Beyond Silk: A Re-Evaluation Of Jin Painting (1115 - 1234)

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Beyond Silk: A Re-Evaluation Of Jin Painting (1115 - 1234)

Abstract
This dissertation is a study of painting from China's Jin dynasty (1115 – 1234). It presents a systematic analysis of painted works on silk, paper, and temple and tomb walls. Although the Jin dynasty lasted for 119 years, Jin painting is treated often as a footnote to the more highly revered painting of the Northern and Southern Song dynasties (960 – 1279). This marginalization is largely due to the lack of paintings on silk and paper which traditionally form the core of Chinese painting history, and is compounded further by the fact that the Jin was ruled by an ethnically non-Han group, the Jurchen. This dissertation establishes Jin painting as its own cultural phenomenon and seeks an understanding of Jin painting beyond silk. First, the dissertation suggests that in order to grasp the richness and diversity of Jin painting history, we must examine the interfaces between different painting contexts and cultures. Second, this dissertation proposes an alternate framework for understanding Jin painting based on geographic regions and centers of painting culture, rather than dynastic chronology. These arguments are outlined in four chapters The first chapter addresses paintings on silk and paper and brings together a core group of Jin landscape paintings. The second chapter examines tomb murals and how northern funerary painting traditions were preserved and permutated in Jin China. The third chapter examines the twelfth century temple hall murals at Yanshansi and highlights the murals' place as a crossroads between regional painting idioms and courtly painting. Finally, the fourth chapter examines landscape murals from Yulin Cave 3 created under the Xia state (1038 – 1227) and suggests that there was a shared visual culture in twelfth-to-thirteenth-century north and northwestern China. This shared visual culture allows Jin and Xia painting to be viewed within a framework that does not revolve around the dichotomy of Northern and Southern Song court and literati painting. In doing so, this dissertation situates Jin painters as central, active participants in Chinese painting history and demonstrates the flourishing of painting beyond silk and paper under Jurchen rule.

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BEYOND SILK: A RE-EVALUATION OF JIN PAINTING (1115 – 1234)

Gabrielle J. Niu

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in

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ABSTRACT

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Gabrielle J. Niu
Nancy S. Steinhardt

This dissertation is a study of painting from China’s Jin 金 dynasty (1115 – 1234). It presents a systematic analysis of painted works on silk, paper, and temple and tomb walls. Although the Jin dynasty lasted for 119 years, Jin painting is treated often as a footnote to the more highly revered painting of the Northern and Southern Song dynasties (960 – 1279). This marginalization is largely due to the lack of paintings on silk and paper which traditionally form the core of Chinese painting history, and is compounded further by the fact that the Jin was ruled by an ethnically non-Han group, the Jurchen. This dissertation establishes Jin painting as its own cultural phenomenon and seeks an understanding of Jin painting beyond silk. First, the dissertation suggests that in order to grasp the richness and diversity of Jin painting history, we must examine the interfaces between different painting contexts and cultures. Second, this dissertation proposes an alternate framework for understanding Jin painting based on geographic regions and centers of painting culture, rather than dynastic chronology. These arguments are outlined in four chapters The first chapter addresses paintings on silk and paper and brings together a core group of Jin landscape paintings. The second chapter examines tomb murals and how northern funerary painting traditions were preserved and permutated in
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Introduction

This dissertation is a study of painting from China’s Jin 金 dynasty (1115 – 1234). It analyzes Jin paintings on silk, paper, and the walls of temple halls and tombs. Due to the small number of Jin paintings on silk and paper, Jin painting history has been relatively neglected. However, as excavations in north China over the past several decades have revealed more dated Jin tombs with murals, the body of securely-dated Jin paintings has grown. By integrating tomb murals into Jin painting history alongside paintings on silk, paper, and temple walls, a larger and more diversified world of Jin painting emerges. Using this diversified body of Jin painting, this dissertation seeks to reconstruct the place of Jin painting in the larger trajectory of Chinese painting history and considers how Jin painters across social and cultural realms were active participants in shaping and preserving Chinese painting traditions.

In order to better understand Jin painting, it is necessary to diversify the body of works that we consider “painting” and also to examine the interfaces between these different painting contexts and cultures. Art historians who study China’s Middle Period (10th – 14th centuries) paintings generally focus on paintings on silk and paper produced by imperial courts and literati. In this dissertation, however, “painting” refers broadly to images created with a brush on silk, paper, and the walls of temple halls and excavated tombs. From the Middle Period until today, the level of scholarly appreciation for these different formats of painting has not been equal. Ink paintings on silk and paper have been highly regarded, collected, and studied. In the Northern Song dynasty (960 – 1127), which immediately preceded the Jin, scholar officials elevated the avocation of ink
painting to a gentlemanly practice akin to calligraphy, while painters were given official posts in the court’s painting academy. The Jin court did not have an official painting academy, but a short list of Jin painters is included in Xia Wenyan’s 夏文彥 fourteenth century catalogue of prominent painters, Tuhui Baojian 圖繪寶鑑 (The Precious Mirror of Paