Seogok-li Goryeo gobun...
Dissertation Structure

This dissertation consists of four main chapters, besides the introduction and conclusion. The first three chapters deal with China, each focusing on the consumption, production, and circulation of Song-Jin tombs in the Central Plain area of China during the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, respectively. Throughout these chapters, I investigate how the unique socio-economic conditions of the Central Plain area influenced the formation of the forms and styles of Song-Jin tombs. The last chapter is assigned to Korea where I investigate Goryeo mural tombs to see how Goryeo and contemporary Chinese states shared their cultures through material circulation.

1) The Funerary Art and Material Culture in China of the 11th to 14th Centuries

Chapter 1 begins with defining “Song-Jin tombs,” which are not merely tombs of certain periods but decorated tombs of a peculiar style reflecting the social circumstances of the Central Plain area in the Northern Song and Jin periods. I discuss the impetus for the formation of Song-Jin tomb styles for the new patrons of lavish tombs – the local elites (or the middle class) who determined and enjoyed the social value of the decorated tombs. Based on this premise, I argue that local elites adopted and adapted the decorated tomb styles of earlier periods to their tombs in the desire to achieve the long-established social

byeokhwa 파주 서곡리 고려고분 벽화 (Mural Painting of Goryeo Tomb of Paju Seogok-li),” in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu 韓國繪畵史硏究 (Studies on Korean Paintings)* (Soeul: Sigongsa, 2002), 252-264; Han Junghee also attempted to interpret Goryeo tombs in association with Chinese examples, but the discussion was not supported by sufficient evidence. See, Han Junghie, “Goryeo mit Joseon chogi gobun byeokhwa-wa jungguk byeokhwa-wa-ui gwanryeonseong yeongu 고려 및 조선초기 고분벽화와 중국 벽화와의 관련성 연구 (Stylistic and Iconographic Comparison of Goryeo and Early Joseon [1392-1910] Murals with Liao and Yuan Murals),” *Misulsahak yeongu 美術史學硏究 (Korean Journal of Art History),* Vol. 246-247 (2005): 169-99.
status of decorated tomb owners. To support this argument, I first analyze the characteristics of Song-Jin tombs such as their location, architectural structure, the subject matter of their murals, and the tomb owners’ social status with about thirty Northern Song and Jin murals, sculptures, and sarcophagi. Then, I trace the origins of such common tomb features by investigating the history of the areas where the tombs were popularly constructed, and also by comparing the tombs with their immediate precursors, the upper middle class tombs of the Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Liao dynasty (907-1125).

In Chapter 2, I articulate the importance of the roles of various pictorial sources in the evolution of popular art. Considering that the development of mediums for decorative art had significance in the mass production of popular images, I argue that decorated tombs were treated and popularized similar to other popular arts and crafts. To support this argument, I first examine the mediums of decorative arts and crafts of the Central Plain area such as ceramics and woodblock prints. This examination will demonstrate that their material attributes were suitable for the mass reproduction of images. Second, I explore popular images commonly used in tomb murals and crafts. This exploration will reveal that popular images commonly found in decorative art are derived from “a pattern pool”, which made possible the easy production of the images.

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26 Liao tombs are well analyzed and discussed in Li Qingquan, *Xuanhua Liaomu: Muzang yishu yu Liaodai shehui* 宣化辽墓：墓葬艺术与辽代社会 (Liao Tomb of Xuan hua: Tomb Art and Society of Liao Dynasty) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008).
Chapter 3 focuses on mercantilism and consumerism in funerary art. As an extension of the subject of materiality of Song-Jin tombs discussed in Chapter 2, this chapter discusses how material circulation facilitated the dissemination of Song-Jin tomb styles, particularly through the market economy. To articulate this issue, I first analyze and classify tomb styles according to region. Based on this analysis, I argue that the regionality of tomb styles was closely related to regional markets. I support this argument by examining written records made by many different groups of people during the period. I first look at anthologies and local gazetteers to understand the actual uses of funerary art among patrons (i.e., the middle class). Additionally, I investigate handwritten inscriptions on stones, ceramic plates, jars, and walls. The uniform format of inscriptions, and traces of the presence of craftsmen found in their content show that the process of tomb construction, including hiring craftsman, or buying architectural materials and land for tombs, was driven by a system of supply-demand – just like the purchasing of objects in markets.  

2) Korean Studies: The Funerary Art of Goryeo

The last chapter, Chapter 4, discusses Goryeo mural tombs and mortuary artifacts in Korea to determine the origins of its inherited funerary tradition and the new inflow of culture from China. By revisiting Goryeo funerary art, I reveal the vigorous cultural exchanges between Korea and China, which further shaped the visual culture of the Mid-

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Imperial period of East Asia. In order to elaborate upon this subject, I first investigate the circulation system of materials in East Asia, focusing on how Chinese states influenced Goryeo at the time. Then, I analyze in detail the late Goryeo and early Joseon tombs such as Bak Ik’s tomb, and show that these tombs have many foreign elements, probably derived from Yuan funerary culture. Lastly, by comparing these Goryeo tombs with Chinese examples, I show how China and Korea shared their cultures through visual products through their special political and economic interactions.


29 The Goryeo court was in a complex situation due to the political upheaval of the Chinese polities. While Goryeo generally maintained good relationships with the Liao and the Jin, they continuously switched political alliances and friendship with the Song. On the other hand, Yuan and Goryeo were in a familial relationship through imperial marriages since the Yuan invaded Goryeo. Regardless of their political relationships, Goryeo and the Chinese states were closely connected through economic trade.
CHAPTER 1.
UNDERSTANDING THE FORMATION OF SONG-JIN TOMB CULTURE:
LOCAL ELITES AND THE CULTURE OF CONSUMERISM

Introduction

Around the mid-11th century, North China experienced culturally motivated shifts in funerary art. The art and architecture of tombs experienced tremendous development. For the first two centuries that would influence tomb design and structure of subsequent periods. The phenomenon of the Song-Jin dated tomb was not just a coincidence; it was the consequence of socio-cultural reformation incited by tomb patrons, local elites. This group fanatically favored decorated tombs for their burials and their tastes were naturally reflected in tomb construction and content.

The patterns of consumption characteristic of the local elites significantly influenced almost all aspects of the decorated tombs from environmental conditions to tomb contents. Patrons treated their tombs as visual commodities rather than as spaces only for burial, and they approached tomb construction as they would purchase other commodities. This new paradigm was driven by four elements in cultural history: temporal, regional, visual, and perceptual changes. These four forces concern the issues of temporal specificity, regional concentration of tombs, images that reconstruct tomb

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30 The tomb patrons were local elites who constituted the middle class in terms of social stratification; they included various people such as wealthy farmers and merchants, as well as lower ranked officials. The middle class rose as local leaders primarily based on their private wealth and literacy achieved from expanded education opportunity since Song period. The visual materials including decorated tombs were one of means to strengthen their social status in respective locales. Decorated tomb exposed its patron’s wealth, literacy, and authenticity of the family.
space, and written records revealing the dynamics of patrons’ desires and social regulations.

However, except for some thematic changes of murals, the Song-Jin tombs have not attracted scholarly interest, and no one has explored the social causes that influenced construction of these tombs. Rather, scholars have focused on similarities among the tombs from the 10th to 14th centuries in search of a lineage penetrating the mid-imperial period with respect to the adoption of Han Chinese burial culture by northern nomads. Such studies typically conclude that all northern decorated tombs of this mid-imperial period were part of a single lineage, with any distinctive features indicative of a tomb owner’s ethnicity. Indeed, the Song-Jin period from the 11th to 13th centuries has not been examined on its own terms. In exploring tombs of this period and the socio-economic conditions under which they were constructed, I hope to shed new light on our understanding of Song-Jin tombs.

This first chapter attempts to provide a logical basis for regarding the Song-Jin period as a single coherent moment in funerary art. In order to understand Song-Jin tombs, this chapter examines the four issues stated above in association with the local elites’ life and ideology. The first two issues, time and regional specificities, identify who the major cultural consumers were and why they adopted tombs of specific styles. Further, it will suggest that Song-Jin tomb culture was developed exclusively by local elites. The last two issues address how tomb patrons visually and literarily manifested

31 The regionality of the Central Plain area was apt for stabilizing demands of the material production, with the development of waterways of the Yellow River. Through economic prosperity, the local elites accumulated capital which was invested in cultural part to secure their social and cultural positions in locales. The local elites were less influenced by central government or any political issue, so that they kept and even developed their culture even in Jin period. As a result, all of these conditions were reflected in
their social desires and positions as local leaders. These issues will be addressed by investigating the images and compositional structure of murals. In this discussion, I show how the use of these images served to re-define the spatial meaning of tombs, and how the ink inscriptions that diverged from a normative form reveal the negotiation of secular desires of patrons and institutional restrictions. All four of these features reveal how local elites utilized visual material as a means for social communication.

In summary, I shall articulate how the local elites, particularly in terms of their social status and consumption patterns, influenced the formation of Song-Jin tomb styles. After all, the decorated tombs were not merely part of a burial practice. Rather, they were a means of manifesting a desire for a higher social position through visual materials. Such endeavors increased the use of the synthetic visual materials in the construction and design of decorated tombs, which became clearly differentiated from the decorated tombs of prior times.

1.1. Song-Jin Tombs: Five Examples

The Song-Jin tombs simultaneously show common features and differences in their styles. The five tombs selected for the following analyses represent those various styles. While previous studies classify tombs by date and region by focusing on their differences, in this section, I enumerate the similarities to demonstrate that the tombs comprise a single

the concentration of Song-Jin tombs in specific regions such as south Shanxi and north Henan along the Yellow River bank. See, Section 3 of this chapter.

32 These are the most frequently found styles. Following analyses are translations of the texts excerpted from excavation reports (mostly from Wenwu 文物) and monographs.
lineage. Also, I will discuss how these styles varied within only a limited number of cases derived from a shared knowledge of tomb construction.

1-1-1. Baisha Tomb\(^{33}\)

Reference Images: [fig.1.1.1a -e.]

Location: Baisha, Henan Province (west bank of the upper stream of the Yin River)\(^ {34}\);
Date: 1099 (the second year of Yuanfu, Emperor Zhezong of Northern Song dynasty);
Zhao Family Graveyard

Architectural Features:
The outer passageway to the tomb chamber consists of two parts – a staircase and a corridor. The total length of the passageway is 5.75m, and the length of the staircase and flat corridor is approximately 3.8m and 1.93m respectively. The width of the passageway gets wider from south to north, ranging from 96cm to 2.21m. The entrance to the tomb is at the end of a connecting area to the tomb chamber. The entrance is constructed with bricks and resembles wooden architecture. All bricks used are almost of the same size; 31 x 14.5 x 4.6cm. The tomb chamber is divided into five parts – an entrance, a passageway, an antechamber, a corridor to a rear chamber, and a rear chamber. From the entrance, the


\(^{34}\) This region has significance in terms of geomancy, and thus many tombs including family cemetery were located. Ibid.,18.
antechamber and rear chamber are differentiated by their ground levels that get higher towards the rear chamber.

The entrance door is 3.68m high. The front side of the door imitates gate tower architecture. The passageway of the door to the chamber is 1.26m long, 91cm wide, and elevated 1.5cm from the floor. Both sidewalls of the passage are decorated with door flaps measuring 117 x 52 x 2cm, which are intended to represent an opened door. The flaps are decorated with nail heads and handles. The north end of the passageway is connected to the arch-typed entrance to the antechamber.

The antechamber has a square-shaped floor that measures 1.84 x 2.28m. The total height of the chamber space is 3.85m. A corridor links the north of the antechamber and the south of the rear chamber. Both of the ceilings of ante and rear chambers are dome-shaped. The corridor is 1.2m long, 1.43m wide and 3.15m high from the floor. On the east and west walls at the rear part of the antechamber, a cross-ribbed window is represented with brick reliefs. Architecturally, the corridor is constructed separately and appended to the antechamber. This is revealed by the ceiling structure; one side of the antechamber ceiling that is a regular four-sided pyramid is connected to a quadrangular pyramid ceiling of the corridor. Each ceiling is made in a similar way, but the antechamber ceiling has three stories, whereas the corridor ceiling has two stories and a flat top. Because of this structure, the pseudo-bracket sets on the joint wall appear complicated.

The rear chamber that follows the corridor has a hexagonal floor. The width of each wall varies from 1.26m to 1.20m. The height of this space is 2.6m from the lowest ground point. Near the entrance to the rear chamber there is a tiled rectangular space that
measures 55cm by 1.06m. The rest of the rear chamber is tiled higher than this space by 40cm. The real chamber’s architectural elements that resemble a timber building are the same as those of the antechamber since they use the same size bricks. On the southeast and southwest walls, mural paintings are drawn, and on each of the northeast and northwest walls, there is a window relief that is also the same as those of the corridor. There is a pseudo-entrance door on the north wall, represented as slightly opened. The ceiling is a corbelled dome, and the dome has bracket sets in the middle supporting the upper part of the ceiling.

Mural Features (decorative motifs):

All of the tomb chamber walls are thinly plastered for mural paintings. Mural paintings are found in the passageway, antechamber, corridor, and rear chamber. The forms and decorations of the painted bracket sets exactly correspond to the illustrations of Yingzao fashi.\(^{35}\)

The passageway murals feature human figures. Images of three male figures adorn the right side wall. The image on the right corner depicts an old man wearing a dark blue head cloth and a light blue, round-necked, narrow sleeved shirt with half of his body hidden behind a door flap. He is opening the door as a gateman. On his left, two male figures enter the tomb, each holding strings of coins and a cylindrical object colored with red and blue.\(^{36}\) These two people are assumed to be offering the objects to their master.

\(^{35}\) *Juan* 24 of Li Jie 李誡 (1065–1110), *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式.

\(^{36}\) The image of this object which appears frequently in Liao and Son-Jin tomb murals has been generally interpreted as a roll of silk, one of luxurious goods, but often interpreted as a Buddhist sutra scroll when murals emphasize such activities of tomb occupant as a Buddhist. For the mural theme depicting tomb occupant as Buddhist, see Li Qingquan, *Xuanhua Liaomu: muzang yishu yu liaodai shehui* 宣化遼墓:
The mural on the west wall depicts three people and a horse. One man poses like a gateman, counterpart to the gateman on the right side mural. A horse in a yellowish brown color is fully equipped with a set of horse riding equipment. Each of two other men is holding an object – a long pole and a black colored liquor jar, respectively. On the head cloth of the man holding the liquor jar, a band having the six letters “書上崔大郎酒” is strung. These two figures seem to carry food and beverage for the master.

The antechamber contains four murals, one on each of its four walls. First, the mural on the south wall of the antechamber features two males at each of its east and west corners. The mural on the east corner also depicts a servant-like figure carrying a packet of coins, while another holds guduo, indicating that he is an escort of the tomb occupant. On the west corner, two figures hold guduo as well. Secondly, the mural on the east wall depicts a rolled-up bamboo screen that is decorated with small flower motifs and silver hooks on each side. A red curtain hangs under the bamboo screen, and under this curtain eleven female figures dance and play musical instruments. (Only one figure in the middle is dancing.) Thirdly, the mural of the west wall depicts a banquet attended by the tomb occupants. The basic setting is the same as the mural on the east wall, representing a rolled-up bamboo screen and curtain. Under the curtain, male and female figures sit on chairs across a table. The table, chairs, and a set of ewer and cups placed on the table are represented as reliefs. The tomb occupants have narrow

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37 Guduo is a weapon that has consists of a ball shape head on top of long pole type of body. Shen Congwen, Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu (Studies on Chinese Costumes of Pre-modern Period) (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan Xianggang fenguan, 1981), 388.
standing screens on their backs. Between them, male and female attendants approach the masters in service. At the backmost end, a large screen is represented. The screen has lines of letters, but except for “不” and “車馬”, the words are illegible. A black jar and its stand are placed under the table, and some unidentifiable objects are placed under and around the feet of the masters. These seem to be luxuries such as lumps of gold and silver that were circulated as an alternative to money in this period. Finally, the mural on the north wall represents guardians who are armed with various weapons such as bows and swords.

The murals continue to appear in the corridor. The mural of the east wall of the corridor has a curtain and ornaments that are hung down. Under the pseudo-window in the middle, there are a black rice jar and three white bags for rice. The bags bear eight letters of “元符二年趙大翁布”. The composition of the mural on the west wall is similar to that of the east wall, but under the pseudo-window we instead find two black jars, a lump-shaped object, scissors, an unidentifiable object, and a clothes rack.

The rear chamber begins with the southeast wall that has images of three female and two male figures under a curtain. This scene seems to depict three people offering a tribute to their female masters. Two chatting men holding luxuries on a tray and strings of coins proceed to the women sitting in front of them. These men remind us of similar images in the passageway and antechamber, possibly the same figures. A woman following two men also holds an object resembling a scroll of bamboo slips or silk. Between the two women awaiting tributes, there is a table where a silver or gold-like object is placed. Behind all of the figures, there is a full clothes rack decorated with plantain leaf motifs at both ends of its bar. A washbasin and its stand are at the left corner.
of the mural. To the right of the pseudo-window of the northeast mural, we find a set of three glowing lanterns on a stand. Some images may be under the window, but they are too damaged and not recognizable. The southwest mural depicts a woman’s quarter similar to the southeast mural. A woman is holding a red round case. In front of her, we find a mirror on its stand, and another lady looking at herself in the mirror while fixing her headgear. Three other women are behind the lady. Two of them hold white and black trays. Two sets of teacups are on the white tray, while the black tray holds a toilet set. Behind these three women there is another full clothes rack. Nearby the right corner, there is a washbasin and its stand. The northwest mural is similar to the northeast mural as the lanterns and their stand are at the right corner of the window. Also, a plantain leaf-headed nail, scissors, an iron appear. On the left corner, there is a vase on its stand, and on the left side of the vase, a cat is heading to the left. The north wall features a pseudo-door. A female, who is represented in relief, looks out the chink in the door while opening it.

Burials:
In the middle of the rear chamber, skeletons and skulls of a man and a woman were found. The placement of the bones indicates this tomb was not for their original burial and that they were moved from elsewhere. A stone tablet and iron nails that were probably used for the coffins also found nearby. The stone tablet bears inscriptions in red, and was placed with the inscription side down to the ground. The inscriptions and placement suggest that this tablet to be a land deed. Only a part of the inscriptions is legible:
Iron wares and pieces of iron which seem to be coins or money were piled around the south corner of the skeletons, one of them bearing the Shaosheng 紹聖 year mark. A small white porcelain bowl was found nearby, and some fragments of earthenware were on the southwest corner. On the southern end of the corridor, there was another white glazed porcelain bowl, and on its northern end, 18 pieces of white porcelain were found.

Tomb Occupant:
Lack of an epitaph in the tomb suggests that the occupant was a rich person not holding any official title. The occupant of this tomb is one of the relatives buried in their...
According to the land deeds and historical circumstances of the region, the tomb occupant was probably a wealthy merchant and a landowner.  

1-1-2. Heishangoucun Tomb

Reference Images: [fig.1.1.2a-j]

Location: Heishangoucun, Dengfengshi, Henan Province; Date: 1097, late Northern Song period; Tomb occupant: Unknown rich

Architectural Features:

This tomb is made of brick pseudo-timber frames comprising a single chamber. The total length from the passage to the tomb chamber is 5m. The passageway of brick stairs to the entrance is 7m long and 0.75m wide. At the end of the passageway, there is a gate entrance to the tomb chamber. The arch-typed gate is 1.2m high and 0.65m wide, and has a roof decoration at its peak. The gate is sealed with two layers of bricks. Eight walls of the chamber compose an octagonal floor plan, and each side of the floor, the diameter, and the total height of the tomb chamber measure 0.8m, 2.45m, and 3.3m respectively. On every corner of the walls, pseudo-timber columns with bracket sets on their tops are

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39 According to Su Bai, the arrangement of these tombs follows the famous geomantic rules of this time. Su Bai (2002), 111-123.

40 In this time, there were several famous kiln sites that brought lots of money for the locals, and also the government office for iron production was established and ran until early Qing dynasty. The Yin River, which meanders near Baisha, took an important role in trade and commerce as being used for shipping materials. Ibid., 18.

represented. On the north wall, the opposite side of the entrance, another door is represented but serves no function as a real gate. Three different architectural structures vertically divide the tomb murals. The lower parts consist of eight individual canvases that measure 1.35 by 0.8m framed by eight columns. The middle parts have eight small spaces for murals between the bracket sets, and upper parts are triangular brick slabs that make a pointed ceiling.

Mural Features:

The tomb houses a total of 22 murals, all drawn on plaster. First, the lower parts of the murals in the chamber have six murals that mainly depict scenes of daily life typically experienced by the tomb occupant.

(1) The mural on the southwest wall represents banquet preparation. Under the curtain, two female attendants prepare tea and food while chatting. A screen is erected behind one attendant’s back, next to who stands a rectangular prep table with long sculpted legs portraying a cloud and flower motif. A tray, cups, saucers, a small jar, and fruits are arranged on the table. The attendant who stands at the left corner of the table ties her up hair while wearing a hood with hairpins, red vest, pleated skirt, and cloud-head-shoes (雲頭履). She holds a little black jar in her right hand and a tea whisk in her left. Another attendant with a similar hairstyle and clothing directs some object with her fingers. The calligraphy screen behind the attendant’s back is framed in a light blue color with a
narrow and upright shape.\textsuperscript{42} This screen has cloud and flower decorations on its frame corners and carved, curved legs. At the right corner of the screen, we find a pair of tongs.

(2) The south mural portrays musicians playing various instruments. On the upper part of the mural, red and blue curtains with ring decorations hang. There are three women in the scene, and they all have similar hairstyle, clothing and accessories to each other. Two of them are playing musical instruments, a pipe (sheng 笙) and a board castanets (pai 拍), respectively. The third woman stands by a square brazier with four legs, and inside of which we see a pair of brass chopsticks and two liquor bottles. She is picking up one of the bottles out of the brazier.

(3) The northwest mural portrays a banquet for the tomb occupants. Similar curtains as in the south mural also appear. The tomb occupants sit across a rectangular table on which several teacups are placed. The female master has a brown colored hair band with hairpins, and wears a brown gown and a pleated skirt. The male master wears a black hat, a pale yellow garment with a round neck and narrow sleeves, and a belt, while having his hands in the sleeves. Two screens are placed behind the masters in similar fashion to the southwest mural. A female attendant holding a kettle approaches the masters through the gap between the two screens.

(4) The mural of the northeast wall depicts nursing babies. Under the light blue and red curtains, two women are lulling babies in their arms with toys. The women’s features are similar to the female figures in other scenes. Next to one woman, a cat is sitting on a table. This cat has a red collar and holds a bird-like object in its mouth.

\textsuperscript{42} This type of screen is typically placed behind a chair of a single person who is commonly a tomb occupant in tomb murals.
(5) The east wall has a mural describing a female attendant making a bed for her master. Under the curtains with ring decorations, commonly found in other rooms, a wooden bench-style bed (Luohanchuang 羅漢床) in thin light blue drapery is placed in the middle, with the woman is about to spread a bed sheet.

(6) The mural of the southeast wall represents an attendant preparing a bath for the master. In a curtained room, a woman pours hot water from a wooden bucket into a washbasin. Next to her, there is a rack on which towels are hung. On the right corner, there is an oil lamp on a stand decorated with two fish motifs.

Secondly, the middle parts of the murals, those between the bracket sets, show 8 selected scenes from the 24 stories of filial piety. According to the names appearing in the images, the selected stories are as follows: “Zeng Can asking his mother (曾參問母),” “Wu’s wife cutting her thigh (武妻割股),” “Dong Yong selling himself (董永自賣),” “Ding Lan carving a statue of his mother (丁蘭刻母),” “Wang Xiang lying on ice (王祥臥氷),” “Meng Zhong getting a bamboo shoot in winter (孟宗冬筍),” “Guo Ju burying his son (郭巨埋子),” “Wang Pou weeping at the tomb (王裒泣墓).” The locations of the murals do not seem to have any relationship to their respective stories.

41 It is interesting that the title in cartouche indicates that the image depicts the story of, “Wang Wuzi 王武子”, a Tang dynasty figure but the real story is actually about his wife who cut her thigh herself to care for her sick mother-in-law. The title of this story varies depending on tombs, such as “Wang Wuzi qi 王武子妻 (Wang Wuzi’s wife)” or “Yifu gegu 義婦割股 (righteous daughter in law cut her thigh)”. For example, a tomb in Huguan of Shanxi Province shows characters of “WangWuzi qi” for the images of the same story. These examples suggest that these narratives did not yet exist in a fixed form of text with a single title, and so did not their images. See the example of 1-1-4 and “Shanxi Huguan Xiahaolao Songmu 山西壺關下好牢宋墓 (Song Dynasty tomb at Xiahaolao in Huguan of Shanxi),” Wenwu 5 (2002): 42-55.

44 There exist many versions of the 24 filial piety stories depending on their periods and regions, and some versions omit Wang Pou’s story. Also, its story varies depending on versions, for example, in one version Wang Pou stayed at his mother’s grave because he was worried when he heard a thunderclap, and in another version he wept at the grave of his father who died under a false accusation, while holding a nut
Finally, the uppermost parts of the murals are on brick slabs supporting the ceiling, and their themes are about heavenly gods. Represented in these murals are eight individuals. The south panel depicts a Buddhist deity, and the northwest panel an image of a couple on clouds. The north panel shows a frontal image of a gate decorated with roof tiles that represents a multi-story “palace or great hall (大殿)”. The northeast mural has an image of two deities amid clouds, while the east and southeast panels depict Daoist gods and deities. Finally, the south panel image shows two deities crossing a bridge while holding banners.

Burials:

Due to a robbery, when the tomb was officially excavated, nothing remained except for tombstones. However, according to the witnesses, the tomb originally housed remains for three people and was thus deemed a joint tomb, or, a site for recurring burials. A stone slab found in the tomb contains the date of burial as “今記紹聖肆年十二月二十九日”. The land contract stone was also found in the tomb, and the date put here is the same as the date of the stone slab, 1097. The land deed records the name of the tomb occupant 李守貴, a native of the area. However, no official title or information indicating his social class was recorded. Considering the level of the tomb decoration, and comparing it with other similar examples, Li Shougui seems to be wealthy local elite class.

pine until it got withered. Thus, the mural image of this story seems to be useful for tracking the creation and transmission of the 24 filial piety stories.
1-1-3. Xiaoguancun Tomb\textsuperscript{45}

Reference Images: [fig.1.1.3a-o.]

Location: Xiaoguancun, Changzixian, Shanxi Province; Date: 1174; Tomb occupant: unknown

Architectural Features:
The architecture of the tomb resembles that of residential building that is made of timber frames. The tomb consists of a main chamber (height: 3.84m, width: 2.5m) with a square-shaped floor, and one ear-chamber. A coffin bed is placed in the main chamber. The arched door entrance on the south wall (height: 1.12m, width: 0.4m) has an ink inscription showing the burial date (大定十四年三月初八日, 1174). Another arch door and two pseudo-windows are on the north wall. The east and west walls are similar to other walls in basic structure. Each wall has one full bracket set in the middle and two half bracket sets in each of the upper corners. The ceiling is built in a corbelled dome style.

Mural Features:
Dark blue painted columns bearing small grass motifs reside at each corner. Landscape paintings in diamond-shaped frames of red and white decorate the capital of each column. The rails on the upper walls exhibit tree ring patterns, as if made of timber material.

Lotus motifs decorate the cross beams and supporting bracket sets. On the spaces between the bracket sets, many flowers are depicted, while elaborate paintings adorn the ceiling. Lotus flowers line-drawn in black ink and peonies decorate the bottom part of the ceiling. On each corner of the ceiling, lingzhi 靈芝 and crane motifs are depicted. Depictions of twenty-eight constellations, along with the Sun and Moon (representing a bird and hare respectively), occupy the upper part ceiling. Finally, multiple layers of lotus flower leafs decorate the top of the ceiling.

The murals on the four walls exhibit various topics, from scenes of daily life to stories of filial piety. First, the south wall has an arch-shaped entrance door decorated with palindrome motifs drawn in blue and white colors. On the upper right and left parts of the door, flying cranes are described, while an image depicting a funeral scene is on the east side of the door. On the west side, the tomb occupant couple holding tribute is crossing a bridge, and at the end of the bridge, Zhongkui 鍾馗 awaits them. There are two pseudo-windows on both the right and left sides of the door; on the bottom left side, there is a wagon with shafts with a dog on each side, while the bottom right side portrays a stockyard where male and female servants holding trays are passing by. This scene probably depicts the bridge Naiheqiao 奈何橋 that crosses the river Huangquan 黃泉 on one’s journey to the afterlife.46

Secondly, the mural on the north wall focuses on the portraits of tomb occupants. The top of the mural is decorated with curtains, a trait commonly observed in tomb occupant portraits. The north wall has a door where lotus leaves and fruit motifs decorate

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its upper part. Two windows are represented on the left and right sides of the door, similar to other walls. The male and female occupants sit at each side of the door with their attendants. There are two screens behind each of the tomb occupants, with calligraphies reading “靑松映里□□□，柏樹蔭中花□□” and “青山只會磨今古，緑水何曾洗□□” respectively. On the west corner of the north wall, two female attendants holding utensils such as trays and bowls are walking, while another female attendant stands below the window. The images on the east side of the north wall are similar to those on the west side, except that the attendants are males on the east side.

Thirdly, the east wall reveals the same composition as the other walls (a door and two windows), and also contains various images. First of all, the tomb occupants appear again sitting by each side of the left window. The female occupant wears a yellow dress while holding a Buddhist rosary, and sits on a chair, placing her feet on a rectangular footstool. To her left, there is a table with a box on top, and a screen behind her whose inscription reads “春雨□□名利塚，猛風吹破是非墳.” In addition, a female attendant stands by her master while holding a utensil, while another attendant holds a baby. Images of a male master and his attendant are opposite the female occupant. His props are similar to those of the female occupant, and his screen contains words like “雨後碧川淨，春來楊柳靑，誰家漪洗處，□到賣花□.” Below the window, three attendants walk north in a row. The first in the row is a boy who points ahead, while behind him walks both a male and female attendant. A window on middle of the right side of the east wall looks out to a kitchen. The kitchen has a stove, and above it there is a steamer with six layers. Also in the kitchen we find a cabinet for dishes and a big water
pot. We also see a female figure carrying jars, a well next to her. The most striking theme of this mural is the stories regarding filial piety. These stories are represented in the eight independent frames side by side on the upper east wall. Each scene has a title for its story; “Ding Lan carving a statue of his mother (dinglan kemu 丁蘭刻母),” “Baoshan carrying her mother on his back (baoshan beimu 鮑山背母),” “Guo Ju burying his son (guoju maizi 郭巨埋子),” “Dong Yong selling himself (dongyong zimai 董永自賣),” “Zeng Can asking his mother (zengcan wenmu 曾參問母),” “Min Zi advising his father (minzi jianfu 閔子諫父),” “Cai Shun getting mulberry to his mother (caishuns shenqin 蔡順植親)” and “Liu Yin weeping at a bamboo grove (liuyin qisun 劉殷泣筍).”

Lastly, the west wall shows images and composition corresponding to the east wall. The main theme of the mural on the south part of the west wall is cultivation; below the pseudo-window, there is an ox plowing a field, and various utensils for farming, and a millstone. A horse is tethered to a tall tree, and two male figures are resting, sitting on the ground. On the north part of the west wall, two human figures hold tea utensils, and on the opposite side of another pseudo-window, the tomb occupant couple si on chairs side by side. Also, scenes from the stories of filial piety are drawn in continuity from the east

47 According to the existing earliest version of twenty-four filial piety stories in Yuan period version, this story describes that Liu Yin is acquiring water celery (qin 芹), not a bamboo shoot from the heavenly god. In another version from the twenty four filial piety set (edition of the Goryeo dynasty, Korea), which does not appear in the murals, Meng Zhong 孟宗 is seeking a bamboo shoot. Although the basic plot of the stories is almost the same, according to different versions the details vary. See, Yun Hojin, trans., Hyohaengrok 효행록 (Record of Filial Deeds) (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 2004); Kim Mun-gyeong, “Kōkōroku to nijūshikō sairon 孝行録と二十四孝 再論 (Re-discussion on the Tale of Filial Piety and Twenty-four Filial Piety Stories),” Geibun Kenkyu 藝文研究 /Journal of Art and Letters Vol. 65 (1994): 269-287.
wall. Each of the scenes depicts; “Yanzi getting milk (晩子取乳),” “Wu’s wife cutting her thigh (武妻割股),” “Shunzi (the king Shun) weeding a field (舜子耕田),” “Han Boyu weeping at mother’s beating (韓伯瑜泣杖),” “Chao E weeping at the river (曹娥泣江),” “Yang Xiang riding a tiger (楊香跨虎),” “Tian Zhen awakening (his brothers) to living apart (田真分居),” “Wang Xiang lying on ice (王祥臥冰).”

1-1-4. Xilindongzhuangcun Tomb

Reference Images: [fig.1.1.4a-e.]

Location: Xilindongzhuangcun, Nanlixiang, Qinxian, Shanxi Province; Date: mid-Jin period; Tomb occupant: unknown rich

Architectural Features:

The tomb has a single chamber with an octagonal floor plan decorated on the interior with pseudo-timber frames. The entrance and the corridor (height: 1.2m, width: 0.6m, and long: 0.48m) to the chamber are connected to the northwest wall. The chamber is 3.2m in length, 2.25m in width. The coffin platform is 0.5m high. Relief bricks resembling real wooden architecture are used for all sides of the chamber. Pillars and cornerstones for the pillars are represented at eight corners, which support crossbeams of 0.85m in height. Every wall shows curtains that are drawn between two pillars. Doors,

48 “Shanxi Qinxian faxian Jindai zhaundiaomu 山西沁縣發現金代磚雕墓 (Jin Dynasty Brick Relief Tomb Found at Qin County of Shanxi,” Wenwu 6 (2000): 60-73.
windows, and furniture are represented with brick relief. There are bracket sets both on and between pillars. The bracket sets support three architectural layers decorated with lotus motif reliefs. Rectangular niches above the bracket sets, which are 1.75m in height, have relief bricks that picturing stories of filial piety. On the niches, there is another layer of bracket sets supporting the dome ceiling. In the center of the ceiling, there is a relief of lotus of three layers. The height of the entire tomb is 3.5m.

Mural and Relief:

The walls of the chamber are decorated with murals and colored reliefs. This relief-oriented tomb limits the use of murals as only minor decorations. For example, small flower motifs of lotus and peony are painted on and between the bracket sets. In place of large extensive mural use, we find, sculptures, and colored reliefs; the base color of the walls is yellow, and many different colors are used for different motifs and reliefs. For example, black ink lines are used for curtains, red colors for doors, and red lines on yellow base for the grain of pseudo-timber frames such as pillars and crossbeams. Also, rafters in yellow and eaves in white have red borders.

Among the eight walls, the northeast and southwest walls are relatively wider than other walls, and each of them has four niches in the middle part, while other walls have three niches. One of these four niches has line drawings of lotus flowers. The frame of niches measures 3.5cm in depth and 1.8cm to 3.2cm in width. The niches number 24, and each contains a relief that represents one of the 24 filial piety stories. The reliefs were molded in clay, put on bricks, and then fired in a kiln. To fix the relief and brick, sometimes iron nails were used. After making bricks, craftsmen would add colors such as
yellow, red, blue, and black on reliefs. Also, there is a title or name in black ink on the
relief for each story. Even the stories of non-titled reliefs are recognizable. The stories
depicted on these reliefs are as follows: three reliefs on the northeast wall represent the
stories of Guo Ju 郭巨, Wang Wuzi 王武子 (“[王]武子為婆割股”), and Lu Ji 陸積
(“陸積行孝”); another set of three reliefs on the north wall depicts the stories of Yuan
Jue 元覺 (“元覺[拖]捭床”), Jiang Shi 姜詩 (“姜詩行孝”), and Shunzi 舜子
(“舜子親□山□□”); in the northeast niches, there are reliefs representing the stories of
Baoshan 鮑山 (“鮑山背母□[熟]”), Ding Lan 丁蘭 (“丁蘭剖木爲母”), and Zhao
Xiaozong 趙孝宗 (“趙孝宗將小替大”); the stories shown on the east wall are Yang
Xiang 楊香 (“楊香女爲父騎虎”), a righteous Lu Yi Gu (lady Gu) 魯義姑, and Meng
Zong 孟宗; reliefs on the southeast wall depict stories of Tian Zhen 田眞 (田眞行孝),
Lao Laizi 老萊子, and Zengzi曾子; the south wall reliefs are about the stories of Liu
Mingda 柳明達, Min Ziqian 閔子騫 (“閔子騫行孝”), and Liu Yin劉殷; the southwest
wall reliefs display the stories of Chao E 曹娥 (“孟宗為母思竹筍”)49, Han Boyu 韓伯瑜
(“韓伯瑜行孝”), and Dong Yong董永 (“…思葬”); lastly, in the west wall niches, there
are reliefs depicting stories of Yanzi 晏子 (“晉子爲母思鹿乳”), Cai Shun 蔡順
(“蔡順爲母[采]櫛”), and Wang Xiang王祥 (“王祥臥氷爲母[求漁]”).

49 The title here does not match with the scene; Chao E is a different character of another story, who wept at
a river bank while searching for the corpse of her father who died by drowning. The name was probably
mistaken by a craftsman.
Burials:

Skulls and bones of four people were in the tomb chamber when first opened, but how these four corpses (or coffins) were arranged is unknown, and the tomb was probably for the moved grave relocated after the original burial. Several burial objects were found in the tomb, including five grayish stoneware water jars with covers, an earthenware tray, a black glazed pot, and a white porcelain tea bowl. Considering that the tombstone was not found, and the regulation that prohibited use of tombstones for non-officials at that time, the tomb occupants were probably local elites who did not hold an official title.

1-1-5. Macun Tombs (No. 1 ~ No. 5, and No. 8)\(^5^0\)

Reference Images: [fig.1.1.5a-j]

Location: Macun, Jishanxian, Shanxi Province (nearby the north bank of the Fen River);
Date: Song and Jin dynasties; tombs from Duan Family Graveyard (wealthy merchants and landowners)

Architectural Features:

In the region of Ma Village, about 50 tombs were found, similar in their architectural structures, but different in their sizes and levels of decorative complexity. According to

\(^5^0\) All these tombs are located in Duan family cemetery which is converted to Jin tomb museum. “Shanxi Jishan Jinmu fajue jianbao 山西稷山金墓發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on the Jin Dynasty Tomb Found in Jishan of Shanxi),” Wenwu 1 (1983): 45-63; Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, Pingyang Jinmu Zhuandiao 平陽金墓磚雕 (Brick Carving in the Tombs of the Jin Dynasty in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1999).
these differences, the tombs found in this area are divided into two types (A: complicated, and B: simple), and Ma Village tomb No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, No. 5, and No. 8 belong to the complicated tomb type A.

The A type tombs resemble the timber frame architecture. In general, the architecture of these tombs starts with a passageway to a tomb chamber, and then proceeds to an entrance door and chamber. The entrances of No. 2 and No. 8 tombs are located in the middle of the south walls, whereas other tombs have their entrance doors located at the left corner of the south walls. The passageways were unpaved earthen roads. The passageways of No. 1 and No. 2 tombs have flat floors while others have staircases. Tomb No. 1 measures 2.82m in height, 0.46m in width, and 4.6m in depth. The passageway of tomb No. 2 is relatively short, but wider than No. 1. Their walls are upright. The passageways of tombs No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5 are narrower than other tombs, 40cm in width. One step of the staircase measures 30cm in height and 25cm in length. No. 1 and No. 2 tombs are brick tombs and on the top of the ceiling have dormers 1~2 x 1~1.5m. The most common type of brick used in construction is 32 x 16 x 6cm.

The pseudo-timber frame structure consists of pillars, windows, bracket sets, rafters, eaves, and many architectural decorations from small sculptures to cross-ribs of windows. Patterned bricks are used for constructing these, except for some cases where special brick reliefs were used. When constructing tombs, bricks were further cut and polished according to where they were used to strengthen the solidity of the architecture and make the interior decorations seamless.

The door of the tomb is in general arch-typed and decorated with flower relief bricks. The doors of tombs No. 1, No. 2, No. 4, No. 5, and No. 8 are represented as gate
towers with bracket sets. In particular, the doors of No. 1 and No. 5 have railings in the middle, like multi-story buildings. The door of tomb No. 4 has a plaque on its top, and held in place by two heavenly ladies. Tomb No. 8 has male and female lions standing at the left and right sides of the door, and the door of tomb No. 2 attendants holding sticks at the right and left sides.

Floors of all of their chambers are in a rectangular shape. The tomb chambers measure about 2.5 x 2.1 x 3.5~4m. The chamber of tomb No. 8 is larger than others, which measures 2.8 x 2.3 x 5m. Except for tomb No. 2, all have coffin beds in their chambers. Four walls of the chambers have pseudo-timber frame structures mimicking the actual residential architecture and complex – Siheyuan 四合院. Under the eaves, corridors with rails are represented on four walls. The foundational part of the architecture in forms of xumizuo 須彌座, the pedestal for a Buddha image, is also heavily decorated with motifs such as lotuses and lions; the form and decoration of the foundation exactly correspond to the xumizuo, illustrated in Yinzao fashi.

Each wall is divided into three parts by a total of twelve pillars. The foundation stone for the pillar is decorated with a lotus motif. Except for tomb No. 1, the bracket sets use two xia’ang (下昂, down-pointing cantilever) and five layers of puzuo 鋪作 (bracket sets), which are heavily decorative than functional. Above the bracket sets, eaves, and roof tiles, railings are installed to represent upper stories of a building. While the railings of tombs No. 1, No. 2 and No. 5 have no decorations, No. 3, No. 4 and No. 8 have their railings adorned with lotus motifs. The ceilings of these tombs have slanted walls by corbelling, but the tops are flat.
Relief Features:

The decorations of all four walls are similar in their compositions. Only the north wall has a difference from other walls in that it has a terrace structure in the middle. The terrace projects out from the wall. Except for tomb No. 5 that has multiple eaves on the ceiling, all others have a single eave. There is a door above the terrace, and the doors of tombs No. 3, No. 4, No. 5 and No. 8 are two flap doors. This kind of door is generally represented as fully closed, but the door of No. 1 is half-opened with a girl is looking out, and No. 4 has a fully opened door with a niche for a small statue of tomb occupants. The tomb occupants are pictured sitting on chairs facing south while watching the zaju performance.51 Tomb No. 8 also has statues of tomb occupants in front of the terrace door, and relief images of two female attendants serving their masters on each side of these. The tomb occupants are watching the same zaju performance represented on the opposite south wall. Tomb No. 2 has a niche with no door with an image of the tomb occupants feasting. Between the occupants, there is a table with tea wares and food. The tomb occupant couple is also enjoying zaju. The right and left parts of the north wall are similarly decorated. For example, tomb No. 4 has a pair of lattices, No.1 represents one scene from stories of filial piety, and No. 5 has frames that contain lions and lotus motifs on its right and left sides.

The decoration of the south wall features zaju performance and its props. The stage for the performance is menlou 門樓 style architecture which is called by wuting 舞停 or wulou 舞樓, and this setting corresponds to the north wall where the tomb occupants are

51 About the theme of Zaju and images of the performers, see the end of this section 1-1-5, and Chapter 2-2.
seated. The stage of tomb No. 4 is differentiated from others as it is represented as a great hall (ting 廳) rather than individual architecture. There are four or five performers on the stage, and those of tombs No. 1, No. 4, and No. 5 are accompanied with musicians. The performers of tomb No. 1 are the epitome of the zaju performer images being referred in other tombs. The size of these statues varies from 30 to 70cm. Four characters of Moni末泥 (a director and primary male role), Yinxi引戱 (a conductor), Fujing 副淨 (a secondary male role, satirizing a villain) and Fumo副末 (a villain, the subject of satire) constitute the basic set for the zaju, sometimes extended by adding Zhuangdan裝旦 (a female role) or Zhuanggu 裝孤 (an official). 52 All props, makeup, and costumes for performers commonly appear in all the tombs, indicating the existence of a standard pattern for the set. 53 The rest of the south wall continues decorations such as various auspicious motifs including flowers and children, performances other than zaju, and a full set of the 24 stories of filial piety. As for tomb No. 4, the 24 stories of filial piety are depicted with small sculptures, and they are set in a gallery surrounded by rails in the middle of the wall. The statues measure 20cm in width, are of high quality craftsmanship, and show elaborate expressions. The east and west walls are similar to each other, mainly representing lattice doors. Above the pedestals, three pairs of lattice doors take up the middle part of the wall, and on top of it, bracket sets supporting a ceiling are represented.

52 The Song-Jin Zaju, a type of satire drama mostly talks about a corruption of government officials, which had been developed from Tang duo-drama, Canjinxi 參軍戱. Wilt L. Idema, Chinese Theater, 1100–1450: A Source Book (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), 5.

53 The Zaju performers in similar postures and costumes are seen in many tomb murals and sculptures; for example, a tomb of Family Dong Graveyard of Houma which was constructed in the second year of Jin Da’an (1210), Henan Yanshi Jiuliugou Song tomb, and Yuan dynasty stone reliefs in Shanxi Ruicheng. The makeup of Moni character (a male character), however, sometimes appears differently according to the specific roles they play. Ibid., 134.
The relief decoration of door, window, lattice door, and railings of the similar styles appear in all tombs.

Burial:

According to the arrangement of the skeletons, these tombs are for the initial burials whereas many other Song-Jin tombs are for the moved burials. Interestingly, at all burials, coffins were not used and corpses were placed on brick or wooden beds inside the chambers. A few other burial goods found in the tombs include small pottery jars, ceramic pillows, and coins.

1-1-6. Analysis

Although the five examples represent only a part of all possible Song-Jin tomb styles within the total number of 11th to 13th centuries tombs, Table 1 clearly tells us that the notable differences among the tombs involve only their decorating methods (and consequent representational styles) and slightly different sets of decorative motifs and images on their respective murals. Other than these factors, the tombs shared many common features such as their period of construction (either of Song and Jin dynasties), region (Southern Shanxi and Northern Henan Provinces), and very basic features such as size and architectural structure. For instance, the third column and seventh column of
Table 1 show that most of the tombs share a similar structure and dimensions, and commonly contain only a few unimportant burial goods.

Despite these similarities among the tombs, however, scholars have tried to identify the tombs based only on those few differences. Specifically, the dynastic divisions, decorating methods, and regions generally have been considered connected to one another. For example, Song dynasty, mural paintings, and Henan Province have been grouped together, and Jin dynasty, brick-relief decorations, and Shanxi Province have been thought to be related. In fact, hundreds of examples suggest that none of these stylistic features clearly belong to a certain period or specific culture, and that stylistic variations were, rather, derived from regional productions or workshops’ preferences toward the elements such as floor plans, construction materials, ceiling styles, and decorative details.54

To summarize, the Song-Jin tombs’ stylistic features do not merely represent changes in funerary culture but rather synthetically suggest institutional, regional, traditional and contemporaneous circumstances surrounding the tomb construction.

While previous scholarship has focused on the dynastic identities of the tombs, the

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54 This statement is based on my observation with the major excavation reports on the Song and Jin dynasty tombs since the 50’s. The excavation reports mainly include Wenwu, Kaogu, Kaogu yu wenwu, Zhongyuan wenwu.

following sections attempt to delineate how the decorated tombs of Northern Song and Jin periods shared the similarities through which their unique styles were formed. Also, at the schematic structure of all the stylistic and thematic features of Song-Jin tombs, even the variations of the tombs still follow certain rules. Below, I explain where these rules were derived, and how they influenced the formation of the Song-Jin tomb styles.

1-2. Historical Background of Song-Jin Tomb Construction

In designating historical associations of works of art or architecture, dates often are primarily used to set parameters because they provide much information regarding social and cultural background. When it comes to the decorated tombs of the Northern Song and Jin, the two dynasties as mentioned above have been believed to maintain different cultural identities, and thus different historical meanings have been assigned to their tombs. However, scholars have ignored similar features commonly found in all tombs, and only scant records remain suggesting tomb dates. In this section, I argue that most Song and Jin tombs had the same lineage, and were formed and maintained under shared cultural background. I also introduce the term “Song-Jin tombs” that is used throughout this dissertation to a certain specific type of Northern Song and Jin decorated tomb, and to provide a new perspective integrating these two historical periods in cultural terms. Lastly, I discuss what and who actually obscured the dynastic boundaries in the cultural realm in association with the tomb patronization.
1-2-1. Northern Song and Jin Tombs vs. Song-Jin Tombs

According to the features of decorated tombs, the history of funerary art in the mid-imperial period China is typically divided into three terms – early, mid, and late periods. Each term is characterized by its unique stylistic forms of tombs, which were maintained throughout the period. Even though the details were modified, tomb size, structure, and decorative motif sets remained largely constant identifying those tombs as the same type.

As all such historical periods do, the second term that the Song-Jin tombs pertain to showing its unique development in stylistic forms of architecture and decorations. Starting from the late Northern Song period (960-1127) around the Emperor Huizong era (1082-1135), the typical tomb styles of this period developed and completed during the Jin period (1115-1234), and gradually died out during the Yuan period (1271-1368). Such a unique stylistic development along with the unparalleled amount of construction of those tombs during the 150 years (from late Northern Song to Jin periods) has never again been observed in Chinese history.

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56 The mid-imperial period denotes the historical time from the late Tang dynasty through the Early Ming dynasty. Regarding the general discussion of Chinese historical periods and the definition of the imperial period in China, see, Richard von Glahn, “Imagining Pre-modern China,” in The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History, ed. Paul Jakov Smith and Ricard von Glahn (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 35-70.

57 Although the historical divisions for the funerary art are rarely discussed, based on the analyses of the excavated tombs and funerary artifacts, we can divide the period this way. The “middle imperial period” (generally designates Liao to Yuan), while the decorated tombs of the earlier part of this period feature the embellished murals of tombs which retained a strong sense of pictoriality alluding to Tang influence, the second part (from Northern Song to Jin) features a total change of mural program, including subject matters and decorating methods. In the last period (throughout the Yuan period), the decorated tomb styles were slightly modified as reflecting Yuan’s tastes and subjects were less valued. This historical divisions based on the decorated tombs are slightly more subdivided from general historical divisions.

58 The exact number of Song-Jin tombs that have been found is unknown. But according to Kuhn’s extensive investigation of the about 800 Song tombs published in his articles in 1994 and 1996, the tombs sites (including family graveyards) where Song-Jin tombs were found number more than 30, and great
However, as many examples demonstrate, the decorated tombs of the Northern Song and Jin dynasties were not fundamentally different in tomb construction methods and decorative images.\(^{59}\) In spite of their evident similarities, they are usually discussed separately since their funerary customs are believed to reflect two different ethnicities of Han Chinese and Jurchens, the ruling groups of two states, respectively. This ethnicity-centered perspective misled scholars to suppose that any relationship between the two states was likely one-sided, with cultural adoption passing from more cultivated ethnic groups to less cultivated ethnic groups. In the same line of thinking, scholars also tried to articulate how the decorated tombs visualize the cultural negotiation between Jurchens’ own customs and the adopted Han Chinese customs. These studies conclude that similarities between the two cultures resulted from the Jin’s failure to maintain their ethnic traits.\(^{60}\)

Since there are no notable distinctions among the tombs from the Northern Song and Jin dynasties, questions arise concerning how to identify and assign to them proper dynastic names. In a few cases, tombs have been dated correctly via material evidence, but in most other cases we lack sufficient information to date them. For example, the remaining records only include short ink inscriptions on tomb walls, coarse land deeds

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\(^{59}\) As Table 1 shows, there are no certain correlations between dates (dynastic divisions of Song and Jin) and tomb styles.

\(^{60}\) A dynastic transition is generally considered as the important historical event that engendered chances for the dissemination of tomb styles and subsequent regional modifications. For example, most monographs and articles describe the changes in Chinese funerary art according to dynasties rather than regions or chronological periods. See a recent publication in China, He Xilin and Li Qingquan, *Zhongguo mushi bihuashe* 中國墓室壁畫史 (History of Chinese tomb mural paintings) (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009).
containing a brief history of the tomb occupants, and a few burial goods such as coins and fragmented ceramics. Further, these materials are insufficient to estimate tomb dates, and sometimes even provide wrong information.61

Despite the lack of sufficient information for dating, Chinese excavation reports often referenced many Song-Jin tombs as either “Song tomb (Songmu 宋墓)” or “Jin tomb (Jinmu 金墓)” for the sake of convenience.62 Although this judgment is based on the location, level of mural execution, and a few decorative variations, they do not represent the ethnicities of Han Chinese and Jurchens. Rather, upon dating those tombs, the biased preference to the Han Chinese dynasties incited Chinese scholars to regard many tombs as Northern Song.63

In an attempt to develop a more neutral term to designate these decorated tombs of the second part of mid-imperial period, I will use the label of “Song-Jin tombs,” which

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61 It is unclear what the dates ink inscription indicate mean among the dates of death, burial and completion of tomb construction. In many cases, these dates were indiscriminately used to simply indicate how they were auspicious according to geomantic rules. In fact, funerals and burials were commonly postponed in order to earn the money for the costs, to find the best place for the burials, and sometimes to bury remaining spouse together. Susan Naquin, “Funeral in North China,” in Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1988), 42-43; During this transitional period, the corpses and remains were consigned to Buddhist temples or buried in temporary tombs (Jiamu 假墓), but many of them were abandoned and this had become a social problem. Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) noted this phenomenon and burial custom. Patricia Ebrey, Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 95.

62 See the titles of excavation reports cited in notes in Section 1-1.

63 The previous and current Chinese scholarship seems to hesitate to recognize the culture of the Jin dynasty of which government was established by non-Han Chinese. Interestingly, many Song-Jin tombs are generally referred to as Northern Song tombs or more ambiguously as Song-Jin tombs (the use of term, “Song-Jin” here is understood as merely a hesitative expression) regardless of exact date or the regions. For example, although Xiayangcun tomb in Wenxi, Shanxi Province and Guzhuangcun tomb in Changzi, Shanxi Province are much closer to the tombs of later period such as the Jin dynasty, the excavation reports say that they are all Song tombs. “Shanxi Wenxi Xiayang SongJinshiqimu 山西聞喜下陽宋金時期墓 (Tombs Dated Song and Jin Dynasties at Xiayang in Wenxi of Shanxi),” Wenwu 5 (1990): 86-88; “Shanxi Changzhishi Guzhuangcun Songdai zhuanjiaomu 山西長治市故漳村宋代雕磚墓 (Song Dynasty Brick Relief Tombs at Guzhang Village of Changzhi City in Shanxi),” Kaoga 9 (2006): 31-39.
will encompass both the Northern Song tombs and Jin tombs. The term “Song-Jin tombs” implies that during the length of the period, a certain specific funerary culture was maintained and developed within the social and cultural relationship of the Northern Song and Jin dynasties, and that none of the changes of the decorated tombs represent dynasty (or ethnicity)-specific cultural conditions.

1-2-2. Significance of the Rise of Local Elites as Patrons of Song-Jin tombs

If the Song-Jin tombs were cultural products of a specific historical period, who maintained and were most greatly influenced by this culture? The first step in answering this question is to identify the patron group of the Song-Jin tombs categorized as “lay people’s tombs” (minjian mujang 民間墓葬) in Chinese scholarship. Although “lay people” does not exactly represent the patron group, since the decorated tombs were still too expensive for most people, this term at least shows that as a major agent, the patrons influenced changes in tomb culture and the formation of unique features of Song-Jin tombs.64 Thus, although the Song-Jin tomb patrons might not entirely be lay people, it was taken for granted that the tomb patrons were of lower class than aristocrats.

Going one step further, the growth of the middle class gives insight into who the tomb patrons were and why they adopted the decorative tomb culture. As is generally

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64 The term, “lay people” seems to be used to not only designate the opposite concept to the traditional groups of power such as government officials or aristocrats, but also reflect the basic trend in Chinese archaeology. For example, while analyzing the current research in China on the decorated tombs, De Pee discusses that these tombs are interpreted as historical evidence representing the creativeness of the laypeople in materialist’s perspective. Christian De Pee, The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 230.
known, the development of a market economy incited economic growth within several cities, enabling the middle class to accumulate private wealth that they further invested into cultural capital to raise their social status. In this effort, members of this new middle class wanted to establish a close relationship with the aristocrats – the upper class, and actively participated in the artistic and cultural activities including commissioning various works of art. The regional concentration of tomb construction in the cities of the Central Plain area evidences a close relationship between urban environment and middle class’ social activities.

Another important question arises: during the time spanning these two dynastic periods, how did these patron groups manage to maintain their social and economic status while not being affected by the shifts of the society? As clarified in Table 1, the Song-Jin tombs were constructed approximately 20 to 30 years prior to the Northern Song’s fall, and this period corresponds to an important historical time frame: the Northern Song-Jin transition. It is ironic that the decorated tomb construction burgeoned in southern Shanxi and northern Henan Provinces when the Jin troops were attacking those regions, thereby hindering social development. Interestingly, despite the recession in social development, the tomb industry was not adversely affected. Even if the influence of unprecedented cultural prosperity of the Northern Song lingered in the Jin dynasty, thus canceling out

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65 Wang Jun notes that famous artists who usually served as temple mural painters commissioned exclusively by the upper class, also worked on some Song-Jin tomb murals. These reveals Song-Jin tomb patrons playing an important role in developing local culture and in a way, were connected to the local upper classes. Wang Jun 王俊, “Cong Shanxisheng fenyangshi donglongguan jindaimuzhang "nanzizhishan" tu – zailunjinren Zhang Yu 《Wenxi guihantu》 de shidai wenti 從山西省汾陽市東龍觀金代墓葬壁畫 “男子執扇” 圖 - 再論金人張瑀 《文姬歸漢圖》的時代問題 (Based on the image of “a man holding a fan” at the mural of Jin tomb in Donglongguan, Fenyang, Shanxi, revisiting the historical issue about the Jin dynasty figure, Zhang Yu’s ‘Lady Wenji's Return to China’),” in Sichouzhi: tuxiangyulishilunwenji 絲綢之路: 圖像與歷史論文集 (Silk road: studies on images and history) (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2011), 1-7.
such negative influence, it still remains unclear how different people who took over the Northern Song territory adopted different funerary customs.66

This question is answered by referencing the status of the middle class in a specific social and historical circumstance of these periods. That is, the continuity of the tomb culture during the dynastic periods benefited from the stabilization of the middle class. In fact, even in this chaotic period, local elites were the group least influenced by the state crisis because they rarely held official titles, and thus were relatively independent from the central government. Rather, they were protected by the governments of two states as an important source of state tax revenue.67 This way, while taking over privilege in conquered territory, the cities of Northern Song and Jin emigrants identified themselves as new local elites, and adopted regional culture and customs as their own. Therefore, the basic social structure of locals and their activities including patronizing decorated tombs was peacefully maintained.68

Furthermore, the Jin government’s relaxed stance toward Song culture spurred the adoption and development of decorated tomb culture. Non-Chinese governments were, historically, quite cautious about adopting Han Chinese culture because it could harm

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66 With respect to this issue, Watson suggests that changes in funerary ritual did not occur from a certain belief or ideology imposed by an imperial edict, but rather influenced from the preoccupation with the performance of the people. This theory explains how socio-economic circumstance affects people in performing death ritual. See James L. Watson, “The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites,” in Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China, 3-19.

67 For example, Xie 解 prefecture of Shanxi Province had been one of the major salt mining centers of northern China and since Xie area was designated and governed as state salt wells in Northern Song dynasty, Xie salt had become a main tax revenue of state especially in Jin dynasty. The local elites who hold lower ranked official titles governed the salt mining and minting silver coins which were used for tax payment and salt trade. Zhongguo yan ye zong gong si 中國鹽業總公司 ed., Zhongguo yan ye shi 中國鹽業史 (History of Chinese salt industry) (Beijing : Renmin chubanshe, 1997).

68 Local elites grew based on the development of economy which was brought by three major advancements in the industries — division of labor, development of technology (in particular for smelting industry), and dissemination of knowledge and information. These factors caused increase of material production, motivated the market trade, and finally enabled the local elites to accumulate private wealth through the related activities.
their cultural and ethnic identity. 69 This applies to the Jin as well; when the Jin was established, in order to maintain the ethnic identity of the state, the Jin government legislated against indiscriminate adoption of foreign culture, especially concerning fundamental customs such as languages, clothes, and funerary rituals. However, the laws seemed to have little actual affect, particularly at the local level. Most of all, Jin immigrants tended to favor the existing local culture of the regions to which they emigrated, and thus rarely tried to replace them with or implant their ethnic culture. 70

At first, the Jin court applied only minimal effort into maintaining ethnic identity, even favoring the sophisticated Song culture, using it to supplement their court culture. However, issues in maintaining their own ethnic identity arose at some point because the assimilation of Jurchens with the mainlanders was more severe than other contemporaneous northerners such as Khitan and Tangut, and Mongol and Manchu of later time. 71 Consequently, Sinicization of Jurchens was inevitable and progressed rapidly; during the Shizhong era (世宗, 1161-1189), the Jin court was alarmed about the

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69 Throughout Chinese history, when a state newly established, the political ideology of the state and ethnic background of the rulers was influential in revising the social institutions. For example, in early periods of Liao, still many royal families and aristocrats prefer sky burial (tianzang). Ye Xiaojun, Zhongguo muzang fazhanshi (History of Chinese Funerals and Burials) (Lanzhou Shi: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 1994), 153.

70 There were largely two types of Jurchens “Cooked Jurchens (熟女真)” who were under control of Liao and familiar with the culture of the Song and “Raw Jurchens (生女真)” who lived far eastern areas separated from mainstream culture of China, who were more independent and later established Jin Empire. Since all these two types of Jurchens had close relationship with Liao, although it differed in degree, Jurchens easily assimilated with Khitans and Han Chinese after conquering mainland China. Sun Jinji, Nüzhen min zu shi (History of Jurchens) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2010), 100-129.

71 While Khitans, Mongols and Manchus had been concerned about preserving their cultural originality and implanting it in Chinese culture, Jurchens had somewhat relaxed stance. Their stance is reflected in the architectural development during Jin period; Steinhardt notes that Jin was rather satisfied to use, preserve, and restore the Liao architecture rather than trying to advance it further. Nancy Steinhardt, Liao Architecture (Honolulu: University Hawai’i Press, 1997), 236-237.
severity of Sinicization, and tried to restore their ethnic originalities, but it was already too late.72

This way, the Song culture of the Central Plains area was smoothly succeeded and developed by Jurchens and thus, the Jin culture of this region, including decorated tombs, rarely differentiated it from the earlier ones and was even considered as post-Northern Song culture.

1-3. Regional Concentration and Environmental Conditions

Many different types of tombs and burial sites are found in various regions. Geographical distribution of these sites indicates which regions provided suitable environments for those different types of burials. For example, mural painted tombs, a long-standing burial tradition in north-central China that spans from Inner Mongolia far beyond the northern Henan and Shaanxi Provinces, represent the typical weather condition of North China, which is suitable for underground painting.73 Including this type of decorating method, many stylistic features of tombs were considered as being inherited from regional

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72 During King Hailing 海陵王 (r.1149-1161)’s reign, the cultural disturbance had become severe, and his successor Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161~1189) tried to restore the Jurchen’s originality in culture. For this effort, a royal edict regulated indiscriminate adoption of Han Chinese culture and promulgated the Jurchen characters which soon died out. Jurchens identified themselves as successors of Northern Song and defenders of northern culture, so basically they welcomed Han Chinese culture. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett eds., *The Cambridge history of China – Alien regimes and Border States, 907-1368*, Vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 279-290 and 319-320.

73 The mural tombs are conventionally features of luxurious burials of northern China. Although the regions where those decorated tomb cultures were flourished changed to the periods, it is certain that this culture was much favored in north of the Huai River, the actual borderline of the southern and northern Continent. Yang Hong 楊泓, “Jungguk gobun byeokhwa yeonguwa jeonmang 中国 古墳壁畵 研究의 회고와 전망 (Retrospect and prospect of the studies of Chinese tomb mural paintings),” trans.So Hyeonsook, *Misulsa nondan 美術史論壇* (Art History Forum) Vol. 23 (Seoul: Center for Art Studies, 2006. 12): 7-41.
conditions, and thus many of them were already set as forms and flourished in the Han dynasty (206BCE-220CE).

Focusing on the regional concentration of Song-Jin tombs in southern Shanxi and northern Henan Provinces, this section attempts to show how the natural and social circumstances of the each geographical region promoted tomb construction.\textsuperscript{74} [map.1] I examine how the geographic merits and urbanism created a desirable circumstance for Song-Jin tomb culture in association with the supply and demand of the tomb market.

1-3-1. Natural Environments and Material Supply

The environmental conditions of northern China are a crucial factor in allowing for decorated tombs to flourish for two reasons regarding materials for tomb construction. First of all, the natural conditions such as climate, soil, and waterways critically influenced the initial installment of decorated tombs, setting a standard for the typical burial style of these regions. For example, for pigments used in murals sensitive to moisture, the relatively dry weather of northern China, not only provides a better condition for workers, but also helps preserve murals. In addition, the compact soil is appropriate for making underground spaces, namely, the tomb chambers.\textsuperscript{75} Secondly, these regions provided much in the way of efficient materials for tomb construction.

\textsuperscript{74} The decorated tomb of a typical style that was completed in the late Northern Song period were mostly made in the urban areas of Central Plain of China, particularly south Shanxi (Jinnan 晋南 [south of current Taiyuan 太原]) and north Henan around Zhengzhou 鄭州 area. These two areas are divided again by ranges of mountains and the Yellow River, and all these regions are all located on the northern borders of the Huhe River 淮河 which is the borderline divides Chinese Continent as north 華北 and south 華南.

\textsuperscript{75} About the relationship with soil characters and burial method, in Shuyi, Sima Guang discusses vertical grave pit and horizontal cave chambers for burial according to the loosen soil and compact soil. Patricia Ebrey (1991), 90-91.
Products made from local materials such as bricks were particularly important in formation of decorated tomb culture within these regions.\textsuperscript{76} Even when the construction materials were replaced by imports, the geographical environment made transportation of these materials relatively efficient.\textsuperscript{77}

The natural environment of the Central Plain (comprising the border of North and South China) where the Song-Jin tombs were constructed in great quantity meets the conditions addressed above concerning production, utilization, and circulation of constructing materials. Among the materials, bricks are exemplary of how natural conditions facilitated Song-Jin tomb construction. Use of brick was innovative at the time because bricks are mass-producible, relatively easy to shape, and to a certain degree, in a consistent quality. Since the bricks of stoneware ceramic had been a main material for architecture, the construction of Song-Jin tombs basically benefited from the long established ceramic industries of northern China, which supplied the core materials for tomb construction. Due to the ready availability of local natural resources such as clay, water, and fuel sources for firing, the ceramic industries flourished both locally and as an export transported (or circulated) and sold through the waterways and roads.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{76} From tomb architecture construction to interior decoration, the brick were significantly used for Song-Jin tombs. For the related issue, see the Section 1-4-2 above and Wei-Cheng Lin, “Underground Wooden Architecture in Brick: A Changed Perspective from Life to Death in 10th through 13th Century Northern China,” Archives of Asian Art, Vol. 61 (New York: Asia Society, 2011): 15-18.


\textsuperscript{78} The history of bricks for funeral and burial artifacts was much longer in this region; for example, Zaozuoshi 焦作市 of north Henan Province where the rich vein of coals and Kaolin reserve exist promoted the appropriate environment of such ceramic production form earlier time because various burial artifacts including miniature buildings in ceramics of the Han dynasty have been excavated. The tombs using brick reliefs for tomb decoration are mostly located nearby. “Henan Wenxian Xiguan Songmu 河南温县西关宋墓 (Song Dynasty Tomb at Xiguan in Wen County of Henan),” Huaxia kaogu 華夏考古 1 (Zhengzhou: Huaxia kaogu, 1996): 17-23; “Yimashi Jindai zhaundiaomu fajue jianbao 義馬市金代磚雕墓發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on Jin Dynasty Brick Relief Tomb Excavated in Yima City),”
In this environment, the increase of brick production significantly changed the style and form of decorated tombs and further disseminated the related culture. First of all, as being a basis of modular construction, the bricks enabled fast and economical construction of architecture.\(^7\) Secondly, along with increased use of bricks in tomb architecture, relief techniques also improved, satisfying patrons’ expectations regarding the quality of images on the reliefs. As a result, brick reliefs gradually replaced mural paintings that required much more labor than brick making.\(^8\) Lastly, the ease of transporting bricks took a significant role in dissemination of the decorated tomb culture. For example, the Yellow River and its tributaries that flow across the Shanxi and Henan Provinces contributed allowed for efficient transportation of materials, and thus facilitated sharing of decorated tomb culture within the Central Plain.

Linking this natural environment with the social environment, which will be discussed in Section 1-3-2, the environmental conditions shed light on the regional concentration of Song-Jin tomb construction. This correlation generally concerns the formation of physical “markets” signifying not only the locations resource concentration but also the places where visual culture was initially formed and flourished.\(^8\) After all, cities provided the geographical centers of transportation whereby capital, labor, and

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\(^7\) The prototype brick reliefs of Song-Jin tombs are found in late Tang tombs, but their uses were quite limited to resembling simple architectural structure and few kinds of furniture such as chair and stand lamp. Until Liao period, the paintings were overweighed by reliefs for tomb decoration. On details of Tang examples, see Section 1-3-2.

\(^8\) Also, the increase of brick uses was interpreted as social phenomenon that which entailed mass productions of architectural materials the increase of bricks that was possibly related to upheaval of architectural business of urban area. Lin (2011).
materials flew in, and the demand of urban riches for decorated tombs was fulfilled market supply. For this reason, the regions where Song-Jin tombs are concentrated correspond to the regions where markets were formed.

1-3-2. Song Local Elites as Urban Dwellers: Demand and Regional Concentration of Decorated Tombs

The social environment, the second condition determining the locale of a culture, influenced funerary culture from its formation to its regional development while reflecting the cultural interplay between patrons and regional conditions. Since such social environments are largely sustained by the local population (thus, also called a humanistic environment), the locale of a culture reflected social self-consciousness regarding cultural identity.

Consequently, shifts of central region of decorated tomb culture show those tomb concentrations directly and indirectly reflect changes of local power structures. This is because the increase of tomb construction indicates an increase in regional demand for those tombs. As suggested in the previous section, such a demand was eventually influenced by the environmental conditions that attracted patrons.

82 Geographical merits also indirectly influenced the dissemination of decorated tombs while being proper environment for formation of cities. For example, when China was unified by Yuan, the northern decorated tombs began to be disseminated to more various regions and even back to northern China around cities from Neimenggou to Shanxi and Shandong Provinces. On the regions of Yuan decorated tombs, see Nancy S. Steinhardt, “Yuan Period Tombs and Their Inscriptions: Changing Identities for the Chinese Afterlife,” *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 37 (Washington: Ars Orientalis, 2007): 138-172.

83 Markets are understood as the definitive factor that sets the boundaries wherein materials were traded after the Second World War. Refer to Christaller’s Central Place Theory, which signifies the function of commerce and market in formation of cities.
Indeed, many regions of North China where luxurious funerary cultures burgeoned coincided with political or governmental centers where the patrons – upper classes – held power because those customs were exclusive to the upper classes.\(^{84}\) For example, in the Five Dynasties and Liao dynasty, the precedent and contemporaneous states of Northern Song, decorated tombs were mostly constructed in and around capital cities located in Inner Mongolia, Liaoning and further northeast, northern Hebei and northern Shanxi Provinces.\(^{85}\) Only after the traditional role of the cities changed, along with the collapse of the old power structure maintained by military power, was the decorated tomb culture moved to a different area, mainly near the Yellow River bank and its tributaries. This movement shows the importance of market growth in economic development and, accordingly, the rise of cities at major transportation points as new centers of decorated tomb culture for Song-Jin tombs.

Thus, the popularity of decorated tombs in the southern Shanxi and northern Henan indicates how urbanism based on commercialism was important to the tomb patrons – new local powers – in accumulating wealth, their basis of power.\(^{86}\) Also, the unparalleled concentration of decorated tombs in these regions particularly explains how

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\(^{84}\) This fact provides historical reasons why decorated tombs were popular in different regions depending on periods.

\(^{85}\) This is very natural when considering that most central cities of Liao were located in Northeast China. Due to the regional proximity, the funerary art of the Goryeo dynasty shared were styles with Liao. For a macroscopic view the cultural sharing through commercial trade, see, Roderich Ptak, “The Gulf of Tongking: A Mini-Mediterranean?,” in *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroad of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 53-70.

\(^{86}\) While the natural environment is related to the material supply, social environment is more influenced by patrons and their social activities, and has significance in generating the demand for tombs. For example, luxury burials including mural tombs had been exclusively made for the upper class and thus, they were generally constructed where they mainly resided. In the same sense, the dissemination of specific tomb styles depended on social events that caused their movement such as warfare, the formation of empires, and rising powers.
the system sustaining the society balanced the increase of tomb supply and demand, probably implying a market economy.

Within this market economy system, these new local powers made design decisions regarding decorated tombs, and this further influenced the works of the tomb makers. In doing so, tomb patrons must have contemplated first which architectural styles and elements they would adopt from traditional tombs.\textsuperscript{87} The typical architectural style of Song-Jin tombs summarized in Section 1 (see Table 1) shows selective adoption of traditional tomb styles and their adaptations. The basic features of Song-Jin tombs were already used in various regions across north China.\textsuperscript{88} In this regional circumstance, the substantial part of Song-Jin tomb style was inherited from the tradition of northern Chinese funeral and burial.

However, the clear geographic divisions and political situations restricted regional communication, particularly in transitional periods, and the natural dissemination of culture was hardly expected.\textsuperscript{89} Rather, as I discussed in the previous section, the regional pockets, formed by the concentration of tombs showing common methods of filing bricks, floor plans, and decorative motifs, correspond to each developmental stage of the funerary art.\textsuperscript{90} This means that the regionality of the decorated tombs is, in fact, their historicity, and implies formation of different cultures. The

\textsuperscript{87} I will discuss the architectural style in detail in section 4.
\textsuperscript{88} As mentioned above, brick tombs with painting and relief decorations were common forms of Chinese decorated tombs since Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE).
\textsuperscript{89} For example, the mural tombs were not popular south of the Sixteen Prefecture until Northern Song reclaimed this region with help of Jin. Like this, since Northern Song and Liao were clearly separate political regimes, the cultural sharing between their territories was not active.
\textsuperscript{90} The changes in medium and crafting technique of funerary art reflect not only the material development but also different regional circumstances where decorative funerary art was popular. For example, despite the common image and decorative motifs from Liao to Yuan, the format of the hardware – either tomb or coffin – vary such as multi-chamber with vaulted ceiling tomb, stone sarcophagus, round shaped brick tombs with domed ceilings, and angular-shaped tombs with corbelled ceiling.
similarities of the tombs of different periods and cultures, thus, likely did not result from natural dissemination but from an intentional adoption and learning of other cultures.

Three critical differences between the Song-Jin tombs and their precedents support this assertion: 1) the social classes of the tomb owners, 2) the regions (although this is an expected result of the different social positions of the tomb owners as discussed earlier), and 3) the details at the architectural techniques and forms. First of all, while traditionally the decorated tomb patrons were of upper class stature, the Song-Jin tomb patrons were generally local elites. Second, although the regions where decorated tombs were popular are all located in north China, the distances between these regions raises doubts regarding the possibility of natural dissemination, since natural dissemination would only be possible between the adjacent regions. Lastly, with the unique ways of filing brick, different floor plans, and variations in styles of decorations, the tombs of each period clearly show the regional specificities suggesting that the succession of architectural styles was not done by simple adoptions.91

Among those three differences, the first one, the shift in social class, is probably the most critical in determining the form for the tomb architecture. As residential buildings did, the tomb architecture comprising another residence for the afterlife had strict rules regarding physical forms including tomb size, number of rooms, length of corridors, and so forth, that referred to the social status of the tomb owners. These rules were regulated by social institutions. Patrons dared not violate them. Since the new local elites held neither an official title nor a hereditary position, the first issue they

91 Stone sarcophagi which shared the same iconography in decorations with Song-Jin tomb murals were common form of burial hardware in south Hebei Province in early and mid-Northern Song period. “Henan Luoning Beisong Le Zhongjin huaxiang shiguan 河南樂重進畫像石棺 (Le Zhongjin’s Decorated Sarcophagus of Henan),” Wenwu 5 (1993): 30-39.
encountered was where to locate themselves in the existing social strata in accordance with social precedents.

As a result, Song-Jin tomb architecture elucidates what the local elites thought about themselves in terms of their social positions. Despite social stratifications differing by period, the social positions of the historical owners of single-chamber-structured tombs provide clues in understanding the Song-Jin tomb owner’s ideas on adoption of tomb architecture. From the examples of prior times, we can trace what kind of tombs the Song-Jin local elites preferred, and further, how they identified as themselves historical figures. If we focus on the most notable features, particularly the use of brick reliefs for decoration, the actual prototype of Song-Jin tombs was formed from the late Tang period, and then developed in Five Dynasties among the military class in Hebei Province and Inner Mongolia.92

First of all, the earliest examples of the Tang and Five Dynasties clearly state that the tomb owners were not a simple military class, but local leaders who received the sovereignty of the frontiers in return for their meritorious deeds in battles.93 Su Zijin 蘇子矜 (d. mid-9th century), Zhang Qingzhong 長慶宗 (d. 877), and Yang Ren 楊軔 (d. 92

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92 In terms of the basic features of architecture, Song-Jin tombs seem to be originated from the late Tang, and developed throughout the Five, and Liao Dynasties. Specifically the domed ceiling is considered as the evidence that Song-Jin tombs are the same line of development. (Dome had been used at tomb architecture since the Han period, but their architectural structure had been changed according to the scale and floor plan of the tomb architecture.) Kuhn (2006), 259; Qin Dashu notes that pseudo-wood brick tombs with single chamber began to be constructed in the Five dynasties and became popular among some royal family members in early Song period and then, since the mid-Song, this type of tomb was favored by wealthy commoners. Qin Dashu 秦大樹, Song Yuan Ming kaogu 宋元明考古 (Archaeology of the Song, Yuan, and Ming) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004), 137-151.

93 Although most of China proper was governed by centralized authoritarian rules, the military officials held relatively strong power in frontiers, and this weakened aristocrats’ power and spurred the decentralized system in Song period along with the development of bureaucratic system. Power decentralization was closely related to the growth of Jiedushi – military official’s class-- in late Tang period, who were one of the main agents of local culture. Nicolas Tackett, “Great Clansmen, Bureaucrats, and Local Magnates: The Structure and Circulation of the Elite in Late-Tang China,” Asia Major, Third Series, Vol. 21, no. 2 (2008): 101-152.
879) are the best examples of the 9th century that show how the style of Song-Jin tombs was formed in their early stages. Among those three tombs, the latest one, Yang Ren’s tomb, located in Xuanhua, Hebei, has prototype brick reliefs that already became a part of interior decoration; brick reliefs represent images of basic furniture such as a lamp stick and chair suggesting a formation of new images for tomb decorations, but also indicating initial standardization of tomb decorations. In the Five Dynasties, tombs that had such brick reliefs increased, and the subject matter of decoration became more diverse and complicated. For example, Sun Fan’s tomb (940) of Later Jin 后晋 (936-946), located in Luoyang, Henan, represents the brick reliefs of bracket sets and tea sets on a table on top of the motifs seen in Zhang Qingzong’s tomb. The land deed (or tombstone) also says Sun Fan was a local elite.

During the Liao period, this type of tomb propagated to the southern regions, particularly to southern Hebei and northern Shanxi Provinces, on the borderline of the Liao and Northern Song. These Liao tombs more directly inspired the Song-Jin tomb owners, particularly concerning the hexagonal and octagonal floor plans and mural decorations depicting scenes of everyday life beyond the simple brick relief decorations. Most occupants of these tombs were Han Chinese who served for the Liao government. For example, the Xuanhua tombs indicate that Han Chinese officials working for the Liao

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95 In detail, the tombstone records the Sun Fan was born in late Tang period and held the official title of Vice-director of department of state affairs (jianxiao changshu zuofushi 檢校尙書左僕射) and Censor-in-chief (yushi dafu 御史大夫). However, these titles are all for the central officials so they seemed to be posthumously given because his name does not appear in any historical record. “Luoyang Yichuan Houjin Sun Fan mu fajue jianbao 洛陽伊川後晉孫璠墓發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on Sun Fan’s Tomb of the Later Jin Period Excavated in Yuchuan of Louyang),” *Wenwu* 6 (2007): 9-15.
government adopted a slightly modified local tomb style reflecting Liao tastes.\textsuperscript{96} Although land deeds excavated from Xuanhua tombs indicate that the tomb owners were minor officials, recent studies claim that the official titles were possibly faked, or at least simply taken for granted by the government recognizing their positions in the local area.\textsuperscript{97}

As the taste of local elites of Song-Jin tombs ran parallel to those of the former decorated tomb owners (such as military officials – \textit{Jiedushi} 節度使), all the examples above demonstrate that the regions where the Song-Jin tomb prototypes were developed were regions where the so-called middle class had grown in power. In this sense, it was no wonder, when this tomb style finally arrived in southern Shanxi and northern Henan Provinces in late Northern Song period that the mercantile cities there were the new centers for the middle class that grew based on urban economic prosperity.

Based on the examples above, we can conclude that the architectural style of Song-Jin tombs was a result of Song-Jin elites’ recognition toward their social position. They were probably well informed about the longstanding tradition of funerary customs associated with social classes, which provided a rational ground for Song-Jin local elites to adopt a certain type of funerary custom as their own.\textsuperscript{98} The new middle class – Song-Jin tomb owners – referred to the tombs of the former middle class to inform their culture, and by doing so they obtained the firm status of middle class. The regionality of Song-Jin

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\textsuperscript{96} Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所, \textit{Xuanhua liaomu 宣化遼墓} (Liao Dynasty Tombs in Xuanhua) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001); Li Qingquan 李清泉 (2008).

\textsuperscript{97} Li Qingquan (2008), 81-84.

\textsuperscript{98} Kinoshita asserts that the contemporaneous Khitans hardly ever adopted this type of brick tomb, which is Han Chinese tradition. Only upper class of them tried to learn and practice Chinese funerary customs, but even their understanding for Chinese burial was limited to deeds of “interment” which contrasts to their indigenous sky burial or Buddhist cremation. Hiromi Kinoshita, “Burial Practices of the Liao (907-1125) Khitan Elite: A Reflection of Hybrid Culture” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2006).
tombs thus visualizes the local elites’ sense of identity by hybridizing the traditional architectural form and trendy decorative images to demonstrate their desires to be social and cultural leaders of locals.99

1-4. Formation of New Program for Mural Tombs: Exposing the Desires of the Local Elites

The new mural program is another distinctive feature of Song-Jin tombs. Although the basic function of murals – to create desirable environments for the afterlife of the deceased – remains in Song-Jin tombs, their visual representation diverged from traditional forms, becoming more realistic and secular. The changes in the murals are not only noticed in the content and stylistic forms of images but also in their compositions with respect to tomb space.

In this section, I focus on both the images and their composition, and investigate how they influenced the formation of the new Song-Jin tomb mural program. In Section 1-4-1, I first revisit the previous studies, and discuss their contributions and limitations in understanding the Song-Jin tomb murals. Section 1-4-2 then examines the features of tomb architecture that brought about the fundamental changes of mural composition. Lastly in Section 1-4-3, I analyze the images and motifs of Song-Jin tombs, and articulate how they were selected to effectively fulfill the desire for social advancement that the local elites sought through consumption of the visuals.

99 For this reason, their identities and life styles seen in Song-Jin tomb murals were more than just reflected the reality but rather idealized. I will discuss this issue in detail in the Section 1-4-3.
1-4-1. Previous Studies: Contributions and Limitations

In early studies, the images and motifs of Song-Jin tomb murals were interpreted within a framework of ritualistic symbolism in which formation and development primarily followed strict textual theories. For example, the first generation of the Song-Jin tomb researchers, such as Dieter Kuhn and Ellen Johnston Laing, focused on the symbolic meanings of the tomb space and attempted to explain how the mural images accentuate the function of tombs as residences for afterlife. Thus, these scholars interpreted many decorative motifs such as cranes, boys, lotus, and peonies as auspicious symbols designed to secure longevity for the soul and good fortune for the descendants. This interpretation, however, was based on the premise that the Song-Jin tomb mural program simply succeeded the traditional mural program. Furthermore, the symbolism of mural images and motifs were considered exclusively related to funerary art and, therefore, tomb murals were rarely discussed in the discourse of visual culture.

Following these early studies, there were some other interpretations focused on the spatial meanings of the motifs trying to be independent of any symbolic framework. These studies, however, did not entirely differ from their precedents, since they adopted the traditional perspective regarding a tomb as a microcosm based on the long-standing Confucian theory. In these studies, the images and motifs belong to one of two realms—heaven or earth, and represent different characteristics of each world. For instance, in the 24 stories of filial piety, one of the featured themes of Song-Jin tomb murals was

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interpreted as a special setting to connect heaven and earth, represented at the lower wall and ceiling, respectively.\footnote{Specifically, Deng Fei asserts that the images are intentionally placed in the spaces between the bracket sets where are conceptually to be the border of two worlds, in order to represent the concept, “filiality reaches to the heaven and god (spirit) responds to it (xiaotizhizhi tongyushenming 孝悌之至, 通于神明),” Deng Fei 鄧菲 “Guanyu SongJin muzang zhong xiaoxingtu de guannian 关于宋金墓葬中孝行圖的觀念 (About the Ideology Imbued in the Filial Piety Iconography of Song and Jin Tomb Murals),” Zhongyuan wenwu 中原文物 4 (Dengzhou: Zhongyuan wenwubianjibu, 2009): 75-81.} While usually located at the middle part of the wall, the narratives of filial piety images describing heaven’s response to human’s virtuous deeds intensifies the spatial divisions within the tomb space.

However, these interpretations ignored the fact that the location of each image varies amongst different tombs, thus sometimes negated the spatial meanings of images based on their locations. In addition, Yi Qing argues that the tomb space reflects a cosmological flow in association with the principles of Zhouyi 周易, and the mural images visualize this.\footnote{For the cosmic/mythic time represented in tomb murals, see, Wu Hung, The Art of the Yellow Springs – Understanding Chinese Tombs (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010), 151-163.} This interpretation, however, puts too much emphasis on textual theories unlikely to be understood by the Song-Jin tomb makers.

Apart from interpretations privileging, textual theory, many studies take a new perspective in viewing Song-Jin tombs in association with contemporaneous visual culture.\footnote{Jeehee Hong, “Theatricalizing the Death: Performance Images of Mid-imperial China in Mortuary Contexts (11th -13th Centuries)” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008).} This perspective focuses on the appearance of new images in Song-Jin tomb murals, and attempts to explain this phenomenon in the cultural context, particularly with regard to changes in visual culture. While comparing many popular motifs of other craft decorations, these scholars assert that those examples suggest the existence of a pattern pool widely circulated through material consumption. In the same line of thinking, the
Song-Jin decorated tombs could be seen as consumable material beyond a limited funerary meaning.

Although the studies based on this new perspective have increased, the perspective is not new, and was already suggested at the early stage of Song-Jin tomb studies. Starting from a review of her own study, Laing suggested this perspective in the late 80s. Although her primary focus was on the symbolic meanings of the decorative motifs and their functions in a tomb space, she definitely recognized that tomb decorations were influenced by changes of visual culture. For example, she noted that architecture from the Jin dynasty featured the contradiction of a restrained exterior and decorative interior, and that the increase in decorations was possibly influenced by contemporaneous architectural culture. Also, with many examples of decorations and illustrations that appeared on ceramics and woodblock prints, Laing suggested a potential correlation between the increase of motif usage and production of medium. As such, the use of popular motifs for interior decorations of Song-Jin tombs reflects an increase of visual sources that broadened the scope of visual perception. [fig.1.4.1.]

Moving forward, De Pee recently suggested viewing the decorated tombs as visual evidence of material culture. While seeking the forms and meanings of family rituals in Song society, he presupposed that literary texts do not serve as reliable evidence due to the possibility of manipulation. Rather, he believed that when we approach the issue with numerous materials as traces of ritual performances, the truth concerning the use of these materials would be revealed. From this perspective, he asserted that the

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tombs were symbols to strengthen family bonds and perpetuate their lineage, and, thus, the decorations within a tomb deliver symbolic meanings of harmony, prosperity, and perpetuity of fortunes. Although his conclusion is not substantially different from Kuhn and Laing’s early studies in terms of symbolism, his perspective is significant in its revisiting of the meaning of tombs as materials, the uses of which reflect the intention of the patrons in the consumed visuals.

Inspired by De Pee’s interpretation, the remainder of this section discusses in detail the formation of the Song-Jin tomb mural program featured by materiality and its significance in development of visual culture. I investigate concrete examples in images and architectural compositions to support this interpretation.

1-4-2. Architecture

One notable characteristic of Song-Jin tomb architecture is its unique tomb structure featuring angular floored single chambers and domed ceilings. This section investigates what brought about this structural change of tombs, and how these architectural features influenced the formation of Song-Jin tomb mural program. Lastly, I discuss how the mural programs reflect the ideas of tomb patrons toward death and afterlife.
First of all, bricks were increasingly used in the Song-Jin tomb construction. Beyond their basic functions, bricks were used to mimic the architectural elements of wooden buildings in relief, which simplified the image making process. For example, while tomb reliefs had conventionally represented human figures or decorative motifs, Song-Jin tomb reliefs were mostly comprised of wooden structures and interior decorations of a house with detailed representations of lattice doors, windows, and pillars as well as household furniture such as chairs, lamp stands, and tables. Although most of these reliefs are not outstanding in terms of the representational sophistication, they clearly reveal how the images were made in an efficient way requiring less labor, time, and thus cost.

The increased use of bricks in tomb construction eventually brought about the structural change of tombs. Changes in construction material and method incited patterned work at construction, simplifying the tomb architecture by minimizing sizes and adopting angular shapes. Particularly, the floor shapes changed from round or elongated corridor shaped floors popular prior to the Song-Jin tomb styles to octagons, hexagons, and rectangles. This way, the shapes of walls, ceilings, conjoining parts, and

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105 Brick-made-single-chambered tomb represents the basic features of Song-Jin tomb architecture. Although Kuhn discusses this type of tombs individually and describes them as being widely favored by scholar-elites, the examples are mostly located in southern regions such as Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Guangxi and Sichuan Provinces. This means that regardless of the regions, overall, a relatively simplified tomb style became more popular in Song dynasty in China. Kuhn (1996), 139-164.
106 There are roughly two types of bricks commonly used in Song-Jin tombs; first, a traditional type of bricks, a rectangular one is the integral part of tomb construction and second, relief bricks especially features the decoration of Song-Jin tombs. Advances in brick production standardized sizes and shapes of bricks while reducing the brick price. Also, as the use of bricks increased, dependency on paintings for tomb interior decoration, which means much labor, time and cost seem to be immensely decreased. For the standardized use of bricks, see Lin (2011): 5
107 See, Sun Fan’s tomb discussed in 1-3-2.
the composition of murals were significantly affected by the new trends in tomb structure.\textsuperscript{108}

\textit{Angular Shaped Structure}

Despite the evident correlation of constructing materials (i.e., bricks) and tomb structure, the architectural changes of Song-Jin tombs are often interpreted from a traditional perspective focusing on spatial meanings of tombs in funerary symbolism. For example, the octagonal shape of many Song-Jin tombs was understood as an allusion to the Universe while representing Eight Trigrams (Bagua, 八卦) related to Daoist divinations as well as the principles of the \textit{Yi Jing} 易经, Confucian metaphysics. From this traditional perspective, cosmological space is rearranged in a vertical hierarchy, symbolically designating where the living and dead will reside. For instance, a tomb chamber is clearly divided into two parts – the wall and ceiling – assigned to earth and heaven, respectively.\textsuperscript{109} At the same time, such spatial hierarchy also exists horizontally while being represented with burial goods and murals. That is, the direction intensifies the spatial importance and leads people in a funerary ritual (either actual or visually


\textsuperscript{109} The spatial development to reveal power of different levels becomes much clearer in the images and decorations, which mostly depict various human figures from servants to masters in such hierarchy along with the space. In horizontal and vertical divisions, images were also used to confirm tomb space as the universe. For example, constellations and heavenly animals, mythic creatures and figures in ceilings and upper walls contrast with daily life scenes of lower walls. Through these images, spatial hierarchy was confirmed, and this symbolic hierarchy transferred to a certain direction that led ritual process or souls. Procession scenes along corridors and hierarchical disposition of tomb occupant and servants are the examples.
represented) to the most important space within a tomb – generally the backmost place that contains the tomb occupant’s corpse, a sacred sanctuary for the dead.

While the traditional tomb structure was important as it leads viewers into a ritual process through their physical movement, it is unclear if the angular-shaped structure of Song-Jin tombs could perform a similar function in a more spatially limited environment. After all, most Song-Jin tombs have a single chamber rarely exceeding three meters in height, depth, and length, which was meant to be a miniature version of an actual real residential building. In order to compensate for this limited size and simple structure mural makers manipulated the available space, and thus viewers’ perspective.

The angular floors and segmented walls provide a basic framework for mural composition to successfully convert the limited single chamber to an abode of the dead in a style appropriate for the new tomb. The angular floors divide the walls, producing separate mural screens that have different scenes and spaces. With the divided walls and pictorial representations, Song-Jin tombs could have illusory multi-layered spaces on the walls instead of multiple physical chambers. These polyhedral walls provide individual canvases for different scenes, of which spaces are supposed to be connected within a house complex – an imaginary space beyond where the figural images appear. [fig.1.4.2.] This way, a single tomb chamber could effectively convey multiple illusory spaces. From this point of view, the angular floors and accompanying separated walls of Song-Jin tombs seem to be developed for practical reasons, not by any implication of funerary symbolism. The new structure and composition of murals generally made the images on walls to face the center of the room – the changed pinnacle point that has a coffin or corpse, an actual subject, and also the main agent of the visual perception.
On the other hand, the structure and meaning of the ceiling composition also changed while still carrying significance in the new mural program. Most Song-Jin tomb ceilings are constructed in a dome style made by corbelling. The corbelling technique was favored more than others because it could be used to conveniently cover a small chamber. While the ceiling conventionally represented heaven with related images, those of Song-Jin tombs were not as elaborate as their predecessors even the lower part of the tombs’ walls. This is because the ceiling spaces were physically limited, and also because the previous images decorating this upper part did not match with the emphasized themes of the scenes of daily life. Although some tombs still show mythical creatures implying the heavenly world on their ceilings, many motifs decorating this architecture as well as other crafts began to replace those traditional images.

Architectural Models

The physical changes of tomb architecture – reduction of tomb scale and simplification of structure — subsequently influenced Song-Jin ideas of afterlife. Particularly, the limited space disallowing representation of the spatial hierarchy incited people to rethink the world after death, and actually limited the imagination. On the other hand, prior to this, the world described in tombs was unreachable, an imaginary world that could only be inspired by the complex structure comprising the microcosm. Although the Song-Jin

110 Corbel a structure which spans an opening like an arch (or dome) by having successive courses of masonry project farther inward as they rise on each side of the gap. “Corbel,” Merriam-webster, accessed April 29, 2014, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/corbel%20arch. Kuhn analyses architecture of Song-Jin tombs and categorizes them by the shapes of ceilings and floors, which I focus in this section. The Song-Jin tombs are only differentiated one and another by floor shape and the method of ceiling; the types are summarized as cupola-like corbelled dome tomb, which again subdivided by round, square, hexagonal, octagonal, geometrical, and unusual shapes. Dieter Kuhn (1996), 255-337.
111 Kuhn notes that simple corbelled dome was going out dated but Cupola-like corbelled dome (穹隆丁) became popular. Kuhn (1994), 15.
tomb murals substituted visual manipulation for the complex structure larger earlier tombs, the relatively small tomb space inevitably limited the temporal and spatial scope for afterlife.

Traditional tombs had elongated pathways and multiple chambers to display and store burial goods, which had strong implications for post-mortem events in association with ritual process. As the last step of funeral, mural images and burial goods commemorate departure of deceased toward the space of the afterlife. Murals were thus full of auspicious motifs intended to facilitate transfer of the deceased to the next world, as well as a procession of images along the long passageways depicting a large number of soldiers guarding the master to the netherworld.

In contrast, the themes of Song-Jin tomb murals mostly focused on household affairs while confining the tomb occupants in their residence and limiting their roles to family duties. The realm of the world conceived by the tomb occupant was thus also restricted to family residence, local area, and the secular world while simply confining the tomb occupants to their pseudo-residences designed to be self-sufficient in the afterlife.

In spite of these spatial limitations, such secular representations in Song-Jin tomb murals broaden the scope to view Song-Jin tombs from a limited funerary culture to an architectural and further visual culture. Indeed, the unique features of Song-Jin tombs, including an emphasis on architectural decorations (images of wooden timber frames,

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112 This idea was well represented in many Han dynasty tombs, and their spatial meaning in association with ritual process has been analyzed with burial evidences and mural paintings. See, Wu Hung, “Where Are They Going? Where Did They Come From? - Hearse and ‘Soul-carriage’ in Han Dynasty Tomb Art,” Orientations, Vol. 29 (1998, June): 22-31.

113 The images of twenty-four stories of filial piety are considered as popular architectural decoration. For details, see, Chapter 2-2.
bracket sets, and pillars), reflect a close relationship of tombs and the non-funerary architecture. Although it is unclear if the Song-Jin tombs were directly influenced by those buildings since we have little in the way of evidence and records of artist/architect information, at least some architectural trends suggest such possibility. These trends suggest that tomb makers and patrons, rather than adhering strictly to their tradition, were quite open to accepting contemporary visual culture in terms of either technical aspects or recognition to the tomb spaces.

We find many such architectural models in Buddhist architecture. For example, diantang buildings, the highest-ranking hall in temple complex, features externally exposed complex wooden timber frames including multiple layered brackets (puzou), cantilevers, and railings also seen in Song-Jin tomb interiors as decorations. [fig.1.4.3.] As another example, Buddhist stupa, a symbolic tomb of Buddha that contains sarira and reliquary is even closer to Song-Jin tombs; most stupas feature octagonal-shaped body, and their sizes are comparable to the sizes of the tombs whereas the diantang buildings are usually larger. More importantly, these stupas and Song-Jin tombs shared a construction method of using bricks so that the timber frames appeared as mere decorations; unlike in diantang, the timber frames in stupas have little architectural function to support multi-story building. Monk Gaogong Stupa at Faguangsi 佛光寺 in Wutai Mountain, Shanxi Province explicitly demonstrates such similarities between stupas and Song-Jin tombs. [fig.1.4.4.]

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114 Steinhardt notes that the commonality in appearances among Buddhist pagodas and Song-Jin tombs could be related to the huge influence of Liao Buddhist architecture. Steinhardt (1997), 398.

115 Juan 31 and 32 of the Yingzao fashi 营造法式
Beyond the similarities in architectural style and decoration, the similarities in spatial meanings also provide clues to link diantang and stupa architecture to Song-Jin tombs. While protecting and making sacred their contents – Buddha’s true relics (sarira) or images of Buddhist gods and deities, the architectures were treated as symbolic residences of sacred beings and further thought of as centers of a temple complex. Accordingly, their similarities in style and decorations, such as octagonal shape and timber frames, became symbolic codes indicating residences of important bodies, and may provide a clue to explain why Song-Jin tombs adopted those visual codes in their architecture and decoration to indicate that they are important places for the dead.

*Sharing of Visual Idioms*

While at a glance the Buddhist architecture and Song-Jin tombs we have discussed so far show common visual idioms, there are also discrepancies in many of the details. For example, the mural paintings have rare significance in interior spaces of diantang and stupa whereas such images intensify the spatial meanings of Song-Jin tombs. Furthermore, the appearance of interior spaces of diantang and stupa (although stupas generally do not allow access to their inside) are quite different from that of the Song-Jin

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116 In a similar perspective, Li Qingquan asserts that octagonal and hexagonal shapes of tomb architecture were influenced by Buddhist architecture, particularly the underground palace (Digong地宮) of the Buddhist stupa that were used to store ash bones of dead, reliquary and ritual offerings or Jingchuang經幢 (hexagonal small stupa for sutras). Li Qingquan (2008), 294-317; Li Qingquan “cong nanhankangling “lingtai” kanfojaoyingxiangxiade 10shijimuzang FROM HAN TO TANG: THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON THE TANG TOMB ARCHITECTURE” in Wu Hung et al., *Tenth-Century China and Beyond: Art and Visual Culture in a Multi-centered Age* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, Inc., 2013), 126-149.

117 The number “eight” from the octagonal shape could be interpreted as one of the important Buddhist idioms which indicated various auspicious meanings such as Eight Dharmapalas (Defenders of Buddhism), Eight Auspicious Symbols in Mahayana Buddhism, and Noble Eightfold Path (Bazhengdao 八正道).
tombs. For instance, timber frames and their motifs that adorn the Song-Jin tomb interior space are usually seen in the exterior spaces of the Buddhist architectures. In Song-Jin tomb murals, while the timber-frame-motifs direct the mural viewers to the outside of the building, many other mural scenes accentuate interior space. Likewise, we notice certain contradictions in spatial concepts of visual idioms such as interior and exterior spaces as well.

Such discrepancies perhaps imply the possibility that these visual idioms were adapted to different types of art and craft and departed from their original meanings and functions, since otherwise no discrepancy should exist. In this speculation, if the Song-Jin tomb makers remained in a long-held funerary art tradition, the adoption of visual idioms from different art and craft may be a challenge to them. However, the shift of ideas on the world after death, the increase of visual source, and development of materials – medium since the Song period probably provided the tomb makers/patrons with chances to explore other aspects of visual culture and finally change their tomb styles. In doing so, beyond a simple succession of funerary tradition, the general visual practices including visual perception, corresponding understanding, and application, which were accumulated and shared throughout their history, could influence the formation of tomb styles.

\[118\] Different spatial indexes and different time points commonly appear in one scene; for example, while most of architectural decorations originally belong to a building exterior, the figural images clearly designate where they are situated is an interior space with images of furniture. Lin interpreted the ambiguity of the interior and exterior spaces represented in murals as intentional design to indicate the netherworld differentiated from the real world, which are supposed to be viewed by the perspective of dead. However, the diagrams from some contemporaneous geomantic texts such as *Da Han yuanling mizang jing* (Classic of Burial Secrets in the Original Tombs of Great Han), which she suggests as evidences are quite abstract to explain all mural composition because those diagrams only designate the positions of center and circumstance at burial setting including tomb site, mound, altar and so forth. Lin (2011): 18-26.
Furthermore, the practical function of Song-Jin tombs as a container for corpses shows that the visual idioms are shared across a much broader range of art and craft. Given that a function of a given building material eventually influences its stylistic appearance, we could naturally infer a close relationship between materials having similar functions. For the case of Song-Jin tombs’ function as a container for corpses, other craft works with a similar function must be closely related to the Song-Jin tombs as well. The unique form of Song-Jin tombs elaborates this idea; many indeed do not have coffins inside, but instead have bones on special platforms called “beds”. On the other hand, this also implies that the tombs replaced or integrated the function of coffins as a part of the simplification of funeral and burial – a general phenomenon since the Song dynasty. As such, the Song-Jin tombs came to be recognized as containers meant to be adorned as much as the previous coffins were. The patterns of decorative motifs and their similar compositions in the Song-Jin tombs and their contemporaneous crafts such as jars and vessels, as well as many others created in the same workplace support this assumption.

1-4-3. Mural Paintings and Decorations: Manifestation of Local Elites’ Social Aspiration

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119 According to the excavation report of example 5 of the Section 1-1-5, no traces of coffin were found in the tombs. “Shanxi Jishan Jinmu fajue jianbao” (1983): 55-56.
120 In early history of funerary art, coffins were generally more elaborated than tombs, particularly in terms of visuality of the decorative images. Also, the tombs and coffins had specified decorations which designated the function of each entity of the house of soul and the universe surrounding it. It is unclear when the disturbance in use of decoration at coffin and tomb started, but at least we can notice that while being decreased in sized and number of burials, tombs came to be more decorated than coffins. Furthermore, there had been trade-off at degrees of decoration between coffin and tomb, and their different degrees varied according to time and region.
Along with the use of the ready-made quality material – relief bricks at tomb construction, the tomb mural images show a distinctive difference in style and subject matter compared to earlier tombs. Although the stylistic changes of the murals were initially brought on by changes in architecture, the shift in image content was spurred by the patterns of local elites’ visual consumption emphasizing the visual values of the murals as luxury materials. This way, tomb murals were expected not only to execute their traditional functions as funerary art, but also to reveal wealth and social status of the patrons.\textsuperscript{121}

With this new purpose of tomb murals, the social status of the tomb occupants – middle class – required an entirely new mural program for Song-Jin tombs. Although, as middle class, the local elites’ use of tombs was generally limited, particularly regarding tomb size and quality and quantity of burial goods, the extravagance of tomb decorations was tolerated because there were no strict regulations for the decorations.\textsuperscript{122} The mural images and their styles, therefore, kept developing while reflecting the different tastes and ideals of the patrons in a different period. In order to meet such new needs of the local elites as well as the basic function of the funerary art, the features of tomb murals inevitably became bilateral; the tomb murals had to be conspicuously luxurious, but at the

\textsuperscript{121} From \textit{Action Theory}, Weber asserts that to fully understand an action in sociological perspective, it should be initially interpreted with the individual intention of the doer rather than its effect or result. The intention is an explanation of the deed as well as its cause. Max Weber, \textit{Economy and Society - an Outline of Interpretative Sociology}, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischoff et al (New York, Bedminster Press, 1968).

\textsuperscript{122} Funerals and burials were regulated by law that was discriminative according to the social classes; particularly tomb sizes and numbers/kinds of burials were strictly monitored by the local government. The tombs of middle classes had usually not been decorated with murals and sculptures because such interior decorations were mostly allowed only to the upper classes. Also, under the Song regime, the expenses on funerals and burials were strongly regulated by the law based on Confucian ideals that stress frugality and austerity. Although the local elites were not perfectly controlled, at least the intellectuals and government officials had criticized and worried about such an extravagance and as a result the demand for decorated tombs as luxuries had dramatically increased. Li Hong 李红, “Song Liao Jin shidai de mushi bihua 宋遼金時代的墓室壁畫 (Tomb Murals of the Song, Liao, and Jin Dynasties),” in \textit{Zhongguo meishu zhuanji: huihuabian – mishibihua 中國美術全集, 繪畫編 12 - 墓室壁畫 Completed Works of Arts of China: Paintings Vol. 12 – Tomb Murals) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), 35-50.
same time they had to ostensibly intimate strong themes of filial piety for their dead parents.

In dealing with this conflict, the Song-Jin mural program changed in several creative ways. First, as noted in section 1-4-2, the limited spaces for murals resulting from the simplified tomb structure challenged the tomb makers, requiring novel methods of composition of the mural images. The modifications in composition are noticed in unique utilization of the mural space, which clearly divides the space in three parts vertically from the bottom to the ceiling; the walls for the lower part, bracket sets and small spaces between them for the middle part, and the ceilings for the upper most part.\textsuperscript{123} Based on the initial analyses of the Song-Jin tombs in Section 1-1, certain types of images and motifs belong to each part of the mural as follows:\textsuperscript{124}

\hspace{1cm}1) The lower part generally features images in three categories; wooden architectural motifs including pseudo bracket sets (note that the paintings on the spaces

\textsuperscript{123} Despite seemingly identical meaning of individual images of Song-Jin tomb murals and traditional ones, the mural program in its entirety inevitably came to differ from previous ones. The tomb murals were supposed to maintain the frame of traditional mural program while replacing the images with ones that have similar meanings. The images and motifs of Song-Jin tomb murals are largely categorized into three themes: first, wooden architectural motifs and furniture that indicate the residential place of deceased, second, the various living scenes occurring in a household that reveal the social status of the tomb occupant, and the last, various decorative motifs which assign the auspicious meanings to the tomb space. These images and motifs in three categories were long standing decorative elements of the tomb decorations (under the wooden framed architecture, the tomb occupant (portraits) enjoyed life (entertainment and banquet, and food preparations) at a high social position (some connotations of the wealth and high social class), but with much emphasis on the dailiness, the secular and realistic aspects of the life increase in portion at the murals.

\textsuperscript{124} This divisional understanding of the space has a long standing tradition. Shen Kuo (沈括, 1031-1095) also describes Chinese architecture in his encyclopedic anthology \textit{Mengxibitan}, based on similar spatial understanding that focuses on the three divisions (layers); pedestal and its below, floor to wall, and rafter and its above. His understanding again is based on Yu Hao 喻皓 (?-989)’s theory in \textit{Mujing} 木經 which is known as published before \textit{Yingzao fashi}. Wang Hong and Zhao Zheng trans., \textit{Mengxibitan 夢溪筆談 / Brush Talks from Dream Brook} (Chengdu: Sichuan People’s Pub.; Reading, England: Paths International Ltd., 2011).
between the bracket sets are included in the middle part of the mural), sets of furniture and objects placed in each part of the residence of tomb occupant, and scenes of daily life depicting mostly human figures. In terms of the theme, scenes of daily life were not particularly new in the mural program. However, their modified styles represent a mixed perspective of both realism and idealism through which to view the occupant’s life. For example, despite regulations applied to the middle class’ use of architecture, the tomb owners adopted architectural motifs of buildings typically reserved for those of higher social rank.

Also the images of luxurious furniture and objects scattered all over the murals reinforce the ideals of tomb owners for getting higher position in society. Also, the tomb occupant, the master of the tomb space is represented with other human figural images that mainly describe the daily life of the tomb occupants. However, the official life of tomb occupants were rarely noticed implying their limited social positions.

2) The middle part consists of decorative motifs with auspicious meanings and narrative images, usually depicted between bracket sets. The images between

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127 As the murals of Baisha Song tomb show, the luxurious objects including coins and metal lumps (possibly gold and silver) were placed here and there seemingly with no intentions other than ostentation of the tomb occupant’s wealth. See the description of example 1 of Section 1-1 and [fig.2.2.37.]
128 Although I classify the bracket sets in lower part of murals because they are important element of daily life scenes, bracket sets yield special spaces for images of different themes from the lower part of murals. See, Deng (2009).
bracket sets were commonly seen in general architectural decorations as described in *Yingzao fashi*. [fig.1.4.5.] Although these images are generally interpreted within funerary symbolism (as in Section 3-1), it is also possible that these images were typical popular images that used to be represented in the architectural medium of the Song-Jin period.

3) The upper part is comprised mostly of ceilings generally shaped in a corbelled or pointed dome. In most cases, this part lacks images but if present, the images describe the sun, moon, constellations, heavenly gods and their world. [fig.1.4.6.] Although the overall themes of images in the upper part follow the tradition of tomb murals, the details in representations such as different kinds of gods provide evidence of what the popular religions and beliefs of local elites were.

All three mural layers represent the strategy of the tomb patrons to confirm their social positions and desires as local leaders utilizing the images. In particular, while adopting the basic frame of funerary symbolism, tomb patrons tried to locate their ancestors and themselves at a position parallel to traditional decorated tomb owners – the upper class. At the same time, their secular desire was perfectly concealed by extensively emphasizing filial piety toward the ancestors through various auspicious and Confucian “Xiao 孝 (filiality)” images.

This strategic use of the different mural layers can be also found in the manipulation of visuality; the high position of tomb occupants in the family and local area is emphasized through effective disposition of images overcoming spatial limitation (which means social limitation as well) of the single chamber structure. While murals of
traditional tombs had straightforward direction horizontally and vertically, in a single chamber of Song-Jin tomb, the focal point changed to the center of chamber and the murals are represented in a circular flow with no clear beginning or end, putting forth a totally different spatial frame.\textsuperscript{129}

Most images of the lower part murals represent such examples; the consecutive and circular walls of a single chamber effectively shape the luxurious house complex, symbolizing a lucrative life by substituting the appearance of many chambers and corridors. I further elaborate these examples in two perspectives – 1) arrangement of human figures, and 2) their depictions.

First, the figural images are primarily utilized to divide and expand the limited mural spaces through their various postures, gestures and relationships to one other. Particularly, the spatial expansion in a radial direction is accomplished by the door images through which many figures enter and leave, alluding to the space beyond the tomb chamber. Although the murals could no longer be assigned to individual spaces, the spatial division and expansion by the pictorial settings manipulate the viewer’s visual perception.

Second, by coherently arranging images made with focal points, the space naturally obtains a type of logic leading the viewer’s eyes to overcome the spatial hierarchy of the traditional tomb space. The focal point is usually designated by images of a master room (or a living room), also intended to be the center of the actual residence.

\textsuperscript{129} However, some scholars still interpret this circulative structure symbolizes the cosmological flow. Yi Qing 易晴 “Tiendao zuolu, didaoyoulu – Hebei Dengfeng Heishangou Beisong zhuandiao bihuamu tuxiang goucheng 天道左旅, 地道右旅 – 河南登封黑山溝北宋磚雕壁畵墓圖像構成 (The heaven turning to the left, the earth turning to the right – the mural composition of the Heishangou tomb of Northern Song period in Henan Province),” Zhongyuan wenwu 4 (2009): 75-81.
In this master room, the tomb occupants’ portrait is depicted amidst a banquet scene. The central portrait of the mate room eventually becomes the center of the house due to its close connection with the other scenes. For example, nearby the portrait, the tomb occupants’ attendants are preparing food and approaching to serve the occupants. On the other side, there are *zaju* 雜劇 performers or music players at whom the tomb occupants’ gaze. Other attendants carry luxuries into the house for their masters. This spatial logic revolving around a single focal point is accentuated by the contrast and comparison of the images; for example, as counterparts, the women’s quarter is represented at the opposite side of the master’s room while depicting the different types of women’s activities such as nursing babies and dressing hair. [fig.1.4.7] Given these evident visual settings representing the tomb space as a realistic living space, the natural question will be if there existed some reference that the craftsmen could use when drawing the murals. Up until this point, scholars tried to find such textual ground informing the content of these Song-Jin murals. Their theories started from the perspective of viewing the murals within a conventional funerary ritualistic framework based on the assumption that the abstruse theories of classical thought were still dominant in tomb murals of the Song-Jin period.131

While proving that such theories explain the spatial relationship of Song-Jin tomb mural images is difficult, it is rather easier to seek evidence that the mural compositions

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130 Li Qingquan, “Muzhuxiangyu tangsongmuzang fengqizhibian – yiwudaishiguoshtagxianzhongxi 墓主像與唐宋墓葬風氣之變(之一) – 以五代十國時期的考古發見爲中心 (Tomb occupant portraits and changes of funerary art styles of Tang and Song dynasties part. 1 – focusing on the excavations of Five Dynasties),” in *Yishushizhongde HanJin yu TangSongzhizhibian* 藝術史中的漢晉與唐宋之變 (The changes in art history from Han-Jin to Tang-Song period), ed. Yan Juanying and Shi Danshou, (Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2014).

131 This traditional perspective is to view the tombs and funerary art of which production had been strictly regulated by the funerary ideologies as a part of ritual process. One of the recent studies, De Pee’ book also says the tombs are a part of funerary rituals while believing this materials are more reliable evidence to reveal the Song rituals than textual records. De Pee (2007), 241
were learned or inspired by the practical examples, such as decorations on the regular architecture above ground and the structures of the residential complexes. For example, the new mural compositions were possibly made by adopting ways of decorating building murals, and by getting ideas from the general arrangement of buildings that divide spaces according to genders and roles of their residents based on Yin and Yang principles. Thus, the slight differences in mural composition by region were natural consequences because the examples they learned from would be different depending on regions, as explained in Section 1-3.

As such, the formation of the tomb mural program was related to its realistic circumstances regarding architecture, which provides reason to view the meaning of visual object uses in a social context rather than in a funerary context. From this perspective, the mural images would manifest the social circumstance of urban areas, the intentions of the local elites regarding their cultural consumption, and values of the material entity. In their totality, they would be a lens through which to see the social position of their occupants.132

This cultural value-driven use of decorated tombs can be supported by the fact that there was severe disturbance in composition of murals at the tombs during later times. A near pastiche of many popular images, which cannot even be explained by the intentional image arrangement, was prevalent. This phenomenon suggests that the tomb patrons focused only on consumption of images as culturally valued productions, and in this context, an accurate position of images became less important. The images of 24

132 Chapter 2 The decorative features of Song-Jin tombs, in this sense, have significance in visualizing the moral standards toward the family and its relationship with the society, and further conceal the personal and secular desires they projected on the living scenes.
stories of filial piety exemplify this use of the visuals in Song-Jin tombs, namely, obtaining social value reflected in images by simply consuming them as materials. [fig.1.4.8.] These images were first represented at small spaces between the pseudo bracket sets, but their locations later became random. Although these images are based on specific narratives, their representations are decorative rather than depictive; the representations are the result of patterned works with fixed iconic images and styles like other decorative motifs. All of the story scenes look like they are adopted from woodblock print illustrations due to their lack of creativity and craftsmanship.133 Along with the various decorative motifs such as flowers, animals, and geometric figures that have auspicious meanings, the 24 stories of filial piety seem to be adopted as decorations to emphasize their filial nature.

This contention is further supported by the fact that many decorative motifs were not exclusively designed for tomb murals. Various craft arts were adorned with the same motifs and images of tomb murals while referencing a popular pattern pool accessible to craftsmen who could then easily copy and apply them to various crafts over time.134 This owes to the versatile nature of decorative motifs that could be applied to most contexts of human life with their wishful spells. Thus, they appear in various crafts such as architecture, ceramics, metal works, and textile production. Also, the composition of murals was not specific to the tomb space; although they were modified for tomb architecture, the frames of images to represent screens or canvases are usually seen in many other crafts. [fig.1.4.9.]

133 These images were not entirely new subject matters in funerary art, their positions in tomb murals and the stylistic forms were newly formed in late Northern Song period.
134 I will discuss pattern pool in Chapter 2.
In sum, the use of a pattern pool and patterned composition for tomb murals implies that the Song-Jin tomb itself was parallel to those other materials in its social value that was determined by the consumable nature of the materials. Even though tombs have ostensive purposes to keep corpses and to commemorate the life and death of the dead, as consumable material, they demonstrated the consumer’s wealth and social status, which tomb patrons sought to secure through material consumption.

1-5. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter starts with clarifying the definition of the Song-Jin tombs with their unique features of date, region, and physical characteristics in architecture and decorative motifs. Through the thorough analyses of the five exemplary decorated tombs constructed from late Northern Song to Jin dynasties located in different regions within southern Shanxi and northern Henan Provinces, I showed that the tombs of this period fundamentally share many similar features, and thus can be grouped together as a single type – Song-Jin tombs. The differences they have are only in minor regional modifications, not in ethnic manifestations of Han Chinese and Jin Jurchen.

Based on the analyses, I further investigated three common features of the Song-Jin tombs, and significance of those features apropos the luxurious life and material consumption of the tomb patrons, the local elites who rose to power in this period. First, I focused on the time period of Song-Jin tomb construction, which spans from late Northern Song to Jin dynasties, showing that the culture this period is not sharply divided by dynastic divisions. This ambiguity is related to the rise and formation of new tomb
patron groups who had a unique background based on the prosperity of urban economy. Second, I elaborated on the relationship of the Song-Jin tombs and local elites by focusing on the environmental and social conditions of the regions. Along with the increase of decorated tomb demand by the rise of local elites, the popularity of Song-Jin tombs derived from the regional conditions that facilitated the smooth circulation of supply and demand of the tombs. Lastly, I referenced visual evidence revealing what the local elites sought in tomb patronization by analyzing the Song-Jin tomb mural program. While reviewing the previous research that interprets the mural program in a traditional ritualistic symbolism, I argued that a set of interior decoration motifs and their composition were specially designed and planned to represent the social desire of the local elites, which was achieved through consumption of high cultural materials – decorated tombs.

To conclude, the popularity of the Song-Jin tombs was in a close relationship with the growth of the local elites. Thus, the environmental and physical features of the tombs well represent the social status of patrons, reflecting their social desire in architectural and mural forms.
CHAPTER 2.
UNDERSTANDING THE MATERIALITY OF SONG-JIN TOMBS:
POPULAR MEDIUM, PATTERN POOL, AND REPRODUCIBILITY
IN VISUAL ART

Introduction

Although the conceptions of death and the afterlife imbued in tomb mural programs were based on certain beliefs that had been maintained over thousands of years, their visual manifestations – the images and motifs found in murals – cannot be separated from the context of the real world. This is because, from a material point of view, the images were, after all, a combination of various material elements such as their medium, their creator’s decorating method, and the source of the images. The materiality of Song-Jin tomb murals could therefore tell us about the production and application of various images as well as their social value in the real world.

The most notable feature of Song-Jin tomb murals can be summarized as their use of popular images. All the images were drawn from popular sources (or a pattern pool) that were widely referred to in the decoration of various other crafts in different mediums, such as ceramics and woodblock prints. The pattern pool and the medium – in other words, popular content and mass-producible materials – facilitated the reproduction of images in China during this time. This new way of producing images fundamentally expanded the audience and consumer base of such works, consequently altering popular perceptions of the images.135

135 Water Benjamin’s discourse highlights the different material attributes of the medium, which lost the aura of traditional art, affecting viewers’ stance toward art and further, changing its social value. This relationship enables us to bring up Walter Benjamin’s well-known discourse about the emergence of new
Based on the premise that the development of a pattern pool and popular mediums initiated a shift in the visual culture of China, this chapter attempts to demonstrate how the materiality of Song-Jin tomb murals functioned as an art medium. By comparing images from different mediums, I will demonstrate that making and perception of Song-Jin tomb murals were paralleled to all other craft works. This further allows us to discuss the impact of their circulation as materials on the dissemination of tombs styles.\textsuperscript{136}

I will elaborate on this discussion in the following two sections. In Section 2-1, I investigate the general logistics of the use of materials such as metal, ceramics, and woodblocks, which were significant in the development of different art mediums and the dissemination of popular images. Section 2-2 then demonstrates the existence of a pattern pool by analyzing subjects commonly found in tomb murals and craft decorations. More specifically, I classify the mural images into three categories according to their content. I first examine images of the stories of filial piety through popular Confucian teaching and ideology. Next, I study a crane motif to see how folk beliefs incorporated into Daoist symbolism were reflected in tomb mural program. Finally, I look at various images of objects and figures, through which materiality is further linked to the concept of possession as a means of ensuring a happy life.

\textsuperscript{136} This will be discussed in Chapter 3.
2-1. The Development of Mediums and the Reproduction of Images

Medium and decorations, as important material elements of pictorial art, are closely related to each other and decide the use and value of images and objects. Along with changes in their main audience and consuming group, various objects began to be produced in different affordable materials (or popular mediums) in the Song-Jin period. The images decorating them accordingly came to be changed as well. This new way of utilizing popular materials as a canvas for visual representations marked an important first step in bringing visual art to a much wider range of people.

To identify the role of different mediums in the mass production of images, I first briefly discuss the features and limitations of the traditional mediums that influenced the production of popular art mediums. I then examine two representative examples of popular art mediums – ceramics and woodblock prints – and their unique material quality that made their reproduction of images viable.

2-1-1. Arts and Crafts of Valued Mediums

The daily life scenes shown in Song-Jin tomb murals provide indications that luxury goods were widely adopted by the middle class by this period. A stack of tea cups and elaborately decorated tea jars sitting on a table, literati-style paintings or calligraphy screens standing on the floor or hanging on walls, and excessively adorned architecture are just a few examples of such items. [fig.2.1.1] However, since the world depicted in murals was closer to the fantasy than reality, it is hard to know how these images and
objects were actually used. Could they be just images that the tomb occupants wanted to possess, or is it possible that those goods really were popular among the middle class?

The fact that high quality images and objects were often reproduced in a lower quality validates both of the above assumptions. Although there were many different reasons for the reproduction of images and many different results according to the reasons, image reproduction is generally interpreted as a phenomenon that reveals the collective desire of patrons to achieve the cultural and social status of the owners of such luxuries. As middle class people gained power in different locales, they came to recognize images and objects as items to possess, which would demonstrate their wealth and high level of self-cultivation, while thinking themselves qualified to do so. However, the production of luxurious art and craftwork could not keep up with the growth of demand, and their substitutions began to be produced in more affordable mediums resembling the shapes and decorations of the luxurious items.

All the relatively cheap and shoddy objects that were produced in such a situation probably had models that they ultimately sought to mimic. Setting aside stylistic differences, most popular images have corresponding models done in more expensive and valuable materials. For example, in prior times popular ceramic ware was made with gold or silver, and was commonly found in the tombs of royals. The earliest type of Cizhou ceramic pillows exemplifies this case; the form of these ceramic pillows is very similar to the pillows of gold found in Chengu Princess’ tomb of the Liao period. [fig.2.1.2]

137 Rawson discusses in her article that because ceramics were made as a substitute for precious metalwork many pieces resembled metal ware in their shape, decoration, and color. Jessica Rawson, “Sets orSingletons? Uses of Chinese Ceramics: 10th –14th Centuries,” the Journal of Song and Yuan Studies 23 (1993): 71-94.
On the other hand, an identical or analogous level of imitation was impossible because the properties of popular craft mediums generally were not adequate for delicate fabrication. Nevertheless, reproduced images obtained unique social/visual values through mass reproduction while also inaugurating a new consumer class. The different medium and manner of decorations invariably changed the content and style of the images, and these images began to form a lineage separate from their original models.

2-1-2. Ceramics: Cizhou Ware

Cizhou ware denotes a type of moderate quality stoneware characterized by unique stylistic forms and decoration. Its name was derived from a kiln site in northeastern China. Cizhou ware commonly features a coarse stoneware body with various decorations on a thick white slip. Cizhou ware is especially distinguished by bold line paintings with iron pigment, which is in contrast to other contemporary ceramic wares that generally pursued their aesthetic value through the perfection of shape and the color of glaze.  

Cizhou ware first appeared in the Tang dynasty (618-907), however, its decorative style and relatively low-quality materials did not appeal to the upper classes. It only became popular after the 10th century when its production increased due to increased demand from the middle class.  

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138 The first historical record noting Cizhou ware is found in *Ge gu yao lun* (A discussion of the essential criteria of antiquities) originally written in 1388. In this book, the author notes, “Fine pieces of ancient Cizhou ware are similar to Ding ware but they lack the traces of “tear drops”. They also have incised and impressed patterns. The price of the plain pieces is lower than those of Ding ware. Contemporary pieces are not worth discussing,” from Cao Zhao 曹昭. *Gegu yaolun* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan yinxing, 1965-1970).

139 The production of Cizhou ware was technically easier than any other ceramic style due to its peculiar decorative method and the method for treating the surface of its body. Roderick Whitfield, “Cizhou
Cizhou ware is noted by its main consumers, its uses, and its main area of production. Consequently, its decorations reflect the popular visual art of north-central China, as with other different popular mediums of the area. As many scholars recognize, all of these features coincide with the material characteristics and construction of Song-Jin mural tomb. For example, Wirgin notes that the unique decorations of Cizhou ware – underglaze iron painting with free brush strokes – reflect a new tendency in decorative art for the middle class, quoting Gernet’s description on the popular culture of the Northern Song.

In addition, consumers valued the practical functions of Cizhou ware, and thus most Cizhou ware was utilized for daily use. This distinguished Cizhou ware from other ceramic ware, which was treated as a subject for connoisseurship. For example, one of the featured productions of Cizhou kilns were pillows, which had never been produced in other kilns in such huge amounts. Whether they were actually used in real life is still

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140 For example, in her article, Wirgin takes Song-Jin tomb mural paintings as examples to show the influence of painting on ceramic decoration. Jan Wirgin, “Ceramic Designs and Their Relation to Painting,” in *Chinese Painting and the Decorative Style* (1976), 22-38.


142 Rawson asserts that although many connoisseurs collected and admired ceramics as masterpieces and left many accounts of them as such, these do not necessarily represent how they were used in their period; popular ceramics from 10th to 14th century were mostly used in daily life. Rawson, *JSYS* 23 (1993), 93-94.
Such decorative yet practical functions in Cizhou ware caused ceramics to become a popular medium for folk paintings.

Similar to Song-Jin tombs, Cizhou ware is also characterized by the provenance of its production. Famous kilns for Cizhou ware were installed in Hebei, Shanxi and Henan Provinces. These regions were renowned as the center of Cizhou ware production, although soon after their rise, similar types of ware began to be produced all over north China due to their popularity.

The regional concentration of production has implications for revealing where there was a great demand for these products. The most striking evidence for such a correlation are the seals of family-run factories, such as 張家造 (which literally means “made by the Zhang family”), 趙家造, and 王家造.

143 Cizhou ceramic pillows 枕 (zhen) has been an interesting subject for research due to their unparalleled amount of remains and unique decorations and shapes. Although there are representative articles of Cizhou ware, their practicality is still controversial. They have been believed to be exclusively used as burial goods because most of them were found in tombs and no records clearly state their uses. However, evidence contradicting this belief also exists; for example, the Tang dynasty story written by Shen Jiji (c.740-c.800), Zhenzhongji 枕中記 (The world inside a pillow) describes the main character falling asleep on a celadon pillow that has two holes on both sides (其枕青瓷, 而竅其兩端). There are several different versions of Zhenzhongji, and the oldest extant version was written in Song dynasty. See the story of “Lu Weng 吕翁,” in Taiping guangji 太平廣記, juan 82 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju; Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo, 1961, repr. 1995); The representative research on the pillow in Cizhou type includes: Zhang Ziying 張子英, Cizhouyao cizhen 磁州窯瓷枕 (Ceramic Pillow of Cizhou Kiln) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000); Wang Ye 望野, Qiannian menghua: Zhongguo gudai taocizhen 千年夢華:中國古代陶瓷枕 (Chinese Antiquity Ceramic Pillow) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008).


145 The regional bases of Cizhou ware production largely overlap with the ones of Song-Jin tomb construction, see Chapter 1 pp.
All these families were probably active in their own regional bases where their kilns existed. For example, the seal of the Zhang family often contained the name of a region, *Gu Xiang* 古相 or *Xiang Di* 相地 (old Xiang or Xiang area), which indicates a place called Xiangxian 相縣 located west of Anyang in Henan Province.147 [fig.2.1.5]

The existence of such a seal has two implications; 1) the identity of craftsmen, which originally had been hidden behind objects, came out to the fore, with craftsmen beginning to advertise their names on their works, and 2) there were indeed consumers or customers who sought the products of these specific workshops.

In summary, there are many similarities in the production of Cizhou ware and Song-Jin tombs not only material aspects but also their uses, and consequently their decorative motifs and mural images overlap as well. The common decorations found in two different mediums not only include decorative motifs, but also various narrative depictions, such as the twenty-four filial piety stories, *zaju* dramas as well as prose and poems, and even historical accounts.148 [fig.2.1.6] This demonstrates that a certain “pattern pool” must have been widely referred to in the reproductions of decorative images.

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146 According to Zhang, except for Zhang and Wang, there were many surnames such as Li 李, Zhao 趙, Liu 劉, Chen 陳, Chang 常 used as marks indicating family workshops. Zhang Ziying, “Xianyi Cizhouyao “Zhangjia” zaozhen 淺議磁州窯 “張家”造枕 (A Simple Discussion of Pillows made by “Zhang family” in Cizhou Kiln),” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1 (1994): 51-55.

147 Whitfield (1975), 75-78.

148 A Cizhou ware dated 1133 bears a long calligraphy note describing the hardships caused by the invading Jin army. Ye Qiu, “Dong you suoji 東遊所記 (Notes on a journey to Japan),” *Wenwu* 12 (1963): 28; Hasebe Gakuji, *Jishūyō 磁州窯* (Cizhou Kiln) (Toji Taikei Vol. 39) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1974), 118, fig. 53; used in Whitfield (1975), 75; interestingly, this calligraphy note recording this historical circumstance seems to have been one popular decorative theme in this period. I will discuss calligraphic scribbles on tomb murals recording a historical event in Chapter 3. [Fig.3-3-2]
2-1-3. Woodblock Prints

As a common pattern pool was widely utilized by craftsmen, similar types of popular images appeared in different mediums. Woodblock prints are another example of the existence of such a pattern pool. Woodblock prints share many features with ceramics in their material properties, facilitating the reproduction of popular images. For instance, clay and paper were affordable and easy to form and decorate. Thus the decorative images of woodblock prints provide another clue to understanding the pattern pool of the Song-Jin period in the context of ceramics as well as that of tomb murals.

Due to the lack of extant woodblock prints, it is hard to know the exact format of the pattern pool or its actual influence on the dissemination of popular images. However, many studies, using Ming and Qing examples, prove that many paintings on ceramics were derived from the illustrations of woodblock prints, suggesting that such a relationship between printed illustrations and ceramic decorations possibly existed in an earlier period, such as that of the Song and Jin.149

Woodblock prints first became popular as fliers of calendars, amulets, and religious charms, and then began to be developed further through the mass production of

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149 Regarding the proliferation of narrative themes in porcelain decoration in the 17th century, Little noted two facts for the reasons in this in-depth research on the relationship between decorative images and woodblock print illustrations. First, due to the fall of the Ming Empire, the regulations imposed on the artists of Jingdezhen were loosened. Second, the quality and popularity of woodblock prints greatly increased in South China. Although it was to a different degree, these two conditions are also noted in the production of Cizhou ware. The woodblock print industry was burgeoning in north China, and Cizhou ware, which was made in a moderate quality, was not favored by the upper class, so artists were relatively free from the pressure of patrons. Stephen Little, “Narrative Themes and Woodblock Prints in the Decoration of Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelains,” in Seventeenth Century Chinese Porcelain from the Butler Family Collection, ed. Migs Grove (Virginia: Art Services International, 1990), 21-32.
Buddhist sutras, which finally led to the development of printed books. Additionally, the civil-service examination of the Song period accelerated the production of printed books. This fact became the basis on which most scholars recognize the beginning of the heyday of Chinese woodblock prints as the Song period. Along with the development of woodblock prints, illustrations also became more diverse during the Song period. This explains the appearance of various types of texts, from sutras, classics, and narratives, such as *Gu lienu zhuan* 烈女傳 (*Lives of exemplary women from antiquity*) to encyclopedias that began to be published for a popular audience. [fig.2.1.7.]

Although narrative themes were commonly relayed through short texts and images in pictorial arts, the coupling of illustrations and non-narrative texts barely existed before Song-Jin period. However, when various types of contents were published in prints while taking populace as audience, images began to be connected to texts for accessibility. Accordingly, the appearance of such coupling facilitated the understanding of technical knowledge as well as its dissemination to the public. Although the

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150 For the development of woodblock print industry in the mid and late Imperial period, see Hiromitsu Kobayashi, *Chiigoku no hanga - Todai kara Shindai made* (Chinese woodblock illustrations: from the Tang through the Qing Dynasty) (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1995); Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit - the Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th centuries)* (MA.: Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2002); Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow ed., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt eds. *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011).

151 There were already about thirty printing centers in Northern Song period. Zhang Xiumin 张秀民, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* 中国印刷史 (*History of Chinese prints*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1989), 59.

152 According to Chia’s analysis of the books published in Jinyang 建陽 in the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, the publication of technical books gradually increased beginning in the Song period. When considering that books for preparing for examinations were particularly popular in this area, technical books for preparing the exams for technical posts could be the large part of books published in China. Lucille Chia, “Commercial Publishing from the Song to the Ming,” in Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn ed., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2003), 290-291; The publication of various books ranging from literature to manuals as well as *leishu* (Classified books, often translated as “encyclopedias”, 100
illustrations in those non-narrative texts were hardly related to the stories or symbolism that tomb murals generally depicted, it is highly likely that mural craftsmen were influenced by these illustrations. Since mural-making belonged to craftwork rather than to artistic endeavors, the illustrations in technical manuals could have been a good source for craftsmen not only learning about decorative patterns, but also about their application in various materials.

The rarity of extant woodblock prints produced in central and north China, however, does not allow us to precisely know how they were circulated in the area or how they actually influenced the utilization of popular images as decoration. Furthermore, the fact that we have relatively more examples of south Chinese woodblock prints than central and north Chinese woodblock prints made it improbable that the woodblock print industry in central and northern China was as active as it was in south China in this period.153

Nevertheless, a few remaining examples confirm the fact that commercial woodblock prints from north and central China existed, and in some cases, their quality even exceeded that of southern prints.154 The first such example is a well-known Jin

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153 Chia notes that the success of the printing industry of south China was related to immigrants from the north after the Northern Song’s fall, who had some connection to the government and were used to civil examinations. In addition, Chia notes that the maintenance of success throughout the period was due to the environment of the area, which featured the low costs of quality material and labor, and the existence of active markets. Lucille Chia (2002), 73-74.

154 In the section 2-2-1, I will discuss the fact that the woodblock printed books were actively produced in northern China while forming their own lineage, parallel to southern prints.
dynasty print, *Four Beauties* (四美人圖), produced by the Ji Family (姬家), a commercial print shop in Pingyang 平陽 (currently near Linfen 臨汾 in Shanxi). [fig.2.1.8.] Although this print seems to have been sold at a high price, it shows that woodblock prints, which were relatively more affordable than paintings, were good enough to substitute painting as a medium. Additionally, experts who proudly produced woodblock prints obviously seemed to exist, as the family name “Ji” was imprinted in the middle of the blocks. As discussed before with Cizhou ceramics, this family name reveals how prints were produced and treated as a new medium for visual representation and consumption in the Song-Jin period. Secondly, paper money, of which typesetting was related to carving technique, demonstrates that popular patterns were adopted in similar types of works. For example, well-known Song dynasty paper money shows similarities with other woodblock print works, Cizhou ware decorations, and tomb mural paintings, not only in terms of their themes but also in terms of the composition of their images, in particular the relationship between texts and illustrations within screens. 155 [fig.2.1.9.]

2-2. Pattern Pool: Popular Mediums and Popular Images

As discussed in Section 2-1, most images were utilized across a variety of mediums of arts and craft. Among them, tomb murals are particularly important as they integrate most of the images into their compositions. The compositions of murals help us understand the meaning of images more clearly within a clear context because tomb murals were

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155 On the visual analysis of the tomb mural depicting the same image, see the example 4 of the tombs of southeastern Shanxi in Chapter 3.
created to evoke a desirable residence for the afterlife. Additionally, the world that mural images represented had to be ideal in the material and the philosophical sense.

The images and motifs that appeared on tomb murals can be generally categorized into three groups, each representing popular thoughts, beliefs, and wishes, respectively, which permeated all levels of society.\(^{156}\) In this section, I investigate the representative themes of these three categories: 1) Confucian teaching and ideology – the Twenty-four Stories of Filial Piety, 2) Daoist symbolism – An Analysis of the Crane Motif, and 3) All other images promising a happy life – People and Objects.

2-2-1. Confucianism: Stories of Filial Piety

This section discusses one of the unique themes of funerary art, the twenty-four stories of filial piety. Although the stories existed far earlier than the Song-Jin period, a new format of the stories was formed in the Song-Jin period, influencing the visual representation of the stories in tomb murals. Below I will investigate the relationship between the textual and visual formats of the twenty-four stories of filial piety.

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\(^{156}\) Scholars have interpreted the complexity in the ideologies that the images were oriented to as a syncretism of The Three Teachings (Sānjiào 三教), which designate Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Although the thematic categorization in this dissertation is also by the themes of images, to a certain degree, based on this idea, the syncretism of the Song-Jin period had not been really shaped as a religion in the Ming period. We can only assume that these different thoughts and beliefs were widespread among people, and that this became the basis for the formation of syncretism later. For a discussion of syncretism in Chinese Daoism see the brief introduction, Kristofer Schipper, “Taoism: the Story of the Way,” in Taoism and the Arts of China (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 48.
**Socio-historical Background**

Since Confucianism is more of a philosophy than a religion, deeply related to life ethics, its subjects of visualization were relatively limited compared to those of Buddhism and Daoism. Most notably, there is no absolute power in Confucianism, which is a very common trope and popular subject of visualization in other religions. Instead, sages or virtuous men and women who established and faithfully fulfilled Confucian doctrine had long been the main subject matter of Confucian art. Among them, stories of filial sons articulating “filial piety (Xiao 孝)” – the most important virtue, and the foundational concept of a number of social codes – had been particularly popular as a subject matter of pictorial arts.

*Xiaojing 孝經* (the Classic of Filial Piety), one of the thirteen classics of the Confucian canon, was written, along with its related narratives during the Warring States period. This naturally allowed the figures of the stories to obtain a mythic status in Confucianism even though they were neither philosophers nor sages.\(^{157}\) The earliest example of pictorial arts depicting the stories of filial piety appeared on the stone reliefs of shrines of the Han dynasty.\(^{158}\) To a certain point in the ancient period, images of these stories were displayed for public view through the decorating of the walls of palaces and temples. Those images within ancient pictorial compositions were not only for decoration

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157 The earliest compilation of the narratives is known as *Bibliography of Filial Sons* (*Xiaozizhuan 孝子傳*) written by Liu Xiang (77-6 BCE) of Western Han dynasty, which includes the stories of Shun 舜, Guo Ju 郭巨, and Dong Yong 董永.

but also had liturgical or edificatory functions, and thus they were not dealt with as an independent subject matter.  

Narratives about filial deeds were continuously created and added to pre-existing stories. One significant feature of these stories that differentiates them from the stories of gods and deities in other religions is that their figures are real persons in history. This fact allowed the historical context of the stories to gradually expand after the Warring states period such as with the story of Zengzi 曾子 (or Zeng Can 曾參, 505-436 BCE), in the Northern Song, or the story of Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105). Moreover, the pictorial tradition of representing filial piety stories as decoration at shrines or tombs was maintained throughout history. However, these stories were orally transmitted without a definite form, like the written classics, and there was no iconography in their visual representations.

Compilations of these stories became popular in the Liao and Northern Song period and their sets were in fixed numbers of scenes like 6, 8, 12, or 24. In addition, images depicting these stories increasingly appeared in tomb murals and craft decoration, and the iconography was formed while the same images were represented as in sets of fixed numbers. This phenomenon suggests that the development of text and images were related to each other.

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159 For the functions of the images in ancient China, see, Lu Ge, *Zhongguo gudai huihua lilun fazhanshi* (the History of the Development of Painting Theories in Ancient China) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982).

160 On Liao mural example depicting the stories of filial piety, see, Zhaitangcun Liao Tomb in Shu Bai ed. *Mushi bihua* 墓室壁畵 (Mural Painting of Tombs) (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 1989), 166-67; Twenty-four is the most popular number as many filial story books evidence. This is from where the title of the set, “twenty-four stories of filial piety (*Ershisi xiaozhi gushi* 二十四孝子故事)” was derived.
Before investigating the relationship between texts and images, it is noteworthy to look at the reasons why filial piety stories became popular in the Song period. The appearance of Neo-Confucianism in the Song period could be one reason. As the Tang and Five Dynasties, when Buddhism was a dominant force in society, came to an end, Confucianism began to be strategically promulgated. In need of a transformation of its core teachings into easy-to-understand texts, the stories of filial piety seem to be elaborated upon to allow more people in different social classes to understand and practice Confucian principles in their lives. Accordingly, texts recording filial deeds were printed in a great quantity and widely circulated among the populace.

However, the popularity of those narratives cannot be explained only by the Confucian propaganda policies of the government. Since such high-level philosophical theories were primarily appropriated by the state government to support its ideology and its regime, they barely affected the life of ordinary people. Instead, regarding the mass reproduction of narratives and images, two possibilities can be further assumed. First, it could have been merely a coincidence that a formative transformation of social morals had been widely accepted and followed by all members of society. For example, even in the Tang period when Buddhism was a dominant force in society, the virtue of filial piety was emphasized in Buddhism through the stories of Sakyamuni’s disciple, Maudgalyāyana (C: Mulian 目連).\(^{161}\) Furthermore, the founder of the Quanzhen School of Daoism, Wang Chongyang (1113-1170), adopted and promoted \textit{Xiaojing} from the

Confucian canon, and its substance as a way to accomplish the Dao. This demonstrates that filial piety was a universal virtue that was ubiquitous in all Chinese religions.

Second, in the same line of thought, the stories of filial piety could have represented the development of public ethics. While the concept of family that centered on paternal lineage had become concrete, filial piety and its related morals that fortified family bonds only became prevalent during the Song period. In fact, even though the stories were classified by filial deeds, some stories describe the obligations of good wives or brotherly love. As such, Confucianism as understood through the stories of filial piety was primarily a rulebook for filial relations.

The Formation of the Iconography of the Stories of Filial Piety

Extant craftwork and tomb murals clearly show that scenes from stories of filial piety were popular as decorative motifs in visual art starting roughly in the Liao and early Northern Song period. Various metalwork and tomb murals widely feature such images as their subjects, and their representations were very similar to each other. This not only illustrates the popularity of the stories of filial piety, but also demonstrates the existence

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162 Three required readings are the Heart Sutra (般若心經), the Daodejing (道德經), and Xiaojing (孝經); two volumes of Buddhist manuscript found in Dunhuang, Jinguangming cuicheng wangjing (金光明最勝王經) record that the sutra compliers and their postscripts containing the names of Daoist gods such as the subjects of prayers. This reveals that although the people borrowed the formats of Buddhist ritual and sutra for prayers, it did not necessarily mean that they were faithful Buddhists. Ge Zhaoguang, Daojiao yu Zhongguo wenhua (道敎與中國文化) (Daoism and Chinese Culture) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987), 322-367.

163 Many family graveyards were created accordingly and managed over the generations. De Pee interprets that tombs were another place where a married couple were reunited, while describing funerary practice as the material traces of ritual. In addition, in the images symbolizing harmonious family and its prosperity, the tombs had become the center of the familial bond. Christian De Pee, “Conclusion: Texts and Tombs, Ritual and History,” in the Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 221-249.
of a universal model for the images. Such a model must have been repeatedly used for reproductions, which eventually formed into an iconography.

Two facts support the idea that concrete textual bases preceded the images of filial piety stories. First, the numbers designating the set of filial piety stories gradually increased until the Song-Jin period. This number had been gradually expanded and eventually fixed to a set of twenty-four before the images of these stories also appeared as a set of twenty-four. Although there were more than twenty-four of these stories that were popularly known, the number “twenty-four” symbolically represented a specific compilation of the stories during the centuries. The composition of the sets slightly

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164 According to Duan’s analysis of the images of the twenty-four stories of filial piety, the stories gradually evolved from Han dynasty as new stories were added or replaced ones in existing sets. Even when “twenty-four” became popular as a number of stories in the sets, the constituting stories were different in different regions and there were even many different versions of the sets produced in different regional cultures within north China. Duan Pengqi, “Woguo gumuzang zhong faxian de xiaoti tuxiang 我國古墓葬中發現的孝悌圖像 (Images of Filial Piety Found in Ancient Tombs of China),” in Zhongguo kaoguxue luncong 《中國考古學論叢 (A Collection of Treatises about Chinese Archaeology)》 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1993), 453-471.

165 The oldest extant compilation of the twenty-four stories of filial piety is Zhao Mengjian 趙孟堅 (1199-1295)’s edition, 趙子固二十四孝書畫合璧 Zhao Zigu ershisi xiao shuhua hebi (Combined Painting and Calligraphy of Twenty-four Filial Piety) in Southern Song dynasty. (repr. Beijing: Guwu chenliesuo, 1933); As the title reveals, there is the uniqueness of the combination of narrative, image, and panegyric, implying that the book was made in very early stage of the development of the illustrated books. The figures of the stories included in the compilation are: Emperor Shun 舜, Yang Xiang 杨香, Meng Zong 孟宗, Wang Xiang 王祥, Guo Ju 郭巨, Wang Pou 王裒, Dong Yong 董永, Ding Lan 丁兰, Zhu Shouchang 朱壽昌, Shanzi 刻子, Zhong You 仲由, Lao Laizi 老莱子, Emperor Wen of the Han (漢)文帝, Jiang Ge 江革, Lu Ji 陸績, Min Sun 閔損, Wu Meng 吳猛, Cai Shun 蔡順, Yu Qianlou 庾黔婁, Zeng Can 曾參, Huang Xiang 黃香, Tang Furen (Madame Tang) 唐夫人, Jiang Shi 姜詩, Huang Taingjian 黃庭堅.

166 Although more than twenty four stories existed and new stories kept being added, the number, “twenty-four” was specifically assigned to the compilation of the stories of filial piety and greatly popular in the Song-Jin period and thereafter. The first appearance of the association of the number and the stories of filial piety was in the Buddhist Master, Yuan Jian (圓鑒大師)’s “Gu Yuajian dashi ershisixiao yazuowen 故圓鑒大師二十四孝押座文 (The Buddhist Master, Yuan Jian’s old seat-settling texts (a part of transformation text, bianwen 變文), the twenty four stories of filial piety) in Dunhuang manuscripts of the early to mid-10th century (P.3361, S.7, S.3728). Lan Jifu 藍吉富 ed., Dunhuang bianwen: fojiao gushi lei 敦煌變文-佛教故事類 (Xiandai foxue daxi 現代佛學大系 Vol. 2) (Taipei: Mile chubanshe, 1982); Zhang Yaning, “The Thought of Filial Piety Seen from Dunhuang Buddhist Manuscripts,” Dunhuangxue jikan/Journal of Dunhuang Studies 敦煌學輯刊 3 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou University Publications, 2009): 14-21.
varied depending on different publishers; however, it was not an issue for compilers and readers.

Along with the increase of the texts in books, the images portraying the stories also became more diverse. Although the texts did not necessarily come with illustrations, books at the very least must have made readers recognize the stories as part of specific sets or compilations. Even if books were not a direct source for image-makers, they were one of the most assessable ways to learn about the stories and their popular sets.

Unfortunately, there are no extant books from the Northern Song period. However, as with the tomb murals, we can assume from indirect evidence that image-makers referred to book illustrations for their portrayals of filial piety stories. For example, it was only after the late Northern Song period that the number of scenes appearing in tomb murals reached twenty-four. There already had been enough space for representing the whole set of stories on the tomb walls, before the Northern Song, yet the number of images hardly reached the number twenty-four. This must have been due to the absence of the model set of twenty-four stories.

Second, the unified stylistic forms of images (as those shown in decorative motifs of the Song-Jin tomb murals) represented in different mediums support the existence of a reference copy in printed book form. Before the set of stories was made, images of the stories in earlier Song-Jin tombs were composed in a traditional way – hand-scroll

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167 Knapp notes that although the filial stories were based on oral culture, these stories were sometimes written by elite groups and they transformed the stories while attributing the same exploits to contemporary figures. Keith Knapp, *Selfless Offspring* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), 35-37.

168 Knapp thoroughly investigated the books of the accounts of filial offsping from the Han dynasty to Northern and Southern Song Dynasties, but the source of this investigation are mostly archaeological remains such as images of tombs or coffins. Knapp (2005), 46-81.
paintings depicting narratives. [fig.2.2.1a, b.] However, when tomb murals came to be done with twenty-four images, the representation became very similar to those of printed book pages in that they both utilize the pattern of an explanatory text following a corresponding illustration, within rectangular frames.\(^{169}\) [fig.2.2.2.] Furthermore, the composition and details of a specific image were similarly represented in all mediums, differing from the representations of prior times. For example, Min Ziqian 閔子騫, one of the filial paragons of the stories, which had been represented in a Han dynasty shrine decoration, is clearly different from those of the Song-Jin tomb murals despite their similar utilization of space – shrine and tomb. [fig.2.2.3.] While some examples such as the four directional symbols demonstrate that not all traditional images of funerary art were discarded in later times, it is assumed that a different lineage of the filial paragon images was created around the Song-Jin period. Indeed, these images even began to appear on non-funerary objects. [fig. 2.2.4.]

In another example, all representations of the story of Wang Xiang (who laid his naked body on a frozen lake in winter to catch carps for his sick stepmother) use a single image – a man with a bare upper body and a hair-knot on top of his head laying his back on the ground under a willow-like tree where his upper garment is hung. [fig.2.2.5.a, b, c.] The ground is intended as a depiction of a frozen lake. However, since it is hard to represent an iced lake in simplified line carvings, simple mural paintings, or unsophisticated sculptures, the willow tree symbolizing water nearby seems to be included in the scene instead. It is not random that these details and the composition of

\(^{169}\) Some mural paintings seem to be influenced by the specific format of the illustrated books, in terms of position of text and image. For a related discussion and example, see Chapter 3.
the images were repeated in many different crafts across different times. Rather, it confirms that those images were based on one reference that was widely circulated and copied by artisans.

Based on the two examples discussed above, we can assume that it must have been illustrations in books or images in other popular mediums that influenced the reproduction of the images of the narratives of filial piety in the Song-Jin period. The twenty-four stories of filial piety found in a Song-Jin tomb mural painting, representing the particular set of stories that was popular in this period, are as follows: [table. 2] 170

Although the compilation of the Song version no longer exists, its unique story set and corresponding images (or illustrations) seem to have been newly created in the Song period. This is substantiated by the images of the filial piety stories in its earlier and later periods. First of all, in spite of genre specificity – funerary art, the Song-Jin tomb murals did not adopt images within the scope of the funerary tradition. This was because only a few filial piety stories overlap with those of ancient funerary art such as the Wu Liang Shrine of the Eastern Han dynasty. This is also because many figures in the stories have various historical backgrounds that are derived from times later than the Han period, mostly the Six Dynasties (220-589). Additionally, a certain set of narratives seems to have been developed in the Yuan period and thereafter, because the twenty-four stories included in the Guo Jujing’s version of the Yuan period – the oldest extant compilation of the narratives – are not exactly identical to those of the Song-Jin set. 171 For example, the

170 This table is based on the mural images of Qinxian tomb in Shanxi. For a detailed analysis and interpretation of the tomb mural, see, example 1-1-4 of Chapter 1.
171 The well-known set of stories follows the Guo Jujing 郭居敬’s edition of the Yuan period (1271-1368), published around 1300. Guo compiled the stories after his father’s death. It is interesting that the set is identical to the Zhao’s edition of the Southern Song dynasty. When considering that these two figures
stories of number 13 and 14, and 16 to 22 in [table. 2] do not appear in the Yuan version.  

Other evidence supporting the existence of a specific Song-Jin version is the late Goryeo (918-1392) version of the book in Korea – *Hyohaengnok* 孝行録 – which contains a set exactly identical to the twenty four story set appeared in the Song-Jin tomb murals. Interestingly, the preface of the book clearly states that when Gwon Jun 權準 (1280-1352) first compiled the stories, he also ordered artisans to draw illustrations. This reflects the popular format of the marriage between texts and illustrations around that period.

However, now a question is raised; why did the Goryeo version not follow the Yuan version, its contemporary parallel, but rather the Song version? This can be explained if it is assumed that there were two (or more) different versions of the twenty-four stories of filial piety, connected to a particular area, such as northern and southern versions. The Goryeo version is same to the northern one that was a counterpart of the southern one represented by Guo Jujing’s edition. Because Gwon Jun, the compiler of the Goryeo version, was powerful and at the same time a loyal official of King Chungseon (1275-1325) – a grandson of Kubilai Khan (Yuan Shizu 元 世祖, 1260-1294), were born and were active in south China, the stories seem to reflect the specific set of stories popular in south China.

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172 The stories in the Song-Jin version, which are missed in the Yuan version, include the stories emphasizing the family bond rather than the regular parent-child relationship and ones describing extreme filial deeds such as suicide or self-injury. The difference of the sets shows that preference for plots changed according to the time and region.

173 Compiled by Gwon Jun 權準 (1280-1352), a power of the late Goryeo period, and the illustration and panegyrics were added by Yi Je-hyeon 李齊賢 (1287- 1367), a famous Confucian scholar. Unfortunately the illustrations were lost and only the texts are extant. Gwon Jun’s tomb (also known as Seogokri tomb) will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

174 The existence of a northern version of the compilation of the stories of filial piety was suggested based on tomb mural paintings. Duan Pengqi (1993).
he had access to Yuan culture. Since the Goryeo royal family and its officials communicated with the Yuan through a northern pathway across the northern part of the Chinese sub-continent and the Korean Peninsula, he probably adopted the northern version of the stories.

2-2-2. Daoist Symbolism

Due to the affinity of Daoism to real life and daily practices, particularly on general happiness-seeking deeds, many decorative motifs in the everyday living spaces evolved to be incorporated into Daoist symbolism. Thus, some motifs did not directly originate from Daoism but actually had multiple origins. Nevertheless, many motifs are still only interpreted within the context of Daoist symbolism, which generally has a strong connection to immortality and its corresponding mythology. Among these various Daoist motifs, this section investigates cranes, which seldom have been discussed before.175

Cranes: Images of Heavenly Creatures and the Funerary Legacy

Heaven is an ultimate space where immortals live without concern for worldly matters, and which the deceased are supposed to enter after death.176 To enable people to envision their afterlife, many images and motifs were arranged according to the structure

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175 For survey research on Daoist art, see Stephen Little ed., *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; Berkeley: In association with University of California Press, 2000); Particularly the Song Emperor Huizong’s interest on Daoism and the adoption of crane motifs as a symbol of good omen in his paintings is discussed by Patricia Ebrey, “Taoism and Art at the Court of Song Huizong,” in ibid., 94-111.

of the universe. Thus, heaven, earth, and the netherworld were depicted as being on a vertical axis on murals or walls, respectively from the top to the bottom.

Bird motifs, including all flying animals, are symbolic examples that have a strong spatial connotation of heaven. Consequently, due to the general perception of images of birds, they do not need to have any particular iconographies or fixed positions in tomb spaces; however, there are two images that are common in many depictions of birds. The first common image is birds drawn on the upper walls of tombs with images of immortals as their vehicle. Another common image is of birds, particularly cranes, roaming courtyards.¹⁷⁷ [fig.2.2.6a, b.]

The specific image of cranes in funerary art and tomb murals, however, began to be formed a little earlier than the Northern Song period, approximately starting in the Five Dynasties period. The earliest examples of such image are included in Liao tombs such as the Xuanhua tomb (Tomb of Zhang Wenzao), as well as Five Dynasties tombs such as Wang Chuzhi 王處直 (d. 923)’s tomb. [fig. 2.2.7a.] As seen in these tomb murals, cranes became extremely popular among bird motifs, and their portrayal eventually formed a concrete icon with features such as long legs and red hairs on the top of their heads. They were clearly differentiated from the mythic, bird-like creatures of ancient tomb murals. Once the iconography was formed and became popular, crane images remained as favorites in tomb murals up until the Yuan period. They also were widely

¹⁷⁷ In Daoist symbolism, the crane motif that is very often harmonized with clouds, not only represented the sky or a fairly land but also obtained the status of an auspicious symbol in itself. Unlike the relatively belated visual creation, the notion of cranes as the companion of immortals and the symbol of longevity had long existed in China. For example, one of the Han texts, “shoulinxun 說林訓,” in Huinanzi 淮南子 juan 17, compiled by Liu An 劉安 (179-122 BCE) clarifies the relationship of the crane and longevity (or immortality) in the passage of “鶴壽千歲 以極其遊; cranes live long (thousand years) thus they get their own way in traveling.”
disseminated in East Asia through the adoption of the motif as a decorative image in various arts and crafts.¹⁷⁸ [fig. 2.2.7b.]

While the use of crane motifs expanded and became popular among artisans, their meaning still seemed to be limited to a symbol of auspiciousness, rather than implying a heaven beyond the secular world. For instance, the famous Northern Song painting, *Auspicious Cranes*, clearly demonstrates that the crane motif was indeed perceived as an auspicious symbol. The painting depicts a group of cranes emanating auspicious spirits over a palace building that represents the Northern Song Empire.¹⁷⁹ [fig. 2.2.8.]

Similar to the decoration of crafts, the crane motifs in tomb murals were also stylized and formed an iconography with a few other ancillary motifs that made crane images familiar to viewers. According to the location of cranes in murals, the crane images can be classified into two different representative styles: 1) cranes with grass and flowers on the ground, and 2) a group of stylized cranes which are featured by red color roundel on heads on the ceiling, the sky. An example of the first case can be found in the Wangshang tomb at Dengfeng in Henan Province, and a second example can be found in the Anchang tomb at Changzhi in Shanxi Province. [fig. 2.2.9.]

While the first type was relatively popular across all types of art, the second type of crane image raises a question of from where such crane motifs were derived. This is

¹⁷⁸ Sun asserts that the appearance of a similar crane motif in mural painting of Liao dynasty is because the craftsmen who worked in constructing tombs were captured by the Liao after the Five Dynasties fell. Sun Ji 孫機, “Liaodai bihua 遼代壁畫 (Liao Mural Painting),” in *Qidan wangchao 契丹王朝 (Liao Dynasty)* (Beijing: Historical Museum of China, 2002), 15-7.

¹⁷⁹ This painting, on one hand, illustrated that the emperor was a great patron of Daoist activities including artistic creation. Daoism especially flourished in the Northern Song period, during the reign of emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1101-1125). The emperor Huizong was a serious believer in Daoism and also deified himself as a leader of Daoism while calling himself *Daojunhuangdi 道君皇帝*, the Daoist Emperor. For more on the Song Huizong’s patronage for Daoist art and the painting Auspicious Cranes (or Cranes of Good Omen), see Patricia Ebrey in *Taoism and the Arts of China* (2000).
because flying cranes with stylized clouds are rarely found in other types of arts and crafts, except for ceramic decorations. One of a few analogous representations of cranes, the celadon from the Yaozhou kiln 耀州窯 can be discussed.¹⁸⁰ Many bowls with incised decorations exemplify a typical representation of cranes on Yaozhou ware; cranes amid clouds soaring up and flying toward the rim of the bowl. [fig.2.2.10.] In terms of the composition of the motifs on the surface of the medium, the cranes of Yaozhou ware are similar to the cranes of tomb murals. In terms of details, however, the crane images of the inlay celadon of the Goryeo dynasty are much closer to those of tomb murals. In the 13th century, when Goryeo celadon with inlay decorations of crane and cloud motifs was produced, similar images increasingly appeared in tomb murals.¹⁸¹ [fig.2.2.11.] The use of the same images in two different mediums – ceramics and tomb murals – in faraway areas further demonstrates the ways that popular images were disseminated and shared in East Asia.

2-2-3. Materialism and the Ideal Life after Death

Except for the two themes discussed in Section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, which have obvious origins in popular beliefs and related narratives, most of the other motifs were adopted

¹⁸⁰ Yaozhou kiln is was located in Shanxi Province. The kiln was run from the Tang through the Yuan dynasty, and their production – celadon – featured incised (or pressed) decoration using molds, which guaranteed the mass reproduction of images. Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Yaozhouyao bowuguan, Songdai Yaozhouyao zhi 宋代耀州窯 (Yaozhou kiln sites of the Song period) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998).

¹⁸¹ Examples of Yuan tombs showing crane and cloud motifs in their murals include: Xi'anshi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保護考古所, Xi'an Hansenzhai Yuandai bihuamu 西安韓森寨元代壁畫墓 (The Yuan Dynasty Mural Tomb at Hansenzhai in Xi'an) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004); Liu Bing, “Neimenggu Chifeng Shazishan Yuandai bihuamu 内蒙古赤峰沙子山元代壁畫墓 (The Yuan Dynasty Tomb with Murals at Shazishan in Chifeng, Inner Mongolia),” Wenwu 12 (2009): 39-46.
from the items of daily life. However, these images do not necessarily merely represent
the mundane life of laypeople. Rather, their reproduction and repetitive use on various
crafts suggest that they functioned as certain visual idioms that indicated indispensable
values and the objects needed for an ideal life.

One such theme is “Painting of the Inner Quarters (neizhai-tu 内宅圖),” a Song-Jin
version of the daily life scene, which reflects the desired afterlife of a tomb occupant.
It designates representations of various domestic affairs, particularly those in Song-Jin
tomb murals. The term emphasizes that the activities represented specifically occur in a
house complex. The scenes of this theme are mainly composed of a portrait of a tomb
occupant enjoying a banquet and entertainment. Other miscellaneous activities are also
represented in order to create a realistic space for daily life, properly locating images of
the tomb occupant within the scenes.

Many Chinese scholars associate the activities of these figures with a specific
place – the inner quarters. This is in contrast to the other term that designated a similar
theme of funerary art – daily life scenes.\(^{182}\) In fact, no specific spatial circumstance is
noticeable in tomb murals of former periods, and even the literature describing the core
scene of the theme – Baixi 百戱 performances – only vaguely sets the background as the
outside.\(^{183}\) Other scenes are also depicted with no spatial hints. For instance, a kitchen is
inferred from a few key details such as a stove, a mortar, and a well. Until the Song-Jin

\(^{182}\) “Daily life scene” is not the correct term for designating these scenes, however this is widely used with
the term neizhai-tu in Chinese archaeology to designate the main theme of the tomb murals. While a
similar theme had long existed in Chinese tomb murals, scholars differentiate the ones of Song-Jin tombs
from former representations since the places depicted in Song-Jin murals were limited to domestic spaces.

\(^{183}\) For example, the tomb occupant’s banquet scenes in Han dynasty tomb murals mainly depict figural
images of masters, attendants, and entertainers, and their activities, but the background was mostly
omitted. [fig.2.2.12.]
period, the association of the images and spaces became even weaker, and the images simply became appropriated as symbolic motifs representing elements of an ideal life. In Song-Jin tomb murals, on the other hand, all the images came to be assembled together and assigned a spatial character.

It is indeed an important change that all the images came to belong to one material subject – a house, which is possibly meant to emphasize the ownership of material wealth and its accompanying pleasures. Although individual images consisting of various scenes were certainly recognized and widely circulated as symbols of wealth, they have the significance of creating a grand iconography of “life in the inner quarters” in funerary art. For the rest of this section, I will examine the various images and motifs of the iconography of two categories – 1) Figural Images, and 2) Depictions of Objects.184

Figural Images

I will discuss the images of people in the following four categories – a) tomb occupants, b) attendants, guards, and workers, c) women and boys, and d) performers.

1) Tomb Occupants

184 Laing discusses the images and motifs of Song-Jin tomb murals with a similar categorization. However, Laing’s interpretations are limited to the ritualistic and symbolic meanings of individual images. Ellen Johnston Laing “Auspicious Motifs in Ninth to Thirteenth Century Chinese Tombs,” Ars Orientalis, Vol. 33 (Washington: Ars Orientalis, 2003): 32-75; Jessica Rawson also interprets that most of decorative motifs in the Liao and Song tombs symbolize religious (either Buddhist or Daoist) meanings. Jessica Rawson, “Changes in the Representation of the Life and Afterlife as Illustrated by the Contents of Tombs of the T’ang and Sung Periods,” in Arts of Sung and Yuan (New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 23-43.
Images of tomb occupants had been an integral element of tomb murals, often their central image. Since antiquity these images have been present, and their significance in murals has never changed. In terms of representation, however, they have shown noticeable transformations, not only in the appearances of the figures, which are related to popular fashions of the time, but also in their poses, surrounding environment, and the situations that they are placed in.

The images of tomb occupants in Song-Jin tomb murals are differentiated from the “portraits” of previous tomb murals for two reasons. First, before Song-Jin tomb styles became popular, tomb occupants were not always depicted in tomb murals. For those depicted in tomb murals, tomb occupants were represented as a subject of veneration, enshrined in a sanctuary, or merely included as part of an individual scene.185 [fig.2.2.13.] In other words, if not drawn as a part of a mural scene, the images were highlighted as that of individual figures. This representation contrasts with those in Song-Jin tomb murals that exist as an anchor point for an entire mural that organically integrates other images and themes – a life in the inner quarters. In addition, unlike the portraits of previous tomb murals, all images of figures in Song-Jin tomb murals are almost all the same size, regardless of their social positions, so the tomb occupants do not overwhelm the space. [fig.2.2.14.]

Second, tomb occupants in Song-Jin tomb murals were mostly represented as a couple or an even larger group. This characteristic also differs from the single figure of

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185 In the case of the tombs of high class people, the portrait of tomb occupants or portrait-like images was often omitted. Similarly, Sima Guang criticized on the funerary custom of the Southern Song that the wide-spread custom of burying a painted image the in tombs is vulgar. Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 96.
an image in the more portrait style. For example, the tomb occupants in three-quarter or frontal views generally sit on chairs across or surrounding a table, enjoying tea and food while observing entertainers. [fig.2.2.15] In this scene, all the items and settings are not only supposed to reflect the tomb occupants’ unique lifestyle and status, but they are also supposed to strengthen their identity as privileged people who could enjoy such luxuries.186

The image of tomb occupants in the pseudo real life setting of tomb murals seems to also provide an indication to living descendants on how to commemorate the deceased through their images. The images of tomb occupants on different portable mediums show that these images no longer belonged only to tomb murals. [fig.2.2.16a.] Additionally, the styles of the images in tomb murals indeed became similar to those of portraits in a real life. [fig.2.2.16b.] Although the images of tomb occupant that belonged strictly to the tomb space were not as popular as other images and decorative motifs, their influence on the development of the genre of portraiture was critical because afterward they came to be utilized more and more as a central image in family rituals.

2) Attendants, Guards, and Workers

While images of tomb occupants functioned as pivotal images for entire murals, images of other figures expanded the tomb space. Those figures usually act according to the tomb occupant’s orders, or deliver services to the tomb occupant. Although these images

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186 In tomb occupant images of Song-Jin tomb murals, it is noticeable that the table and chairs, as well as tea sets were represented with brick reliefs while other images were drawn so that they were treated as important as tomb occupant images. This seems to be a planned design to emphasize the importance of the objects depicted, which was probably irreplaceable in the life of the elite class in this period. For a discussion of the relationship of brick material and specific images, see, Chapter 3.
still belong to the tomb occupant images, their roles are assigned based on the objects that the images of the figures are associated with. Ultimately, they exist in order to demonstrate that all the items belong to the tomb occupant.

These people are divided into three groups – attendants, door guards, and workers. The attendants assist the master more closely than others and are located near the master’s image. For example, at the back or sides of a tomb occupant, male and female figures serve tea, food, and other various offerings, or await orders from their master. [fig.2.2.17.] A little way off from the frame of the master’s image, attendants diligently prepare things to be served to their masters, or do housework. The work that attendants do is not limited to banquet preparation but also include various types of tasks such as the preparation of beds for the night. [fig.2.2.18.]

The second category is guards, which are generally located near doors or entrances. They are sometimes omitted in Song-Jin tombs, however if they are present they are depicted as men of a strong physique or armed soldiers. In the tombs of prior periods, mythic creatures were painted on walls or made as sculptures instead, to ward off evil spirits. [fig.2.2.19.] Images of northern barbarians with their representative hairstyle and clothing were borrowed to represent guards, even for tomb occupants who were Han Chinese. This reflects the general notion that northern nomadic people were believed to be physically strong and adept at martial affairs. [fig.2.2.20.]

Lastly, there are images of other types of workers, especially those who deliver their masters’ orders outside of the house, or who do work related to their masters’ financial resources, which are unique in Song-Jin attendant images. For example, in the Baisha tomb murals, workers carrying bundles of coins, silk rolls, and other precious
objects are entering a house. [fig. 1.1.1b.] Similarly, the murals of the Donglongguancun tomb depict a woman receives coins at a pawnshop or bank that the tomb owners probably operated.\textsuperscript{187} [fig.2.2.21.]

Since these attendant images illustrated the wealth of local elites as well as symbolized their affluence, they were often found in the subject matter of other paintings and decorations of architecture. [fig.2.2.22.] Among them, the most interesting object that utilizes attendant (or worker) images for decoration is the paper money circulated during the Song-Jin period.\textsuperscript{188} Figure 2.1.9 shows the best example of such utilization. The image on this paper money plate consists of three rows depicting different images and characters. On the top row, there are many coins depicted, clearly connoting the use of the object – money. The characters in the middle row reveal details about where this money is circulated as well as its value. The image on the bottom row that depicts workers and an overseer in front of a pile of objects in a courtyard is particularly interesting. This type of image is found in many tomb murals, demonstrating that the concept of “wealth” was visualized and widely circulated.

3) Women and Boys

While male figures in tomb murals mostly portray masters (tomb occupants) and attendants, female figures depict a broader variety of people. Female figures are usually

\textsuperscript{187} For a discussion on the beginning of the banking system in Shanxi Province and its influences on the regional economy, see, Chapter 3.

coming in and going out through doors, or they are sometimes depicted as noble ladies who are applying make-up or simply resting in women’s chambers. [fig.2.2.23.] It is hard to identify all the roles of women, however these images of female figures were included to create a more desirable space for the afterlife, inspired by the popular notion of images of women – fecundity. On the other hand, in the perspective of men, female figural images were considered as guides to spaces of rest (or a special attendant in a bedroom) in a fantasy, which only men of high class could conceive.189

Along with the images of female figures, the images of children are commonly featured in mural paintings.190 They are typically represented as very young children, mostly in infancy, or as a group, generally holding toys or surrounded by vine leaves.191 [fig.2.2.24a.] The images of children, that have long been represented in Chinese and Middle Eastern pictorial and decorative art, essentially symbolize the prosperity of a family, with the lotus leaf and stem, or vines that they are holding signifying continuity. [fig.2.2.24b.] In early representations, individual children in various poses were depicted in separate frames in tomb murals, however, later they were depicted in a group. This seems to be related to the development of the painting theme of “One Hundred Children” that became very popular in later times. [fig.2.2.24c.]

190 These two groups of figures have similar meanings as they often appear together as women nursing babies. For an example, see, “Henan dengfeng heishangou songdai bihuamu (Mural Tomb of the Song Dynasty at Heishangou, Dengfeng in Henan Province 河南登封黑山溝宋代壁畫墓,” Wenwu 10 (2001): 60-66. [fig.10 of Chapter 1]
191 In comparison to the decoration of temple architecture in Turkey and Syria, Rawson asserts that the motif “boys with vines” originated from Western acanthus and vine ornament which were introduced to China around the 5th century. Jessica Rawson, Chinese Ornament: the Lotus and the Dragon (London: British Museum, 1984), 35.
The images of female figures and children served as auspicious symbols, and consequently came to be used as a decorative motif in many other art and craft mediums. Represented in the form of beauties or deities, images of female figures continuously maintained their position as popular motifs in a variety of crafts. For example, they were used in illustrations of woodblock prints as well as in metalwork, symbolizing a successful life and the noble status of the owners. [fig.2.2.25.] These images seem to have been the early development of the portrait of beauties that eventually became a part of the culture of wealth during the Qing dynasty.192 The meaning of images of children, on the other hand, expanded from a signifier of the prosperity of a family to that of a general happy life, as the term “many children and many boys (多子多男)” signifies. Thus, not only as painted images but also as sculptures and embroideries, images of children became widely adopted and utilized as decorative motifs. [fig.4 of Chapter 1]

4) Performers193

Images of music performers and musical instruments have existed in funerary art since the pre-Qin period. Music players and dancers, in a broad view, are of the same lineage of this funerary art tradition. Therefore, early such images seem to represent either a part

192 Regarding the images of female figures in Chinese paintings, Wu discusses the development of the genre of “paintings of beauties” in association with the imaginary spaces satisfying sexual fantasy, which the painting owners wished to create in the real space. In his perspective, the specific scenes depicting female figures in Song-Jin tombs can be interpreted as a reflection of such a desire of tomb owners. Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 200-236.

193 About this particular theme and its significance in tomb space see, Jeehee Hong, “Theatricalizing the Death: Performance Images of Mid-imperial China in Mortuary Contexts (11th -13th Centuries)” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008).
of a funerary ritual, or an entirely different world where music abounds – a heavenly world.

In contrast, the images of entertainers in Song-Jin tombs are thought to exist solely for the entertainment of the tomb occupants. Differences between entertainer images in the Song-Jin period and those of prior periods illustrates the development of the performing arts, differences in the performance of music, and differences in the social classes of tomb occupants. In particular, a peculiar synthesized form of ancient performance with various performing genres, which was enjoyed only by privileged people, became sub-divided and spawned individual genres. These genres were finally adopted by popular arts in the Song-Jin period. The following changes in performer images articulate this process.

A big shift in these types of images in funerary art first occurred around the Han dynasty. Before the Han, many real musical instruments, utensils, as well as humans were buried with their owner or master in tombs. However, as the burial of the living with the dead was banned and frugality became a value observed in burials after the Han period, real objects were replaced with paintings and craftwork such as ceramic figurines, stone reliefs, and sculptures that resembled the living or that depicted certain situations.

In addition to the replacement of actual objects with imitations in burials, a more interesting change was that of the themes of entertainer images, which became increasingly more diverse. This change demonstrates the increased popularity of performances for entertainment, which was largely precipitated by the development of literature during this period. For example, in the tombs of the pre-Han period, the majority of entertainer images consisted of musical instruments, players, and dancers. However, starting from
the Han period, images started to portray various scenes from contemporary literature such as Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139 CE)’s *Western Metropolis Rhapsody* (Xijingfu 西京賦), or Li You 李尤 (55?-155? CE)’s *Rhapsody on Watching the Performances of Peaceful Entertainment* (Ping le guan fu 平樂觀賦). The performances in a set, as identified by this literature, included acrobatics and music. Interestingly, some performances also depicted historical and mythical accounts that are also linked to theatrical performances. One particular example was “Duke Huang of the Eastern Sea (Donghai huanggong 東海黃公),” a popular play from the Han dynasty, which was performed with music and dance.\(^{195}\)

The specialization of genres continued over time, and the synthesized form that contained various different types of plays in a single performance began to be divided according to the type of play. At the same time, secular music, dance, play, and acrobatics were even integrated while creating different performance genres. These various performances seem to have been enjoyed up until the Tang period, particularly among aristocrats, as tomb figurines or mural paintings found in their tombs depict scenes of such series of performances. [fig.2.2.26.]

With the downfall of the Tang dynasty and the decline of aristocratic culture, these genres were eventually adopted and further developed by the middle class and commoners. The introduction of these various performance genres to a broader audience\(^{194}\)

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\(^{194}\) See the example 1-1-5 of Chapter 1 about *zaju* characters.

\(^{195}\) Donghai huanggong is a character of a parable from *Western Metropolis Rhapsody* (Xijingfu 西京賦) by the ancient Chinese polymath Zhang Heng (78–139 CE). The story describes Donghai huanggong, who masterfully handles snakes and tigers but is eventually defeated and eaten by one of the latter after he grows old and feeble. This story includes many performable elements, not only music and dance but also acrobatics.
provided a robust foundation for the burgeoning of popular culture in the following period. Particularly, as these performances came to be exhibited in public spaces, the format of such performances were consequently changed as well. For example, while performances were exclusively for private view in previous periods, from the Song dynasty onward, they were enjoyed in various places, including *goulan* 句欄 and *washe* 瓦舍, which respectively designate a public theater and a special district, or a market place where theaters were installed.\(^{196}\) Apart from the sophistication of the performances, the fact that a significant source of visual stimuli was accessible in the public space was an important development for the populace’s visual recognition. It changed general ideas about entertainment, which was invariably reflected in the representations of entertainment in tomb murals.\(^{197}\)

Under such favorable conditions, popular music and theatrical performances developed greatly during the Song-Jin period, and images depicting such performances gradually replaced those of traditional performers. These new images include a small group of musicians who often come with dancers. These images portray a specific genre of performance — tunes (*sanyue* 散樂), a representative form of secular music of the Song-Jin period. The unique musical instruments that the figures hold provide clues for understanding how this type of music was played. [fig.2.2.27.] There are also theatrical

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\(^{196}\) For a discussion of the *goulan* and *washe* in Song period, see Liao Ben, *Zhongguo gudai juchang shi* 中国古代剧场史 (History of theaters in ancient China) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe; Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1997), 40-60.

\(^{197}\) Liao interprets that the performer images in tomb mural images probably depict *tanghui* 堂會 (or a performance at a private party) held in private manor, which had long been format of entertainment enjoyed by upper class. The performers who gained fame through public performances were employed for the local elites’ private events not only for entertainment, but also for displaying the wealth of patrons. Since the performers were expensive, they were often replaced and substituted with attendants. The performer’s image in tomb murals should depict the private event but since it was not accessible to the artisans and artists, we can assume they referred to public performances to create the images. Ibid., 61-74.
performances, which are represented by zaju 杂剧, which also showed outstanding development in the Song-Jin period. Zaju was a new advanced form of adjutant plays (canjunxi 參軍戱) of the Tang period, which incorporated contemporary popular narratives. The remaining images depicting two performances together clearly show that the music players functioned as an orchestra for the zaju performances.

Of the two types of performances above, the popularity of the zaju was especially widespread, and many plays for the genre were written and played. Although there are few extant remains of written zaju plays from the Song-Jin period, and even though their images in tomb murals do not reveal much about the plays performed, at the very least the images clearly show that the format of the zaju performance was established and sophisticated. All such images in tomb murals were almost identical, having four to five performers with unique attire and props.\(^{198}\) [fig.2.2.28.]

We can assume the framework of zaju plays through comparing them to Yuan dramas, which are similar to the Song-Jin zaju. Zaju plays consist of several fixed “scenes” performed by nonspeaking actors, a reader of a script, and musicians. Each act of the drama comprised two or three scenes for the story. This early form of drama included in zaju was much closer to storytelling with backdrop images than what we know as theater or drama. In many aspects, this form seems to have been influenced by Buddhist public lectures, which were supplemented by paintings.\(^{199}\) As discussed earlier in Chapter 1 and Section 2-1 of this chapter, when narratives were represented visually,

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\(^{198}\) For the four characters of zaju performance and their roles and features in the plays, see 1-1-5 in Chapter 1, Macun tombs (No. 1 ~ No. 5, and No. 8).

the most dramatic scenes of plots were often selected to represent a story, and thus they usually became part of iconographies. Similarly, the scenes of the zaju dramas could have been the source of the visual reproductions of narratives found in tomb murals.

Finally, the images of performers came to represent the performances themselves, and then they were treated as items that many people could possess as part of their pursuit of pleasure. The images of performers were no longer limited to funerary art, but also decorated various arts and crafts. The numerous fiturines of performers found in tombs and kiln sites prove this notion. For example, those found in the tomb of Dong Ming [fig.2.2.29.] and many similar examples found in Cizhou kilns represent zaju actors. They suggest the possibility that these images were widely used in life for decoration and consequently in the afterlife as burial goods. [fig.2.2.30]200

Depictions of Objects

Now I will discuss the images of objects in the following three groups – a) paintings, b) treasures and offerings, and c) furniture and utensils.

1) Paintings

Images of paintings have been a popular motif in tomb mural paintings. Along with the increased interest in objects, paintings began to be treated as luxuries like other decorations of house interiors.

200 Hong asserts that these figurines functioned as burial goods, mingqi. As Dong jing meng hua lu 東京夢華錄 records, these types of burial goods were widely circulated through markets, and they assigned the figurines the meaning associated with daily life which is a dominant theme in the Song-Jin tomb murals. Hong, “Theatricalzing the Death,” 129-139.
A notable change in the representation of images of paintings in Song-Jin tomb murals is the fact that the mediums for exhibiting painting images became more diverse. Until the Five Dynasties period, objects were largely represented by wall paintings or large screen paintings. Beginning in the Song period, however, the images became more diverse. They came to include fans and hanging scrolls while utilizing popular motifs within the mediums. [fig.2.2.31.] On the surface, such a change could be considered a reflection of contemporary pictorial art. However, when it comes to the cultural values that were recognized in Song-Jin society, the images in tomb murals deliver a more complex story concerning the tomb owners’ use and possession of painted objects.

Wu Hung has analyzed this peculiar subject matter – painting objects depicted in paintings – in depth. In his book on the subject, “Double Screen”, Wu raises questions about meta-images which are self-referential within a context shared between the object and viewer, beyond space and time. Wu argues that these unique images, in association with the situations that they are physically placed or depicted in, reflect the interrelationship of objects, images of objects, and their viewers. In Wu’s analysis, these images, as self-contained objects, reveal various cultural and historical views, and perceptions of the images.

Although tomb murals do not exactly correspond with Wu’s discourse due to the unique purpose and features of tomb spaces, Wu’s idea is valid at least in explaining how the subject of paintings was treated in paintings to display the signified of an object

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201 Also, Wu says that double perspectives in one screen and its socio-cultural meanings are brought by the multiple images of different frames and mediums. Wu (1996), 273-259.

202 Tomb murals are a medium different from the many examples that Wu uses for his discourse; unlike other painting objects, tomb murals, in their actuality, are hardly related to viewer’s visual perception and its agential function for concomitant cognition, which Wu’s discussion is based on.
concerning its possession. For example, apart from the complex visual cognitive process that these works elicit, the painting images in tomb murals can be assessed through the materiality of the painting objects and their social meaning. As Wu notes, screens, especially those of landscape paintings and calligraphy, were considered symbols of gentlemen, or highly cultivated and socially privileged people. The possession of these images thus meant an achievement of such social recognition.

Images of painting objects in Song-Jin mural tombs also reflect general notions about two-dimensional objects such as paintings and calligraphy. Particularly, the painting medium had shifted from the grand scale to that of the portable and individual sized, demonstrating, to a certain extent, changes in their material properties as well as in their uses. This change caused painting objects to become mere props, similar to furniture or utensils. For example, screens of calligraphy, which became more popular than screens of landscape paintings at some point in the Song-Jin period, were as large as entire walls in early Song-Jin tombs, as is seen in the Baisha tomb and the Jiangou tomb of Henan Province. The screens then became smaller in the tombs of Shanxi Province, constructed slightly later than the Henan tombs such as the Xiaoguancun tomb in Changzi, and the Songcun tomb in Tunliu.

Although here I use signified, which encompasses social and personal interpretations toward a signifier, due to the mass-produced quality of Song-Jin tomb images and objects, the images and motifs in tomb murals are rather to be understood as langue from which only social signified is perceived. Ferdinand de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, ed. Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, transl. Albert Riedlinger with an introduction and notes by Wade Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

Wu also notes that the images of calligraphy screens in Song-Jin tomb murals were made to merely resemble such an object so that legibility was not an issue to the painters, and this reflected the trend in the theme of screen paintings as possessions of the highly cultivated classes of the society. Wu (1996), 175-177; Many tomb murals contain calligraphy-like images. For example, 1-1-1 in Chapter 1; Zhengzhou Song Jin bihuamu 鄭州宋金壁畫墓 (The Song-Jin period mural tombs in Zhengzhou) (Beijing : Kexue chubanshe, 2005), 146; pl.181.
The material significance of images as private possessions became even more prominent with the appearance of the forms of various portable mediums in tomb murals. For example, in a Yuan dynasty mural tomb, the Mural of Wu Qing and Jing Shi, all the images that were once merely depicted as parts of daily life scenes came to be depicted within a particular medium – hanging scroll images. While all of these subject matters had a long tradition in funerary art and were believed to resemble the reality of the afterlife, this particular form gave a strong sense that the world represented in the tomb murals was a fake. For instance, the rocks, flowers, and birds that were normally depicted in a garden scene in tomb murals were typically framed by a particular form or medium, and as such they were separated from the tomb space, demonstrating that they were mere painted images. This tenacity for framing all images in a particular medium reveals an obsession with the possession of items that realistically represented a luxurious lifestyle.

2) Treasures and Offerings

Precious objects symbolize the wealth of the tomb occupants. A certain iconography of those precious items in tomb murals seems to have been formed in the Liao period, which continued until the Yuan period.

Images of precious objects are, by and large, divided into two types based on their subject matter. The subject matter of the first type are precious objects such as bales of coins, silk rolls, and grain sacks, which workers and attendants diligently carry into a

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house, and sometimes offering some of them to the tomb occupant. [fig.1.1.6, 2.1.9] The second type, which is less popular than the first type, depicts even more precious items such as pieces of metal and jewels, which are hard to identify. These items are either scattered around the house, or managed by attendants. [fig.2.2.35, 36] While the meaning of the first group of motifs is self-explanatory, that of the second group requires a more careful analysis because the shapes of the motifs and their locations in the murals are rather uncommon.

The murals of the Baisha Tombs are good examples of tomb paintings that depict these two groups of precious items. At a glance, precious object motifs were not noticeable because they are very small and often randomly placed about the mural. Starting from Baisha tomb No. 1, although mostly erased, round or cross-shaped small objects are found, scattered near the feet of tomb occupants. [fig.2.2.37] Additionally, on the west wall of the corridor, a group of objects are depicted in a much more orderly manner; a bell, a compass (or scissors), an unidentified object, and two jars are arranged in a row. [fig.2.2.38.] They are seemingly not identified as treasures, and it is even difficult to ascertain what exactly do they depict. A clue found in another scene from the same tomb murals only confirms that the unidentified object is a precious item; on the southeast mural of the rear chamber where attendants present offerings to their female master, an object whose shape is identical with that of the unidentified one is on the mural of the corridor. [fig.2.2.39.]

The murals of Baisha Tomb No. 2 provide more clues for a better understanding of these objects. On its east mural, a lady in the woman’s quarters is with various kinds of objects on her side. [fig.2.2.40.] These include a rolled object, a bead in a flame, and two
objects in a cross shape, which correspond to the aforementioned ones appearing under the tomb occupant’s chair on the mural of Baisha tomb No. 1. Although Baisha Tomb No. 1 and No. 2 of the same family cemetery were most likely constructed by the same group of artisans, the overlapping appearances of the same motifs in murals of different tombs demonstrate that precious object images are not random but rather exist as a part of popular tomb mural compositions of the time.

Lastly, the contemporaneous Liao tomb murals constructed by Han Chinese, which depict the same images of Song-Jin tomb murals, also provide clues for understanding these precious object motifs. For example, on the mural of the northwest wall of the rear chamber of Han Shixun’s tomb which contains much more sophisticated images than those of Song-Jin tomb murals, a group of male and female attendants take care of precious objects. [fig.2.2.41.] The most notable motif of this mural is an oval-shaped stand where several jewels are placed. Some of the jewels are identical or similar to the ones found in the Baisha tomb murals.

Many of these objects correspond to the Daoist Eight Jewels [fig.2.2.42.], which became extremely popular for decorative motifs in the Ming dynasty along with the Buddhist Eight Jewels. Although more than eight objects were claimed as the Eight Jewels, it generally included cintamani (or a magic pearl), diaper patterns, hand bells, a pair of horns of water buffalo (generally represented in a crossed form), coins, ingots, hand scrolls, books, mirrors, cloud-shaped plaques, and banana leaves.207 From the left to right, the first four objects of Han Shixun’s tomb mural seem to represent cintamani, an

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207 Although there is not much information on the individual patterns of the Eight Jewels in Song-Jin period, some illustrations about those of Ming-Qing periods clarify that the images of Han Shixun’s tomb represent the Daoist Eight Jewels. Cheng Qiren, Zhongguo wenshi ji qi xiangzheng yiyi / Symbolic meaning of Chinese patterns (Taibei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 2003), 178.
ingot, crossed buffalo horns, and a coin. [fig.2.2.43.] Similarly, the objects on the murals of Baisha tomb No. 2, for sure, indicate an ingot, cintamani, a hand scroll, and a simplified representation of crossed horns.

The Daoist Eight Jewels actually have no religious significance (although much later it came to designate the props of the Eight Immortals\(^{208}\)), however, they symbolically represented all traditional objects that implied auspiciousness. If all the motifs included in the category of the Daoist Eight Jewels did not appear together but gradually developed, then the jewels that appear in Song-Jin mural tombs are the earliest examples of representations that demonstrate the formation of the popular motifs of auspiciousness.

3) Furniture and Utensils

Although they only take up a small part of the entire mural, images of utensils and furniture have been important in tomb murals for representing luxurious living scenes. These images, in most cases, had been represented as props or backgrounds for the images of figures.

However, in Song-Jin tomb murals, images of utensils and furniture often overwhelm figural images with their size, and their medium – brick reliefs – gives more a realistic impression to viewers. The brick reliefs are also more durable than paintings.\(^{209}\)


\(^{209}\) For the function of the brick reliefs in mural composition, see Chapter 1; the association of material and specific motifs reveals a clear recognition about the materiality of those subjects, and this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.
Such a different treatment of the images of furniture and utensils as compared to other images emphasizes their material values.

While there exist many different interpretations of the images of furniture and utensils, they only focus on the narrow meaning of the images – their ritualistic or talismanic functions. In one interpretation, the images can be interpreted as substitutions for real burial goods, considering the materiality of the medium. In another interpretation, the images carry out different roles beyond funerary symbolism. In particular, some images were used eliciting good omens, as with the development of the Daoist symbolism of objects. However, these interpretations hardly explore the intentions of the image owners and the actual function of the images that the owners expected.

Instead, I argue that the images of furniture and utensils clarified the spatial positions of where the images were placed, and also revealed the activities that were to be held in their spaces. For example, the images of tea sets and tables for Buddhist sutra reading implied what the tomb occupants did, and further symbolized a luxurious or cultivated life. One of the notable scenes where various images of furniture appear is the scene of the tomb occupant’s enjoyment. A basic set of furniture in this scene includes a

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210 We sometimes notice that many object images were drawn without any context, exemplified by floating images of scissors, and irons, and exaggerated mirror images. I will discuss these images in detail in Chapter 3.

211 In the same sense, coins that are usually found in tombs in a great quantity were in many cases, interred as amulets to ward off evil spirits, and thus fake coins were produced and commonly circulated through markets. Large mirrors were believed to quell demons; Mirrors, water basins, and lamps – “the bright lamp lights up the thousand-year-old ghost, the karmic mirror reveals the ten-thousand-year abnormality (明燈照出千年鬼,業鏡照出萬年邪)” in Daozhang 道藏, ed. Sanjia ben 三家本, 36 Vols, 1220, 30, 77b; Tang Daoist Text records subjugation rites in which a bright mirror is suspended with a sword above a basin of clean water; evil-quelling talismans are inscribed on the mirror so that “the hundred evil forces dare not offend” Daozang 578, 10: 711c in The Taoist Canon: a Historical Companion to the Daozang ed. Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 356.
table, a chair, and tea sets for refreshments like dianxin. [fig.2.2.44.] In contrast to the scene of tomb occupants enjoying tea and performances, the scene of women’s quarters where ladies dress up and adorn themselves is depicted with a much more private and serene ambiance. [fig.2.2.23.] Similarly, the women’s quarters are also equipped with unique furniture and a set of utensils, which include a mirror, a basin, and a toiletry, characterizing the space. In addition, although it does not imply any specific activity, the lamp is often represented to indicate nighttime, and tomb occupant’s rest. [fig.2.2.45.] As shown in these examples, the images of furniture and utensils in tomb murals, as a set, solidly characterize each space of a residential complex.

In addition to the practical functions discussed above, the images of furniture and utensils also reveal the social class of their users – the tomb occupants. Their manner, etiquette, and lifestyle, which are represented by the furniture, indicate a high level of sophistication that was probably very difficult to achieve through the mere purchase of objects. We can tell what the tomb occupants really pursued from the paintings depicting similar images. For example, while tea itself was a popular drink in the Song-Jin period as the painting Tea Vendors demonstrates, tea sets with formality, including images of furniture and attendants, largely dealt with the subject of literati gathering.  

2-3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the images of Song-Jin tomb murals were not produced just for funerary art, but were rather derived from a common pattern pool of popular art and

212 This is comparable to the paintings of Han Chinese beauties that became popular in later times among the Northern conquerors in pursuit of things they did not possess.
decoration. The repetitive appearance of similar themes and styles of images across various kinds of art and craftwork in the Song-Jin period suggests the beginning of the mass reproduction of popular images, which further implies that popular art began to appear in Chinese art history in Song and Jin period.

In order to support this idea, this chapter tries to show the close relationship of popular images, as visual commodities, to the general mass production of objects. The vast reproduction of images through the sharing of images across different art and craftwork was only possible under the two unique economical and cultural conditions of the Song-Jin period. First, as the supply of affordable materials in various art mediums became reliable, popular images came to be widely utilized as decorations on these objects. Second, as the content and value of images became increasingly recognized and appreciated by people, images started functioning as a language for social communication.

In detail, I investigate two keywords for popular art with examples – medium and image. In Section 2-1, I have explored representative examples of mass producible mediums. In particularly, Cizhou ware and woodblock prints, which we still have a substantial amount of extant examples, were revisited for their materiality that was apt for the reproduction of images. I showed that Cizhou ware, a popular object for daily utensils in North China, and woodblock prints, well-known agents for the dissemination of various public knowledge, have common features such as their material availability, their method of production, and the diverse social classes of their consumers. The decoration and illustrations carried by these mediums also often show simplified and stylized but at the same time strong and bold line drawings in the small forms of books and ceramics.
Such a unique representation of images should have appealed to the object’s consumers – image viewers.

Section 2-2 examines popular images and motifs by categorizing them into three groups based on their meaning. The themes of these groups are popular thoughts, beliefs, and wishes, which were expected to ultimately represent 1) the image consumers’ level of education (or cultural cultivation), 2) deep-rooted faith in unseen power beyond the secular world, and 3) material necessities for a happy life, respectively. In this framework, images and motifs functioned as visual idioms constituting shared bases of popular culture. While referring to Song-Jin tomb mural examples where all the images appear together in an integrated way within a spatial context – a luxurious living space of tomb occupants, I demonstrated that these images were produced to satisfy the tomb occupants’ desire for an ideal life.

In summary, the variety of images and motifs, and their expanded application onto the popular objects of the Song-Jin period reflect increased cultural content and technical development. This further implies the intellectual maturity of the society that invigorated social communication through visual idioms.
CHAPTER 3.
UNDERSTANDING THE DISSEMINATION OF SONG-JIN TOMBS:
MARCANTALISM AND CIRCULATION OF VISUAL MATERIALS

Introduction

Song-Jin tombs were treated as luxury and they were produced as such. Accordingly, the tombs and their production were recognized not only as funerary practice, but as cultural production and activity. Due to this material quality, Song-Jin tombs have significant evidence of influencing the development of visual materials in their dissemination. This is further related to the cultural communication among different regions and provides clues to understand the cultural sharing between countries.

As an extension to the issue of materiality of Song-Jin tombs discussed in Chapter 2, this chapter discusses how the material circulation facilitated the dissemination of Song-Jin tomb styles, particularly through a market economy in what profit-seeking humans act and impact their economics. For a better understanding of the relationship between dissemination of Song-Jin tomb styles and material circulation from an economic perspective, this chapter will investigate the movement of two agents – human and material. The human agents (artisans and workshops) worked for their patrons but did not belong to any authority under traditional artisan-patron relationships.\(^{213}\) They were managed by private workshops on a small scale serving only local demands. Thus, in terms of technical skills, the individual artisans were not very sophisticated, but were

\(^{213}\) Although mercantilism designates the deeds of the profit seekers concerning the market trade, here I broaden the meaning to the selling of the labor of tomb making professionals by themselves. This mercantilism and dissemination of visual culture will later be applied to the world at large– international trade and will provide the preliminary understanding for the next chapter (Chapter 4) on cultural sharing in China and Korea from 10th to 15th centuries.
skilled enough to satisfy the taste of the local elites, and through repetitive practice, they contributed to form regional styles and often delivered regional culture to broader areas. Second, material agents, the visual materials used in tomb construction, helped reproduce and confirm regional styles, and through the mercantile circulation, these materials became means to cultural communication.

In order to delineate such a process of dissemination and sharing of Song-Jin tomb styles, this chapter investigates several examples, including those discussed in Chapter 1. Specifically, examples will be classified according the major decorating materials used in order to highlight different regional development of tombs.214 Based on these focal points, this chapter consists of three sections as follows. By sub-dividing the Song-Jin tomb cultural area geographically as south Shanxi and north Henan, Section 3-1 attempts to clarify the stylistic features of the tombs with murals of each region. Section 3-2 then analyzes the tombs with brick relief and discusses their stylistic differences from those of painted tombs brought on by a shift in decorating materials. Finally, in Section 3-3, the scarce but important literary records describing the socio-historical circumstance surrounding tomb construction will display how the movement of tomb agents in a mercantile system contributed to the sharing of the Song-Jin tombs culture on the Central Plain of China. This final section also confirms the identity of Song-Jin tombs as general consumable materials that were made, consumed, and circulated by the economic system.

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214 The five examples in Chapter 1 reflect this criterion.
3-1. Tombs with Murals

Mural painting was a traditional way of decorating the interior space of tombs. Since mural painting generally requires heavy handwork due to the issue of pigment treatment, the completion of mural painting often relied upon craftsmanship of the artisans. Consequently, mural tombs demonstrate the artisans’ influences on the formation of Song-Jin tomb styles and features. In order to show such regional developments of tombs with mural painting, this section first articulates the definition and features of mural-painted tombs, then analyzes examples from different regions such as north Henan, southern Shanxi, and other regions in Central Plain area.

3-1-1. Definition and Features

The Song-Jin mural tombs have decorative images mostly in mural paintings. Although limited, they also are known have decorative images in brick reliefs, and the coexistence of two decorating methods – paintings and brick reliefs – is one of the features differentiating the mural tombs from the brick relief tombs, which solely rely on the use of brick reliefs for decoration (Section 3-2). Each method provides a unique function irreplaceable by the other. First of all, paintings are mostly used to represent narrative and symbolic depictions, as well as simple and repetitive motifs for wall decoration. For example, they depict detailed images such as figural images including tomb occupant images and related scenes placing those figures in proper situations. On

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215 Images represented by brick reliefs include household furniture and architectural motifs, and as an innovative addition to decorated tombs, the earliest tombs that have this decoration are considered as precursors of Song-Jin tombs. See Chapter 1.
the other hand, relief bricks function as a framework for the paintings beyond a mere representation of images. For example, they mainly represent household furniture and wooden architectural structure such as windows, doors, pillars as well as pseudo bracket sets, and figures in later time.)

The mixed use of paintings and brick reliefs at Song-Jin mural tombs evidences a certain method of mass production, which indicates cost effective construction of Song-Jin tombs were made. Rather than thickly plastering walls and then designing and implementing murals to the whole chamber, the craftsmen exposed the bricks and their reliefs and used them as under-drawings that inform later paintings. This specific way of creating murals possibly enabled the artisans to minimize cost without compromising quality while also alleviating the duties of painters whose skills and knowledge about funerary iconography were crucial for the completion of murals.

The details of and relationship between brick and painting images specifically inform us how the decoration of Song-Jin mural tombs was made. Interestingly, despite the coexistence of both methods in murals, the images represented by each method, in many cases, are not coherent in styles. Thus, most assume that these two methods were applied to mural tombs through two separate processes, possibly by different artisans.

As a first step, bricks and their reliefs outline the wall space and create frames to place the images within the grid. \[\text{fig.3.1.1.}\] The frames enclose painted images and separate them from other scenes. According to the architectural motifs appearing in most mural tombs, the entire wall and ceiling are divided into the three basic parts – ceiling,

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216 As noted in the Sections 1-4-2 and 1-4-3, due to their modular construction with bricks, Song-Jin tombs have separate structural parts within their chamber, namely, just walls, ceiling, and their joining parts. The brick reliefs further provide visual frames so that each scene has its own space from an entire mural. See Chapter 1.
upper wall, and main wall. (Each part was then further divided into several sub-frames) First, pseudo pillars at all corners of angular shaped chambers and cross beams that projected from the wall form basic frames dividing the mural into two parts – wall and ceiling. [fig.3.1.2.] Second, the middle part of a mural designating the section above the pillars was comprised of pseudo bracket sets. Secondly, depending on the way bricks were piled on ceilings (e.g., corbelling), a different, additional type of frame was formed on the upper part of the wall. This structure is exemplified by Pingmo tomb in Henan Province, which shows that the corbelling bricks divide the ceiling face, with different images represented on each frame. [fig.3.1.4.] Other than these basic constituents comprised of relief bricks, furniture images appear more often in brick reliefs than in murals; these images set a proper contextual situation for the painting images to come. For example, a table that often comes with images of fruit dishes and teapots alludes to the place where the image of a tomb occupant enjoying banquet will be depicted. [fig.3.1.5.]

As a next step, paintings are designed and then applied to the mural, framed by a structure formed by bricks after construction of the tomb architecture. Especially, the walls framed by pillars and cross beams imply living spaces of the tomb occupants, and accordingly contain various living scenes. Chengnanzhuang tomb at Dengfeng in Henan Province shows such features. [fig.3.1.6.] Each frame in the six walls has reliefs depicting various pieces of furniture: a rack and basin stand on the southwest wall, a dining set consisting of a table and two chairs on the west wall, a candle stick and chest on the

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217 Images are located in between the bracket sets, where peculiar decorative motifs are adorned with the illustration of wooden architecture in Yingzao fashi. Illustrations of Yingzao fashi demonstrates that various motifs including figural images are depicted in these parts. [fig.3.1.3.] Li Jie 李誡 (1065–1110), Yingzao fashi, juan 34, 1008 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian chubanshe, 2006).
northwest wall, a mirror with its stand on the northeast wall, a clothes rack on the east wall, and lastly a pair of scissors, an iron, and a lamp stand on the southeast wall.\textsuperscript{218} These relief images occupy most of the wall space of each frame.

Among them, only two walls – the southwest and west – have figural images, which are even then drawn out of proportion. On each wall, two women dress themselves while enjoying tea. The lower body of each figure is not represented due to space limitations, and even the upper body parts are drawn in a smaller magnitude than they should be. Similarly, many mural paintings were added to the existing relief brick images, and they do not match well in terms of size and style.\textsuperscript{219} Considering earlier examples such as late Tang tombs that contain brick reliefs without paintings,\textsuperscript{220} this phenomenon may evidence an early stage of the marriage of mural paintings and relief bricks.

3-1-2. Geography in Regional Distribution

Many Song-Jin mural tombs are found along the Yellow River through Shanxi and Henan Provinces.\textsuperscript{221} The regions in the Henan Province, including Gongyi 鞏義, Zhengzhou 鄭州, and Dengfeng 登封, comprise one regional band, while the other

\textsuperscript{218} According to the images of reliefs and paintings, it is assumed that the tomb occupant was a woman. “Henan Dengfeng Chengnanzhuang Songdai bihuamu 河南登封城南莊宋代壁畵墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Chengnanzhuang in Denfeng of Shanxi),” \textit{Wenwu} 8 (2005): 62-70.

\textsuperscript{219} The third example in Chapter 1 represents this typical use of reliefs and paintings. See Section 1-1-3 in Chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{220} Three 9th century examples of the late Tang period that contain brick reliefs of early style; Su Zijin 蘇子矜 (d. mid-9th century), Zhang Qingzhong 長慶宗 (d. 877), and Yang Ren 楊釗 (d. 879), See Section 1-3-2 of Chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{221} These geographic conditions characterized regional culture by limiting cultural sharing and flow. For example, the three largest areas (north Henan, southeast and southwest Shanxi) we discussed in this Section are not only featured by tomb mural styles but also topographically separated. The Taihang Mountain, Yellow River and its tributaries as well as minor mountain ranges subdivide the large area of Song-Jin tomb culture spanning across Henan and Shanxi Provinces.
regions in the southwest part of Shanxi Province constitute another regional band. Although the decorating methods found in these two regions are similar to each other, the details and styles of the images are slightly different. Here, we will analyze the regional styles of these mural tombs through examination of examples.

*Mural Tomb in Henan Province*

Mural tombs located in northern Henan Province, constructed in the mid to late Northern Song period, particularly well evidence an early stage of the development of Song-Jin tombs. [map.2] This first regional band of mural tombs is in Gongyi, Dengfeng, and Zhengzhou. Considering that the some Liao mural tombs patronized by Han Chinese, the tombs at Xuanhua, Hebei, was constructed in the mid-11th century (1058), these Song-Jin mural tombs are the counterparts of tombs in Central China to north-central China.222

The tomb mural styles of these regions in Henan are generally similar, and only differ from one another in some details. However, those differences tell us an important fact; we shall see that the variance among the tomb murals implies that there are different groups of artisans or workshops who worked for a small region while sharing certain mural styles and at the same time created regionally specific elements. This phenomenon, on the other hand, alludes to the formation of market on regional bases where tomb demands were ensured.

222 The date of Xuanhua tombs (M1 through M12) of in Zhang family cemetery spans from the late Northern Song and early Jin period from 1058 to 1194. Although these tombs are similar to the Song-Jin tombs in some aspects, especially in terms of mural themes, details of representation are more different, and in general, Liao tombs show a relatively higher level of painting technique. Interestingly, bricks are rarely used for pictorial representation. This further explains how a tomb mural culture was formed and shared in a limited region to some point. About Xuanhua tombs, see, Liu Haiwen ed., *Xuanhua xiabali II qu liao bihuamu kaogu fajue baogao* (Excavation Report of the Mural Tombs in the Second District of Xiabali in Xuanhua) (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2008).
1) Baisha Song Tomb: The Earliest Example\textsuperscript{223}

One of the earliest and datable examples in Henan Province is the Baisha tomb in Yu County 禹州 (example 1 of table 1), 25km southwest of Dengfeng. As mentioned in Chapter 1, according to the land deeds found in tomb M1 containing the characters “大宋元符二年”, it was known to be constructed in 1099. In terms of the use of paintings and brick reliefs at decorations, the Baisha tomb shows a style typical of Song-Jin mural tombs. The paintings mostly focus on idealized life scenes of tomb occupants, including their portraits, and flowery, geometrical, and wooden grain motifs adorned across the interior space. On the other hand, the use of bricks is limited to a few non-pictorial representations such as the structure of wooden architecture.

Although a certain lineage of painting mural tombs had long existed in the region, no direct precursor from which the styles and contents of Baisha tomb mural came had been found in the same area. Particularly, some features of Baisha tomb mural paintings clearly differentiate themselves from general types of tomb murals in North-central China. First, even though the Baisha tomb mural contains traditional images or their contemporary adaptations, they are not organically mingled as in a mural program and most images were segmented by scenes and placed on each wall as individual paintings. Second, a relatively poor level of painting execution along with few valuable burials enables us to assume that the artist/artisans worked for Baisha tomb based on different standards from ones of prior times. For example, while the decorative motifs were meticulously done, the large image in which the attendants stand in front of the occupants

\textsuperscript{223} For detailed visual analysis, See Section 1-1 of Chapter 1.
contains illegible character-like black lines, implying that the legibility of such characters was irrelevant.\textsuperscript{224} [fig. 3.1.7.] Lastly, popular themes and images in mural paintings that mirror the scope of the tomb patrons’ imagination about thought about death and afterlife are only limited to such a vulgar tastes and pleasures.

On the other hand, aside from some pseudo timber frames and one relief sculpture of a woman image at the north wall of the rear-chamber, relief bricks are used at only one scene: the tomb occupant portrait.\textsuperscript{225} The relief images depict a table with a teapot, cups, and chairs, with the occupant couple sitting across from one another. Although this scene occupies only a small part of the entire mural, its content has significant implications. Considering that bricks allow little customization (unlike paintings), the images of the brick reliefs should indicate irreplaceable elements for the afterlife, which typically reflect the ideas of the tomb patrons. Such objects in reliefs have a symbolic meaning of luxurious afterlife in fantasy, as the tomb murals depict what the tomb patrons generally regarded as an ideal life.

The unique combination of paintings and bricks at the Baisha tomb murals suggests that the stylistic forms of Song-Jin mural tombs originated not in a single type of tomb, but in both early brick relief tombs and mural tombs of north Henan Province. In fact, before the Song period, tomb styles are clearly differentiated by those two different
decorating materials. As noted in Chapter 1, by forming a different lineage from mural tombs, we know that while the mural paintings had long existed in this area, brick relief tombs had developed as well.\(^\text{226}\) [fig.3.1.8.] At some point thereafter, one type of tomb seems to have adopted the styles of the other type and finally formed the styles of Song-Jin mural tomb. Thus, in early Song-Jin mural tombs, painted images and brick relief images rarely melded well with one another, particularly in terms of the proportion and perspectives among images. [fig.3.1.9.]

In sum, the Baisha tomb demonstrates that the style of the early mural tombs in north Henan Province developed from the tombs of two different types yet was also rooted in the regional tradition of north Henan. Due to these regional bases of decorating methods and styles, the mural tombs of north Henan Province gradually differentiated themselves from their northern counterparts. This is further supported by the different styles of contemporary mural tombs in Hebei Province, often discussed in scholarship as examples in close relationship with the formation of styles. For example, the murals of Han Shixun’s tomb (c.1111), one of Xuanhua Liao tombs, show that mural themes and decorative motifs are similar to those of the Baisha tomb, but the details of images and painting styles are substantially different. In Han Shixun’s tomb, use of bricks is more

\(^{226}\) The Tang tomb of Yinxu Ruin in Anyang, Henan Province demonstrates the early development of brick relief tombs in the Late Tang period from late 8th to early 9th century. [fig.3.1.11.] Similarly, the earliest Song-Jin tombs in north Henan also show images in brick relief at murals without paintings showing heavy influence of early brick relief tombs. Although these early style was learned by later mural tombs and it is still unclear if there existed paintings originally, it is possible that paintings were not supposed to be drawn since relief images occupy most surfaces of walls yielding little spaces for paintings. For examples, see, “Zhengzhou eriligang songmu fajueji 鄭州二里崗宋墓發掘記 (Excavation of Song tomb at Erligang, Zhengzhou)” and “Zhengzhou nanguanwai beisong zhuanshimu 鄭州南關外北宋磚室墓 (Song Dynasty Brick Relief Tomb Outside of Nanguan (south gate), Zhengzhou),” in Zhengzhou songjin bihuamu Zhengzhou Song-Jin period mural tombs in Zhengzhou, ed. Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 鄭州市文物考古研究所/Zhengzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2005), 8-16.
limited, paintings are much more sophisticated than those of the Baisha tomb, and images are drawn flat with less spatial impression.  

2) Other Mural tombs in North Henan Band

From the 12th century, mural tombs increased in the northern Henan, with their stylistic forms codifying around the mid-12th century. Many examples are located in and nearby major historical centers of the Central Plains such as Luoyang and Kaifeng. Still, in reminiscence of tomb murals of prior periods, these Henan mural tombs articulate how the Song-Jin mural tombs changed in their early developmental stages.

A group of mural tombs found at Sicun 司村 and Gubaizuicun 孤柏嘴村 in Xingyang 滎陽 City, Zhengzhou Prefecture, exemplify this development. Dated to the early 12th century, they are contemporary with or slightly later than the Baisha Song tombs. These tombs commonly contain features typical of Song-Jin tombs: 1) a hexagon-shaped tomb chamber, 2) brick relief decorations for furniture images, and 3) a conical shape domed ceiling. Due to several unique characteristics, I categorize Sicun and Gubaizuicun tombs as an early type of Song-Jin mural tomb, along with the Baisha tomb. First of all, ceilings are treated more as mural canvases than walls. While Song-Jin mural

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227 For example, at the tomb occupant banquet scene of Han Shixun’s tomb, the figures are represented as standing or sitting in a space with no distinction between the floor and wall.
228 Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (2005).
229 Being located closely (approximately 700 meters apart), these tombs are very similar in the architectural style and mural design, implying that they were made by the same workshop or craftsmen. Based on the excavated coins, these tombs are dated at between 1107 and 1111, and slight difference in mural details such as different numbers of scenes depicting stories of filial piety or brick reliefs suggests that Sicun tomb little was preceded by Gubaizuicun tomb. “Xingyang sicun songdai bihuamu 滎陽司村宋代壁畫墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Si Village in Xingyang)” and “Xingyang gubaizuicun songdai bihuamu 滎陽孤柏嘴宋代壁畫墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Gubaizui Village in Xianyang)” in Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (2005), 17-30.
tombs generally contain murals on walls, these tombs follow their precursors that had only simple brick decorations on walls and most paintings on ceilings. Second, in addition to the emphasis on ceiling murals, mural themes and painting styles also differentiate this group from the tombs in later periods. For example, different themes appear in each of three rows of the mural: 1) nineteen scenes of stories of filial piety in the lowest row, 2) figures in attire typical of a civil official, possibly meant to be twelve calendrical symbols, occupy the middle row, and 3) finally, flower motifs, peonies in particular, adorn the upper row. The kind of mural composition that divides the themes using rows is one of the features of earlier tomb murals as observed in from Han tombs to Liao tombs. Among these images, the twelve calendrical symbols were particularly popular mural themes in the earlier periods from the Tang to the Five Dynasties. Lastly, all of the different stories of filial piety are depicted in one row without divisions. This composition is rarely observed in other contemporary tomb murals but compared with the handscroll paintings of earlier times, which mostly depicted narratives. For example, we can even notice the similar composition in the paintings of the Five Dynasties such as Gu Hongzhong’s *Han Xizai’s Evening Banquet*, and it evidence that the depictions of stories of filial piety followed a traditional for the pictorial representation of narratives. 

Other examples of the early Song-Jin mural tombs (also dated to the early 12th century) include two tombs found in Pingmo 平陌, Xinmi 新密, located nearby

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230 Regarding the images of twelve calendrical animals in tomb murals, see Chapter 4.
231 This composition recalls scroll painting such as that depicts several different scenes or stories in one screen with no clear divisions among them. It possibly reflect the earlier version of images of filial paragons if considering their later depictions on tomb murals, were related to the most popular forms of those images such as printed book illustrations or drama performances by periods.
Dengfeng.  Like Xinyang tombs, Xinmi tombs also feature the basic elements of Song-Jin tombs. Despite many typical mural themes and painting styles of Song-Jin tomb, however, references to the earlier murals also remain in these tombs. For example, themes such as a procession scene, celestial deities in heaven, their ascendance to heaven, and kitchen scenes in a conventional style completely disappear in later Song-Jin tomb murals.  

As discussed with the Baisha tomb murals, the overlaps of traditional images and popular contemporary images in the early examples above demonstrate that Song-Jin mural tombs were formed primarily based on the existing framework that prevailed in the same region. While persisting in traditional framework, particularly in terms of material uses and some irreplaceable mural images, the Song-Jin murals began to modify the details and the rest of the elements. As discussed in Chapter 2, scholars generally assume that those new images were chosen from popular visual sources reflecting commensurate taste and knowledge of the time. Specifically, mural designers adopted many popular images as substitutes for out-dated images, but they still preserved the original meaning of the older images.  

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232 “Xinmi xiazhuanghe songdai bihuamu 新密下莊河宋代壁畵墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Xiazhuang River in Xinmi),” in Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (2005), 31-41; “Xinmi pingmo songdai bihuamu 新密平陌宋代壁畵墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Pingmo in Xinmi),” in Ibid., 41-54 and “Henan Xinmishi Pingmo Songdai bihuamu 河南新密市平陌宋代壁畵墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Pingmo of Xinmi City in Henan Province),” Wenwu 12 (1998): 26-37.

233 While many traditional mural themes disappeared in the Song-Jin tomb murals, some were preserved with different details and painting styles. For example, scenes of food preparation for banquets was a long standing theme in tomb murals, serving food changed and accordingly, the kitchen scenes became different; in Song-Jin tomb murals, they were limited to drinks and a few simple refreshments unlike feasting table of earlier murals.

234 As Laing discussed, the use of popular images in the Song-Jin tomb murals on various mediums shows that use of images rather than certain ritualistic rules that had been heavily influential. Replacement images came to obtain different meanings within changing mural scheme following the new patrons’ order. When considering the production and circulation of popular images were closely related to the social and
supports this idea. Due to the nature of the stories – depictions of supernatural phenomena induced by the heaven’s rewards responding to the filial deeds – these images were normally represented on ceilings where the images of mythic and heavenly creatures were drawn.\textsuperscript{235} Also, to a certain point, the images of filial paragons were represented on ceilings alongside gods and deities.

After adoption of the new images, the murals changed again in their composition, reflecting the structural features of the Song-Jin tombs. Although keeping the single-chamber structure as a basic framework of tomb construction for middle class patrons,\textsuperscript{236} increased use of bricks allowed for more frames at the murals in the interior space than before. As tomb architecture became standardized in Song-Jin tombs, mural composition also settled accordingly where frames were used to separate images in murals. A series of mural tombs found in Dengfeng articulates this mural composition.\textsuperscript{237} The unique architectural structure of their domed ceilings provides frames for images of different themes. The domes are constructed as follows: 1) interlocking triangular brick plates, 2) fitting bricks in a dovetail joint, and lastly 3) tilting the interlocked plates inward to form a cone shape. This is different from other general domes that are made in a much simpler way of corbelling bricks and keystones. [fig.3.1.15.] These triangular plates yield six to eight individual canvases on the ceiling which brings about the separation of scenes. The

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item environmental conditions such as regional tradition and material supply, in terms of materiality, their adaptation to Song-Jin tomb murals seems to have been also influenced by the regional conditions.
\item This assumption is only applied to the Song-Jin tomb murals because same image of other mural tombs in different areas, particularly in north China, have different positions in tomb murals other than ceiling.
\item See Chapter 1
\item \textsuperscript{235} “Henan Dengfeng Heishangou Songdai bihuamu 河南登封黑山溝宋代壁畫墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Heishangou in Denfeng of Henan),” \textit{Wenwu} 10 (2001): 60-66; \textit{Zhengzhou songjin bihuamu 鄭州宋金壁畫墓 (2005), 88-116;} “Denfeng Gaocun Songdai bihuamu 登封高村宋代壁畫墓 (Song Dynasty Mural Tomb at Gao Villlage in Dengfeng),” in Ibid., 62-88.
\end{itemize}
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images of Buddhist gods and deities are placed on these frames, and other images, such as the stories of filial piety that were drawn altogether before, naturally came down to the in-between spaces of the bracket sets formerly occupied by flowery motifs.\textsuperscript{238} [fig.3.1.16.]

Lastly, examples of Song-Jin mural tombs in Henan also show that many painted images on tomb murals in former times were gradually replaced by brick reliefs. Since some brick reliefs of specific images were already started in decorated tombs of the late Tang period, themes of brick relief images had expanded until the Song-Jin period. Furthermore, these brick reliefs enveloped more functions than merely a pictorial representation. In tombs of Dengfeng, for example, it is notable in that these brick reliefs do not simply supplement painting images but carry out more important roles in murals as axes of the mural composition assigning proper positions to other painting images. Also, relief images often substitute the real burial goods that they depict. The murals of Chengnanzhuang tomb, one of Dengfeng area tombs, exemplarily demonstrate these functions of brick relief images. Paintings mainly depict different living scenes of female figures anchored on the brick reliefs. The lower parts of the females’ bodies were omitted, and as a consequence, the brick relief images stand out. Brick relief images became more diverse, ranging from furniture such tables, mirror stands, and candlesticks to small items like scissors and irons, and these were meant to substitute actual burial goods. [fig.3.1.17.] The use of brick materials indicates a different level of importance of their images in relation to the painted images; the images of these burial objects, which used to be physically interred, were meant to express that they are made of more durable materials

\textsuperscript{238} Besides, this assumption is inconsistent with Deng Fei’s assertion that this specific location of the images has significance in mediating the heaven and earth within funerary symbolism. See Chapter 1.
than paintings. For example, archaeologists infer that the tomb occupant of the Liao tomb at Chengnanzhuang was female based not only on the female figures of murals but also on the brick relief decorated images – a mirror stand, an iron, a pair scissors and so forth -- which were in many cases physically buried in female tombs in the same region. [fig.3.1.18.]

In sum, the changes in mural making methods, mural composition, and themes evidence that the adoption of various bricks in architecture and mural decoration influenced the formation of unique styles of Song-Jin tomb murals.

**Mural Tomb in Shanxi Province**

Except for a few mural tombs found near Datong 大同 in northern Shanxi, rest of Shanxi adjacent to north Henan comprises another regional band of Song-Jin mural tombs. [map.3] While Henan tomb murals developed intensively from the mid-11th century, mural tombs in southern Shanxi became popular and increased slightly later than that, approximately from the beginning of Jin dynasty. Although fewer in quantity than ones in north Henan, these tombs also reveal a distinctive mural tomb culture.

The specific area where mural tombs have been excavated is formed around Changzhi 長治 City, specifically Changzi 長子 Prefecture, about 235km south of Taiyuan 太原. This region is embraced by two mountain ranges: 1) the Taihang

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239 The burials corresponding to the images of brick reliefs were often found in tombs of other cultural areas, especially of Northeast Asia. For example, many simple pit tombs of the Goryeo dynasty of Korea contain a typical set of burial goods which is known as influence of Liao and Song burial customs. While bronze spoons and chopsticks were mostly found in Liao tombs, the custom burying mirrors and coins were widely shared in central and south China in Song period. Jung Eui-do, “Songyogeumwonmyo sijeo mit cheolhyeop chultogyeonghyang 송, 오, 금, 실, 묘 시저 및 철협출토경향/Spoons and Scissors found from Tombs of Song, Liao, Jin and Yuan Periods,” *Munmul yeongu*, No. 15 (Busan: The Research Foundation of Cultural Relics in East-Asia, 2009): 52-136.
Mountains (太行山) running through the east and south, and 2) the Luliang Mountains (呂梁山) west of the Taihang Mountains. The Taihang Mountains first divide south Shanxi and north Henan, and then the Luliang Mountains separate Changzi City and Linfen 臨汾 City where many Song-Jin brick tombs were found.

The mural themes and styles of these Shanxi tombs are differentiated by the regions and dates as follows.

1) Early Mural Tombs:
There are only a few examples of early mural tombs, that is, tombs made before the 12th century in Shanxi, but they are still worthy of investigation to see how they developed in comparison to tombs from northern Henan. The Song-Jin mural tombs of the early period are scattered across Shanxi Province bordering Liao’s territory to the north and metropolitan area of Northern Song to the south. Despite the regional proximity to Hebei and Henan where mural tombs also developed, southern Shanxi seems to have been more or less isolated due to the mountains that interrupted cultural communication with other areas. Thus, to a certain point, the mural themes of Shanxi’s tombs still reflected the strong influence of traditional styles rather than contemporary ones from neighboring areas.

As a first example, two tombs (M1, M2) of a similar style, which were found within ten meters of each other at Guxiancun in Changzhi City, show a typical form of early mural tombs in Shanxi. The tomb epitaph excavated from M2 – the first year of

Yuanfeng reign of the Emperor Shenzong of Northern Song dynasty (宋神宗元豊元年), dates to 1078. Each tomb has a rectangular plan and smaller chamber than typical Song-Jin tombs which measure less than or around two meters in both the length and width. Although mural styles are quite different from contemporary ones in north Henan, the basic architectural features and some elements of Song-Jin tomb murals are shared in these tomb murals.

Two aspects – composition and themes – characterize the murals of Guxiancun tombs. First, uncommon pseudo wooden structures influence the formation of unique mural composition. Except for the south wall, the lower (of the stylobate part) and upper walls divide into three bays by pilasters. Since the tomb chamber is smaller than usual, the horizontal and vertical divisions of walls separate the wall spaces into much smaller frames for pictorial depictions. Furthermore, many doors and windows occupied a substantial part of the available space on each wall for mural paintings and additional decoration. Also, seven bracket sets on each upper wall are in an unusual shape missing gong (bow-shaped bracket arms), thus being differentiated from most bracket sets of Song China. [fig.3.1.19.] Second, while many contemporary Henan tomb murals focus on the representation of a world for tomb occupants along with their portraits, Guxiancun tombs show neither tomb occupant images nor any visual settings alluding to their presence such as an empty chair. [fig.3.1.20.] Instead, celestial images including Four Directional Animals – the azure dragon, white tiger, black warrior, and vermilion bird –

are noticeable on the center top of each wall. In addition, the south mural represents traditional mural images, scenes of husking rice and milling flour on both sides and over the arched tomb entrance. Other walls have murals depicting figures such as male and female attendants and flying aspara in the Tang style of painting. Only on the lower walls at the pedestal-like part do popular images appear; almost a full set of twenty four stories of filial piety are represented.

The Jiangjiagoucun tomb is another example of an early Shanxi mural tomb; it is located in Pingding County, Jinzhong Prefecture of northeastern Shanxi that borders southeastern Hebei Province. This tomb is also different in style from both Henan tombs and the Guxiancun tombs while featuring mixed characteristics of other mural tombs of various regions. For example, in terms of architecture, the tomb shows a typical style of northern Henan tombs – constructed based on a hexagonal plan, a single chamber is decorated with pseudo timber frames such as pilasters, bracket sets, lintels and tiled eaves under a domed ceiling. Besides, like the Guxiancun tombs, the murals contain representative traditional images, for instance, celestial images on the ceiling, and Four Directional Animals and floral designs on the spaces in-between bracket sets.

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241 It is noteworthy that the original iconography – tortoise with serpents, the Northern guardian of the Four Directional Animals, is replaced with human form. While citing Song dynasty literature, Yunlu wanchao 冀麓漫抄 (1206) written by Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛, the author of “Shanxi Changzi Guxiancun songdai bihuamu” asserts that this reflects a diffusion and popularity of Daoism of society. This deity of a guardian figure at north wall is also known as Zhenwu dadi 真武大帝 (True Marshal Grand Emperor) or Beifang heidi 北方黑帝 (Black Emperor of North) which have been worshiped in Daoist temples. Ibid., 61.

Although some of the features are shared by contemporary Song-Jin mural tombs in other areas, the Jiangjiagoucun tomb is in general much more similar to contemporary Liao tombs in Hebei constructed by Han Chinese such as the Liao tombs in Xuanhua. In particular, in terms of composition of images and details of representations, the Jiangjiagoucun tomb is stylistically related to Liao tombs. For example, the scenes of dancers and musicians of the two different areas are similar to each other: musicians perform while surrounding a young dancer in both the Jiangjiagoucun tomb and Xuanhua tombs, and only the sex of figures is different.243 [fig.3.1.26a, b.] We can find reasons for the similarity from the regional locations of the tombs. While south Shanxi was somewhat isolated due to geographic conditions, northern Shanxi was an open area and a transportation center, a gateway to Central China from the far northeast or northwest. For this reason, it is possible that Liao tombs in Hebei bordering north Shanxi influenced the styles of northern Shanxi mural tombs, just as southern Shanxi tombs were much influenced by northern Henan.

In sum, based on the early Song-Jin mural tombs of Shanxi Province above, we can assume that these tombs were developed during the early Song-Jin period as follows; (1) The common use of architectural form, and some images and motifs demonstrate that the widespread Song-Jin mural tomb style started in the 11th century in a broad Central Plain area from Hebei through Shanxi to Henan; (2) However, the settlement of Song-Jin mural tomb culture in Shanxi was later than North Henan area due to limitations in communication; (3) To a certain point, mural tombs in north and south Shanxi were

243 While dancers and musicians of the Liao tomb murals are male, in most Song-Jin tomb murals, they are represented as female as seen in the Baisha Song tomb. Based on different themes and representations of Liao and Song-Jin tomb murals, Jiangjiagoucun tomb seems to be much closer to typical Song-Jin tombs but its painting styles was probably influenced from northern mural tombs of earlier period.
influenced from different regional cultures; while north Shanxi was still under a strong influence of Liao culture, south Shanxi was rather influenced by metropolitan Northern Song culture of north Henan due to their geographic proximity.

2) Mural Tombs since the Jin Period

After Jin Jurchen’s (1115-1234) conquest of Northern Song, mural tomb culture of northern Henan began to die out. Instead, culture flourished in southern Shanxi, especially its southeastern area. A series of mural tombs constructed beginning from the 12th century shows that the Shanxi mural tombs developed based on the initial styles formed in late Northern Song in north Henan. Among many regions of southeastern Shanxi, Changzi City is the central region for the mural tomb culture. The tombs of this region demonstrate the process of change in the mural tombs while being influenced by the great historical event – the Song-Jin transition. They also evidence a phenomenon of the later period: that the stylized mural decorations inspired brick relief decorations in the same area, which will be discussed in detail in Section 3-2.

The most notable change in tomb murals of this period in Shanxi is that many traditional images were replaced with popular images. For example, placing the tomb occupants’ portraits in a casual setting, and depicting living scenes as well as the stories of filial piety in the full twenty-four sets both became main themes. Not only the appearance of these themes, but also their positions in murals and styles are worthy of note; the image representations became more sophisticated, and they secured independence from other images while being represented in individual frames in the central part of murals. The following several examples elaborate these changes.
First, we will examine the Songcun tomb at the Tunliu Prefecture. Ink inscriptions on the wall indicate that burial in this tomb was done in the thirteenth year of Tianhui 天會 era of Emperor Taizong 太宗 of the Jin dynasty (1135). This tomb has architectural features most representative of a Song-Jin tomb: a single chamber squarish floor plan, pseudo timber frames such as doors, windows, and bracket sets on all four walls, and a domed ceiling with a pointed top. The murals are in general not much different from the examples of other regions, particularly Henan mural tombs; although still small in size, typical images of Song-Jin tomb murals are also represented. [fig.3.1.27.] However, the unique pictorial representations and their positions on the murals distinguishes this tomb from Henan tombs. Especially, the tomb occupant portrait is located in a unique place – a niche on the middle of the north wall, which emphasizes its importance in the tomb space. On the east and west sides, murals depict daily life scenes in a traditional manner and these seem to have been still influenced by much earlier tombs. [fig.3.1.28.] While northern Henan murals mostly depict figures

245 This type of domed ceiling is also known as *zanjianding* 攒尖頂. In the Song period, it was also called *doujianding* 斗尖頂. This type of ceiling is comprised of several faces and they are conjoined steeply. On the top, the ceiling is covered with another piece of brick. Overall, the ceiling becomes an intermediate form of dome and cone shapes.
246 Tomb occupant’s banquet scenes at Songcun tomb mural are much smaller than other images in Henan tomb murals. However, the representation of the tomb occupant portrait is typical – tomb occupant couples sitting across a table with narrow calligraphy screens behind each person – was learned and continued to later tomb murals of the same region for example, Xiaoguancun Tomb. “Shanxi Changzi Xiaoguancun Jindai jinian bihuamu 山西長子縣小關村金代紀年壁畫墓 (Mural Tomb Dated the Jin Dynasty at Xiaoguan Village in Changzi of Shanxi),” *Wenwu* 10 (2008): 60-69.
247 The daily life scenes usually include outdoor activities and various scenes representing outside of buildings: for example, oxen and horses in stables and someone pounding, winnowing, and grounding grains on ground. These images, as noted in the earlier Shanxi mural tombs, feature the regionality of Shanxi which was relatively isolated from the central area of Northern Song and thus, traditions were kept
preparing teas and simple refreshments for the tomb occupants, the Songcun tomb mural focuses on less sophisticated cooking activities such as husking rice and milling flour, and daily life scenes occur outside of the general living space, for example, in stables. On the south wall, two guardians with their horses are depicted on each side of the entrance in the middle, which rarely appeared in Henan tombs. Lastly, six scenes of the stories of filial piety are decorated on the upper part of each wall, totaling 24 scenes. It is noteworthy that the stories are depicted in a complete set of twenty-four while only select scenes appeared in Henan tombs.\(^{248}\)

The second example is the Xiaoguancun tomb at the Changzi Prefecture, also analyzed in Chapter 1.\(^{249}\) Constructed in 1174, about half a century later than the Songcun tomb, according to ink inscriptions on its wall, the Xiaoguancun tomb stylistically follows the Shanxi-style Song-Jin tombs especially in terms of architecture: a relatively small single chamber, a squared floor plan, a significant portion of pseudo door and window settings at each wall, and sparser bracket sets.\(^{250}\) However, mural painting techniques are more sophisticated than Shanxi precursors, and the images became abundant and diverse, ranging from decorative motifs to traditional images having funerary symbolism, to illustrations of popular narratives. The representation skills, as well as all decorative motifs and images in proper positions, suggest that the murals were

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\(^{248}\) As noted in Chapter 2, the completion of the set of “24” filial paragons featured Song-Jin mural tombs in middle phase of development.

\(^{249}\) See, Section 1-1-3 of Chapter 1.

\(^{250}\) As discussed, the emphasis of pseudo windows and doors of Shanxi tombs contrasts to the Henan murals. Due to this setting on walls, Shanxi tomb walls in general yield much less space for mural paintings and disturb their composition, and further reality; figures are smaller when comparing to architecture scales because they have to be crammed into limited spaces.
carefully planned. [fig.3.1.29.] This combination of various motifs in a high level of painting execution and Song-Jin architecture of a clear, decisive style implies that the culture of Song-Jin mural tombs had settled in this region. The advanced mural representation particularly reveals that Shanxi tombs were not merely petty results resembling random aspects of other mural tombs, but rather closely paralleled north Henan tombs. This is supported by the most decorated part of the mural – the ceiling. Unlike the ceiling murals of Henan tombs that are adorned with a few stylized motifs such as Daoist/celestial figures, or are merely left without paintings, the ceiling of this tomb is decorated with beautifully rendered flower images – peonies and lotuses, cranes, butterflies, and the sun, moon and constellations over clouds, and lastly the center of the top is covered with a big lotus flower.

The last example is the Anchangcun tomb located in the north Changzhi.251 According to the ink inscription on the south wall – the sixth year of Mingchang of the Jin dynasty (金明昌六年), this tomb was constructed in 1195. This tomb also shows both basic characteristics of the Song-Jin tombs and the regional tradition of Shanxi – a squared floor plan, pseudo timber frames, a domed ceiling of tomb architecture, and twenty-four stories of filial piety motifs for mural decoration. [fig.3.1.30.] Aside from many similarities observed in prior Song-Jin mural tombs, the Anchangcun tomb also shows several unique characteristics. First, the tomb consists of more than one chamber. Specifically, one main and three auxiliary chambers are connected to the north, east, and west walls. Additionally, there are four niches on two corners of the south wall. However,

since each auxiliary chamber’s depth is less than one meter, they do not appear to function as a space for keeping coffins or corpses. Secondly, as a result of having auxiliary chambers, the height of the ceiling of the main chamber becomes relatively high, measuring 4 meters in comparison to the floor size measuring 2.25 by 2.1 meters. The vertically elongated wall serves mainly to secure spaces to represent doors connected to each auxiliary chamber of which ceiling height is almost the same as the wall height of the main chamber. Thirdly, since those doors occupy most of the wall space, painting decorations are limited. Only twenty-four stories of filial piety on the upper north, east, and west walls (fourteen, five, and five scenes respectively), and two stylized crane motifs resting on a cloud are depicted on each face of the quadrangular ceiling.  

252 Crane and cloud motifs, often notable in the Five Dynasties tomb of Hebei Province as implying dissemination of northern culture, once flourished in former periods. See Chapter 2.

In sum, the three examples above – the Songcun tomb, the Xiaoguancun tomb, and the Anchangcun tomb, show how Song-Jin mural tombs developed in their mid-period departing from north Henan where its tradition is rooted. Furthermore, stylistic and thematic differences in murals of Shanxi and Henan delineate how cultural dissemination and adaptation occur, and that they influenced the formation of new regional culture. For example, southeastern Shanxi was in part defined by its geographic isolation, and only allowed limited communication with different regional culture. Only after the critical social shift (Song-Jin transition) were highly developed mural tombs of the kind seen in northern Henan disseminated to southern Shanxi. However, these mural
tomb styles were not entirely copied; rather, some select elements were adapted to existing regional customs.

3) Other mural tombs in Shanxi
Although rare, some Song-Jin mural tombs are also found outside the two centers – southeast Shanxi and north Henan. As noted above, due to their geographic proximity, the stylistic form of the Jiangjiagoucun tomb in northeast Shanxi seems to have been significantly influenced by the Liao mural tomb in terms of mural paintings. Likewise, the mural tombs distant to the southeast Shanxi and north Henan area maintained their own styles that reflected much stronger regionality.

One of those areas where Song-Jin tombs were popular is the Jinzhong 晉中 basin, which is enclosed by other mountain ranges (including the Taiyue Mountain and Zhongtiao Mountain), the west side being in between Taihang and Luliang Mountains. Along the valley from this basin to the plain of southeastern Shanxi where three rivers (the Yellow River, Wei River, and Luo River) join, there are more Song-Jin tomb sites that show a unique style. Although most tombs of this valley are relief brick tombs that will be discussed in the next section, a small number of mural tombs are worthy of discussion now.

The family graveyard at Donglongguancun 東龍觀村 of Fenyang 汾陽 Prefecture, about 120 km southwest of Taiyuan, hosts two representative Song-Jin mural

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253 Jin 晉 is a nickname of Shanxi, and Jinzhong 晉中 (a different designation from Jinzhong Prefecture of central east Shanxi) basin designates a wide area starting from central part of Shanxi – Taiyuan and continuing along with the Fen River that gets out the Province at southwest corner to meet the Yellow River. Thus, this area also takes a part of southwest Shanxi.
tombs.\textsuperscript{254} M4 and M6 – the mural tombs – have a rectangular shaped floor plan similar to the previous examples of those in the southeast Shanxi. According to burial goods, including early Jin dynasty coins, these tombs are dated to Jin period.\textsuperscript{255} Although their murals represent popular tomb mural themes of the time (a tomb occupant’s banquet scene (or portrait), pseudo timber frame by brick reliefs, and flowery motifs at decoration), they also differ from the contemporary tombs excavated in southeastern Shanxi, nearby in Changzhi City. First, one of the featured mural themes of Song-Jin tombs – stories of filial piety, is missing. Second, the painting styles are different; rendered figures with sophistication and their right proportion in Donglongguancun tombs imply that a more skilled artisan developed this tomb. [fig.3.1.32.] This contrasts to the images in Shanxi tomb murals whose decorative motifs simply ignore the proportion of images and tomb chamber.

The differences found in the Donglongguancun tombs demonstrate that the regional styles of Song-Jin mural tombs were formed by regional adaptation of universal forms of Song-Jin mural tombs. From their composition and painting style, these tombs seem to be much closer to the murals of Liao tombs of Hebei or early Song-Jin tombs of northern Shanxi, rather than the north Henan or south Shanxi mural tombs. For example,

\textsuperscript{254} Eight Song-Jin tombs in total were excavated from the same site (from M1 to M8) but only M4 and M6 are mural tombs and others are brick relief tombs. The floor plans of tombs vary among rectangle, hexagon, and octagon, which are representative three types of floor plan of Song-Jin tombs. Shanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 山西考古研究所, “Shanxi Fenyang Jinmu fajue jianbao 山西汾陽金墓發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on the Jin Dynasty Tomb Excavated in Fenyang of Shanxi),” \textit{Wenwu} 12 (1991): 16-33; Wang Jun 王俊, “2008nian Shanxi Fenyang Donglongguan Songjinmudi fajue jianbao 2008年山西汾陽東龍觀宋金墓地發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on the Song and Jin Tombs Excavated at Donglongguan in Fenyang of Shanxi),” \textit{Wenwu} 2 (2010): 23-38.

\textsuperscript{255} Tomb stone or land deed was not found. Instead, many coins were buried at these tombs, and they consist of majority of late Northern Song coins and a few Jin coins. Among them, Zhenglong yuanbao 正隆元寶 named coins were minted in Zhenglong years of the king Hailing 海陵王 (1122-1161), these tombs were estimated to be made no earlier than early Jin period. Ibid., 31-32.
the use of relief bricks is limited, unlike in other contemporary tombs in Shanxi and Henan; furniture and architectural motifs are represented by paintings. Also, the composition and details of tea preparation scenes and attendants’ posture and gesture are similar to the images of Xuanhua Liao tomb murals. [fig.3.1.33a, b.] Visualizing the space and liveliness is done through the relationship of images, and this way of representation contrasts with those of other regions where painting is more stylized, thus lacking this kind of vitality. Lastly, as M6 clearly shows, the tomb occupants are in a frontal pose; the male and female are sitting together at one side of a table rather than either side. While only a few tomb murals have this front portrait image, it is repeated in many brick relief tombs in later time of the same region.

3-1-3. Summary

Song-Jin mural tombs commonly share basic architectural forms, materials, and major decorative motifs. Common features in decorations were derived from a specific use of brick reliefs and paintings for decoration; brick reliefs for representing pseudo timber frames and furniture, and paintings for detailed decorative motifs and figural images. Differences, in contrast, lie in structural details, mural themes, and pictorial representations, characterized by regional styles.

The shared forms in architecture and interior decoration are found in single-chamber tombs adorned with reliefs and paintings and in the adoption of popular images in mural in those tombs. These forms reveal the paradigm of the Song-Jin mural tomb, which was widely used in north-central China. But in the details of architecture and
mural decoration, tombs differ slightly from each other due to the different adaptations of the standards and specific regional circumstances. Regional specificities that influenced those adaptations are related to socio-geographic conditions, including proximity to cultural centers, regional functions, and regional characteristics. Due to the different conditions of regions, even within the cultural area of Song-Jin mural tombs, various regional styles were formed; for example, mural tombs of the northern frontier of the Northern Song empire – north Shanxi – resembled the tombs of Liao’s southern frontiers, and north Henan where the mural tomb tradition was longstanding had its own unique style of murals. Also, some geographically isolated regions in Shanxi showed strong influences of Tang and Five Dynasties styles until the mid-12th century, although unique regional styles were soon developed by the movement of cultural centers after Northern Song’s fall.

The Song-Jin mural tombs of north-central China demonstrate that socio-geographic conditions limited and also promoted the formation of regional styles of mural tombs. The limited cultural communication among regions is clearly reflected in the different styles of tombs of various regions in Henan and Shanxi Provinces. Since production of mural paintings heavily relied on artisans’ handwork and practice, different regional styles represent various ranges of the different artisans’ activities. However, these regional divisions did not stand long, because social shifts by wars or any such environmental change often incited the artisans’ relocation and consequent dissemination of regional cultures to different areas.
3-2. Brick Relief Tombs

Although using brick reliefs for decoration itself was not a new method in the history of tomb art, applying the method to an entire tomb interior was innovative. First, using pre-made images with brick reliefs made the quality control of mural decoration easier. In addition, the extensive application of brick reliefs reduced cost, labor, and time at tomb construction and further solidified standardization of tomb mural decoration. Finally, unlike paintings of mural tombs that relied on handwork of artisans, production and circulation of visual materials (i.e., brick reliefs) through a market economy made it possible to disseminate the regional styles of decorated tombs to broader areas.

This section first provides the definition and features of brick relief tombs, and then analyzes examples in various regions – northern Henan (south and north banks of the Yellow River) and southern Shanxi (southeast and southwest Shanxi) – to show different formations, development and dissemination of tomb styles from those of mural tombs focusing on the material quality of relief bricks.

3-2-1. Definition and Features

Brick relief tombs designate another representative style of Song-Jin tombs that have brick reliefs as major decorative materials instead of paintings. While use of brick reliefs

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256 As noted in Chapter 1, along with the significant use in Song-Jin tomb construction, the bricks, particularly their reliefs, were also important as decorations while representing images that consist of the interior space of the house. Depending on the tomb, the function of brick reliefs as a decorating method was more important than paintings, and sometimes even the reliefs replaced mural paintings entirely. This type of Song-Jin tomb is generally classified as brick tombs (zhuandiaomu, 磚雕墓) in contrast to tombs with murals in Chinese archaeology.
was in general limited to a few images in mural tombs, particularly in pseudo timber frames and furniture, the majority of images in murals of brick relief tombs, including tomb occupant portraits and popular decorative motifs, are represented by bricks. Pigments are only used secondarily for colorizing the reliefs.

As more bricks were produced and used in brick relief tombs, the quality and the technique of brick reliefs substantially improved over those of mural tombs. First, representations of figural images became much more sophisticated than before; for example, zaju performers and musicians were realistically depicted in all aspects, including size, proportion, detailed facial expressions, gestures, as well as their costumes and props. The realistic representation of figural images, likewise, became more and more emphasized, such that the reliefs developed from bas-reliefs through high-reliefs to finally, statues. This is evidenced by the tomb M4 at the family cemetery in Jishan, Shanxi, which exemplifies this case; tomb occupant images and 24 stories of filial piety are made in form of statues, and thus, all of them are independent from walls and instead placed in tomb space. Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 ed., *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* 平陽金墓磚雕 (Brick Reliefs of the Jin Dynasty Tombs in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1999), 87-88; “Shanxi Jinshan Jinmu fajue jianbao 山西稷山金墓發掘簡報 (A Brief Report on the Jin Dynasty Tombs Found in Jinshan),” *Wenwu* 1 (1983): 45-63.

Other images encompassing the most decorative motifs also received this level of attention; notably, pseudo bracket sets consist of multiple layers with complex bracket decorations. While these architectural motifs have no actual function, their appearance perfectly resembles real buildings. Second, the images are much more stylized and patterned than mural images. This is likely due to their different techniques of producing images. The mural images were made by the artisans based on their accumulative practices and experiences, thus allowing for improvisations; for example, bricks are yielded from molding that standardizes productions. For instance, unlike various combinations of daily life scenes found in mural tombs, the brick relief
tomb have a fixed image set, including lattice doors covering most of wall spaces, frontal tomb occupant portrait, four zaju players articulating their roles with props, and many elegantly carved decorative motifs.

Although both mural tombs and brick relief tombs were constructed during the Song-Jin period, and there is no significant difference in basic structure or decoration between these two types of tombs, there was certainly a shift in the preferred decorating method towards brick reliefs. It was around the beginning of the Jin period when the use of brick reliefs in tomb decoration had increased in southern Shanxi while the mural tomb culture of northern Henan has declined. This distinction between two areas suggests that a certain regional circumstance must be related to the shift in tomb styles.

3-2-2. Geography in Regional Distribution

Song-Jin brick relief tombs were mainly found in the Central Plain. The area approximately coincides with where Song-Jin mural tombs were excavated in north Henan and south Shanxi. According to the styles and dates of excavated brick relief tombs, the area can be largely divided into four regions: 1) the Yellow River’s southern bank of North Henan centered on Luoyang, 2) the Yellow River’s northern bank starting from Xiuwu 修武 to its west until the River meets the border of Henan and Shanxi, 3) southeast Shanxi centered on Changzhi 長治, and 4) southwest Shanxi basin along the Fen River. [map.4]

While mural tombs obtain regionality from geographic constraints that limited the movement of mural artisans, the regional culture of brick tombs is defined by circulation
of a certain style of brick material. Thus, unlike mural tombs, the four regions with their own unique brick styles are not sharply divided topographically or much influenced by historical events that spurred movement of people across different regions. Rather, each region was formed within a geographic relationship based on the material production, transportation, and markets.

**Southern Bank of the Yellow River in Northern Henan**

Brick relief tombs in Northern Henan were constantly constructed throughout Northern Song and the early Jin periods, although they number fewer than mural tombs. Two brick relief tombs found in Yichuan 伊川 and Daobei 道北 are those examples that have been approximately dated to late Northern Song or early Jin periods.²⁵⁸

First, located 21km south of central Luoyang, the Yichuan tomb is a single-chambered tomb with a quadrangular plan of approximately 2 by 2 meters, consistent with the basic format of Song-Jin tombs. Decorative images on all four walls mainly consist of architectural motifs such as bracket sets, windows and lattice doors including an entrance-like door on north wall, and in addition a few figural images – male and female attendants standing on each side of the north door. Interestingly, the male attendant is in a style of northern nomad, with a pigtail and a short upper garment. Unlike other Song-Jin mural tombs constructed nearby, detailed furniture images and (idealized) daily life scenes are not found, and there is no picture of the tomb occupant. All images are represented with brick reliefs with no colors. Images derived from narratives formerly

represented in the upper part of murals in mural tombs, particularly the stories of filial piety, only remain as secondary decoration of the main image – lattice doors. Only select narrative scenes of filial piety in flower-shaped frames adorn the lower parts of the doors. Both their stylized forms as decoration and the specific locations at murals reflect how people dealt with these images; the symbolic connotations of filiality and their relationship with funerary space was diluted, and they were likely to be adopted as popular images for decoration.

Second, the Daobei brick tomb (IM1719) is located in Shijiatuncun 史家屯村 approximately 11km north-northwest of the central Luoyang city. When first found, this tomb was already heavily looted, and no burials or bones for dating the tomb remained. In terms of tomb features from architecture to decoration, this tomb has all of the features of southeast, southwest Shanxi and north Henan mural tombs together. However, based on the costume style of figural images, Chinese scholarship dates this tomb to the early Jin dynasty. This tomb is by and large similar to the Yichuan tomb, sharing filing bricks to form a chamber, decorating method, brick relief representation, as well as tomb sizes. However, in terms of floor plan and image details, the Daobei tomb differs from the Yichuan tomb in that it has an octagonal floor plan, and its relief images are also not so usual. In particular, typical mural images of Song-Jin tombs such as daily life scenes and popular narrative images were rarely found in the Daobei tomb relief decoration, and even a few exotic figural images are found as secondary decoration on the lattice doors.

259 Only six scenes out of 24 stories are represented: Filial deeds of Tian Zhen (田真哭荊), Wang Xiang (王祥臥氷), Baoshan (鮑山行孝), Yang Xiang (楊香打虎), Cao E (曹娥哭江), and one unidentified figure.
The decorative figural images include musicians in northern nomadic costumes, boys playing with a parrot or holding flowers, and a male figure preparing tea. [fig.3.2.3.]

These tombs differ from contemporary mural tombs in the same area not only in terms of the decorating method but also in terms of the styles of decorative images and mural themes. Particularly, figures look like non-Chinese due to their peculiar hairstyles and clothes. These images widely appeared in prior and contemporary Liao tomb murals, but did not in the tombs where Song-Jin murals are found. Although hairstyles and costumes themselves are representative indications of ethnic identities, while their images being reproduced over the period, they were possibly adopted as one of pictorial styles or iconographies applied where the characteristics of the ethnic groups worked well. For example, the exotic figural images, mostly of northern barbarians wearing sideburns on head began to be represented as door keeper and workers due to their appealing valiant characters. If the appearance of barbarian images in Song-Jin tombs were less related to the ethnicity or political orientation of the tomb occupant, these images demonstrate that sharing of Liao mural tomb culture (or regional culture of north China) that once geographically reached only to north Shanxi and Hebei as known as the Sixteen Prefecture, was disseminated to north Henan at some point during the late Northern Song and early Jin periods.

When comparing the images of the brick relief tombs to the images of contemporary mural tombs in the same area, the different themes and styles of decoration imply that those tombs were formed under a different culture. Generally, it is known that the adoption of those northern nomadic images in Han Chinese tomb murals was an influence of northern nomads’ movement southward and their settlement of the new
area. However, there is no evidence that the Jin brought their nomadic culture and implanted it in Han Chinese, but rather as noted in Chapter 1, Jurchens tended to assimilate to locals where they immigrated after their conquest.

Even if the appearance of northern nomadic images in Song-Jin tombs was not a result of intentional cultural implantation by Jurchens, at least it seems to reflect how their occupation of the whole of north Central China had affected the cultural circulation and sharing in this broad area. Historical events actually negated the barriers of cultural dissemination, which were formed by political or geographic borders. In some sense, various cultures of north China were spread out and mixed through material circulation or any kind of artisans’ movement.

*Northern Bank of the Yellow River in North Henan*

Since brick relief tomb culture mainly prospered in southern Shanxi, the usage of brick reliefs in tombs were relatively limited in north Henan tombs. However, the tombs of the northern bank of the Yellow River (but still in current north Henan) provide interesting clues as to how geographic conditions contributed to the early development and application of brick reliefs to the mural decorations while replacing paintings. Geographically located between the area of the mural tomb culture and brick relief culture, this area spans approximately from Jiaozuo 焦作, including the Xiuwu 修武

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261 This influence is identified by various motifs typically belonging to Northern nomadic culture; for instance, the figural images are clearly distinguished from images of the Han Chinese by costumes and hair styles. These images are often found in Liao murals than Song-Jin tombs, and this seems to reflect the stance of northern nomads toward Han Chinese cultures by times.

262 See Chapter 1.
region, in the northern border of Henan to the southwest border of Shanxi around Yuncheng 运城.263 [fig.3.2.4.]

Although located in north Henan, the tombs of this area are characterized by the unique brick reliefs differing from those found near the southern bank of the Yellow River, such as Luoyang as discussed in the previous section. Some features and differences of these bricks demonstrate that their sources were different from each other, but the bricks produced in north Yellow River bank area seem to have been influenced by brick relief production in south Shanxi area. In detail, when focusing on the differences in the brick reliefs of two areas of north Henan across the Yellow River, the tombs of northern bank of Yellow River are characterized by the diversified themes and motifs of reliefs. Among many new images of Song-Jin brick relief tombs, such as various figural images and narrative themes, it is most notable that the iconography of zaju players and the orchestra (散樂隊) for zaju performance had appeared. Particularly, complete costumes and props representing each role played by four actors of regular zaju performances are depicted.264 These images correspond to “entertainers,” one of the traditional constituents of tomb murals accompanying a tomb occupant banquet scene. On the other hand, a group of musicians and dancers were commonly represented as entertainers in contemporary Liao and Song-Jin tomb murals. [fig.3.2.5.]

263 Although the course of downstream of the Yellow River have been kept changing, its upstream route by Zhengzhou region maintained and thus, there seems to be little difference at topography over Shanxi, Henan, and the Yellow River of the present day and Song-Jin period. [map. 4]
264 See the Example 5 of Chapter 1, Section 1-1-5. About the five actors (Yuanben wuren) described as brick reliefs, see, Zhou Yibai 周贻白, “Houma Dongshimu zhong wuge zhuanyong de yanjiu 侯馬董氏墓中五個磚俑的研究 (A Study on Five Clay Figures Excavated in Dong Family Tomb at Houma),” Wenwu 10 (1959): 50-52.
Scholars have interpreted the appearance of zaju players and orchestras in murals, specifically on brick reliefs, as a unique aspect of the Jin dynasty tomb murals, since the Zaju was greatly popular in this period. 265 However, when and how these images replaced the traditional images of entertainers has not been explained. When considering the technical aspects of making brick reliefs, the creation of new iconography and representing it with a totally different medium than paintings suggests that the highly sophisticated reliefs found in southern Shanxi brick relief tombs (which will be discussed in the next two sections) were probably done based on much trial and error that we might have overlooked.

If the image of zaju performers is one of the key factors in understanding the early development of tomb brick reliefs; the crude reliefs of these images at the tombs of the north bank of the Yellow River will be substantive examples for this issue. The Daweicun 大位村 tomb in Xiuwu County in the Henan Province exemplifies the brick relief tombs of this area, showing an early type of zaju image in tomb reliefs. 266 With the general architectural features of Song-Jin tombs – a hexagon floor plan, modest single

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265 With regard to the appearance of Zaju images as decoration in a tomb of the Dong family, Kim Mun-gyeong suggests that this reflects the tomb occupant’s interest toward the Zaju performance, and he further suggests the possibility that the tomb occupant was Dong Haijie 董解元 (literally means, Drama Reader, Mr. Dong), the author of the play, Story of the Western Wing (Xixiangji 西廂記). The Dong family tombs were found at Niucun 牛村 in Houma 侯馬. “Houma Jindai Dongshimu jieshao 侯馬金代董氏墓介紹,” Wenwu 6 (1956): 50-55; as for the Kim’s assertion, see, Kim Mun-gyeong, “Kōkōroku to nijūshikō sairon 孝行録と二十四孝 再論 (Re-discussion on the Tale of Filial Piety and Twenty-four Filial Piety Stories),” Geibun Kenkyu 藝文研究/ Journal of Art and Letters Vol. 65 (1994): 269-287.

chamber with domed ceiling, this tomb contains many common decorative elements of Song-Jin tombs: brick relief representations of the architectural motifs and basic household furniture and paintings for decorations and detailed figural images. In between the bracket sets, there are six scenes of stories of filial piety. Although these paintings were heavily damaged, according to the remaining images, each scene seems to represent the stories of Lu Ji 陸績, Yuan Gu 原穀, Min Ziqian 閔子騫, Wang Xiang 王祥, Yang Xiang 楊香, and Baoshan 鮑山.\footnote{267}[fig.3.2.6.]

While the Daweicun tomb shows general features of Song-Jin tombs as described above, its brick reliefs differ substantially from other tombs of the Jin period, and it is thus considered early brick reliefs of the south Shanxi styles.\footnote{268} Brick reliefs decorate the main wall (below the bracket sets) but they only appear on the top part of the wall that is divided by three parts horizontally. Except for the south and southwest walls where the tomb entrance and a niche are located respectively, the northwest, north, north east, and southeast walls have images of zaju players and musicians, lattice doors and female attendants, again zaju players and musicians, and a table, respectively. While images of furniture such as tables were frequently seen in all Song-Jin tombs, lattice doors with two standing attendants/guards appeared more widely in brick relief tombs than in mural tombs. On the other hand, crude representations in other images – zaju and orchestra performers – clearly demonstrate that they were still in an early stage of development.

\footnote{267}{The excavation report interprets the last scene as depicting an armed thief Jiang Ge 江革, but since Jiang Ge stories appear from Yuan version of 24 stories of filial piety, this scene seems to depict Baoshan story, which has a similar plot to the Jiang Ge story. For the typical set of 24 stories of filial piety, see, “Shanxi Qinxian faxian Jindai zhuandiaomu 山西沁縣發現金代磚雕墓 (A Brick Relief Tomb Found in Qin County of Shanxi),” Wenwu 6 (2000): 60-73.}

\footnote{268}{The exact date of the tomb is unknown. However, due to the brick reliefs representing the Zaju players and orchestra, mostly popular in the Shanxi Province during the Jin period and their relatively unsophisticated style, this tomb is likely in advance of the Jin tombs.}
These features can be summarized as follows: first, their sizes are disproportionately small in comparison to the entire wall, and secondly, *zaju* performers and music players are arranged together without clear divisions.

In conclusion, the early development of relief bricks demonstrates that the Yellow River and its northern tributaries were an important factor leading to the construction of brick relief tombs in southwestern Shanxi later on by being a geographic boon to the material production and transportation. This is supported by the fact that since the Han dynasty, abundant clay reserves were used for production of stoneware including burial goods, and this area kept the fame for the production of various reliefs and sculptures until the Yuan period. Interestingly, tombs using these relief bricks were rarely found in this area, suggesting that the majority of the production was not just for regional consumption, but also probably moved to other regions. Finally, this suggests that those brick relief tombs popular in cities of southwest Shanxi depended heavily on the material circulation rather than regional production for their construction.

**Southeastern Shanxi**

Southeastern Shanxi is one of two sub-areas of southern Shanxi Province divided by mountains, and the tombs there were mainly constructed and found at or around current Changzhi City where mural tomb culture also flourished. Although construction of brick

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269 Although Xiuwuxian 修武縣 belongs to Henan Province today, unlike Kaifeng and its vicinity, it is located on northern bank area of the Yellow River and adjacent to southeast Shanxi across the Taihang Mountain. In this area, many Han dynasty pottery structures for burials have been excavated, and due to this fact, we can assume that this was an apt environment for production of burial goods in earthenware and stoneware was recognized from the early historical period. In fact, in Jiaozuo city alone, it is estimated that there were about fifty million tons of clay reserves, which is the raw material for those ceramic productions. Furthermore, this notion is supported by the fact that the clay is laid close to the ground so that the mining and use are relatively easy.
relief tombs was more prominent than that of mural tombs, these two different decorative
materials developed almost simultaneously in this area, and continuously influenced the
styles one another. Thus, comparison of their themes and styles could reveal that brick
relief tombs developed in a close relationship with mural tombs.

There are clear distinctions in style, implying that the mural tombs and brick relief
tombs evolved independent of one another during their initial development. For example,
as demonstrated in the previous section, mural tombs of this area constructed during the
Northern Song period showed images reflecting traditional themes and styles, as well as
uncommon tomb architecture, which is unique to the contemporary brick relief tombs. In
addition, the levels of executing murals differed; while painting depictions were detailed
with fine lines, different colors, and various motifs, brick reliefs for a long time only
represented a limited number of roughly casted and painted figural images. [fig.3.2.8a, b.]

During a certain period, however, these two tombs were equally favored, and by
the end of the Northern Song period, they came to share common features and finally
form a regional Song-Jin tomb style. Interestingly, in terms of the level of technique,
tomb murals were more advanced than those of brick reliefs, but the tomb decoration
styles became unified toward brick relief tomb styles while discarding some featured
styles of mural tombs. Also, starting from the Jin period, more and more brick reliefs
were used in decorations, thus substituting paintings. For instance, the most unique
feature of brick reliefs is that they focused on representations of individual figural images
that are from either daily life scenes or narratives while yielding many blank spaces as
background of figures usually occupied by household interior decoration in tomb murals.
[fig.3.2.9.]
The following four examples located in Changzhi demonstrate how the regional style of Song-Jin tombs was formed in this area, from late Northern Song to Jin periods.

Example 1:
The first example is the Nancun 南村 tomb, one of two tombs excavated in Huguan (壺關縣) of Changzhi. An inscription on a burial good – ceramic sutra pillar dated to 1087 – indicates that this tomb was constructed during the late Northern Song period. It must exemplify an earlier type of brick relief tomb in this area since it preceded other Song-Jin brick relief tombs. Although there are no corresponding painted images, the structure and decoration of the tomb follows the basic Song-Jin tomb features. The tomb chamber is square-shaped and consists of one main chamber that is slightly smaller than 2x2 meters, and four auxiliary rooms (two at north wall and one at each of east and west walls) of 1x1 meter. The main chamber is relatively tall (3 meters) considering the room size. Although the shape of ceiling is different from those in other southeast Shanxi tombs, the architectural structure of this tomb is very similar to that of mural tombs found nearby as discussed in the previous section such as the Anchangcun tomb.

Each wall has limited space for mural decoration since there are entrances for auxiliary rooms at the center of each wall. Except for the north wall which has two entrances, twenty four reliefs decorate the south, east, and west walls; the reliefs include two guardians inserted on both sides of the south entrance, one of two female attendants.

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271 See, Section 3-2-1 of this Chapter
for each of the east and west entrances, and twenty scenes derived from the stories of filial piety. Although the excavation report does not specify the sizes of these brick reliefs, according to photo images, their sizes and shapes vary; the photos clearly show that they are either rectangular or square of various sizes. Also, composition and number of bricks assigned to each wall are random and seem to depend on the size of the reliefs.

Generally, all images are coarsely carved (or casted) and not very detailed, in contrast to the painted images of contemporary mural tombs. Even the styles of the most important images – human figures – are not creative at all; for example, similar images – armed guardians and attendants with folded hands on their chests and braided hair on both sides of heads – are commonly found in other contemporary tombs. [fig.3.2.10a, b.] Although the representations are simple with only one and two figures in each scene with no background or color, most of reliefs illustrating the stories of filial piety are recognizable due to notable characters of the figure of each story. For example, the story of Wang Xiang is depicted by a naked figure lying down, which exactly corresponds to the scene “Lying Down on the Ice to Fetch Carp for His Stepmother”. [fig.3.2.11.]

To conclude, the simple and unsophisticated images of reliefs suggest that in the late Song period, the relief bricks were in their initial stages of development for mural decoration use, and their technique and level of execution on murals was still at its early stages. However, from the simple but catchy characters derived from narratives, we can assume that those images were widely recognized at that time, since popular visual signs not only easily recalled the stories but also conveyed morals to the viewers.
Example 2:

The second example is the Guzhangcun tomb, also located in the suburb of Changzhi City, slightly north of the Zhangze 滄澤 Reservoir. This tomb is undated, since there is no record of its construction. This tomb is a single chamber tomb with niches, six in total, with two joined at each of the north, east, and west wall. These niches seem to have been used for storing remains, since both bones and skulls were excavated. The main chamber has a square plan of approximately 2.5 x 2.5 meters and 3.25 meters high. The niches are small like little boxes of which each side is less than 50 cm. The tomb also follows a typical type of Song-Jin relief brick tomb layout. The interior space resembles wooden architecture. Except for the south wall where the entrance is located, the north, east and west walls are similar; four columns divide the wall into three bays, and each bay has one large pseudo door in the center and two smaller doors at both end bays. Bracket sets are installed on double beams; on the lower beam, bracket sets are placed on top of each column, and on the upper beam, bracket sets are used on and between the tops of columns. [fig.3.2.12.] The bracket sets support the tiled rooftop, and the domed ceiling was constructed above it. On the floor of the chamber is a stylobate that is called a lotus pedestal in the excavation report, and the chamber wall starts from its top.

Although this tomb has a significant number of brick reliefs, it also has paintings, and the heavy use of colors calls attention to the tomb. Main but small figural images, decorated bracket sets, and other pseudo wooden structures are mostly represented by

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272 Date is unknown but the excavation report considers it as Northern Song tomb while comparing to the similar examples. “Shanxi Changzishi Guzhangcun Songdai zhaundiaomu 山西長治市故漳村宋代磚雕墓 (Song Dynasty Brick Relief Tomb at Guzhang Village in Changzi City of Shanxi),” Kaogu 9 (2006): 31-39.

273 In these niches, lots of human bones which were definitely from more than one person remain, suggesting that the tomb functioned as a family charnel house.
paintings. Among them, the tomb occupant’s portrait is prominently displayed in a unique manner; unlike other portraits of Song-Jin tombs, the portrait depicts a single figure facing forward on the center door of the north wall. Having a halo on the back of his head, he is wearing an official’s garment. He sits on the floor, as there is no chair or table. Tortoise shell motifs are decorated on his back.²⁷⁴ This style of portrait is more typical of earlier eras, specifically before the Tang dynasty. Other painted figural images were drawn on both sides of each niche as well. The images depict males and females, most of whom are weeping and mourning while wearing white gowns and veils. Others are standing with food trays and tributes. The style of these figures is relatively typical, similar to those of other Song-Jin tombs.

While paintings were used partially, brick reliefs were applied evenly at all four walls. First of all, the two warriors who are fully armed and wearing armor are seen at both sides of the entrance of the south wall. The warrior images are very similar to those of the Nancun tomb in terms of its pictorial style, figure’s pose and gesture, and its prop. However, in terms of details and carving techniques, the images of the Guzhangcun tomb are more advanced. In addition to these reliefs, thirty more relief bricks are found. Among them, twenty four each depict a distinctive scene from the stories of filial piety, and other six represent various daily life scenes including musicians and dancers, and also a celestial figure such as aspara. Interestingly, while the theme of the filial piety

²⁷⁴ In terms of the pictorial style of the figure, its representation is closer to the Black Guardian of the North (formerly represented by Tortoise-serpentine of the four directional guardians). When compared to the murals of the Guxiancun tomb in Changzhi which shows a similar iconography, while it shows all four directional guardians with other traditional images such as various mythic and celestial creatures, those on murals of the Guzhangcun tomb have only one of four directional guardian motifs with various images such as 24 filial paragons, which is much contemporaneous and popular in Song-Jin period. “Shanxi Changzi Guxiancun songdai bihuamu,” Wenwu 4 (2005).
stories in funerary art is a uniquely Song-Jin (or Liao) legacy, daily life scenes depicting treadmill and millstones are much more traditional. Although the technical level of relief carving for bricks is more or less crude, all bricks were made in a standardized size, and applied on appropriated spaces within a tomb chamber, which on the other hand suggests an existence of stabilized design scheme for the mural decoration.

In sum, along with the Nancun tomb of example 1 and the Guxiancun tomb, an early mural tomb example of southeast Shanxi discussed in the Section 3-1-2, this tomb is also considered as being made in around similar times – 1078 and 1087. The similarity of mural tombs and brick relief tombs demonstrates that they were equally favored and developed simultaneously in this area during an early period before a specific style or particular medium had become popular. Furthermore, the sharing of mural themes and styles evidences that the works at these two types of tombs were influenced by each other.

Example 3: The third example is the Xiahaolaoacun tomb dated to 1123 by the inscription on its north wall, “宣和五年三月十八日子叩元典公亡人/公主年登六歲”. It was found in the vicinity of central Changzhi. Although this tomb was built about 35 years

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275 Other than the ink inscription, the epitaph (or land deed) buried in this tomb that bears characters also indicates the date of burial.

“上好牢村, 孝子王諫弁弟王義二人, 癸卯宣和伍年三月十九日壬申日葬畢. 伏以尊靈雅葬, 福壽稱意, 代代人安, 吉昌, 大吉利. 歲載癸未李□□中列九日故記耳. 山□”

This reads:
In Shanghaolao Village, the filial sons Wang Jian and his brother Wang Yi, these two people, on March 19th in the fifth year of Song Xuanhua era of year of Guimao (1123), completed burial. By prostrating ourselves, worship for the spirit and hold the funeral through proper formality … peace and auspiciousness. Hope the land and wealth increase, everything goes well, peace be with generation after generation, be auspicious and prosper, great luck and return. In the year of Guiwei (probably 40 years after the burial), Li … record this on the ninth day of … Shan…” According to this epitaph, after the original burial, additional interment or movement of burial seem to have held.
later than the first example, in terms of the stylistic forms of architecture and decoration, the Xiahaolaocun tomb is very similar to the Nancun tomb. The Xiahaolaocun tomb consists of one square type main chamber measured 2.2 x 2.3 meters and 2.9 meters high, and three auxiliary rooms connected to the north, east, and west walls. All auxiliary rooms are similar in size, approximately 1.5 x 1 meters and 1.5 meters high. As the Nancun tomb, the wall of this tomb also has an arched door and two window-shaped brick reliefs on both sides of the door. The main chamber has two liang (beams) for bracket sets that include multiple layer type and single layer type. The multiple layer type performs a function of supporting the roofs that are a separate structure from the tomb ceiling, and the single one placed on the upper liang provide a supplemental power for the bracketing. [fig.3.2.13.]

The most notable feature differentiating this tomb from its precursor, the Nancun tomb, is the use of colors and the existence of many paintings along with the brick reliefs. Although still, the brick reliefs constitute the main part of the interior decoration, the colors and various decorative motifs further elaborate the murals. For example, the pseudo wooden structures are decorated with various colors and motifs as many Song-Jin tombs do. The relief figural images also have colors on their face and clothes. The empty spaces between the reliefs were also occupied by the decorative motifs in paintings. Furthermore, three auxiliary rooms contain very unique mural paintings, namely ink painting-like mural paintings depicting rugged mountains. [fig.3.2.14.] More interestingly, on the east and west walls of the east room, two hanging scroll paintings of peony and lotus are depicted. This double-representation of paintings is more often noticed in Five
Dynasties and Liao dynasty tombs (and in Yuan dynasty tomb as well) but is rare in Song-Jin tombs.\textsuperscript{276}

Despite the unique adoption of paintings, the reliefs show how the production technique of reliefs and their application to tomb murals had been improved during these 35 years. As for figural images, the reliefs represent two unarmed doorkeepers on the south wall, two female attendants on the north wall, and seventeen scenes from the stories of filial piety on the north, east, and west walls. The changed level of tomb reliefs is noticeable particularly in the reliefs with the stories of filial piety. First, the images are much more vividly represented with colors and also (relatively) fine lines, and this actually helps recognize the narratives the images depict. With regard to the visual legibility of representation, ink inscriptions spelling out names of characters even confirm the original stories.[fig.3.2.15.] Secondly, while at the reliefs of previous tomb, the same subject was depicted with one or two figural images, the reliefs of the Xiahaolaocun tomb have more figures on one frame. Thirdly, regardless of the number of figural images in one brick, all brick reliefs are uniform in their size and quality, implying the stabilized production of relief bricks. Finally, these bricks are evenly placed on three walls in terms of the number of bricks, and position on the wall. Although these relief bricks had no more decorative functionality than realistically representing life scenes as paintings

\textsuperscript{276} Since most mural tombs of the Five Dynasties and the Liao dynasty have such images in the form of screen paintings, the use of hanging scroll images seems to reflect a shift in preference at medium for pictorial art. While the hanging scroll images rarely appear until Jin period, such images had become popular in Yuan tombs. See [fig.4.37.] of the Chapter 4 which is picked from “Shanxi Xingxian Hongyucun Yuanzhida er’nier bihuamu 山西興縣紅峪村元至大二年壁畫墓 (Mural Tomb of the second year of Zhida era of the Yuan Dynasty at Hongyu Village in Xing County of Shanxi),” \textit{Wenwu} 2 (2011): 40-46.
generally do, we can assume that they had been more and more recognized as common tomb materials.

In conclusion, in comparison to the Nancun tomb, which was probably in the same lineage as the Xiahaolaocun tomb, the reliefs of these tombs indicate that the practice of tomb-making and decoration subsisted for well over a decade, and the reliefs were developed in a mass producible way. This further suggests that the popularity of the brick relief tombs continued in this area throughout the late Northern Song period. Furthermore, more elaborate representations of narratives demonstrate the craftsmen’s understanding of these popular narratives, indicating that the society matured with widespread knowledge about norms and morals conveyed in the images.

Example 4:
The last example shows how the brick reliefs developed, and also how they were adopted entirely in tomb murals. Along with the fifth example – the Xilindongzhuangcun tomb that is in Nanlixiang, Qinxian already discussed in Chapter 1, the Weicun tomb (date estimated 1151) of Changzhi City well represent the later style of brick relief tombs in southeast Shanxi after the war between the Northern Song and Jin.277 Although a few architectural features such as floor plans and shapes of domes differ (an octagonal floor plan for the Xilindongzhuangcun tomb vs. a square floor plan with three niches for burying remains and a dome with a pointed top for the Weicun tomb), the basic structure of timber frames and the use of reliefs are similar. The differences merely imply the

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277 See, Example 5 of Section1-1-5, Chapter 1; “Shanxi Changzhi Weicun Jindai jinian caihui zhuandiaomu 山西長治市魏村金代紀年彩繪磚雕墓 (A Painted Brick Relief Tomb Dated Jin Dynasty at Wei Village in Changzhi of Shanxi),” Kaogu 1 (2009): 59-64.
different regional workshops involved in the tomb construction, since the Weicun tomb and the Guzhangcun tomb which are located in the same area (the second example discussed earlier) are similar in architectural structure despite their different construction times. [fig.3.2.12., fig.3.2.16.] Rather, the similarities in decoration that are more likely influenced by cultural trends indicate that these tombs were constructed during a similar time and share the same popular decoration style.

The brick reliefs of these two tombs have common features that differentiate them from others in the former period. First, while the brick relief tombs in late Northern Song period of this region show a mixed use of relief bricks and mural paintings (even though the portion of mural paintings was decreasing), the tombs in the early to mid-Jin period are mostly decorated with only reliefs with colors. Second, in addition to the increase of relief uses in mural decoration, the style and disposition of reliefs, especially those depicting the stories of filial piety in the tomb space are also unique. While most bricks were inserted on the bottom or main part of walls, in these two tombs the bricks with filial sons were entirely settled on the upper wall or above the pseudo bracket sets. Lastly, the bricks placed in a row with individual frames and flowing ink inscriptions narrating corresponding stories at the Weicun tomb remind us of woodblock printed books that were probably referred to during production of these reliefs. [fig.3.2.17.]

In sum, the use of various colors, the technique of reliefs, and their applications in well-composed mural schemes signify how the brick relief tombs have developed in southeast Shanxi of this period. However, this shift was not uniquely found in the brick relief tombs, but also actually occurred in the mural painting tombs after the Jin’s
establishment. As a consequence of the war, immigrants from the former center of Song-Jin tomb culture must have influenced the brick relief images to cherish the mural decoration of North Henan tombs.

Southwestern Shanxi

We have extensively discussed the development of brick relief tombs in southeast Shanxi so far, but in terms of relief techniques and thematic diversity of images, the brick relief tombs were more developed in southwest Shanxi. As stated in the previous section, southwest Shanxi is a separate area from its southeast neighbors geographically and culturally, and its stylistic forms of Song-Jin tombs are clearly differentiated. While brick relief tombs in southeastern Shanxi developed gradually, thus being distinguished from each other by periods, the southwestern Shanxi tombs had highly sophisticated relief bricks fundamentally based on the unparalleled regional prosperity in economics, from the beginning of the late Northern Song period. This is likely due to brick material in this area being favored over painting for the tomb interior decoration. The mural tombs of this area are also less diverse than those in other areas, and have different lineage from general Song-Jin mural tombs.

The area of cultural influence in which brick relief tombs held sway begins from Taiyuan and spreads out along the Fen River. The tombs have been found in regions where the river runs, such as Fenyang, Linfen (formally known as Pingyang) and its vicinity, Houma. The tombs in these various regions share common

278 About mural tombs in southeast Shanxi, see Section 3-2.
279 This is controversial because some earlier tombs were dated based on information provided by burial goods, which are not specifically dated. About related discussion, see, Section 1-2-1, Chapter 1.
features differentiating themselves from tombs in other areas, and all of them show unparalleled quality and details in the reliefs. As most regional names include “Fen” which designates the Fen River, each region seems to have been connected closely by the waterway, implying that the river definitely facilitated cultural sharing among the regions.

The brick relief tombs, particularly the similarities of styles, evidence the relationship of cultural dissemination and geographic condition. Based on the analysis of one of the representative examples of Linfen including the Dong Family Cemetery and the Dalicun 大李村 tomb in Houma, tombs in Jishan 稷山 (as discussed in Chapter 1), and tombs in Quwoxian 曲沃县 and Xiangfenxian 襄汾县, the features of the southwestern Shanxi brick relief tombs can be summarized as follows: 280

1) Architectural Features

   a. Square plan: most tombs have a square or rectangular layout, with entrances located at the corner of a wall, not the center. [fig.3.2.18a, b.]

   b. Pedestal: the tomb has a high ceiling compared to the tomb area. The ceiling height is not accidental; the pedestal-like stylobate is indicative of this, since the actual wall resembling a wooden house starts right above it. Due to the stylobate, the tomb entrance and the wall are not on the same level, and the viewers at the entrance should look up the walls. This visual effect divides the tomb space horizontally again, giving the imaginary viewers – tomb occupant – the impression that the underground and aboveground are represented together in one space. In fact, the height of a coffin bed usually placed in tomb space rarely

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280 For the detailed analyses of the tombs, See, the Example 5 of the Section 1-1-5, Chapter 1
exceeds the height of the stylobate, so that even if a coffin were on the coffin bed, it would look like it had been placed in an open pit. [fig.3.2.19.]

c. Reproduction of wooden architectural frames: while the mural tombs and other brick relief tombs generally include wooden architecture pieces by painting and coloring bricks, these tombs reveal a more elaborate reproduction of the wooden architecture, which is made of physical brick models from wooden materials. For example, bracket sets are three-dimensional, and railings, columns, and detailed pseudo wooden-carved decorations are represented in three dimensions as well. [fig.3.2.20.]

2) Decorative Features

a. The decorative images in the tomb are complex; the murals are filled with lattice door decorations in place of previous daily life scenes. The tomb space is thus represented as a courtyard that is enclosed by buildings having doors toward the courtyard, as if viewing a typical Chinese house complex. Although this decoration is not as unique as those in brick relief tombs of north Henan, the reliefs became more elaborate such that each door panel had different details. [fig.3.2.21a, b.] While the north wall traditionally represented an image of door designed to lead to the imaginary bed chamber, brick relief tombs of southwest Shanxi have tomb occupant images on the upper north wall or the one across the entrance.

b. Various types of frames: since the mural decorations at brick relief tombs were done by assembling various brick parts, the images have fixed positions within
frames; they are represented as reliefs in a brick, [fig.3.2.22a, b.] or formed by pieces of brick to contain bigger images. [fig.3.2.23.] The frames, particularly the latter ones, function as a grid to make an entire mural which must have been carefully planned in advance prior to tomb construction. These frames yield more individual spaces for images than mural painting tombs so that more diverse motifs and images came to be represented in murals; for example, stylobates in form of pedestals show Buddhist related images such as Tang Lions and lotuses in their frames. [fig.3.2.24.] This is different from many mural paintings that were only drawn during the last stage of mural work while allowing painters’ discretion. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the relief bricks containing those images became part of the architecture, not mere decoration, through their close material association and ways of application at murals.281

c. Appearance of different sets of motifs and their expressions: as we discussed in Chapter 1, a new mural program is one of the representative features of Song-Jin tombs distinguishing them from previous decorative tombs, the brick relief tomb of southeast Shanxi shows the culmination of their development—an almost complete set of Song-Jin tomb decorative images. Also, as noted in Chapter 2, various images and motifs were not only used in funerary art but also widely used for crafts so that were appreciated outside the tomb, demonstrating development of popular visual materials. In particular, the images of zajü players with musicians, twenty-four scenes of filial piety, and the eight immortals even reveal

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281 Most brick reliefs of brick reliefs have dual functions as tomb construction material and decoration. This is different quality from mural paintings which only have decorative functions. Buddhist pagodas that are in-between form of sculpture and architecture are other examples.
intellectual advancement of the society, since these figural images based on literature came to have firm iconography only after books made the stories uniform, and provided model images with illustrations.

In sum, the most distinguished feature of southwestern Shanxi tombs can be summarized by the utilization of bricks induced by the material development. The uncommon use of bricks brought the changes in ways of dealing with mural images. This is exemplified in the change of the position of tomb occupant images to the center of all images as a ruler of the tomb space. On the other hand, in tombs of earlier times or other areas, the images of tomb occupants did not dominate the tomb space by themselves, since their position as masters of a house was decided by the relationship with other figural images and background and thus, the tomb occupants should belong to the walls where their residences are represented. In southeastern Shanxi tombs, contrarily, they are “placed” in the most important spot of the tomb chamber, rather than merely drawn on a random space. This probably was an important part of the tomb interior design scheme – setting a center point, which further assigns appropriate places to other bricks of images. By a clear separation of the tomb occupants from the imaginary world of the walls, scenes of daily life were minimized; but instead, various decorative motifs came to adorn the tomb space resembling a part of real house complex – the courtyard of siheyuan. While sitting in a frontal pose, the tomb occupants overlook the whole space and locate themselves as the object of worship. They are no longer residents of an imaginary house but actually rule the tomb space while waiting for the offerings from their offspring. This
placement of images and its relationship with the space finally recall the development of portrait images in Confucian family rituals, thereafter.

In conclusion, the regional circumstance of southwestern Shanxi reflects how the economic prosperity of urban cities provided an apt environment for the growth of tomb industry. The tombs in this area, centered in Linfen and its vicinities, are known as constructed after mid-Jin period because the earliest tomb, Dalicun tomb, dates to 1180. Southwestern Shanxi, which benefited geographically from the inland trade of north and south China, enjoyed wealth through commercial activities and material production based on abundant underground resources as well. The surplus profit was reinvested in art and culture, which included production of visual materials. Thus, these tombs represent the highest point of cultural development in terms of both mural contents and tomb architecture.

3-2-3. Summary

Brick relief tombs, while sharing many features with mural tombs, are distinguished by their construction and decoration material – bricks. Also, even though their main cultural areas spanned from northern Henan to southern Shanxi overlap with those of mural tombs, the brick relief tombs show more diverse aspects depending on its sub-divided regions, which were influenced by the different geographic and social conditions by time.

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282 One of most extensive monographs about brick relief tombs of southeast Shanxi, Pingyang jinmu zhuandiao suggests that tombs began to be constructed in Northern Song period, but it was just estimated with a few burial goods – coins. Pingyang jinmu zhuandiao (1999); Shanxi Sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Fenyang Donglongguan Song Jin bihuamu 汾陽東龍觀宋金壁畫墓 (Song and Jin Dynasty Mural Tomb at Donglongguan in Pingyang) (Beijing : Wenwu chubanshe, 2012).
We have analyzed such aspects in detail with examples found in northern Henan (south and north banks of the Yellow River) and southern Shanxi (southeast and southwest Shanxi).

While mural tomb construction mostly depended on craftsmen’s practices that were succeeded by other craftsmen of the same workshop or region, the materiality of brick reliefs as ready-made crafts more or less lessened the reliance on craftsmanship at tomb construction. Although, as the brick reliefs had become sophisticated, their production required more time and higher skill level, their application at tombs was not likely to be more complex than at mural tombs since the works would have been done mechanically by assembling parts based on plan. By this different process of tomb making, the styles of brick relief tombs were formed differently, and their dissemination was decided by brick material circulation which means trade among regions.

This way, Song-Jin brick relief tombs exemplify the ways in which the development of materials and increase of its production influenced the formation and dissemination of visual art. Visual materials such as relief bricks were circulated through trade among regions like other materials, and in that process, they even functioned as a medium that connected regions while enabling a cultural sharing within a larger boundary.

3-3. Artisans, Workshops, and Markets in Construction of Song-Jin Tombs

The two characteristic features of Song-Jin tombs discussed so far derive from the materiality of images from popular sources and relief bricks because increased use of them changed not only the method of tomb construction but also the meaning in its
entirety. Although the materials and methods used in decoration did not exclusively belong to Song-Jin tombs, their application was done in a unique way; while in prior times, implementation was customarily planned and executed through the service of subordinated workers. During the Song-Jin period, independent artisans who sought personal profits worked with these ready-made materials based on other workshop’s technical similarity, as other availability of familiar commercial products. This way, mass-produced materials not only simplified the tomb making process but also enabled sharing of tomb styles across wherever those sources and materials were available.

This section investigates literary records that provide clues for understanding such process of unique formation and dissemination of Song-Jin tomb styles in association with their materials. Focusing on ink inscriptions on tomb murals and historical records, the first part (Section 3-3-1) shows the relationship of new materials and development of architectural decoration. The second part (Section 3-3-2) will then discuss how the activities of artisans facilitated the dissemination of regional styles to broader areas.

3-3-1. Material and Formation of Architectural Decoration

Increased material production changed many aspects of visual art. In particular, the development of the ceramic industry spurred various applications of ceramic products including architecture. Since it was the real buildings that mainly inspired the artisans
who worked for tomb interior decoration, such architectural development must have influenced the reformation of tomb styles as well.\textsuperscript{283}

The changed social circumstance can be glanced from many literary records. For example, *Zhenghe wulixinyi* records that as one of the luxurious life styles, decorating architecture was greatly popular in urban areas in Northern Song period. Cai Ni 蔡薿 (1067-1124) reported to the Emperor in the fourth year of Daguan Era of Northern Song (北宋大觀四年, 1110);

“臣觀輦轂之下, 士庶之間, 侈靡之風, 曾未少革. 富室牆室, 得被文繡; 倡优下賤, 得為厚飾. 始有甚於漢儒之所太息者. 雕文纂組之日新, 金珠奇巧之相勝, 富者既以自誇, 貧者恥其不若. 則人欲何由而少定哉.”

This reads:

As I was looking around the city, sumptuous moods are rampant among people of all classes, and it becomes severe and no one tries to fix it. The rich live in highly walled residence and wear embroidered clothes, and even entertainers, such lowly people, obtain many decorations. The situation is as much precarious as the Han dynasty Confucians deplored. Relief decoration and sculpture develop every day and the techniques for crafts more and more advance. The rich boast themselves and paupers feel ashamed for not being like that. As such, human greed is never satisfied with small things.\textsuperscript{284}

A similar situation is also stated in *Song shi* (history of Song). In the seventh year of Zhenghe Era (政和七年, 1777);

“輦轂之下, 奔競奢侈, 有未革者. 屋室服用壯麗相誇, 珠璣金玉以奇巧相勝. 不獨貴近, 比比紛紛, 日曾滋甚”

\textsuperscript{283} Interestingly, there is evidence that typical brick reliefs often found at tombs were also used in actual building decorations. [fig.3.3.1.] Zhang Daoyi 張道 and Tang Jialu 唐家路 ed., *Zhongguo gudaide jianzhu – zhuandiao* 中國古代的建築-磚雕 (Ancient Chinese Architecture – Brick Reliefs) (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 2005).

\textsuperscript{284} Zheng, Juzhong 鄰居中(1059-1123), *juan* 4-34, *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀 from *Siku qianshu*, Book 647, Shibu 史部 405 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983).
As I am seeing the city, rivalry toward extravagance was not fixed yet. The rich decorate houses and clothes and they boast about them, and with sophistication of various crafts they try to win. They do not enjoy by themselves but compare intricacy and splendor (of decoration) to each other, and this becomes severe.285

Likewise, when the Song-Jin tombs developed during the late Northern Song period, not only did the economy flourish, but consumption of visual materials also increased. Along with sumptuous moods, extravagant spending on tomb construction was conceived as a filial obligation. Such expenses eventually overburdened people, and was even satirically invoked, “people get hurt while preparing funerals for dead people – 傷生以送死” appeared in the literature.286

On the other hand, although the Jin invasion significantly destroyed and damaged the infrastructure of the Northern Song, cultural development seems to have resumed quickly from the recovered economy. Some extant historical records state that the Jin society was as much sophisticated as late Northern Song, as Jin absorbed the Northern Song cultural legacy and economic power. “Shizongbenji 世宗本紀” of Jinshi 金史 (History of Jin Dynasty) records;

“當此之時, 君臣守職, 上下相安, 家給人足, 倉廩有余.”

285 “Yu fu zhi wu 輿服之五 (The Fifth Part of Vihicles and Clothing),” Songshi 宋史.
286 Original text is: 何詔直札子云: “臣竊見豪右兼并之家, 雕楹刻桷, 异服奇器, 极珠玑纨绮之饰, 备声乐妙妾之奉, 傷生以送死, 破产以嫁子, 专利自厚, 莫知穷极…” in Zhenghe wulixinyi 政和五禮新儀; Historically, the formalities for tomb construction according to different social classes were codified, but those instructions were not strictly followed, and, in many cases, the illegalities regarding funeral and burial were connived. Since funeral and burial were often means to parade the wealth and prosperity of a family beyond the meaning of bonding family members and reverence for ancestors, it seems that the descendants who actually perform the rituals barely reduced costs for rituals and making tombs. Also, modest funeral and burial were criticized by villagers, and within community, expenses for those rituals were often revealed to the public by request. Susan Naquin, “Funeral in North China,” in Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 49.
These days, all officials fulfill their duties so that the society of all classes is stabilized. People are satisfied while making good livings.\textsuperscript{287}

A scholar, Yuwen Maozhao in Song-Jin periods also notes that;

“是致戶口殷繁充實，北人謂小堯舜雲.”

This reads:

All households enjoy prosper and are sound. Northern people call this “small Yao-Shun era”! \textsuperscript{288}

Lastly, in Mingchang and Cheng’an eras of the Emperor Zhangzong (1190-1200), the Jin economy and culture culminated, in which Liu Qi gives his impression;

“政今修擧，文治爛然，金朝之盛極矣.”

This reads:

The political situation is stabilized and arts and literature are remarkably developed. The Jin dynasty is at the summit of its prosperity! \textsuperscript{289}

All of these records provide firm evidence that construction of various architecture, including decoration of tombs, continued.

\textsuperscript{287} Tuotuo 脫脫, Jinshi 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1975).
\textsuperscript{288} Yuwen Maozhao 宇文懋昭 (act. 13th century) juan 18, Dajinguzhi 大金國志 from Siku quanshu. Book 383, Shibu 史部 141 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983).
\textsuperscript{289} Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203-1250) juan 12, Guiqianzhi 歸潛志 (Memories in Retirement) from Siku quanshu. Book1040, Zibu 子部 346 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983).
3-3-2. Artisans and Dissemination of Song-Jin Tomb Culture

We begin with two premises on which further discussion will be based. First, the increase of decorated tombs in the Song-Jin period implies the existence of professional groups of artisans in charge of the tomb construction business. Indeed, extant examples visually demonstrate that there were artisan groups, who worked for tomb construction, and common themes and styles of the murals came about from their repetitive practices. While few historical records supporting this remain, some records clarify that such work was certainly recognized as a special business unique to the Song-Jin period by historians and scholars. For example, in the essay “Chagualiuhua 茶瓜留話” in *Huidouxiang* 回斗想, an Qing dynasty anthology, Qi Xuebiao 戚學標 (1742-1825) notes:

… In Lin’an (present Hangzhou, the capital city of Southern Song), there were many merchant groups working in various businesses. Most notably, there were groups who were in special charge of sculpting and carving clays as well as paintings. They were good at these two types of works. 290

Although this fact was drawn from old texts he studied not from his own experience, it reveals that he recognized this as a special business developed during the Song-Jin periods. This suggests that bricks and paintings were mass-produced, and these products were probably used together for architectural decoration as well.

Second, we can also assume that the formation of the regional tomb styles correlates with the regional market that balanced the tomb demand and supply. In other

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words, the regional styles of tombs were formed by a workshop (or workshops) that appropriated the demand of the region. This makes sense, since the production of mural tombs requires manual labor of artisans, so the styles of mural tombs must have reflected the regional circumstance surrounding the artisans. For example, popular visual sources and materials used and shared by artisans within a region directly influenced the formation of regional tomb styles, and also patterned craftsmen’s work comprised of various different jobs.291

The previous premises explain the formation of regional tomb styles by artisans in the same region. However, they cannot explain the dissemination and adoption of the tomb styles to different regions. Indeed, many examples show that some tomb styles that once belonged to a specific region were also found in other regions later. We discuss two possible explanations.

One possible explanation is that the artisans could have worked independently on occasion while seeking their own profits. Some examples suggest that independent, skilled artisans worked together with unskilled local labors for creating murals. These murals show different levels of execution; for example, images are out of proportion, particularly between painted images and relief images, which implies that there were no good manuals that directed the entire work, and the artisans for different types of work did not really cooperate. [fig.3.3.2.] As another example, Wang Jun suggested that a professional mural painter, Zhang Yu 張瑀 (act. 12th century), worked in the broad Shanxi and Henan area, based on historical records and an exceptional quality of mural

291 While this method of tomb construction fundamentally limited the extent to which tomb patrons could order details for customized tombs, it was certainly effective in reducing time and labor – the cost. The mural paintings, brick relief making, tomb architecture construction and so forth were probably assigned to each craftsman.
paintings of Donglongguancun tomb. According to the Wang’s article, Zhang Yu was a court painter of Northern Song, and after the Northern Song’s fall, he wandered and earned his living while painting murals for many temples and buildings of local rich people. Likewise, if artisans were known for their prominent skills, they could work in a broad area and produce similar mural paintings in different regions.

Another explanation is that circumstantial changes or historical events might have caused artisans to move to other regions. This assumption is supported by the fact that the center of mural tomb culture in north Henan around the mid and late Northern Song period moved to south Shanxi, since cultural and economic bases of the north Henan band were seriously compromised by Jin troops. As noticed by the changes of decorated tomb culture around Jurchen’s invasion, the war motivated artisans and patrons of central cities to leave their base, and consequently adjacent but still separated regions – such as in southern Shanxi – absorbed those refugees and their cultures. The increase of mural tombs in southern Shanxi regions after Jin was likely related to this situation, as well.

Meanwhile, many contemporary writings tell about forcible transfer of Northern Song people including craftsmen and artists of the capital city of Northern Song-Bianliang (current Kaifeng) to the North, the Jin capital in Heilongjing. For example, accounts of Sanchao beimeng huibian 三朝北盟會編 (Compilation of Documents on the

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292 Wang Jun 王俊, “Cong shanxisheng fenyangshi donglongguan jindai muzang bihua “nanzixihshan” tu – zailun jinren Zhang Yu Wenji gui han tu de shidai wenti 從山西省汾陽市東龍觀金代墓葬壁畫 “男子執扇” 圖 - 再論金人張瑀《文姬歸漢圖》的時代問題 (Based on the image of “a man holding a fan” at the mural of Jin tomb in Donglongguan, Fenyang, Shanxi, revisiting the historical issue about the Jin dynasty figure, Zhang Yu’s ‘Lady Wenji’s Return to China’),” in Sichouzhilu: tuxiang yu lishi lunwenji 絲綢之路: 圖像與歷史論文集 (Silk Road: Essays on Images and Histories) (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2011).
Treaties with the North during the Three Reigns of Huizong, Qinzong, and Gaozong) written by Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘 (1126-1207) clearly states the situation; 293

…When Jin troops attacked Bianliang, they hunted about 300 families skilled in crafts such as belts, hats, gold and silver works, brushes and ink sticks, sculptures and paintings.

from *juan* 52, "Jingkang zhongqiu 靖康中秋 (Records of August Lunar month of reign of Jingkang)”, and

…The Jurchens, after they captured the capital of the Northern Song dynasty, transported to their native land more than 150 families skilled in the various performing arts including variety skits, storytelling, shadow shows, singing, puppetry, somersaults, and zither, lute, and flute playing.

from *juan* 77, "Jingkang ernian zhengyue ershiwuri jishi 靖康二年正月二十五日 (Records of Events which Transpired on the Twenty-fifth Day of the First Month during the Second Year of the Reign, Jinkang [1227])”.

Through this grand scale transfer, most people were captured and involuntarily moved to the new land, but some fortunate people could escape the group and flee to regions nearby. After the war ended and the reign of the Jin dynasty started, craftsmen including tomb decorators, began to work in groups.

Some artisans left ink inscriptions on tomb murals testifying to the above situation. For instance, the Songcun tomb in Shanxi shows a lengthy ink inscription on the north,

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293 *Siku quanshu*, Book 352, Shibu 史部 110, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983).
east, and west walls telling stories not exactly related to the tomb occupants. [fig.3.3.3a, b, c.] 294

1) North wall: 元本住屯留縣宋村宋三命場 /東至右基西□□□山南至本村/鬼廟北至□□□勸人休毁壞/壞者必定身亡且記耳

This reads: Song Sanming originally lived at Songcun in Tunliu and a (funerary) ritual for him was held in a place that spans east to Youji, west to Mountain □□□, south to a shrine of this village, and north to Ling□. I suggest that you stop destroying (the tomb). If you destroy, you must die and thus, I write (to warn).

2) Left side of east wall: 乙卯歲/潞州屯兵十萬差配甚多/楊上□坐知州人名難過大旱二年米一斤麥八百粟五百/本村着鍾鍋三十一個赴本州納

This reads: The year of Yimao (1125, 52nd year of sexagenary cycle), in Luzhou, the garrison were a hundred thousand and … are many. Governor, Yang held the official title, Zhizhou (of this village) and people experienced a hard time to pay one jin of rice, eight hundred of barley, and five hundred of adlay due to two year long drought. This village was obliged to pay three thousand and two lumps of metals.

3) Right side of east wall: 乙卯歲/當播人□上皇少帝于/領此外有康王走在江南/幡家到此南通病當年/正月廿四大金皇帝萌(崩?)也

This reads: In the year of Yimao, the runaway people … emperor and crown prince (of the Northern Song). … The troops arrived far south. Taken ill this year, in January 24th, the great Emperor of Jin passed away.

4) Left side of west wall: 砌造匠人李通家住沁州/銅堤縣底水村人是/內為紅中盗賊驚移到此/砌到葬一所係大金國/女眞軍國領兵收劫趙皇家

This reads: Brick maker Li Tong lived in Dishuicun, Tongdixian, Qinzhou (current Qinxian, Shanxi?). When he was painting one day, he was found by thieves (possibly Jurchen troops?), he was frightened and thus fled to this place and continued his business of making tombs that belonged to the Great Jin Empire. Jurchen Jin army occupied the country and threatened the royal Zhao family of the Song dynasty.

5) Middle part of west wall: 天會三年歲次乙卯三月一日/甲戌丗日癸時下郭宋村/三命名□水在此/于□□□□塚壠/當年本村修蓋佛殿□□□□遷/奉父母家兄大哥□□□□□/歸大□命庵幽谷葬于□□□□五百/年間必逢張强到此馬四□□□不良必/須再葬
This reads: In the third year of Tianhui (1125), March 1st and 20th day at 1 o’clock in the morning (we) buried Sanming of Songcun named …shui. Here, (we) made a tomb mound. This year, the village renovated a Buddhist temple, so moved… enshrined parents and elder brother… returned to…and buried … During five hundred years, anyone … will be definitely not good and have to rebury.

6) Upper part of west wall: 張強□□/馬四不良/謝你奉覷必須再葬

This reads: Anyone… not good. I will repay you. If you peep through, you should rebury.

7) Right side of west wall: 乙卯歲氏三百八十四日十二龍給水七日得葬/正月大一日乙巳國正月大二月小三月大四月小五月大六月小七月大八月小九月小/十月大十一月小十二月大井□日立春/小三命上舍天輪甲子國餘年中氣號/畫夜百刻外宅禮宅之壬鬼□記

This reads: The year of Yimao, 283 days, 12 (months?) a dragon provided water for seven days, and completed burial. January, February…. December, and the first day of spring, the descendent, Superior College (Shangshe 上舍)…Painting and carving, and then performed ritual to appease the soul…

Although many characters have been effaced, the remaining ink inscriptions are still interesting. For example, it is noteworthy that a personal history of an artisan is recorded
because the tomb was not for the artisan himself but for his client. The ink inscription explains various situations surrounding the tomb construction. The first two lines address the location and society of the village where the tomb occupant lived. The third line briefly explains the historical event – Jurchen’s invasion. The fourth line mentions an artisan who participated in the tomb construction. According to the ink inscription, the tomb maker (artisan) was not the native of Tunliu, where the tomb is located. He moved to the place around when the war between Northern Song and Jin occurred, and restarted his business there.

The fifth line is also interesting because it describes how the descendants dealt with the dead – their parents and older brother – during the tomb construction. The mention about Buddhist temple and its renovation in this line seem to reflect the popular funerary custom at that time that the decedents temporarily consigned bone ashes to the Buddhist temple after cremation of dead so that they could secure time for preparing money and artisans for the burials. This supports aforementioned Song scholars’ criticism on such a new burial custom of late Northern Song period. The sixth line is a warning for the tomb robberies. Lastly, the seventh line is a sort of chanting comprised of the seasonal and calendric numbers, and ends with brief information about the descendants (the actual tomb patrons) and how they paid offerings to the souls. On

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295 The existence of personal records of the tomb makers at other people’s tombs, on the other hand, demonstrate the artisans worked independently without their client’s monitoring so that the artisan could what he wanted to do on walls.

296 Although it is hard to understand the writer’s original intention for the inscription, considering the historical context, this seems to indicate that the artisan escaped from the aforementioned captivity by Jurchens.

the other hand, the warnings repeated three times in the ink inscriptions seem to show the tomb patrons’ anxiety for tomb robberies.

Although there have been certain formats of the writings for burial, such as tombstones, land deeds, and tomb walls, this kind of long inscriptions with uncommon contents is unique with no comparable, contemporary examples. For this reason, it provides relatively objective information about decorated tomb construction around Northern Song-Jin transition. Aside from many facts confirmed via the ink inscriptions, it is noteworthy that the Jurchen’s invasion significantly changed the cultural map of Central Plain area by directly or indirectly relocating artisans.

In sum, the formation and dissemination of tombs styles (especially of mural tombs) throughout the Northern Song and Jin periods were related to artisans’ activities and social circumstance. Also, the cultural communications among regions were in many cases spurred and interrupted by social upheaval and geographic conditions, which actually influenced the movement of the artisans. This relation further implies that when these cultural agents (i.e., artisans) overcome topographic limitations by social changes, Song-Jin tomb styles could be disseminated to the broader and remote areas such as the Korea Peninsula and also in following period – the Yuan dynasty.298

298 During the Yuan period, mural tombs of various areas seem to have appropriated the Song-Jin mural tomb design. Although the details of images were modified according to the popular styles of the time, the themes and composition of images were repeated. For example, the female attendant images at Yuan tomb mural in Tunliu, Shanxi are similar to ones at murals of Heishangou tomb in Henan Province. [fig.3.3.4.] “Shanxi Tunliuxian Kangzhuang gongyeyuan yuandai bihuamu 山西屯留縣康裝工業園區元代壁畫墓 (Yuan Dynasty Mural Tomb at Industrial Park District of Kangzhuang in Tunliu County of Shanxi),” *Kaogu* 9 (2009): 39-46; “Henan dengfeng heishangou songdai bihuamu,” *Wenwu* 10 (2001).
3-4. Conclusions

This chapter attempts to apply the concept of circulation of materials and human resources to the regional formation and dissemination of Song-Jin tombs, in order to see how the people in different regions culturally communicated. The formation of regional culture and its dissemination to other regions did not accidentally occur but rather was the result of cultural activities of the agents who followed economic rules that newly began to rule the society. To support the argument, this chapter investigates the social and geographic circumstances that influenced the movements of two agents – artisans and materials -- from an economic perspective.

The tomb examples in existence and literary records clearly show how the circulation and movement of these two agents formed two different types of Song-Jin tombs – mural tombs and brick relief tombs. The most significant difference between these tombs is their main decorating materials; the mural tombs show a domination of painting application over brick reliefs at their interior decoration, while the brick relief tombs have murals comprised of brick reliefs and minimal use of paintings. These two different applications of materials further affected artisans’ work patterns from material acquisition to the final execution of murals, which is finally related to the different formation and dissemination of the tomb styles.

To clarify the different aspects of those two types of tombs, the first two sections (3-1 and 3-2) of this chapter analyze in detail the architecture and decoration of mural tombs and brick relief tombs, respectively. These tombs exist in almost the same regions of north Henan and south Shanxi Provinces, and they indeed seem to have developed
together in a close relationship. All of these tombs were favored mainly in three regions, north Henan, southeast and southwest Shanxi, but these regions developed slightly different stylistic forms of tombs according to their own unique environment featured by temporal social situation and geographic condition.

The regional patterns of tomb style development and the socio-historical influences on them were demonstrated by the tomb examples. For example, while the mural tombs were greatly favored during the late Northern Song period in northern Henan as an unparalled level of mural tombs were constructed around the capital city including Luoyang, Zhengzhou, and Kaifeng, the mural tombs in other regions that were more or less geographically isolated were fewer in both quality and quantity and still adhered to traditional styles until the end of Northern Song period. However, the dynastic transition of the Northern Song and Jin significantly changed this map. First, as the center of decorated tomb culture collapsed, southeast Shanxi absorbed and took over the cultural capital, and then started to develop mural tombs in this region. Second, along with the economic prosperity in Jin, southwest Shanxi became a new center of decorated tomb culture. Material production and consumption also increased in this environment and further accelerated a shift in main tomb materials from paintings to brick reliefs, which simplified the construction process while maximizing visual effects. The materiality of relief bricks allowed them to be easily transportable and thus available for trade, facilitating the dissemination of tomb styles as well as related visual culture to broad areas. Thus, the brick relief tombs appear along the Yellow River and its tributaries such as the Fen River, while mural paintings more strongly belonged to regional styles due to dependency on artisans.
The third section (3-3) attempts to support the argument in first two sections with literary records while confirming that all of the stylistic and developmental differences of two types of Song-Jin tombs really came from the different decorating materials and their utilization. Increase of brick usage at tomb decoration that replaced artisans’ hard handwork emphasizes the materiality of tombs, and thereby the forms and styles of decorated tombs benefit from material circulation in a market economy.

To conclude, the process of regional formation of Song-Jin tomb styles and their dissemination to broader areas based on the material circulation provide clues for understanding the dissemination of decorated tomb culture all over the China as well as to the Korean Peninsula in the following period.
CHAPTER 4.
CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND THE SHARING OF VISUAL IDIOMS:
THE TOMB MURALS OF GORYEO, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO
CONTEMPORARY CHINESE STATES

Introduction

The mural tomb tradition of funerary arts, as an East Asian institution, was a long-standing phenomenon in northern China and also northern Korea. All the tombs in these regions are closely related to each other in many aspects because of their geographic proximity as well as the cross-border social relationship between their respective states. In particular, the mural tombs of the Goryeo dynasty show similarities in their imagery to the ones of contemporary Chinese dynasties from the 10th to 14th centuries. The parallels found between Chinese and Goryeo examples are also widely distributed across various contemporary East Asian countries. This phenomenon shows how different cultures communicated beyond geographic limitations and also demonstrates how Northeast Asian visual culture was shared.

The mural tombs of Goryeo (918-1392), the Korean contemporary of the Liao, Song, Jin and Yuan, were constructed by the upper class until the 15th century. Although mural tomb culture in Korea culminated with the fall of the Goguryeo dynasty (37 BCE-668 CE) its tradition continued particularly under the Balhae (C: Bohai, 698-926). However, in the 10th century, when the Goryeo was established, mural tombs again
became favored by the upper class, although their scale and decorations were somewhat more moderate. 299

Goryeo mural tombs show two distinctive features that are different from their precursors. First, the regions that adopted the mural tomb tradition became much more diverse after the 12th century. Before that, mural tombs had been seen exclusively in the northern regions of the Korean peninsula. Second, along with the spread of tomb construction, mural decorations changed to include new themes and styles. For example, while the tomb murals of previous periods mostly featured the traditional themes of mural paintings, such as mythic creatures, and the images of tomb occupants and their social life as rulers, Goryeo tomb murals borrow themes from popular pictorial art, such as literati painting-style images and domestic scenes.

These changes in mural tombs recall the examples from the Song and Jin periods discussed in previous chapters, as well as those from the Liao and Yuan. Tomb murals of the Goryeo of the early, middle, and late periods correspond to the ones constructed by the upper class of the Liao, Southern Song, and Yuan, respectively. 300 Furthermore, just as the popular themes of Chinese tomb murals vary depending on region and period, Goryeo tomb murals also show a similar pattern in their development.

Due to the lack of extant examples, these issues have remained largely unexplored, with scant attention being paid by scholars. Additionally, the research on the subject mainly focuses on investigating the unique Korean elements found in these tombs, which

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299 Mural tomb construction lasted until the early Joseon period (1392-1910 CE), the contemporary of the early Ming dynasty, China. Joseon mural tombs, however, are considered to be Goryeo’s because the early Joseon was still largely under the influence of the Goryeo legacy.

300 Goryeo mural tombs were exclusively used by the royal family and aristocrats until its mid-period. Due to the difference of social status, the tombs of the local elites of the Song, Jin and Yuan that we have previously discussed only match with ones from the late Goryeo period.
differentiate Korean culture from other Asian cultures. In such a perspective, Goryeo tomb mural culture was considered the legacy of Goguryeo. However, the resemblance between Goryeo mural tombs and Chinese examples conflicts with the focus of previous research, and thus a new understanding of the tombs is need.\textsuperscript{301}

To overcome the limitations of the previous perspective, this chapter attempts to argue that the mural tombs of China and Korea are evidence of a shared visual culture in Northeast Asia. In order to situate Goryeo mural tombs within the broader Northeast Asian cultural context, I first investigate the domestic and international political situation of the Korea peninsula in relation to China. Then, I examine how Goryeo mural tombs reflected changing cultural circumstances through an analysis and comparison of the mural tombs of China and Korea.\textsuperscript{302}

The rest of this chapter consists of three sections. Section 4-1 discusses the historical background of mural tomb construction in China and Korea. To better examine the evolution of tomb mural styles, which was precipitated by social change, I divide the Goryeo period into two halves, divided by the 12th century. Section 4-2 discusses the mural tombs of the first half of the period. In Section 4-3, I further categorize the tombs


\textsuperscript{302} It is noticeable that the formation of Goryeo mural tomb styles was affected by domestic and international changes. The first feature of Goryeo mural tomb - the spread of mural tomb construction over the Peninsula - reflects one of the biggest events of the Goryeo that caused changes in social strata, particularly the class of aristocrats. The second feature that is summarized by the introduction of new themes and stylistic forms in murals show that the diplomatic relations and consequent changes of the routes through which the new visual sources came from the Chinese states.
of the last half of the period by the tomb location, and investigate the tombs of the northern, central, and southern regions of the Korea peninsula.

**Subject of Research: Tombs**

This chapter discusses the examples of tomb mural, categorized by region – North and South Korea. This regional classification largely corresponds to the system of periodical classification – the first half and the last half of the Goryeo period (before and after the 12th century).

The mural tombs of the northern region of the Korean peninsula were concentrated in the Gaeseong area, the capital city of Goryeo, and were constructed by the royal family and the aristocracy. Examples include: Taejo Hyeolleung 太祖 顯陵 (943), Jeongjong Anreung 定宗 安陵 (949), Munjong Gyeongreung 文宗 景陵 (1083), Myeongjong Jireung 明宗 智陵 (1197), Sinjong Yangreung 神宗 陽陵 (1204), Goreung 高陵 (the tomb of princess Jegukdaejang, the queen consort of King Chungryeol 忠烈王妃 齊國大長公主, 1274), Gongminwangreung 恭愍王陵 (1327), Seogureung 西龜陵 (the tombs of anonymous nobles) and the Surak’am-dong tomb 水落巖洞 古墳 (13th century). These tombs are again divided into two categories according to the time when the main theme of their murals changed. In terms of the mural tombs of the first half of the period, Taejo Hyeolleung is relatively well detailed in previous studies 303

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303 Their excavations were conducted by North Korean archaeologists and only a few of these tombs were reported on since the 80’s, when the reports were reprinted in South Korea. Unfortunately, however, most of them lack visual information and rarely discuss the murals.
through photographs. I will further investigate this tomb to understand early Goryeo mural tombs.

Although fewer in numbers, the mural tombs constructed in the late Goryeo and early Joseon period are widely distributed over the central and southern regions of the Korean peninsula, such as Paju Gyeonggi Province, Cheolwon Ganwon Province, and Gyeongsang Province. These tombs are largely differentiated from the tombs of the Gaeseong area not only in terms of region, but also in terms of the themes and styles of the murals, the scale and quality of the tomb architecture, as well as the social status of the tomb occupants. The Goryeo and Joseon mural tombs that are excavated and reported in South Korea are, in chronological order: the Jangdan Beopdangbang tomb (undated, possibly from the mid-period), the Andong Seosamdong tomb (early 12th century), the Geochang Dunmari tomb (12-13th century), the Paju Seogokri Gwon Jun tomb (1352), the Milyang Bak Ik tomb (1420, d. 1392), and mostly recently found, the Donghwari No Hoesin tomb (the mid 15th century).

4-1. The Goryeo Dynasty and its Funerary Culture in Northeast Asia from the 10th to 14th Century

In the broad sphere of Northeast Asia, Korea shared many cultural characteristics with China. Their funerary cultures, which were once an indicator of their particular ethnicity, also influenced each other as cultural products of highly cultivated societies, since they were established as social norms and formalized by written codes rather than customs. As
Chinese decorated tombs developed over the mid-imperial period, Goryeo tombs in Korea showed similar changes in stylistic forms in architecture and interior decoration. At the same time, since Goryeo maintained a social and cultural identity independent from China throughout its history, there were still differences between its tombs and the ones of the Chinese.

In this section, I will briefly outline the relationship between China and Korea from the 10th to 14th century. Then, I will examine how Goryeo’s unique social environment contributed to two notable features of Goryeo’s funerary culture – 1) the diminished use of mural tombs, related to changes in social class of tomb owners,\(^{304}\) and 2) the diversification of the images found in murals.

**Political and Cultural Positions of Goryeo in Relationship with Chinese States**

In East Asia, luxurious funerals and burials were generally appreciated by the upper class as a means to distinguish tomb patrons as social leaders. The styles and the forms of the images of funerary customs including tomb murals were shared by the royal families and aristocrats of the region. Since communication between the states was largely limited to diplomatic exchanges until the early Goryeo period, their cultural sharing only affected the life and culture of the upper class. This is why funerary art can be viewed as a cultural product of the upper class, allowing us to understand changes in funerary culture through the context of changes in the upper class culture of China and Korea.

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\(^{304}\) The change of the mural tomb owner’s social class from the royal family and aristocrats to local elites beginning in the 10th century seems to be a general tendency in Northeast Asia. Similar to the Northern Song and Jin periods, in the Goryeo period, the mural tombs that were once constructed only around the capital city began to be constructed by locals beginning in the 12th century. I will discuss this issue in Section 4-3.
As for the notable features of Chinese funerary customs, the distinctive tomb styles of northern and southern China reflect various regional specificities. Apart from some unique ethnic styles for funerals and burials, the regional features of burial customs were well observed until the Song dynasty. Northern styles are characterized by lavish burials (houzang 厚葬) that incorporated luxurious sarcophagi and many burial goods, while southern styles were characterized by more frugal and moderate burials (bozang/jiezang 薄葬/節葬), consisting of simple pit tombs and only a small amount of burial goods.

The regional differences in funerals and burials of different areas are illustrated through the geographic distribution of mural tombs, as suggested by Dieter Kuhn in “the Distribution Map of the Song Burials”. The mural tombs with a lavish burial style were constructed extensively in north China until the Liao dynasty, and then, mural tomb culture moved to and flourished in the Central Plain area in the late Northern Song period. Conversely, simple pit tombs were continuously popular in south China. Although this regional tendency still remained, beginning in the Northern Song period, the noble class of northern China gradually abandoned mural tombs. Instead, as discussed in previous

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305 While it is generally known that the local formation of burial customs was influenced by the natural environment such as weather, soil condition, and available materials, some burial customs reflect the concepts about death and afterlife of major religions, or local beliefs. For example, the frugal burials of Southern China were considered normative where Confucian cult prevailed in the Northeast states.  
306 The distribution map of the Song tombs shows the relationship between burial and geography in the mid-imperial period and is not only limited to Song dynasty because the subjects of Kuhn’s study broadly include the Liao and Jin as well as Northern and Southern Song tombs. Dieter Kuhn, A Place for the Dead – An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1996), 337; also see, Chapter 1.  
307 The Huai River 淮水 is the actual borderline that divides Chinese sub-continent into Northern and Southern areas.  
308 Lavish funerals and burials were often temporarily suspended due to social and political reasons. For example, after the last royal families of the Northern Song fled to Southern China, they chose a temporary burial without a mound and interior and exterior decorations, hoping that they would be buried in Kaifeng.
chapters, the practice of lavish burials was adopted by the middle class, and flourished in the Central Plain area in the Jin period.

During the Song and Jin periods, the burials of upper class individuals in the Goryeo were generally moderate. Even when compared to the burials of the Three Kingdoms’ period (c. 1st century BCE - 668 CE) in Korea, the funerals and burials of this period were still more moderate. This reflects two important factors in the formation of Goryeo funerary and burial culture – 1) Buddhism, on which the state ideology was based, and 2) the cultural relationship between Goryeo and the foreign states that it shared a similar Northeast Asian culture with. 309 Due to these factors, in the first half of the Goryeo period, the period corresponding to that of the Song and Jin dynasties, Buddhist cremation or stone sarcophagi were popular in Goryeo, and only royal family members and a few select aristocrats used mural tombs. Their styles were largely shared by those of the Liao upper class. In a sense they continued the traditions of the Great Tang’s culture. Moreover, Confucian frugality in rituals began to affect the burials of the new upper class, the literati-officials of Goryeo. 310

Lastly, the Yuan’s conquest of China significantly changed the cultural map of both China and Korea. As the Yuan unified China, the cultural interactions between north and south became more active, causing different regional cultures to be disseminated all again. These Song people from north China believed that they would recapture the Northern homeland. Li Hong, “Song Liao Jin shidaide mushi bihua (Tomb murals of Song, Liao, and Jin period),” in Zhongguo meishu quanji huihuabian 中國美術全集 壁畫篇 (Complete Series of Chinese Arts – Mural Paintings), Vol. 12 (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1989), 35-50.

309 The burial custom of political centers was often adopted by a whole society over indigenous regional burials. This explains how the regional background of social leaders influenced the choice of the burials of other social members. The phenomenon of Confucian frugal burials becoming popular along with the revival of southern culture thus seems to be related to the establishment of the capital of the Southern Song in south China.

over China. For instance, northern-style mural tombs characterized by peculiar structures, sizes, and decoration styles began to appear in south China. Accordingly, this change in the domestic situation of China also affected the diplomatic relations between Goryeo and the Chinese states, and further influenced many aspects of their culture. In this period, the different cultures of north and south China were introduced into the Korean peninsula through diplomatic and commercial avenues. At the same time, changes in Goryeo society, triggered by the Military Rebellion (1170)\textsuperscript{312} transformed its social structure and brought about changes in the burials of upper class people, roughly beginning in the 12\textsuperscript{th} century.

Decorated Tombs in Goryeo as Elites’ Culture

The funerary cultures of China and Korea were different from each other in details such as tomb architecture and interior decoration, however, the differences mainly were in two qualities. First, when a new style of Song-Jin tombs was developed in China, Goryeo mural tombs still more or less adhered to traditional styles. In Goryeo, mural tombs were still favored by upper class people, and consequently their mural decorations reflect their cultural inclination towards traditional culture, as represented by Tang culture. While a scholar-gentlemen class (K: Sadaebu C: Shidafu 士大夫) gradually replaced the traditional upper class in China, Goryeo society sustained its aristocracy for a much longer time, and thus, aristocratic culture remained. This is in clear contrast to the

\textsuperscript{311} Steinhardt, “Yuan Dynasty Tombs and Their Inscriptions,” \textit{Ars Orientalis} 37 (2007): 138-172.

\textsuperscript{312} Military Rebellion was a coup d’état led by military officials who were against the royal family and powers based in civilian administration. While deposing the king, Uijong (r.1146-1170) and enthroning the king Myeongjong (r.1170-1197), the military powers ruled the Goryeo for a century (1170-1270) until the Mongols invaded. See, Ki-baek Lee, “Chapter 7: Rule by the Military,” trans. Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz in \textit{A New History of Korea} (Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 86-94.
contemporary Chinese situation which facilitated the popularity of mural tombs among the middle class. The second main difference was the fact that the regional conditions of tomb construction affected the formation of different mural tomb styles. Due to different preferences in materials, Goryeo tombs and coffins were made of stone, whereas Chinese tombs were mostly constructed with either brick or wood.313

Stone-chambered tombs were preferred by the upper class, such as the royal family, aristocrats, and court officials, throughout the Goryeo period. The exact reason why the patrons of the decorated tombs of Goryeo preferred stone to other materials is unknown, however it is possibly due to the fact that stone is generally considered valuable due to its density and rarity. The various natural qualities of different stones created the features of Goryeo tombs – invariably limiting the variations of their forms and their small sizes. Since stone is more difficult to treat than brick or wood, the adoption and adaptation of new styles from China were limited to decorations.

However, not all stone-chambered tombs had murals, the most important part of decorated tombs, and even if they did have murals, the painting quality was never as good as those of Goguryeo tomb murals. This seems to have been caused by a different understanding of the value of mural painting in this period. Considering the fine finish of coffins or the complete set of burial goods, which were more meticulously regulated by the state, painting decorations seem to have been only an ancillary aspect of lavish burials. Consequently, mural paintings were even often omitted. For example, after the king and the royal family fled to Ganghwa Island to avoid the Mongol’s invasion, stone-

313 Also, due to the influence of Buddhism, cremation was more popular than using coffins and tombs in the Goryeo dynasty.
chambered tombs continued to be erected in the new locale, however mural paintings were eschewed. As another example, stone sarcophagi were used to store bone ashes after cremation. They were usually smaller than other stone coffins, and only a few images and motifs such as the four directional symbols, constellations, and very rarely, flowers were found on the coffins, as incised line drawings on the surface, without colors.

[fig.4.2.1.]

The rarity of mural paintings in lavish tombs in Goryeo was due to the increase of simple pit tombs. Except for some minor kinds of burials such as sky burials, the simple pit burial style constituted the majority of burials for the upper class during the late Goryeo period. As scholar-officials rose through the state examination system in Goryeo, as in Song society, the simple pit tomb with a three-layer outer coffin (hoegwakmyo 灰槨墓) became the canonic burial of Neo Confucianism. This style was promulgated by Zhu Xi 朱熹 through Family Rituals (K: Juja garye C: Zhuzi jiali 朱子家禮), replacing previous burial methods. From this period onwards, the simplification of burials proceeded further as Confucian leaders began to take power on the Korean peninsula and established the Joseon dynasty. Accordingly, lavish tombs had come to lose their place of prominence, and instead, they were partially adopted by the local elites.

314 The royal family and military powers fled to Ganghwa Island. See, Ki-baek Lee (1984), 86-94; About the tombs in Ganwha island, see, Incheon Metropolitan City Museum, Ganghwa ui Goryeo gobun: jipyo josa bogoseo 江華의 高麗古墳: 地表조사보고서 (Tombs in Ganghwa: a Field Survey) (Incheon: Incheon Metropolitan City Museum, 2003).
Changes of Goryeo Mural Tombs

The most notable feature of Goryeo mural tombs is the diversity of its images, which are largely categorized into two groups. The first group includes traditional images that represent funerary symbolism such as the twelve calendrical animals, the four directional symbols, and constellations. The second group consists of new motifs or newly designed traditional motifs such as the daily life scenes of and the decorative images of trees and stemmed plants, beyond simple flower motifs such as lotuses. All the images of the two groups were used for murals throughout the period, but the images of each group were rarely represented together. For example, while directional animal/symbolic motifs or traditional decorative painting style motifs were often coupled in the murals of one tomb, they were rarely depicted alongside the images of figures, daily life scenes, or that of ink-painting-style flower and tree motifs.

Set of images and their composition in tomb murals was differentiated by time, region, and their patron’s social status, which was affected by the international and domestic social circumstances of the Goryeo period. By the time of the Military Rebellion and the Mongol invasion, the set of motifs had changed. Each set accordingly represents the motifs of the first and last halves of the period. Depending on the different regional bases of the patrons, mural tombs came to reflect regional specificities in their styles, belonging to the northern and southern regions of the Korean peninsula.316

4-2. The Mural Tombs of the First Half of the Period: the Mural of the Hyeon Mausoleum (Hyeolleung 頭陵) and its Cultural Lineage

The tombs located in Gaeseong 開城 (or Gaegyeong 開京) feature Goryeo mural tombs of the first half of the period. Except for a short period during the Mongol invasion and the subsequent temporary capital transfer to Ganghwa Island in 1259, the royal family and aristocrats constructed their tombs mostly in Gaeseong. According to archaeological reports, the main themes of the murals of these tombs are various kinds of plants, including pine trees, bamboo, and plum trees with flowers. Constellations are often featured on the ceilings as well. Some traces of the images of human figures and architecture were reported in some murals. Additionally, images of the twelve calendrical animals appeared on panel stones; these images which had once encircled tomb mounds began to be represented in the interior of tombs – mural paintings, in the 13th century.317

317 No mural forms in Silla period. The available research materials for those tombs are, however, limited to a few published pictures and reports from the North Korean government, which is insufficient for a full understanding of know about the tombs.
Hyeolleung 顯陵, the mausoleum of King Taejo 太祖 (r. 918-943) (the founder of the Goryeo dynasty), of which murals are in good condition, represents well the mural tombs of this period. [fig.4.2.2a.] According to the records of the Joseon period, Hyeolleung was first constructed in 943, and then was improved and repaired over the Goryeo and early Joseon periods. For that reason, the exact date of its mural paintings is still debatable, however, it is reasonable to date the mural painting to 943 because retouching murals was extremely difficult due to limited accessibility to the inner space of the tomb. Moreover, when compared to other tomb murals nearby, it appears that Hyeolleung maintained its original mural paintings, having the key features of typical tomb murals of the early period.

Hyeolleung murals feature flower and tree images of a decorative painting style, and a few other traditional symbolic motifs. At the center of the east wall is a big plum tree of vivid colors, and small plum trees and bamboo are drawn around the plum tree. The composition of the mural of the west wall is similar to the east wall, except that a pine tree is drawn at the center instead of the plum tree. [fig.4.2.2b.] Plum trees are also seen on a stone panel supporting the ceiling. Each plum tree is portrayed colorfully with blossomed flowers in red colors, whereas the bamboo is only done in lines with ink. On the east, west, and north walls, the azure dragon, white tiger, and black tortoise of the

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318 According to *History of Goryeo* (Goryeosa 高麗史) and *The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* (Joseon wangjosillok 朝鮮王朝實錄) Hyeonreung was well-managed and regularly repaired throughout the Goryeo and Joseon periods. However, when judging from no remarks on the condition of the interior spaces, the maintenance services were probably limited to the grave yard and additional burials. Incheol Kim (2003), 26

319 The styles of the early Goryeo mural tombs are summarized by the motif sets and their peculiar composition. Fragments of mural images – bamboo images in vivid green color, which were found in Anreung (the tomb of the king Jeongjong (r.946-949) and Seogureung (tombs of royal family) in Gaesung area demonstrate that all the tombs in this region before 12th century shared similar images for the tomb murals. Incheol Kim (2003), 41-42; 116.
four directional symbols appear, respectively. The images of the four directional symbols are, however, relatively small and located off the center, on the bottom corners. This location contrasts to their representation in earlier periods, when they had been the main motifs of tomb murals. Constellations are also represented with red dots and lines on the ceiling.

In earlier interpretations, the Hyeolleung mural was considered an excellent example of the early literati paintings of East Asia because the images of the bamboo, plum tree, and pine tree motifs and their specific combination recall the theme of the *three wintry friends*, which had been popular in literati paintings. For similar reasons, the Hyeolleung mural has often been compared with Five Dynasties and Liao mural tombs as well, for example, Wang Chuzhi’s (863-923) tomb and the scroll painting found in Yemaotai tomb No. 7, which depicts similar motifs, specifically bamboo (or plants) and rocks. Only in terms of theme, however, do the flower and tree images in all these contemporary tombs seem to reflect the development of different painting genres. From such theories, scholars concluded that this new style of images was influenced by literati painting, whose basic theories and styles had been completed by

321 Hui-joon Ahn“Song-eun Bak Ik myo ui byeokhwa 松隱 朴翊 墓의 壁畵 (Mural Painting of Song-eun Bak Ik’s Tomb),” *Gogo yeoksa hakji* Vol 17, 18 (Dong-A University, 2002): 579-604.
late Northern Song literati-scholar painters in almost the same period in China.  However, their predisposed analysis of this leitmotif of literati paintings, they ignore subtle differences in style, compositional changes, as well as the cultural contexts of this motif’s uses, which probably reveal more important meanings for the images.

To understand the motifs in the Hyeolleung mural and its contemporary Chinese counterparts, it is important to note the stylistic origins of the images of plant, flower, and tree motifs. The theme itself had long existed as the background of figure paintings since the Tang period. However, when it comes to painting style and technique, such as double outline rendering (shuanggoufa 雙鉤法), the tomb murals with this theme in Goryeo, some of the Liao and the Five dynasties such as a tomb in Kulunqi of the Liao in Jilin show an affinity with decorative painting styles that were developed before the proliferation of literati ink paintings. Due to similarities to the prevailing decorative painting styles of the Tang period, it is unlikely that these images of tomb

324 Even Bickford notes that the image of plum trees before the Song, in particular those of tomb murals, had been treated as decorative painting, and thus their styles are differentiated from those of ink painting. Ibid., 9-109.
325 The earliest example of existing paintings of the three wintry friends theme was drawn by Zhao Mengjian 趙孟堅 (1199~1295CE), however, the theme itself was already frequently quoted in many Tang works. Ibid, 52-53; Seonok Lee, “Sehan samwudo ui hyeongseong gwa baljeon 세한삼우도의 형성과 발전 (Formation and Evolvement of the Image of Three Wintry Friends),” Hanjung immunhak yeongu 한중인문학연구 (Studies in the Humanities of Korea and China), Vol. 15 (Seoul: Hanjung immunhak yeonguhoe, 2005): 110-111.
326 The murals of Tang royal tombs such as Prince Zhanghuai’s also show bamboo images of decorative painting style. [fig.4.2.6.] Shanxxi lishi bowuguan 陝西歷史博物館, Tang mubihua zhenpin: Zhanghuai taizimu bihua 唐墓壁畫真品: 章懷太子墓壁畫 (A Treasury of Mural Paintings in the Mausoleums of the Tang Dynasty: Mural Painting of the Tomb of Prince Zhanghuai) (Beijing: Wenwu, 2002); Zhang Hongxiu, Zhongguo Tangmu bihuaji 中國唐墓壁畵集 (The Collection of Tomb Mural Paintings of Tang Dynasty China) (Guangzhou: lingnan meishu chubanshe, 1995); The bamboo image of ink painting style is also seen in the Liao tomb mural. “Jilin zhelimumeng kulunqi yihao Liaomu fajue jianbao 吉林哲里木盟庫倫旗一號遼墓發掘簡報 (Brief Report on the Liao Tomb No. 1 of Zhelimunmeng, Kulunqi, Jilin Province),” Wenwu 8 (1973): 2-18.
murals from the 10th to 11th century of China and Korea were directly influenced by contemporary literati paintings.

Previous interpretations that claim the images of plants in the Hyeolleung mural illustrate the evolution of Korean literati painting is made even more tenuous by the three reasons below. First, since most of the flowers, grasses, and trees found in the images are not indigenous to the Korean peninsula, it is impossible that such images could have originated in Korea. Secondly, there are no extant records proving that literati paintings were popular during the early Goryeo period. Thirdly, there have been no examples of the predecessors of such images. If the images were acquired from foreign sources, specifically from China, when and how could the model for early tomb murals have been introduced to Goryeo?

In terms of painting style, the Hyeolleung mural can be compared with contemporary examples from the Five Dynasties and the Liao dynasty of China. For example, one pair of hanging scroll paintings, *Bamboo, Sparrow, and a Pair of Hares* (Zhu que shuang tu-tu 竹雀雙兎圖), which was found in the Yemaotai tomb No. 7, shares the same style and technique of decorative painting with that of the Hyeolleung mural. Particularly, the shape of their bamboo leaves and the use of the double outline rendering technique are almost identical.327 [fig.4.2.5.] These two paintings show similar painting techniques and unique color schemes, which usually featured decorative motifs such as bird-and-flower paintings and Buddhist paintings.

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327 Bamboo images of similar type were also reported in other early Goryeo period tombs such as tombs, Anreung and Seogureung; the bamboo images in these tombs were painted with green colors. Incheol Kim (2003), 41; Liaoningsheng bowuguan 遼寧省博物館, “Faku yemaotai Laiomu jilue 法庫葉茂臺遼墓紀略 (Excavation of the Liao Tomb at Yemaotai in Faku County, Liaoning),” *Wenwu* 12 (1975): 26-39.
The peculiar styles and forms of Five Dynasties and Liao dynasty paintings are known to be learned from the court style paintings of the Tang period.\(^{328}\) This is because the upper class of these states were, after all, the aristocrats and royal families of the Tang, who fled north after the Tang’s fall and eventually established the new states that would develop into the Five Dynasties.\(^{329}\) The Liao, who was their counterpart and eventual conqueror, also absorbed northern aristocratic culture while occupying northern China. As noted earlier, even bamboo images had already appeared in Tang paintings as individual motifs, although its design was still simpler than that of the images of figures. For example, Astana Tomb No.187 of Turfan has a mural showing the prototypical bamboo image in its background, which is abstract and simplified. [fig.4.2.7.] Even though the level of representational skill of the Tang paintings are less sophisticated than that of the Five Dynasties and Liao bamboo paintings, it is definite that the particular style of bamboo images (the double outline rendering with bright green colors, thin stems for the bamboo, a clear representation of its joints, and sparsely grown fine leaves) was already created by this time, much earlier than the Goryeo period. More interestingly, not only bamboo images, but also pairing motifs such as plum trees, and their styles also already existed earlier than the Goryeo period, in China. For example, the cluster of small round leaves on tree stems on the right side of the figural image in the Astana Tomb

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mural correspond to the plum tree in the Hyelloeung mural. This paring seems not to be arbitrary, but rather an intentional visual setting of the two contrasting visual effects of round leaves or flowers, and thin leaves.

If particular images of plants existed in the Tang period, we can safely assume that the images of tomb murals of the Five Dynasties and Liao dynasty developed out of Tang painting styles. One Liao dynasty example that illustrates such an evolution is the mural of Baoshan tomb No. 2 in Inner Mongolia (923). In terms of style, and narrative-based content, as well as the fact that South China is the source of its images, the mural of Baoshan tomb No. 2 reflects the popular images of the Central Plain of China of the Tang period. In the mural of the Baoshan tomb, two notable scenes represent two stories commonly known as ‘Su Ruolan Weaving Brocade with Words in a Palindrome (蘇氏織錦回文録)’, which describes a chaste woman of the Six Dynasties (220-589), and ‘Imperial Beauty Yang Guifei Teaching a Parrot’. [fig.4.2.8a, b.] The images of plants were drawn as backdrops for the figures of popular narratives, the main subject of depiction. The images of ‘Yang Guifei Training the Parrot’ and ‘the Story of Lady Su’ are similar to each other in both their style and composition. In the image of ‘the Story of Lady Su’, particularly, the grasses and trees indigenous to south China, such as bamboo and plantain, are drawn sparsely along with Tang-style female figures walking in two

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rows. At the end of the rows, a male welcomes these women.\footnote{The tomb occupant was known as a royal family member on the Empress’s side of the family. The scene of ‘Su Ruolan Weaving Brocade with Words in a Reversible Way’ is interpreted as metaphorically identifying the tomb occupant with the figure of the story. In other words, the mural has the dual meaning of decorating the wall with educational images and showing the tomb occupant’s everyday life. The narratives of historical figures are a very common theme for the murals of antiquity, and this theme shows that the classical modality of pictorial art was still utilized in the tomb murals of the Liao dynasty. Wu Yugui (2001): 92-96.} The use of space in the depiction makes no distinction between heaven and earth, and the figures of the picture are represented in a fixed pose with an unsophisticated spatial perspective. On the right and left sides of the mural, Yang Guifei is surrounded by court ladies, bamboo, and willow trees, demonstrating the lineage of the Tang figure painting style and composition.\footnote{This is a popular composition of traditional narrative paintings like the \textit{Goddess of the Lou River} attributed to Gu Kaizhi (344-c.406).} Many other characteristics of Tang painting are to be found within the picture: again the bamboo leaves represented here show double outline rendering with colors, and the thin and stiff stems of the bamboo contrast heavily with the robust trunk and supple branches of the willow tree that hangs over the images of the figures. Balance and harmony in composition also seem to be pursued here as in previous Tang examples, such as the Astana tomb. Therefore, it is clear that the styles of grass and tree motifs in the murals predate the motif sets of the \textit{three wintry friends} of literati paintings.

If the Five Dynasties and Liao tomb murals developed out of the Tang tomb mural tradition, their counterpart tomb mural of Goryeo, the mural of Hyeolleung, also must have been produced under the huge influence of the Tang painting tradition, according to the definition of James Cahill. This assumption is derived from similarities in the composition and style of the images, as well as from the cultural relations of Goryeo and contemporary Chinese northern states. For example, the flowering leaves of the plum tree of the Hyeolleung mural show an affinity to the images of the Astana tomb.
murals. [fig.4.2.9a, b.] Thus, the fact that the plant images of Hyeolleung correspond to the early set of the *three wintry friends* can be interpreted as traces of Tang influence rather than as contemporary Chinese states or the popularity of literati paintings.

The relationship between the visual cultures of the Tang and early Goryeo is further demonstrated by the motif itself – grass, flower, and trees. The Qing dynasty scholar, Gao Shiqi (1645-1704)’s jotting, *Jin’ao tuishi biji* (Leisure Notes from the Golden Tortoise Bridge) records that the pine tree, bamboo, and plum tree motifs symbolizing “Cold or Early Spring” were drawn on murals at the Pavilion of the Five Dragons (Wulongting 五龍亭) of Taiye Pond 太液池 of Chang’an. This note implies that these grass, flower, and tree motifs that particularly remind us of the theme of the *three wintry friends* was taken as the decoration of architecture. Therefore, we can assume that the tomb murals of the early Goryeo and the Five Dynasties and Liao were collectively deriving their styles from Tang dynasty decorative paintings. Additionally, these murals suggest that Tang pictorial art was still practiced and shared in Northeast Asia even after the fall of the Tang, during the formation of post-Tang period visual culture.

Another image of the Hyeolleung mural supports the above assumption. The four directional symbols are one of the oldest motifs of funerary art in East Asian including Goguryeo. [fig.4.2.10.] It was a general tendency that mythic images such as the four directional symbols and the twelve calendrical animals, which delivered symbolic

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335 According to Luo Shiping, Tang and Five Dynasties painting styles continued for a long time until the mid-period. Only after the Liao acquired Song culture did the mural painting style change. Luo Shiping (2004): 87-158.
messages, gradually disappeared from tomb murals. It reflected changing conceptions of the afterlife, and a trend in pictorial art that began after the end of the medieval era. However, in the early middle imperial period, these mythic images were still common in funerary art, and thus appear in the tomb murals of Goryeo, the Five Dynasties, and the Liao dynasty. Many tombstones and coffins in this period in China and Korea were decorated with these motifs, although their significance in funerary art gradually diminished.

The question that can be raised now is how Goryeo could adopt Tang culture despite their geographic distance and political hardships. For the answer, it is important to note that the introduction of Tang culture in Northeast Asia had already begun during its dynasty, although the fall of the Tang certainly precipitated the dissemination of central Chinese culture further north. Goryeo’s acquisition of Tang culture therefore was an extension of cultural communication and transmission within East Asia, which already had been very active. Zhenxiao (K: Jeonghyo) princess’s tomb of the Bohai (K: Balhae) Kingdom, which defined itself as the immediate descendant of the Goguryeo demonstrates that Tang-style mural painting was widely adopted in contemporary states, even in the far eastern part of Northern Asia.


338 In previous scholarship, however, it was believed that in the Tang period, Tang-style tomb murals were only popular in the Central Plains area. Luo Shiping, Gudai bihua mu 古代壁畫墓 (Tomb Murals of Ancient Time) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2005), 99-136.
In addition to the established cultural relationship between China and Korea, Tang influence in East Asia after the fall of the Tang was due to its symbolic power lasted during the medieval period China. Tang culture was considered as the archetype of high culture and East Asian states of early Mid-Imperial period learned and practiced Tang culture. Their efforts to maintain Tang culture involved the appropriation of Tang authority into their cultural identity. Most of the newly established states of Northern Asia at this time pursed this archetype through visual culture.

In this perspective, the mural tombs of this period discussed above demonstrate that the tomb murals utilized Tang styles to represent the tomb patrons’ intention to identify themselves as the successors of the Tang. Obtaining cultural identity through the use of traditional Tang styles in funerary art therefore did not involve antipathy towards change, nor a complete nostalgia for ancient times. The themes and styles popular in the Tang period were developed over time, reflecting contemporary paintings. This is why some post Tang mural tombs, such as Wang Chuzhi’s tomb, include flowers, bamboo, and rocks, which are differentiated from the ones of a similar theme in contemporary mural tombs of the early Goryeo and Liao.339 [fig.4.2.12.]

In summary, the similarity shown between the Hyeolleung mural and its Chinese contemporaries reveal the process in which the upper class formed their culture through cultural communication with Chinese elites in the early Goryeo period. The resemblance and differences among Hyeolleung, and the mural tombs and paintings of the Five Dynasties and the Liao dynasty demonstrate that the cultural sharing of the upper class

339 Note that the tomb murals of different area still shared the basic painting techniques and also most mural tombs of the Five Dynasties, Liao, and Goryeo represent the flower and birds motifs as independent images unlike the Tang examples following the trend of gradual separation of figural images from the background in pictorial art of East Asia.
was done through adopting and adapting Tang culture. Specifically, beginning in the Tang dynasty, trees and grass developed as individual themes and the styles and forms for such images were eventually completed in the early middle imperial period. Until the 11th century, however, these motifs were still treated as part of the popular themes of flower-and-bird paintings, and tended to decorate architecture rather than be drawn for the pleasure of the literati class.

4-3. The Mural Tombs of the Second Half of the Period

In this period, the Goryeo government established a new relationship with the Song, Jin, and Yuan. The Goryeo government had a different cultural relationship with each Chinese state. The tombs of the last half of the Goryeo period are mostly found in modern South Korea. These tombs are known to belong to rusticated or retired nobles and officials. I subdivide the tombs of this period based on region in order to more accurately investigate their relationship with the central government. Section 4-3-1 examines tombs in northern central areas, and Section 4-3-2 studies tombs in southern areas.

4-3-1. The Mural Tombs of the North and Central Regions of the Peninsula: Tomb Murals with the Twelve Calendrical Animal Motif

Major Changes in Mural Tombs of the Last Half of the Goryeo Period

Beginning in the mid-12th century, tomb murals changed more rapidly, reflecting the complex situation of Goryeo society. While the images of various plant motifs were
discussed as one of the main features of the tomb murals of the first half of the period, the appearance of the twelve calendrical animals (also known as the Chinese Zodiac) was one of the major changes in the tomb murals of the latter half of the period. In fact, the twelve animals were not particularly new in funerary art, and had already appeared as decorations on the panel stones surrounding tomb mounds, beginning in the Unified Silla (統一新羅時代, 668-935). [fig.4.3.1.] Panel stone reliefs of these images had been applied to some of the early Goryeo period tombs, but around the Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122-1146), the motifs began to be adopted as tomb mural themes and occupied both the inner and outer space of tombs. 340 These traditional and new applications of the twelve calendrical images were both maintained until the end of the Goryeo period, as a tomb of the late 14th century, Hyeolleung 玄陵, the mausoleum of King Gongmin 恭愍 (r. 1351-1374) demonstrates.

Another change during this period was the proliferation of mural tombs, which increased in numbers and began to be constructed in more regions. This phenomenon was related to the political situation of Goryeo. In the early 12th century, the Goryeo government completed the centralization of the state through the measured control of men of power, through relocating of meritorious retainers of the central government to outlying regions, as well as the summoning of local elites to the court. The exiled aristocrats still held power in their local districts, and tried to recreate court culture in their locals away from the capital. 341 Although most of the remaining tombs were of the

341 Im Segwon (1981), 36.
14th century, it is assumed that the archetype of tomb murals with the twelve animals theme was already formed in and near the Gaeseong area in the early 12th century. The earliest extant mural tomb of this period, the Seosamdong tomb in Andong, Gyeonsangbuk Province, supports this assumption. [fig.4.3.2a, b.] In this tomb, far from Gaegyeong, we can see all of the motifs of the four directional symbols, human figures, and constellations in styles common to the earlier tombs of Gaeseong. Furthermore, other mural tombs constructed outside the Gaeseong area since the 13th century, such as the Beopdangbang mural tomb in Jangdan, the Seogokri mural tomb in Paju (both in Gyeonggi Province), and the Donghwari tomb in Wonju, Gangwon Province demonstrate that the themes and stylistic forms of the tomb murals of the Gaeseong area were broadly shared in the peninsula in the late Goryeo period and even continued in the early Joseon period.342

Three Examples

Up to now, six mural tombs that have the twelve directional motifs have been found in Korea. Two of them are located in the Gaeseong area, and the rest are in various regions in the north and central areas of South Korea. Only three of them were investigated for

342 Excavated in 2009, Donghwa-ri tomb was identified as belonging to No Hoisin 卢懷慎 (1415-1456), a maternal relative of the early Joseon kings. Although its excavation report has not yet been published, a few photographs released by the media show that this tomb shares common features with the Seogok-ri tomb in terms of tomb architecture and material, as well as the subject matter and styles of the images of the murals. [fig.4.3.3.]

343 Some of the stone sarcophagi are known to have the motifs for decoration but I exclude them in the discussion here because tomb murals and sarcophagi are produced differently; the medium largely rules the stylistic features, decoration method and composition of the images of funerary art. One example of a stone sarcophagi that bears the twelve animals and four directional symbols motifs as incised line decorations is the sarcophagus of Heo Jae 許載 (d.1144) which is housed in the National Museum of Korea. This sarcophagus is similar to the Song Jacheong’s [fig.4.2.1.] which comprises of six stone panels decorated with line drawings. The description of this sarcophagus is included: Jung (2001): 88-89.
the twelve animal motifs in excavation reports, and other than that, there is little information on these tomb murals. Based on extant remains and a few reports on them, the twelve animal images were drawn as the main theme on plain plastered walls with few or no other motifs. The primary three mural tombs of the latter half of the period that were investigated are as follows.

The first example is the Surakamdong tomb No. 1 of the Gaeseong area.344 [fig.4.3.4.] Made in the 13th century, it has a rectangular stone chamber that has images of the four directional symbols and the twelve animals on three plastered walls. On the east wall, there are images of a dog, pig, rat, ox, and an azure dragon, and on the west wall, the images of a horse, sheep, monkey, rooster, and white tiger are painted. On the north wall, there are images of a tiger, rabbit, dragon, and a dark warrior. The four directional symbols are located on the bottom and the twelve animals were drawn above them. The twelve calendrical animals wear the garments of scholar-officials with wide sleeves, and hold scepters and the headgear of each animal motif. These animals are all drawn with fine ink lines and colors, and they are standing in a three quarter profile.

The second tomb, Hyeolleung (different from King Taejo’s Hyeolleung), made in the late 14th century, belongs to King Gongmin. It is also located in Gaeseong. [fig.4.3.5.] The tomb chambers consist of the main chamber and a pathway: the main chamber measures 297 by 300 and 229 cm high, and the pathway is 910 by 204 and 182 cm high. Four animals are depicted on each of three plastered walls, totaling twelve. On the north wall, the images of a dog, pig, rat and ox line up from the left to the right side, on the east

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344 Daejung onyeondo gobun josa bogo 大正五年度古墳調査報告 (Joseon chongdokbu 朝鮮總督府 (The Joseon Government General Office), 1916); Wonryong Kim (1974), fig. no.109-115.
wall, the images of a tiger, a rabbit, a dragon, and a snake are arrayed, and lastly on the west wall, a horse, a sheep, a monkey and a rooster are depicted. These images are 70-75 cm high, and all stand on cloud motifs as a frontal pose, wearing garments similar to those of the images of the Surakamdong tomb. The constellations are depicted on the ceiling with about 6 cm red dots.

The third tomb is the Seogokri tomb, known to have been constructed in 1352. This tomb is located in northern Gyeoggi, close to Gaeseong. Due to regional proximity, the Seogokri tomb seems to share the styles of mural with King Gongmin’s tomb (Hyeolleung), although there is 20 year gap between the two. Since the dates of the tombs are all in the 14th century, the Seogokri tomb and the two above tombs accordingly share many of the same basic elements, however at the same time, the Seogokri tomb differs slightly in its stylistic forms, such as the garments worn by the animals. The garments that the twelve figures wear have a straight collar and no attachments, while the figures of the other examples wear garments with round collars. [fig.4.3.6.] The headgear pieces are also shaped differently. The figures of the Seogokri tomb mural wear a soft type of hat-like hood, unlike the crown-shaped headgear present in the Surakamdong tomb and King Gongmin’s tomb murals.

All three of these tombs are all located in north and central Korea. They share many common features except for some differences in some details. The similarities and differences of the tomb murals provide some clues to understanding the formation and

345 Due to geographic proximity, Suragam-dong and the king Gongmin’s tombs in Gaeseong area are much more similar to each other than to the Seogok-ri tomb. For example, Han (2005) and Jung (2001) pointed out the differences in the garments of the animals in their articles.
dissemination of culture within north and central Korea during the last half of the Goryeo period.

*The Development of the Twelve Calendrical Animal Motifs*

Although the process of the proliferation of the twelve calendrical animals in the tomb murals of Goryeo is quite clearly traceable, how and why the theme and style reappeared in funerary art in the Goryeo period is unknown. As noted earlier, when the twelve calendrical images first appeared in the Unified Silla, they had been represented as figurines for burial goods or on the panel stones surrounding tomb mounds, until the early Goryeo period. [fig.4.3.1.] However, the new styles, particularly the different details of the animals, strongly suggest that the images in the Goryeo tomb murals could not be entirely from the Silla tradition. For example, the styles of the twelve animals depicted as stone reliefs surrounding the tomb mounds in the Unified Silla and the early Goryeo period generally show human bodies with the heads of beasts (人身獸首), which is a typical characteristic of the Tang style. Their representations in the tomb murals of the last half of the Goryeo period, however, take on an entirely human form – human bodies with heads (人身人首), specifically that of literati-officials wearing the headgear identifying each animal. [fig.4.3.7.] We can find similar examples in China, at the latest in the late Tang dynasty, and in contemporary sarcophagi of the Goryeo as well. 346 [fig.4.3.8.] From this fact, we can assume that the adoption of the twelve

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346 Although the typical images of the twelve calendrical animals take human form with animal heads, various styles of the twelve animals were newly formed in the late Tang dynasty. The new styles include not only the forms of the animals (entire human form with or without animal attached headgears) but also their postures (profiles, standing and seating positions). Judy Chungwa Ho, “The Twelve Calendrical
directional motifs in Goryeo tomb murals was somewhat retrogressive since the twelve animal motifs were treated as secondary in contemporary tomb murals of the northern regions of the Asian continent, and even tended to disappear in funerary art. Why, then, was such a change not shown on the Korean peninsula?

We can find the answer by tracing the transmission of the late Tang style (which designates traditional styles in a broad sense) in China, and by assuming the route by which the late Tang tradition was introduced to the mural tomb patrons of Goryeo. With regards to this, there are two hypotheses on which way Goryeo culturally communicated with China. The first hypothesis is that the Tang style mural paintings were developed all over China and some of them possibly came to Goryeo not from the usual northern diplomatic route but through different routes such as a southern trade route. This assumption is based on the fact that existing communication routes were disturbed when the Liao lost its power over Northern Asia beginning in the 12th century. From that point, the Goryeo in the late period began to keep their distance from the Liao. Taking the first hypothesis as its premise, the second hypothesis theorizes that the Goryeo began to create a new relationship with the cultures of different areas in China. Since the traditional images were earlier abandoned in the Korean peninsula, the reappearance of traditional images, including the twelve calendrical animals in funerary art, can be considered as the

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influence of cultural trends from a different area. For example, the practice of antiquarianism that was especially popular in south China could be such an influence.\textsuperscript{347}

1) Adherence to Tang Culture in East Asia

The first hypothesis opposes previous scholarship because it negates the cultural influence of Chinese northern states on the formation of culture of the late Goryeo period. In previous scholarship, the twelve animals theme of the Goryeo tomb murals has been interpreted as evidence of the influence of the Five Dynasties and the Liao dynasty. For example, the images and their styles were believed to be disseminated to the Goryeo via the northern route, particularly through the Liao’s displaced people after its fall in 1125.\textsuperscript{348} However, although the icons of the twelve animals first appeared during the Han dynasty and were widely applied to funerary art thereafter, especially in the Tang period, they were not popular as a theme in tomb murals until the Five Dynasties period. Furthermore, the Chinese examples and the Goryeo tomb murals that were discussed in previous research are differentiated from each other in terms of times of production, mediums, and stylistic forms.

One of the earliest tombs of the Five Dynasties that has been discussed in previous research is Wang Chuzhi’s tomb located in Quyang, Hebei Province. [fig.4.3.9.] Wang Chuzhi’s tomb is well known for its embellished inner walls that comprise colored reliefs and mural paintings. In its ante-chamber, the reliefs of the twelve calendrical animals in human form appear on the upper walls below the ceiling, where constellations

\textsuperscript{347} Wu Hung ed., \textit{Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture} (Chicago, IL: Center for the Art of East Asia, Dept. of Art History, University of Chicago; Art Media Resources, 2010).

\textsuperscript{348} Han (2005): 174-180.
are depicted. Although the images of Wang Chuzhi’s tomb are similar to the ones of Goryeo tomb murals in terms of their medium – a tomb mural, and the human form of the animals, they are different in several stylistic aspects. First, the twelve animals of Wang Chuzhi’s tomb mural do not wear the animal-themed headgear commonly found in the Goryeo images. Instead, they either hold or stand beside their respective animal counterparts. Secondly, each image is represented separately, being encased in its own architectural image, whereas the Goryeo tomb murals are represented in a row. Thirdly, they are not located in the center of the walls, unlike the images of the Goryeo tomb murals.

Other frequently discussed examples of the Five Dynasties and Liao dynasty are the line drawings found on stone sarcophagi or tombstones. For instance, Feng Hui (894-952)’s tomb (constructed in 958) from Shaanxi Province is considered a good example of such due to its delicate representations.\(^{349}\) [fig.4.3.10.] The twelve animals are depicted in incised lines decorating the four edges of the tombstone. When considering the medium in which the images are represented, the location of the tomb, and the style of the image, the twelve animals of Feng Hui’s tombstone seem to be much more directly influenced by late Tang examples. However, they are stylistically closer to the Goryeo examples because the images are represented as literati-officials wearing animal headgear. The images of the twelve animals that take human forms with animal headgear became more popular as tombstone decoration in the Liao dynasty. In the Liao, the royal family and

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\(^{349}\) Xianyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 ed. *Wudai Feng Hui mu* 五代冯晖墓 (Feng Hui’s Tomb of the Five Dynasties) (Chungqing: Chungqing Chubanshe, 2001).
aristocrats of the central government were largely the ones who commissioned tombs and burial goods, just as in the Five Dynasties.  

The Chinese examples found in the Central Plain such as the Xuanhua Liao tomb in Hebei Province are in some aspects similar to the mid-12th century Goryeo tomb murals, as all of them take the twelve animal motifs as their main theme, or at least as an important subject, and both are drawn on the same medium and in similar styles. The styles and the themes of the murals and their dates are also similar to each other. Nevertheless, it is hard to see a direct relationship among these contemporary mural tombs of the Central Plains and the Goryeo tombs, due to still noticeable differences such as the locations of images in the tomb murals. These differences were possibly derived from the different cultures found in different areas and the social class of the tomb patrons. As discussed in Chapter 1, while Han Chinese, particularly local elites under Liao rule, largely favored certain themes and created their own styles in the mural tombs of the Central Plain, the Goryeo nobles of the contemporary period were much inclined towards the styles of Tang, Five Dynasties, and Liao aristocrat tombs in north China.

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353 Most of the patrons of Liao mural tombs of the Central Plain were Han Chinese officials who served the Liao government, not Khitan. Liu Haiwen ed., *Xuanhua Xiabali IIqu Liaomu bihua kaogu fajue baogao 宣化下八里 II 區 遼墓壁畫考古發掘報告 (Excavation Report about the Mural Tombs of the Liao Dynasty at the Second Borough of Xiabali in Xuanhua)* (Beijing: Wenwu, 2008), 1-9.
Despite these evident differences, all of the above mural tombs of north China and the Central Plains provide important clues to understanding the meaning of the twelve animal motifs of the mid-imperial period. It is noteworthy that these images still occupy an important part of the tomb murals in the Central Plains, as evidenced by the Xuanhua tomb mural, even though they mostly disappeared in the funerary art of north China. This phenomenon can be explained by the location – central China, where the images were created and popular before the middle imperial period. Although the images were adopted and adapted by north China during the Five Dynasties and the Liao dynasty, its tradition was much more strongly preserved as a local cultural feature in central China. This means that the images did not belong to a specific northern culture but rather a long-standing common culture among the East Asian states. On this speculation, northern examples of the twelve calendrical animals were not necessarily the sources from which the images of the Goryeo tomb murals came.

2) Cultural Sharing with South China

Based on the first hypothesis that outlines the conservative cultural tendencies of south China, I further investigate the political and geographic conditions of the southern Chinese states with which Goryeo actively communicated, and how these conditions affected the formation of a unique southern Chinese culture.

The southern states of the Ten Kingdoms, in contrast to the Five Dynasties of the North, had a political stance different from the northern states. While the northern states emphasized their autonomy in politics and intentionally utilized Tang culture to locate themselves in a position parallel to the Tang, the southern states identified themselves as
successors to Tang. Thus, Tang culture could be maintained with little opposition for a longer time in south China while being succeeded by the following state – the Southern Song.

Reflecting this unique stance, the tombs of south China of the mid-imperial period evince the traditional themes and styles of mural paintings popular in the Tang period. The Kang Mausoleums 康陵 (939), and the tombs of Wuyue State 吳越國 in Zhejiang Province, are such examples. In the cemetery, the tomb of Qian Yuanguan 錢元瓘 (887-941)’s concubine, Wu Hanyue 吳漢月 (912-952) has images of the four directional symbols on the upper walls, reliefs of the twelve calendrical animals in the center of the walls, and constellations on the ceiling. [fig.4.3.13.] The twelve animal images are similarly represented in Wang Chuzhi’s tomb: the human forms wear the garments of literati-officials and hold the animals that correspond to their respective identities. They also are encased in frames. [fig.4.3.14.] Given these two tombs, the twelve animal motif of the late Tang style seem to have been maintained in both the Five Dynasties in north and south China.

While Tang cultural elements were eclectically adopted in North China in the Liao dynasty, the southern states still faithfully maintained the tradition as a whole. Beginning in the 10th century, the Liao began to deviate from the funerary traditions of the Tang and established their own. For example, the painted wooden panel coffins of uncommon styles that were found in Kulunqi demonstrate that the Liao were beginning

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to develop their own style of funerary art. Along with this, traditional images of funerary art were almost abandoned or treated as secondary in north China thereafter.

Yet, we find that traditional images such as the twelve calendrical animals in the form of literati-officials wearing the headgear of animals, instead of holding animals still appeared in south China through the Southern Song. Two mural tombs of Fujian Province are examples of such. The first tomb located in Youxi County has a single rectangular chamber decorated with mural paintings and reliefs on its north and south walls. The decorative reliefs of this tomb are quite similar to the reliefs of the tomb of Wu Hanyue of the Wuyue State in terms of the combination of the four directional symbols and the twelve calendrical animals, as well as their composition on the walls. Another tomb found in Mayang of Youxi is even more interesting. Of its two chambers, the twelve animals and the four directional symbols are drawn on the rear chamber. The style of the twelve directional animal images and the use of paintings to represent the images instead of reliefs feature the Mayang tomb. Particularly, the twelve animals in this tomb appear as wearing animal headgear and standing above clouds like the images in King Gongmin’s tomb. However, the images of this particular style are hardly found in contemporary tombs in north and south China, but only in contemporary

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Korea. Due to these facts, the Mayang tomb seems to be related to the murals of Tang dynasty and of Goryeo tombs as well.

Along with the different cultural identifications of the states above, the geographic circumstances of each state possibly affected north and south China differently in the development of tomb murals. The southern area was less affected by the central power and was more secure from warfare. Consequently the area enjoyed economic prosperity as a center of domestic and international trade, with abundant material production. Thus, while the culture of the local elites began to form in south China, its upper class culture was less interrupted by the external influence of any political situation until the establishment of the Yuan.

How could knowledge of Tang funerary culture been shared between south China and the late Goryeo? One might expect a catalytic event that revived the tradition of Tang funerary art. The changed international political situation provides a clue. As the diplomatic relations between Goryeo and the northern Chinese states influenced the formation of funerary art in Goryeo in its early period, the situation since the 12th century may have influenced the funerary art of its late period. Due to the political tensions within Northeast Asia around the fall of Liao, Goryeo ended its existing diplomatic relations in order to keep a neutral stance among the various powers. Instead, Goryeo tried to foster a new relationship with different cultural entities in China. They chose the southern Chinese states.

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357 Also, these southern Chinese tombs followed the Tang tomb mural styles in composition of four directional symbols. [fig.4.3.18.]
The mural tombs of South China clearly exemplify the phenomenon that the traditional Tang culture remained longer in geographically and politically isolated regions. The Goryeo dynasty also voluntarily isolated itself while avoiding international conflicts, and thus, both south China and the northern and central regions of Korea were in similar situations around the 12th century. The northern routes used by Goryeo to communicate with China were closed due to the decline of the Liao, and for a quite long time Goryeo had only limited information on northern Chinese culture. During this period, Goryeo probably developed funerary art and visual art with its own cultural assets that definitely included the legacy of past interactions with south China, and possibly a shared preference for classical culture.

Last is the question of who mediated the cultural communication between the two areas. The answer can be found in new cultural routes. The Song merchants who were active in international trade began to deliver the culture of south China to Goryeo through sea routes. Indeed, Goryeo aristocrats ardently supported international trade, and were fond of imported goods. With a lively circulation of materials, southern Chinese cultural trends were transmitted to Goryeo, reaching its peak in the Yejong era (1079-1122). In the course of cultural communication, it is known that Daoism and related materials that were popular in China were also introduced to Goryeo, and were greatly welcomed by aristocrats.

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359 It is important to note that beginning in the reign period of the kings, Yejong 睿宗 (1079-1122 CE) and Injong 仁宗 (1109-1146 CE), hundreds of paintings and textual materials were imported from the Northern Song through private trade. Private trade started relatively late around Hyeonjong’s years as overseas trade was steadily developed through the Song government promotion of the exports to increase
4-3-2. Mural Tombs of the South Peninsula

In the southern part of Korea, distant from the capital of Goryeo, only two Goryeo mural tombs – the Dunmari tomb and the Bak Ik tomb – have been found so far. However, despite a small number of examples, their mural images are clearly differentiated from the ones of north-central Korea, and thus worth discussion. Of the two tombs, I will focus on the Bak Ik tomb mural that has similarities with Chinese tomb murals, particularly those of the Yuan period. I further discuss two issues of cultural sharing between the Goryeo and the Yuan: 1) how the Goryeo and the Yuan facilitated cultural relations with respect to artistic mediums, and 2) how extraneous cultural stimuli from the Yuan inspired the visual culture of the Korean peninsula, explaining changes in the pictorial arts of the late Goryeo period.

The Culture of the Late Goryeo Period and Yuan Influences

As noted earlier, the tomb murals of the first half of the Goryeo period were influenced by its neighboring countries or predecessors, and the tomb murals of the north-central region of the Korean peninsula of the last half of the period were constructed with styles revived from the old traditions of East Asian funerary culture. Thus, most tomb murals of...
this period have constellations on the ceiling and twelve animals or four directional symbols on the walls, with both themes generally believed to have been bequeathed from preceding Korean polities, the Goguryeo and Silla, who were under the influence of Tang China.

Goryeo mural tombs, however, showed remarkable changes after the Yuan invasion of 1231. While the mural tombs adorned with twelve animals were popular in the north and central regions of the peninsula, the tombs of unique forms and features that are different from the north-central peninsula styles appeared in the south. Such southern examples include the Dunmari tomb in Geochang, Gyeongnam, and the Bak Ik tomb in Milyang, Gyeongnam.

The Dunmari tomb murals include the image of “Heavenly Maids Playing Music” that refers to famous Buddhist imagery – aspara. This image has a long tradition in Buddhist mural paintings, as seen in the Dunhuang murals from periods earlier than the Tang. [fig.4.3.19] They often decorated the Tang and Liao tomb murals as a sub-theme.360 [fig.4.3.20.] Thus, the images of the heavenly maids of the Dunmari tomb murals can be interpreted as additional evidence of the fact that the themes of tomb murals of earlier periods were revived in later periods, beginning in the 12th century in the northern and central regions of the Korean peninsula.

Among all the Goryeo tomb murals of the peninsula, the Bak Ik tomb murals are the most compelling due to their unique subject matter and execution. Surprisingly, the Bak Ik tomb murals incorporate entirely new styles and themes that cannot be discussed

360 However, there still existed differences in the details of the images of the Dunmari tomb mural and the Tang tomb murals. In particular, the garments and hairstyles of the figures in the Dunmari tomb murals are not observed in the Tang tomb murals, and they seem more to reflect local styles.
through the general understanding of the Goryeo tombs of the north and central regions of the peninsula. The Bak Ik tomb murals display various themes such as attendants offering food to their master, horses and horse grooms, and ink paintings of bamboo, plum trees, and rocks, in the literati-painting style. At the time of its construction, such thematic combinations were not known in Korea. Occasionally, pine trees and bamboo were seen in some early Goryeo royal tombs in the Gaeseong area as discussed with the Hyeolleung mural in Section 4-2, but the stylistic forms were different from the Bak Ik mural paintings. The emergence of images of figures, flowers, and rocks in the Bak Ik tomb in South Korea was somewhat sudden, although the subject matter itself was not new in China.

The similarities of contemporary Chinese tomb murals and the Bak Ik tomb mural reflect a cultural phenomenon of the late Goryeo period. The international trade maintained between the Chinese states and Goryeo throughout history will provide clues for understanding the cultural exchange. As discussed in Section 4-3-1, after the fall of the Liao, trade through the northern overland route began to decline. The Jin, the new conqueror of north and central China, rarely permitted private trade, and official trade was strained because of sharp diplomatic conflicts between the Southern Song and Goryeo.\[361\] Therefore, direct communication between north China and Goryeo seemed to

\[361\] The relation of trade with the Jin is controversial. On the one hand, trade with the Jin was quite active during the duration of the Jin government. Haejong Jeon, *Hanguk gwangyesa yeongu* (History of the International Relations of Korea) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1984), 46-47; On the other hand, such relations were interpreted as mere a political spin and thus would have had limitations on the cultural exchanges. Cheolmin Jeong, “Goryeo hugi hoehwa – unsandoreul jungsimeuro 고려 후기 회화 – 운산도를 중심으로 (The Paintings of the Late Goryeo Period – Focusing on Unsan-do),” *The Art History Journal*, Vol. 22, no.1 (2001): 65-95; In terms of private trade rather than official trade, trade on the Northern border was not significant, as much of the southern seaport trade was with the Song. Jinhan Lee, “Goryeo sidae songsang muyeokui jaejomyeong 고려 시대 송상무역 재조명 (Revisit the Trade of the
be not as active after the fall of the Liao, and cultural exchanges with the Northern states were almost suspended until the Yuan period.362

Instead, from its early years, the Goryeo maintained a relationship with Song merchants, mostly from south China, through private trade that was patronized by the Goryeo’s royal families and the social elite. Although trade goods were not limited to certain items of specific regions, the patrons of the late Goryeo definitely had a preference for products related to Buddhism and the literati culture that flourished in

Song Merchant in the Goryeo Dynasty),” Yeoksaggyouk 歴史教育 (Journal of Education of History), Vol. 104 (Seoul: Yeoksaggyouk yeonguhoe, 2007): 49-82. This assertion was supported by the historical record of the Goryeo dynasty;

As the king made a huge ship taking wood timber from Yeong-am (one of southern seaports of the Peninsula) and tried to interchange with the Song, the officials remonstrated, “Since (our) state already made good relationship with Qidan (Liao), there are no threatening on the borders and the people can really enjoy their life: this is the best strategy for security of the state. Furthermore, it has been a long time since we had cultural prosperity and the commercial ships continuously enter so that we already have all kinds of precious goods and luxuries. If you really don’t want to rupture the relationship with Qidan, it is better not to make the relationship with the Song.”… In the chapter of “Sega 世家,” in Goryeosa 高麗史, 12th year of the king Munjong 文宗 (1058).

362 Visual culture was occasionally brought into Goryeo by inflows of craftsmen. While fleeing from political turbulence, many migrants of the Northern states came into Goryeo and made livings through the patronage of the Goryeo government. This migration was frequently occurred at Northern border of Goryeo throughout dynasty. David Robinson, Empire’s Twilight: Northeast Asia under the Mongols (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009); it is also known that the Goryeo was a society open to Chinese immigrants from Qidan 契丹, Nužhen 女真 and Bohai (K: Balhae) 海. In particular, the Goryeo welcomed a group of Liao people including many craftsmen when they immigrated to Goryeo. The situation that from which the Liao migrants flew into Goryeo is outlined in Goryeo dogyeong (Xu Jing served for Huizong).

This reads:

Goryeo has (people with) good workmanship in craft-making and all of them belong to governmental department such as the Office of Official Garments (Bokdoo-so 僕頭所) and Office of Architecture (Jangjak-gam 將作監). Their official garment is white grass cloth and a black hat. Only when they take over the official works, the government gives them red clothes. According to what I heard, of tens of thousands Qidan who surrendered, ones who have mastery techniques (of craftsmen) are one tenth, so (Goryeo) let them stay at the court. These days, the utensils and clothes came to be elaborated, but they are too gaudy and too much fabricated and the (sense of) simplicity and honesty cannot be recovered. Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091-1153), the article of “Goinggi-jo 工技條 (craft and technique)” in gwon 19 of “Minseo 民庶 (Populace),” in Goryeo dogyeong.
Moreover, recent studies suggest that northern products produced in Jin territory as well as technical skills were also introduced to Goryeo society. For example, northern style ceramics were circulated in South China through the domestic market, and then were transmitted to Goryeo through a southern seaport such as Mingzhou, one of the major gateways for Chinese exports.

During the Yuan period, the objects of international trade between China and Korea became more diverse in their sources and varieties. This was an extension of the active domestic trade of China, which was promoted by a vigorous product circulation all over the continent after the unification of the Yuan, in which the demand for southern products in north China drastically increased. For example, the Yuan court and central officials based in the north were ardent in their adoption of southern culture, while some local southern elites demonstrated their turn to the Yuan government by adopting the cultural elements of the north. As discussed in Chapter 2, such processes brought about the development of mediums such as the themes of woodblock prints, and the visual idioms of different cultures such as the various decorative motifs and images that became widely available. Accordingly, these cultural features were disseminated and integrated

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363 Jinhan Lee, Ibid.
364 For example, the ceramics of north China are known to have influenced Goryeo ceramics from decorative motifs and techniques to firing techniques throughout the period. Qin Dashu, transl. by Youngmi Kim, “Song·Geumdae bukbangjiyeok jagiui sanggam gongyewa Goryeo sanggamjagiui gwangye 송금대 북방지역의 상감공예와 고려 상감자기의 관계 (Inlay Technique in North China of the Song and Jin Periods and Its Relationship with Goryeo Inlay Celadon),” _Journal of Art History_, Vol. 7 (1998): 45-76; Namwon Jang, “10-12segi Goryeowa Yo·Geum dojaeu gyoryu 10-12 세기 고려와 요금 도자의 교류 (The Relations of Ceramics between the Liao, Jin, and the Goryeo Dynasty in 10th-12th century),” _Misulsahak 美術史學 (Studies of Art History)_ , Vol. 23 (Seoul: Hanguk misulsa gyoyuk hakhoe, 2009): 171-203.
all over China, with the integrated culture eventually being disseminated to all of East Asia, including the Goryeo, during the Yuan period.

The new styles of mural tombs in the late Goryeo period must be interpreted in this broad context of cultural sharing in East Asia. This also explains why the Bak Ik tomb murals seem to be more closely related to the Yuan dynasty version of mural tombs that evolved from their precursors, the Song–Jin tombs.

*The Historical Background of Bak Ik Tomb and Previous Scholarship*

As shown by the similarities with the Song-Jin-Yuan tomb murals, the Bak Ik tomb mural suggests the ways in which the culture of the late Goryeo period was formed through interacting with the Yuan Empire of China.

In 2000, an early Joseon mural tomb was uncovered in Milyang, Gyeongnam Province, in South Korea, located about 56 km southeast of Daegu. [map.7] The tomb is named after the occupant, Bak Ik (1332-1398), who lived during the late Goryeo period under Yuan rule. While serving the Goryeo court as a devoted official, Bak Ik became acquainted with the royal family in Gaeseong, as well as the Yuan officials who maintained a close relationship with the Goryeo court. When the Joseon was established and the Goryeo was overthrown, Bak Ik refused official positions in the new regime and died with the honor of being one of the *Seventy-two Recluses in Dumundong* 杜門洞七十二賢.366 During the rest of his life, he resisted the Joseon court and remained

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366 Seventy-two figures resisted the establishment of the Joseon for loyalty to the Goryeo. Since they lived together in Dumundong 杜門洞, now in the Gaeseong area of North Korea, “Dumundong” appear in much later literature as a symbol of the loyalty.
loval to Goryeo. His tomb is known to have been built by his son in the early 15th century, and the tomb murals are more similar to Yuan tomb murals than typical Goryeo tomb murals. As Bak Ik had lived most of his life in Gaeseong, he must have been familiar with Yuan culture, and even if he had not ordered the tomb for himself, his family is also thought to have been quite familiar with Yuan culture.

Bak Ik’s tomb, made of granite, has a single rectangular chamber of 235cm by 90cm by 80cm, with a northeast-southwest orientation. The chamber is too small for painters to stand and work, so the paintings seem to have been drawn on the walls first and then covered with a panel for the stone ceiling. In the tomb chamber, there is an epitaph, a wooden coffin that fills the tomb space, and the corpse that rests in the coffin. The four walls of the chamber were plastered and then painted with ink and colors. By the time the tomb murals were accidently found, all four walls and the ceiling were already seriously damaged by robberies and rainwater, and only parts of the paintings on the south, east, and west walls survived. The paintings are grouped into three thematic categories whose combination has never been found before in the tomb murals of the Korean peninsula; they are the “Tea Offering Procession”, “Horses and Horse Drivers”, and “Plum Tree, Bamboo and Rock”. [fig.4.3.21a.]

367 From the epitaph found in his tomb, the tomb occupant was confirmed as Bak Ik, but the discrepancy between the dates of his death from a historical record (1398CE) and the epitaph (1420CE), has cast doubts. Kim explains that the present Bak Ik tomb is the second tomb that his son constructed when the Goryeo loyalists including Bak Ik regained honor through the Joseon king’s acknowledgement. Gwangcheol Kim, “Yeomal seoncho Song-eun Bak Ik ui saeng-ae: Joseon geongukgwa nakhyang inmul ui han sarye 여말선초 송은 박익의 생애: 조선 건국과 낙향 인물의 한 사례 (Song-eun Bak Ik’s Life from the Late Goryeo to Early Joseon Period: Establishment of the Joseon Dynasty and an example of rusticating figures),” Gogo yeoksa hakji 考古歷史學志 (Journal of Archaeological and Historical Studies), Vol. 17, 18 (Dong-A University, 2002): 87-115.

368 For the sake of convenience, the tomb is generally considered as placed on a north-south axis. Ahn (2002).
Despite the unique features of its mural paintings, Bak Ik’s tomb has rarely been discussed in scholarship because it has been considered an irregular form with no correlation to contemporary funerary culture. Namely, Bak Ik’s tomb mural has both conventional and contemporary elements. Scholars, however, have selectively adopted these coexisting features in their interpretations of Bak Ik’s tomb mural. Some focus on its traditional motifs, while others only analyze the new elements to assess the identity of Bak Ik’s tomb. Nevertheless, scholars essentially agree that Bak Ik’s tomb mural developed out of the long established mural tomb tradition of the peninsula, and that the details of the garments and the hairstyles of the human figures reflect the reality of everyday life in Goryeo. Among previous research, there are two noteworthy articles clearly showing how Bak Ik’s tomb has been interpreted and how it can be further accessed from the perspective of cultural exchange in East Asia.

Ahn Hui-jun and Han Junghee are the authors of these two articles. Ahn’s article (Ahn, 2000) is significant in providing valuable preliminary information on Bak Ik’s tomb as well as outlining a basic methodology for interpreting the tomb’s mural painting. In the first in-depth research on Bak Ik’s tomb, based on her own excavation, Ahn describes the details of the mural painting and tries to explain them within the framework of the Goguryeo (BC 37 – AD 668) tradition. With a strong interest in the generic

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elements of Korean culture, Ahn believes that the mural painting depicts the Korean ethnicity of the Goryeo people, the immediate heirs to the Goguryeo. For example, Ahn suggests that the images of the offering procession and the horses with their grooms, which have a long history in funerary art, are simply examples from former dynasties. About other motifs of the mural painting such as images of a plum tree, a rock, and bamboo never appear in tomb murals of former period, Ahn interprets them as a new trend in Korean painting. These flower and tree motifs became more popular in East Asia, as each metaphorically indicated the virtues of gentlemen. Ahn suggests that they were intentionally drawn to symbolize Bak Ik’s loyalty to the Goryeo court. However, at this point, Ahn digresses from her original stance, not explaining how these new motifs could have been adapted and adopted to the existing tradition. Ahn emphasizes the inherent features of Korean mural tombs, but overlooks extraneous elements in funerary art in the Goryeo period.

In fact, both authors maintain that Bak Ik’s tomb murals were somewhat influenced by Chinese culture, although to different degrees. Most of Ahn’s analysis relies on the traditionalist perspective that is generally applied to studies of Goguryeo mural tombs, although to a certain extent Ahn suggests that there is a relationship with Liao tomb murals in terms of the subject matter of the mural. However, since many tombs of the Song, Jin, and Yuan from the 11th to 14th centuries that show close similarities to Bak Ik’s tomb were discovered in China, Ahn’s theory leaves many issues unresolved, specifically in terms of mural themes and the stylistic forms of images. While

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371 Ahn (2002); Hui-joon Ahn, “Paju Seogok-ri Goryeo gobun byeokhwa 파주 서곡리 고분 벽화 (Mural Tomb of the Goryeo Dynasty at Seogok-ri in Paju),” in Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu 한국 회회사 연구 (Studies on Korean Paintings) (Soeul: Sigongs, 2002), 252-64; Han (2005).
Ahn focuses on Korean originality, Han stresses its Chinese influences. While comparing mural tombs in China and Korea, Han (Han, 2005) first contends that Bak Ik’s tomb murals resemble Jin-Yuan tomb mural themes and styles. Nevertheless, Han hardly discusses the probable Chinese archetypes, or how such motifs found their way into Bak Ik’s mural.

These two articles attempt to outline the relationship of Bak Ik’s tomb with other examples, as well as underscoring its significance in the visual culture of Goryeo, but neither discusses how the images of the tomb murals were developed or who would have actually executed the murals. In terms of the origin of the mural paintings, scholars have generally taken for granted that Bak Ik’s tomb was typical of mural tombs of Goryeo, and that the images of figures and their attributes reflect Goryeo culture. However, as already discussed, we cannot be certain of this assumption because tomb murals only reflect a limited extent of reality, and similar types of tombs have not yet been discovered on the peninsula.

*Figural Images*

When compared to Song-Jin and Yuan decorated tombs, the mural of Bak Ik’s tomb refers to the pattern pool of popular images that was created and popular in the Song-Jin period and disseminated in the Yuan period of China. Since Bak Ik’s tomb is the only example that shows unique murals in Korea, it is hard to tell whether the pattern pool was also popular in the Goryeo period. However, the images of common styles and themes of the tomb murals of different periods and areas provide a fresh perspective for viewing the
tomb mural images as evidence of cultural communication within the broader Northeast Asian realm.

On each of the east and west walls are three groups of male and female figures holding offerings in a procession toward the north wall, where the image of the tomb occupant is supposed to exist. Among the six groups of people, only two groups remain intact and the others are partially or entirely damaged. Each group consists of four people making a triangular composition. The composition itself is more traditional than the painting style of the figures, reminding us of Tang imperial mural paintings such as those in the tomb of Prince Yide (682-701), or the images of Takamatsuzuka 高松塚 (late 7th century-early 8th century) in Japan.\(^{372}\) [fig.4.3.22. and 4.3.23a, b.] The women in the mural wear long red and white garments that are closed at the right side. Their hair is tied under both ears in a round shape, and they have headgear. Each holds a basket, a hat, a jar, and a small utensil for a tea ceremony, except for the woman who looks like the leader of the group.\(^{373}\) [fig.4.3.21b.] The men in other images, although severely damaged, also wear white and red garments that are also closed at the right side. They are wearing official or Mongolian hats, and they are holding utensils for an offering, just as the female servants do. The utensils that people hold show that they are preparing for a tea ceremony:

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\(^{373}\) From Xu Jing’s depiction in *Goryeo dogyeong*, the utensils the attendants are holding are commonly used in brewing tea:

凡宴則烹於庭中 覆以銀荷 徐步而進... 館中 以紅俎 布列茶具於其中 而以紅紗巾羃之.

This reads:

Generally, when are in banquet, (they - attendants) serve tea. After brewing in the palace garden, they cover it with a small lotus-shaped silver plate and then get it into the building…. Inside of a building they set a red plate for the utensils and covered them with red silk cloth. Xu Jing, the article “Dajo 茶俎 (Tea Utensils),” in *Gimyeong 器皿 (Utensils), gwon 32, Goryeo dogyeong*. 

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ceremony, but the occasion is unclear. Lastly, two horses and two grooms on the south
wall face each other while holding bridles. [fig.4.3.21c.] The grooms, done in typical line
drawings of ink, have young faces with round-shaped tied hair. They wear Mongolian
hats with tassels, and their clothes are different from the servants on the east and west
walls, indicating their special occupation as servants accompanying the masters’ going
out.

In previous research, images of human figures have been considered a kind of
painting genre unique to the Goryeo period due to their vivid expressions, based on the
premise that the paintings were drawn from an actual observation of the subject.374 Ahn
(2002) and Han (2005), however, interpret this scene as a procession for a ritual offering
(***gongyang-do** 供養圖) or a Buddhist tea ceremony (**jinda-do** 進茶圖), while linking the
object images in the murals with historical records about tea ceremony utensils from
**Seonhwa bongsa Goryeo dogyeong** 宣和奉使高麗圖經, which illustrates many products
and customs of Goryeo culture.375

However, the seriously damaged north wall prevents us from judging what is
occurring in the place where the images of figures are heading towards, as well as the
purpose of their procession. It is also unclear if the mural even depicts a Buddhist event
because tea offerings were not limited to Buddhist rituals in the Goryeo period and there
is no specific images related to Buddhism in the murals.376

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374 Most of scholars have analyzed Bak Ik’s tomb murals based on the premise that images are a kind of
genre painting of the early Joseon period.
375 The lotus flower and the Swastika (卍) motifs that decorated a soul stone (honyuseok 魂遊石) which
was excavated in the tomb is suggested as another example showing that the mural painting is related to
the Buddhist ritual, although the tomb mural and the burial goods have no connection.
376 When judging from the illustrations of **Shilin guangji**, the servant who holds the T-shaped pole seems to
serve his master, not to participate in a ritual procession. The servants and maids are possibly following
As most Yuan mural tombs have the images of a master and his attendants as the main theme, the assumption about the existence of an image of a master figure on Bak Ik’s tomb mural is certainly plausible, but the specific way in which they were related is still unknown.\(^{377}\) The damaged painting on the north wall possibly depicted the subject of attendants’ offerings as most Chinese examples did. For example, most tomb murals of north and central China have images of tomb occupants or banquet scenes, which were visual strategies to distinguish the ruler of a tomb space while suggesting the hierarchy of the master and his attendants.\(^{378}\) Additionally, many objects that the figures hold are typical of attendants. For example, the T-shaped pole is known as a garment rest for the master’s clothes, which consequently indicates the existence of a master nearby. A jar and small table are also thought to be household utensils for serving the tomb master in a banquet.\(^{379}\)

If the Goryeo tomb murals indeed resemble Yuan tomb murals, how could such patterns be shared in China and Korea? A direct influx of craftsmen from China or the importation of construction materials, for example, could not be the answers. This is because as discussed in Chapter 1, the decorated tombs and their specific styles were

\(^{377}\) For a discussion of the portraits of tomb occupants in the Yuan mural tombs, see, Steinhardt (2007).

\(^{378}\) See Chapter 1 and 3

\(^{379}\) A similar scene in which the servants and maids are standing around the master to serve is depicted in Haedong yeoksa, a history book compiled in the Joseon dynasty. In the chapter of the Goryeo history, it records:

…富家藉以大席 侍婢傍列 各執巾甁 雖咸暑不以爲苦也…

This reads:

“…A wealthy household spreads a mat and lines the servants and maids while letting each of them hold a hat and jar. Even in a scorching day, the servants do not feel it painful…” in the article of “uimul 儀物(clothing)” of gwon 20, yeji 禮志 (etiquettes) 3 in Han Chiyun 韓致奫 (1765-1814), Haedong yeoksa 海東繹史 (History of Korean Peninsula).
based on the skills and resources provided by local technicians and products. Furthermore, funerary customs were hardly transmittable to this remote region. Rather, it is important to note again, as Chapter 2 addresses, there could be a popular pattern pool of which use was not limited to tomb murals, but which extended to the realm of arts and crafts such as ceramic decorations.

The application of the same images and motifs on different mediums produced in areas distant to each other imply that the pattern pool was circulated widely, through domestic and international trade. The material articles that relayed the images to distant regions probably included major mass-produced mediums such as ceramics, fabrics, and woodblock prints. Among them, woodblock prints with illustrations, in particular, seemed to be the representative source from which the people of Goryeo acquired Chinese popular images along with textual knowledge. For example, as being printed and viewed by people over time, some images in illustrations were patterned and thus recognized as visual idioms representing particular messages or stories. This further facilitated the reproduction of such images.

We can further apply this general speculation on the dissemination of a pattern pool to the relationship between Bak Ik’s tomb and the Yuan tombs. As evidence, the illustrations of *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, an encyclopedia of the Yuan dynasty which contains images of popular products as well as depictions of the daily lives of people,

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380 Books, paintings, and calligraphies constantly flew in Goryeo through official exchange and private trade. In particular, the books that the Goryeo people imported from China varied from novels to encyclopedia which highly likely contained illustrations. Dongik Jang, *Songdae Goryeo jaryo jiprok* 宋代高麗資料集録 (Collection of Historical Records on the Goryeo dynasty in the Song Period) (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 2000), 343-540.

381 Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 comp. *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, the Yuan period (14th century edition) (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1999).
exhibit the potential use of a pattern pool. Of the many images of *Shilin guangji*, the attendants exactly correspond to those in the tomb murals – a man holding a T-shaped pole, and a woman holding a hat in her hand. [fig.4.3.26a, b.] In terms of the styles, as well as the composition and combination of the image of the master and his attendants, this illustration is similar to that of the Bak Ik tomb murals.

With the exception of the missing image of the tomb occupant, the style of the attendant images of Bak Ik’s tomb mural is similar to that of contemporary Chinese tomb murals, such as, the Zhengjiazhuang tomb, in Shandong Province and the illustration of *Shilin guangji*.382 [fig.4.3.24, 25.] Although in the composition, Bak Ik’s tomb mural slightly differs from other examples, the details of the attendant images, specifically their props such as the T-shaped sticks, suggest a strong connection with the Chinese examples. The similarities among these images suggest that such visual idioms were shared in Northeast Asia, and that the selective adoption of other cultures necessarily entailed adaptation.383

The images of the horse and the horse grooms on the south mural of Bak Ik’s tomb are, likewise, interpreted as evidence of shared popular images in Northeast Asia. Since the images of the horse and horse groom in Bak Ik’s tomb mural are different from the ones of styles typical of previous tomb murals in China and Korea, where this subject was most favored, it is easily assumed that the images were acquired from contemporary

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383 Some scholars have argued that the attire of the attendant images in the Bak Ik tomb shows that Yuan style clothes and hairstyles were actually popular among Goryeo people. However, even though the upper class tried to emulate Yuan upper class due to political reasons, there was no proper reason for the lower classes to abandon their customs to follow an unfamiliar foreign culture.
sources.\(^\text{384}\) For instance, in Bak Ik’s tomb mural, the groom is grabbing a bridle while keeping his body close to the horse. These styles of horses and grooms were first noted in the tomb murals of the Five Dynasties in China, and popular in the Liao dynasty and thereafter.\(^\text{385}\) Due to the time discrepancy, we cannot find the influence of the Five Dynasties and the Liao dynasty. Contrarily, images of the horses and grooms of the Jin, Xixia, and Yuan, as seen in tomb murals and decorations on wooden coffins, show a contemporaneity with the images of Bak Ik’s tomb mural.\(^\text{fig.4.3.28.}\)

Although the horse and horse groom images in Bak Ik’s mural are less sophisticated than the images of the above-mentioned Chinese tomb murals, including the Beiyukou Yuan Tomb at Wenshui in Shanxi,\(^\text{386}\) the groom’s attire exactly corresponds with the popular representation of horse riders, particularly through the appearance of a round-brimmed hat with a bowl-shaped top (K: balip 鉢笠), and a left-side opening (左衽) garment.\(^\text{387}\) We can find similar examples in the many images of ceramic figurines for burial and tomb murals that were made in various places in the Yuan dynasty. For example, the burial model of a horse and groom excavated in Shanxi is very similar to the images of Bak Ik’s tomb mural, except for only a few details.\(^\text{fig.4.3.30.}\) This groom’s attire has been known to be the best evidence for proving that the Yuan influenced this

\(^{384}\) Although the subject matter of the horse and groom is consistently featured in tomb murals, alluding to a preparation for the soul’s journey or a procession of the tomb occupant, their representations gradually changed in detail through the periods. Furthermore, as time went by their images became less important in tomb murals as the grand procession scenes had no significance in mural program. The different sizes and location of the images clearly show they are secondary subject matter.

\(^{385}\) In Tang images, horses are mostly represented individually, and even if grooms are drawn together they keep a distance. For example, see, [fig.4.3.29.].


\(^{387}\) Right side opened upper garments was typical in the Goryeo period. Yongjae Kim, “Bak Ik myo byeokhwa e natanan boksik yeongu 밖의 모 벽화에 나타난 복식 연구 (Study on the Costumes Appeared on the Bak Ik’s Tomb Murals),” \textit{Boksik munhwa 복식문화 (Culture of Korean costumes)} (Seoul: Hanguk boksikmunhwahakhoe, 2001): 5-11.
painting. Based on historical facts, Yuan fashion was popular in Goryeo, and vice-versa. Even if the images depicted real Goryeo grooms, these types of popular images must have been the result of reproductions and barely required creativity in their formations.

In terms of horse drawings, Bak Ik’s tomb murals are quite similar to Yuan dynasty images as well. The caricatured expression of the horse, the proportion of the body and head, and especially the flying hair at the back of the horse’s hoofs were characteristics rarely seen before the Yuan period, whereas the horses in the Yuan sources usually have such features. [fig.4.3.31.] This must have resulted from the reproduction of popular images in Goryeo styles as well. Thus, we may conclude that the horses and horse groom images of Bak Ik’s tomb mural also show the sharing of visual culture in East Asia, and the selective adoption and adaptation of different cultural features and innovations.

*Images of Plum Trees, Bamboo, and Rocks*

On the east and west walls of the Bak Ik tomb, bamboo with rocks and plum trees are depicted. [fig.4.3.21d.] Although the damage to the walls obscures the complete composition, judging from the surviving drawings, they are drawn on four parts of each wall, at both ends of and between the groups of figures.

The *three wintry friends* motif of Bak Ik’s tomb mural is noteworthy in terms of its style and finish, as the images resemble an ink painting. The symbolism of these motifs and the painting style have drawn more scholarly interest than other images,
because they are considered to be an example of literati paintings of the Goryeo period, of which we now have no other remains.388

The unique painting style of the three wintry friends motifs was believed to reflect the popularity of literati painting in the late Goryeo period. The social status of the tomb occupant, Bak Ik, as a scholar-official was also considered another reason for including these motifs in literati’s taste in tomb murals. It is true that literati paintings were popular among scholars in the late Goryeo period, and by this time much literature and many theories about literati painting were imported from China and actively circulated among scholars.389

However, when investigating who actually produced the tomb murals and why theses images came into the tomb space, we encounter a different issue; can we discuss the three wintry friends motifs of tomb murals in the discourse of literati paintings? There is no evidence that scholar-painters participated in the making of such tomb paintings, and craftsmen would still be in full control of such works. Because the literati paintings were so called because of the social status and level of education of the painters, as well

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388 These motifs represent the noble spirit of scholars. The motif set generally consists of a plum tree, bamboo and a pine tree, which resist to the cold winter that is a metaphor for trials. The one in Bak Ik’s tomb is a little different from this original set as a leitmotif of literati paintings that has a pine tree instead of a rock. Although the mural of Hyeolleung, the tomb of the King Taejo discussed in the Section 4-2, shows the same subject matter, its motifs were represented in bird-and-flower painting styles that is differentiated from the ink-painting styles of the ones in Bak Ik’s tomb mural.

389 The Chinese paintings were circulated not only in the court but also among the nobles, officials and even wealthy families. Sometimes eunuchs greedily searched and seized the Chinese paintings of the wealthy families under feigned royal commands. Pertaining to this action, in record of the 19th year of the king Uijong 毅宗 (1665), Goryosa 高麗史 (History of the Goryeo) records an interesting situation:

…內侍左右番爭獻珍玩 時右番多紈袴子因宦者以聖旨 多索公私珍玩書畫等物…

This reads:

“…the court officials of Right and Left Parties competitively offered precious and luxury goods (to the king). In this period, the Right Party consisted of many people from rich families, so they let eunuchs to search precious objects, calligraphy, and paintings that were concealed in all places by the order of king…”

in the article “sega 世家 (noble families)” of gwon 18 in Goryosa 高麗史.
as the purpose of the painting rather than its subject matter,\footnote{Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), a Ming dynasty critic who redefined the meaning of literati paintings, clearly stated that the literati painting is not valued by the representation – surface beauty, but rather by the painter (literatus)’s erudition. This standard for the painter and painting was codified over the period and venerated by the scholars of East Asia. See, Dong Qichang, *Huayan 畫眼* (repr. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1964-1975).} it is dubious how much Bak Ik’s tomb mural was related to real literati paintings.

If the theory that tomb murals in this period of East Asia were produced based on an existing pattern pool is valid, all the images of Bak Ik’s tomb demonstrate that such images prevailed in the Goryeo period as visual idioms of a highly cultivated society. By the same token, the *three wintry friends* motif could be understood as another borrowing of popular motifs that reflect the tastes of a certain social class, and not the taste of individuals who could exclusively access and enjoy such visual material. In this perspective, the images of Bak Ik’s tomb mural make three important points.

The first point is that the literati painting motifs found in Bak Ik’s tomb mural demonstrate the role of popular mediums in the proliferation of images throughout northeast Asia. The images of literati paintings were widely used as decorative motifs in various crafts and paintings in China. For instance, various shaped decorative images are commonly found in Cizhou ware produced in the Northern Song to Yuan period.\footnote{Cizhou ware is frequently referred to as a huge pattern pool of numerous popular motifs for art and decoration: flower motifs, fairy tales and even landscape related to the literati painting. For a discussion of this and related images, see: Zhang Ziyng, *Cizhouyao cizhen 磁州窯陶枕* (Ceramic Pillows of Cizhou kiln) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000); Zhao Xuefeng, *Zhongguo cizhouyao 中國 磁州窯* (Cizhou Kiln of China) (Zhongqing: Zhongqing chubanshe, 2004).}

Second, since a tomb represents a residence for the afterlife, the flower and rock images within a tomb implies that tomb patrons took pleasure in those visual images in daily life spaces.\footnote{The anthologies of the late Goryeo period such as Li Gyubo 李奎報 (1168-1241CE)’s *Dongguk isanggukjip 東國李相國集* (Accounts Written by Yi Gyubo of the Goryeo) and Choi Ja 崔澈 (1188-}
of a house suggest that flower and tree images were popular for screen paintings. For example, the Yuan mural tomb at Zhuozhou in Hebei Province shows how these images were applied to a popular painting medium and were perceived by viewers in daily life spaces.\textsuperscript{393} [fig.4.3.33.] This cultural trend was popular in Korea and changed significantly the manner for appreciating images. Along with other changes in medium and motif, the manner in which pictorial representations incorporated space was changed.

Lastly, the images of the Bak Ik’s tomb mural provide a clue to understanding why most traditional motifs disappeared in the tomb murals of Korea and Northeast Asia. The significance of such images in the visual culture of this period is the decline of mural tomb culture, or even further, the disfavor towards traditional forms of grandeur in the decorative arts. As one of the representative examples of traditional decorative art is the mural on architecture, murals had long been treated as an important medium. The major function of their visuals was not merely to aesthetically decorate an object, but also to create spatial illusions for its viewers.\textsuperscript{394} However, the appearance of “frames” in murals, which clearly separate paintings from reality, negated the function of images that created

\textsuperscript{1260CE}’s \textit{Bohanjip} 补閑集 (Supplementary Accounts to \textit{Pahanjip}), reveal that the screen medium and bamboo paintings were most popular among the literati. Additionally, in a few remains of Goryeo pictorial art, the sharing of the same motifs in various mediums also existed in Goryeo visual culture; The painting of the \textit{three wintry friends} and its woodblock printed version housed in Myomanji 妙滿寺, attributed to the painter Hae Ae 海涯 (act. the late Goryeo period) of the Goryeo dynasty demonstrate the popularity of this theme. [fig.4.3.34.]

\textsuperscript{393} Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所, “Hebei Zhuozhou Yuandai bihuamu 河北涿州元代壁畵墓 (Mural Tomb of the Yuan Dynasty at Zhuozhou in Hebei Province),” \textit{Wenwu} 3 (2004): 42-60. For another example, see, “Jinanshi lichengqu SongYuan bihuamu 濟南市歷城區宋元壁畵墓 (Mural tombs of the Song and Yuan Dynasty at Licheng in Jinan),” \textit{Wenwu} 11 (2005): 49-71.

\textsuperscript{394} Jessica Rawson notes that the major function of tomb murals is to define the space while representing the imaginary world where the tomb occupant would live or depart after death. Jessica Rawson, “Changes in the Representation of Life and the Afterlife as Illustrated by the Contents of Tombs of the T’ang and Sung periods,” in \textit{Arts of Song and Yuan} ed. M. Hearn and J. Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996); “Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China between the Han and Tang Periods,” in \textit{Han Tang zhijian wenhua yishu de hudong yu jiaorong} (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period) ed. Wu Hung (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001).
spatial illusions. This was the most phenomenal change that occurred in traditional pictorial compositions.

Based on the three conclusions drawn from the *three wintry friends* motifs in Bak Ik’s tomb murals, we can conclude that they were not supposed to reflect Bak Ik’s status as a literatus. Rather they reveal that visual culture was drastically changed in terms of its functions as well as its association with the real world.

*Bak Ik’s Tomb Mural and New Pictorial Trend in Northeast Asia*

Focusing on the spatial relations of murals and images, in particular, their proportion, and the existence of frames, we can better understand Bak Ik’s tomb mural in the context of visual culture. First of all, it is noteworthy that the human figures in the images are relatively small and that the painting technique that they display is not sophisticated, compared to the images of the *three wintry friends*. This discrepancy suggests that the images of the two themes were either based on different sources or drawn by different painters. This pastiche that contains a mixture of different styles alludes to a lack of guidelines and order, often called the “mural program” in tomb mural production of the time.

Secondly, the band of wavy lines (also known as a vine motif) on the top of Bak Ik’s mural appears to indicate a general format of two-dimensional visual representation – frame. Such a setup was a basic technique in most of paintings that had spatial property in mediums such as murals and ceramic crafts. Even if the decorative band of Bak Ik’s

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tomb mural was not meant to be a picture frame, the painters seemingly practiced it for decorative purposes as they did in other works. The frames function not only to enclose the image but also to specially delimit a space for the creation of an entity, and to separate the illusion from the real space. Additionally, this setting lets viewers clearly see the boundary between fantasy and reality, which confirms that the images are merely objects of appreciation, not an illusionistic world like the netherworld.

The development of frames in pictorial art contributed to changes in the meaning of tomb murals. In the beginning, the frames were represented with thick black lines or screen-like objects. The frames evolved from simple black band type lines to various frames that were noted in different types of arts and crafts. For example, the Yuan tomb of Xingxian, Shanxi Province shows frames of hanging scrolls in mural paintings. [fig.4.3.37.] As the example demonstrates, the themes depicted in the frames of tomb murals include popular painting motifs such as landscapes or flower-and-bird motifs, as well as the image of attendants preparing a banquet scene which was thought to be an exclusive theme for tomb murals. The horse image depicted on the hanging scroll frame is generally interpreted as a representation of one of the famous painting themes in the Yuan period, but we cannot rule out the possibility that this image is a modified representation of the traditional image of horses and horse grooms in tomb murals. Furthermore, in the frames, the attendant images were not dealt with as a servant residing...

396 Fort the close relationship between the development of popular images and tomb murals, see Jan Wirgin, “Ceramic Designs and Their Relation to Painting,” in Chinese Painting and the Decorative Style ed. Margaret Medley (London: University of London; Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art; School of Oriental and African Studies, 1975), 22-38; also see, Chapter 2-1.
397 “Shanxi xingxian hongyucun Yuan zhida’er nian bihuamu 山西興縣紅峪村元至大二年壁畵墓 (Mural Tomb of the Yuan Dynasty in the Second Year of Zhida at Xing County in Shanxi Province),” Wenwu 2 (2011): 40-46.
in the tomb space to serve the master but as a subject of representation, which means that they do not exist as a part of funerary symbolism.

In previous scholarship, however, this decorative band of wavy lines has long been interpreted as a representation of an architectural structure – a timber-frame, which is meant to situate the tomb occupant in an interior space. [fig.4.3.38.] Furthermore, the band has been believed to symbolically function as a boundary which divides heaven and earth, and also a supporting structure for the ceiling, where the celestial world was generally represented. In this conventional perspective, in which all motifs and images comprise a visual setting for the tomb occupant’s afterlife, it is hard to assess what kind of space Bak Ik’s tomb mural exactly represents. The tomb space is set as an interior space of a residential building with a timber-frame, but the decorative band contradicts the images of flowers and trees of the three wintry friends motifs that generally denote an exterior space.398 Such contradictory spatial meanings are resolved when we simply regard the motifs and images as decorations or resemblances of paintings. For example, if the decorative band is considered as a painting frame that was possibly drawn on the murals of actual living space, then the figural images will be interpreted as passing by walls.399

A Jin dynasty polychrome sarcophagus supports the above speculation that funerary art lost its unique status in visual art and began to be dealt with as crafts.

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398 We discussed the same issue regarding the Song-Jin tomb murals. See, Chapter 1.
399 Ahn interpreted the decorative band of the upper mural as the symbolic line dividing the living spaces and celestial world while comparing this image to the rinceaux motifs of the Deokhuengri tomb mural of the Goguryeo period. It is still in doubt whether the symbolic and ritualistic meaning of the motifs were handed down in the Bak Ik tomb murals because there is a thousand years gap between the two examples. Hui-joon Ahn, *Hangukui misulgwa munhwa* 한국의 미술과 문화 (Art and Culture of Korea) (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000), 579-604.
[fig.4.3.39.] A Jin dynasty polychrome stone sarcophagus shows a painting that depict two male and female servants, each holding a teacup and a jar on both sides of a red colored door. The sarcophagus cover is depicted as a roof against which servants are standing and the side of the roof-shaped cover is decorated with the wavy line decorated band also seen in Bak Ik’s tomb mural. As a complete depiction of one scene, the decorative band in the painting merely functions as a frame. This frame turns the servants into the images that belong to the sarcophagus, which were separated from the real world. These kinds of decorative frames have no function of imposing spatial hierarchy as they did in the tomb spaces of previous periods, but rather only confirm that the images in the frame are visual creatures. Even if the decorative band were not intended to be a picture frame, the viewers possibly perceived this decoration as a cognitive frame that separated the images and pictorial scenes from the real world.

In summary, as the use of images expanded, other types of works and their decorations influenced the productions of tomb. Due to the increase of image production, the traditional meaning and function of images changed, and the visual value of tomb mural paintings changed as well. In the culture of consumption of visual materials, they were treated as luxury goods. A seemingly sudden appearance of the new styles and themes in the Goryeo tomb murals clearly states that the general trend of funerary art in Northeast Asia was shared in Goryeo society.

400 Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, Ritual Objects and Early Buddhist Art (Brussels: Gisele Croes, 2004), 128-129.
401 The changes of the images of the tomb murals are interpreted as related to the decrease of burial goods. The dissemination of moderate burials caused the decrease of burial goods so that tomb murals replaced the functions of burial goods, which were usually prepared for the living necessities of the deceased, while the burial goods and other pictorial representations including tomb murals have their own function in previous periods. The Song and Jin period tombs discussed in previous chapters also evidence this assumption: these tombs are characterized by the rarity of burial goods and the appearance of the images of burial good in tomb murals.
4-4. Conclusion

Tomb mural not has been treated mere a painting, but rather ritualistic art such that their symbolic images and motifs represent concepts pertaining to the death and afterlife. In this perspective, the implications of tomb murals were limited only to their ritualistic functional properties. Recently discovered mural tombs from the Liao through Yuan periods, however, reveal a different aspect of funerary art, which is much closer to the everyday life reflecting the cultural and educational level of patrons. This aspect could also help us understand how the patrons of this particular period consumed visual materials.

Based on the discussion in Chapter 1 through 3, this chapter further broadens the perspective of seeing tomb murals as historical evidence showing how the countries of Northeast Asia culturally communicated via visual idioms. Focusing on mural tombs outside China – Korean mural tombs from the 10th to 14th centuries, this chapter investigates the similarities and differences between the tomb murals of these two different areas. I categorize Goryeo mural tombs chronologically and geographically, and then compare them with contemporary Chinese mural tombs.

Section 4-1 examines general circumstances surrounding mural tomb construction in China and Korea for understanding the historical background. As addressed in previous chapters, Chinese mural tombs since the middle imperial period, which started roughly in the 10th century, differentiated themselves from their predecessors in that they eagerly reflected popular pictorial art. In a close relationship with China, Goryeo took the
same cultural path with many states in China, and this finally brought about changes in
funerary and burial customs.

In Section 4-2, I investigate the mural tombs of the first half of Goryeo period,
those constructed before the 12th century. The mural tombs in this period show
significant changes from those of the Goguryeo dynasty that had a distinguished mural
tomb culture on the Korean peninsula. Unlike the mural tombs of the Goguryeo period
that show a strong influence from Han dynasty tombs, the early Goryeo mural tombs
evolved from the aristocrats’ culture, which was widespread in northern states of China
until the Liao period.

This aristocratic culture of Northeast Asia was rooted in late Tang culture. When
the Tang collapsed, its aristocratic culture, including tomb mural culture in the Central
Plains, was disseminated to and newly settled in the northern area through the migration
of aristocrats. Based on the legacy of the Tang, the various cultures of the northern states
of East Asia including Goryeo formed new cultures that were exclusively shared among
the upper classes of those states. Therefore, the Goryeo tomb murals of this time show
the popular painting styles of north China, which succeeded Tang court paintings. For
example, in Hyeolleung, the mausoleum of King Taejo, the murals depict images of pine
trees, plum trees, and bamboo in decorative art styles that had long been developed in
Tang Flower–and–Bird paintings.

Lastly, Section 4-3 discusses mural tombs of the last half of the period beginning
in the 12th century, as well as Goryeo’s with cultural exchanges with China. In this
period, the Goryeo government established a new relationship with the Song, Jin, and
Yuan. As political situations changed through the periods, the Goryeo government
managed different types of relationships with the various Chinese states. On the one hand, when the domestic situation in China was chaotic, Goryeo kept a political distance from the states. Consequently, commercial trade through maritime routes from south China functioned as a new channel for cultural communication and sharing. On the other hand, after the Yuan unified China and started to interfere in Goryeo’s domestic affairs, Goryeo’s upper class came to have a close relationship with the Yuan government. This historical phase in the last half of the Goryeo period resulted in the formation of two unique types of Goryeo mural tombs.

One of the two types is featured by reappearance of the images of the twelve calendrical animals as a main theme of the tomb murals in north-central Korea near Gaegyeong, long after its initial introduction to the Korean peninsula during the Silla period. On the other hand, flower and tree motifs featuring the tomb murals of the first half of the period disappeared. This seems to reflect the cultural influx from south China, which maintained a long tradition of funerary art, and were relatively less influenced by the culture of central China.

Simultaneously, a different type of mural tomb appeared in the southern regions of the Korean peninsula. The subject matter of this tomb was again daily life scenes but in a style totally different from that of the Goguryeo tomb murals. For example, Bak Ik’s tomb bears a markedly strong resemblance to the tombs of the Jin and Yuan. The banquet scenes and theme of the *Three Friends of Winter* that were common in contemporary mural tombs of China are also observed in Bak Ik’s tomb murals. From the similarities between Bak Ik’s tomb mural and its contemporary Chinese tomb murals, we can
understand how the cultures of different regions communicated with each other, and confirm that the visual cultural sources were shared as ways of cultural communication.
CONCLUSION

Tomb murals are excellent vehicles for examining the visual culture of East Asia. Not only do they contain rare images that demonstrate the development of the pictorial art of a certain period, but they also suggest how such pictorial art was perceived and utilized in the physical and perceptual contexts of real life, as mirrored in the images of the afterlife. Specifically, favored by the upper and middle classes, tombs with murals were produced from at least as early as the Western Han until approximately the early Ming dynasty in China. Numerous unique tomb murals that belonged to a number of different dynasties, cultures, and areas are acknowledged as having enriched our knowledge of the visual culture of the pre-modern historical periods of East Asia.

Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to explore the transformations undergone by the visual culture of East Asia in the late mid-imperial period, one of the last phases of the development of decorated tombs, between the 11th and 13th centuries. The main subject of this research – Song-Jin tombs, were found in hundreds of excavated examples found in Southern Shanxi and Northern Henan provinces, lavishly decorated with unique images of a variety of themes, although in a fairly narrow spectrum of scale and quality. Although these decorated tombs were only popular among the middle class or the local elites of this period, their unparalleled number, regional convergence, and most importantly, the unique techniques and styles used to create the tomb murals delivered an important message in visual culture.

In this work, I maintained the assumption that Song society was mature enough that a modern shift could occur in its visual culture, and that the images produced in and
right after this period give indications about certain broad developments, such as the mass production of images, the development of mediums, and the consequent creation of popular styles and themes for images. These changes stemmed from the situation and context that such popular art was produced in China, and in regard to that, this is when the foundation for the modern production and consumption of images was formed. Through this perspective, I focused on the material properties of visual productions and their social interplay with their users. Specifically with examples from Song-Jin tombs, I attempted to ascertain the relationship between images and material consumption while also delving into the consumerism evident in tomb construction, adoption, and adaptation, as well as in the proliferation of the images of murals. Lastly, I hoped to answer the question of how pictorial art, rooted in ritual and canonical codes, experienced changes in form and meaning as a “commodity” through the expansion of its use.

The first three chapters of this dissertation were directed towards defining my argument concretely. In Chapter 1, I thoroughly investigated Song-Jin tombs to provide a basic overview of the relationship between the production of visual materials and their broader social function. Particularly, I explained how social and environmental circumstances influenced the development of the physical characteristics of Song-Jin tombs. I began this chapter by analyzing and classifying five representative local types of Song-Jin tombs. I further noted that although the tombs share many features, enough as to be a category unto themselves (Song-Jin tombs), they at the same time differ from each other in certain details according to specific conditions such as date of creation and region. Then, I discussed how the development of Song-Jin tombs in the Central Plain was closely related to the rise of local elites. Through the emulation and adoption of the
funerary customs of the traditional elite class, the architectural and mural forms of Song-Jin tombs reflect well the social position and social aspirations of its patrons.

Following the first chapter that highlighted the consumption of tombs, Chapter 2 discussed the production of tombs, detailing how the development of popular mediums and popular visual sources influenced the creation of Song-Jin tomb styles. Based on the same subject matter and methods of image production as other popular mediums such as ceramics and woodblock prints, we can easily recognize that Song-Jin tombs were also produced and treated as another popular visual material of the time. The development of these art mediums can be considered quintessential in the development and proliferation of the mass production of images, increasing the availability of an idiom for social communication.

In this chapter, I first attempted to clarify the function of images as visual idioms in the context of daily life, departing from the emphasis on funerary symbolism present in previous studies. The images of tomb spaces, which resembled that of real life, demonstrate that the utilization of images became a part of daily activities. None of the images of figures and their ancillary props used to decorate motifs on various parts of the pseudo-timber frames in murals remained in their funerary context. They were also represented on objects that were secular and had mundane uses. Even images that referred to Confucian ideology or Daoist beliefs obtained popular styles. This means that those images, which were once based on abstruse theories and thus were only understood by people with a certain level of education or social status, started to be appreciated by a wider range of people who were constantly exposed to such images in their everyday lives.
In Chapter 3, I focused on the regional sharing of tomb styles and their dissemination to other regions in conjunction with the circulation of mass-produced images. Although Song-Jin tombs in general share many similarities as discussed in Chapter 1, they also show a few different styles by region, through their selection of construction materials and images. By analyzing these different styles, I tried to demonstrate that the formation of a regional style implied a small regional boundary circumscribed by the balance of supply and demand in the market. However, such a regional style was not entirely closed. There was still the sharing of popular visual elements between neighboring regions, creating in a broad sense a temporal “trend”. To elaborate this argument, I demonstrated how geographic conditions and historical events affected regional economies and how the “agents” – consumers and artisans – played important roles in the cultural dissemination of mercantilism and consumerism.

Lastly, in concluding the discussion developed in the first three chapters, in Chapter 4, I attempted to apply the theory of cultural dissemination through markets to the theory of cultural communication among different countries through international trade. The assumption on which this chapter is based is the idea that if commercial activities contribute to cultural dissemination, then the different commercial relationships between East Asian states in different periods must have affected the development of their visual culture. To concretize this theory, first I thoroughly investigated certain examples: the decorated tombs of the Goryeo dynasty of Korea, which coexisted with various Chinese states such as the Liao, the Northern and Southern Song, the Jin, and the Yuan from the 10th to 14th centuries. Then, by comparing the decorated tombs of China and Korea over these four centuries and by going through their commercial relationship, I
attempted to see if cultural dissemination was influenced by economic relationships and trade policies.

The last chapter is not a mere extension of the main discussion. It also has significance in itself in the answering of the question of how the cultural relationship between Big China and its neighboring states was formed in the pre-modern period. Previous research has only focused on the ways in which (Han) Chinese culture was adopted and adapted by its neighboring states, including Goryeo, Korea, through sinicization. Rather, I argued against this one-sided theory of cultural dissemination, noting that there was a robust cultural sharing in East Asia, spurred on through the use of visual idioms based on mass production and consumption, as well as the circulation of images in East Asia.

Throughout the four chapters, I aimed to establish that Song-Jin tombs demonstrate that socio-structural limitations, which exist in all societies, influenced and even controlled the evolution of visual culture. For example, the most characteristic features of Song-Jin tombs resulted from conflicts and compromises between the social desires of agents such as patrons, artisans, consumers, and sellers as well as the limitations imposed by their various social statuses. Through the same line of reasoning, I argued against the theory that the Song-Jin tomb was mere visual evidence of specific notions about life and death, or that the mural images are visual representations of details decided by strong-willed agents, based on their rationality and intellectuality. Rather, I assumed that there was an invariable social principle or power that influenced the decision-making process of agents. This is especially true for the middle class, the main agents in the evolution of Song-Jin tombs, who were constantly affected by explicit and
implicit social regulations and principles. The Song and Jin are not the only periods that can be discussed with this perspective. In fact, this peculiar utilization of art by the middle classes is well noted in all historical societies, from the Han dynasty in China to the present world. However, noting the sheer scale of their cultural activities, I believe that the large scope of the phenomenon of Song-Jin tomb construction, which is evinced by the number of tombs, the distinct social identity of the consumers, and their evident impact on society and the economy – illustrate well such unseen powers ruling the creation and utilization of images or visual materials.

To conclude, it becomes clear that in the development of the visual art/culture of pre-modern China, we cannot but help to return to the discourse of structuralism that posits the fact that cultural activities and production are decided and created within a certain invariant structure or system. It is not surprising that even a contemporary structuralist, such as Pierre Bourdieu could analyze a similar milieu in the middlebrow cultural activities of French society of the 1960s and 70s, which has valid similarities with the consumption of images seen in the decorated tombs of the Song and Jin periods.402 From this perspective, unlike the general belief that the mural images of Song-Jin tombs genuinely reflect the tomb patrons’ daily lives, their personal tastes, or their

---

402 Through a series of books and articles, Bourdieu argues that various cultural activities such as taking photographs or going to museums, which are considered as a reflection of personal tastes are, in fact, results of education, and that they function as a mechanism that sustains the social hierarchy and which makes people identify their positions in society. Additionally, in his book, Distinction, he explains that the peculiar pattern of each class’ activities reveals the relationship between structure and agency, which is invariably, a power relation. Pierre Bourdieu, Alain Darbel, and Dominique Schnapper, The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public, trans. Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990); Pierre Bourdieu et al. Photography, a Middle-brow Art, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990); Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).
ideology, such images are actually concealing and distorting the truth of their visual representations. The tomb murals only glamorized the desire of the patrons to sustain or elevate their status in society through the utilization of pictorial idioms. Therefore, rather than just identifying the individual images in the murals, I have focused on their materiality, medium, and peculiar methods of material production, consumption, and circulation, which reveal much more about the actual function and meaning of the images in society. Ultimately, I have attempted to demonstrate that the social significance of visual materials within the rigid hierarchical societies of pre-modern East Asia, and images and image consumption reinforced social structure and order.
Table 1. List of Five Types of Song-Jin Tombs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb &amp; Features</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Tomb Structure &amp; Chamber Size</th>
<th>Decorating Method</th>
<th>Decoration Motifs</th>
<th>Burials</th>
<th>Similar Examples (titles of excavation reports)</th>
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</table>
| Baisha tomb: a tomb of earliest type of which decoration focuses on mural painting | 1099 CE, Late Northern Song period | Baisha, Henan Province | Double Chamber  
Ante chamber (square): 1.84 x 2.28 x 3.85 m  
Rear chamber (hexagonal): 1.26 x 1.2 x 2.6 m | Mural paintings & partially brick reliefs | Timber frame of wooden architecture, daily life scenes, flowers and geometric motifs for decorations | Skeletons of a man and a woman (tomb occupants), coins, pieces of ceramic wares, stone tablet for land deed | N/A |
| Heishangoucun tomb: mostly decorated with mural painting | 1097 CE, Late Northern Song period | Dengfeng, Henan Province | Single Chamber (octagonal)  
Each side of the floor: 0.8m, diameter: 2.45 m, height: 3.3 m | Mural paintings | Timber frame of wooden architecture, daily life scenes, images from twenty four filial piety stories, images of Buddha and immortals | No burials  
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tomb Location</th>
<th>Date, Dynasty</th>
<th>Coffin Type</th>
<th>Artwork Description</th>
<th>Archaeological Findings</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Xiaoguancun tomb</td>
<td>1174 CE, Jin dynasty</td>
<td>Single Chamber with an auxiliary space (square)</td>
<td>Mural paintings and brick reliefs</td>
<td>Timber frame of wooden architecture, daily life scene focusing on a banquet and food preparation, flowers, images from twenty-four filial piety stories, constellations and lotus flower on ceiling</td>
<td>Not discussed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xilin-dongzhuangcun tomb</td>
<td>Mid-Jin dynasty</td>
<td>Single Chamber (octagonal)</td>
<td>Brick reliefs and colors</td>
<td>Timber frame of wooden architecture, small flowery motifs, images from twenty-four filial piety stories</td>
<td>Skeletons for four people, various ceramic wares for daily uses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Macun tombs (No. 1 ~No. 5, No. 8): relief tombs made throughout the Song and Jin dynasties</td>
<td>Late Northern Song and Jin dynasties</td>
<td>Single Chamber (square/rectangular)</td>
<td>Brick reliefs and colors</td>
<td>Timber frame of wooden architecture, select daily life scenes (tomb occupants’ banquet scene and entertainers – zaju and music performers), images from twenty-four filial piety stories, various decorative motifs (flowers, children, eight immortals)</td>
<td>Many similar examples in Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjusuo, Pingyang Jinmu Zhuandiao (Brick Carving in the Tombs of the Jin Dynasty in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1999).</td>
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Table 2. List of Twenty-four Stories of Filial Piety in the Song and Jin Dynasties

Xilindongzhuangcun Tomb (See, 1-1-4.)


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<td>1 大舜象耕</td>
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<td>舜子親□山□□</td>
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<td>2 來兒息</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>Lao Laizi</td>
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<td>3 鄭尾埋子</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 潼永賃身</td>
<td>Southwest</td>
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<td>...思葬</td>
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<td>5 閔子忍寒</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Min Zijian</td>
<td>閔子騫行孝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 曹氏覺痛</td>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>Zengzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 孟宗冬筍</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Mengzong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 蕭天芹</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Liu Yan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 王祥冰魚</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Wang Xiang</td>
<td>王相臥冰為母[求魚]</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 姜詩泉鯉</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Jiang Shi</td>
<td>姜詩行孝</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 蔡順分椹</td>
<td>West</td>
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<td>蔡順為母采椹</td>
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<td>鮑山背母□[熟]</td>
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<td>Han Boyu</td>
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* 2, 5, 6, 15, 17, 19, 22 stories are also shown in Wu Liang shrine of Eastern Han dynasty.

* 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 17, 22, stories are also shown in the mural of Helin ge'er tomb of Eastern Han dynasty.403

403 Chen Yongzhi and Heitian Zhang eds, Helin ge'er hanmu bihua xiaozizhuantu jilu 和林格爾漢墓壁畫孝子傳圖輯錄 (Collected Record of Images of the Stories of Filial Sons in Helin ge'er Han Dynasty Tomb) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 4-10

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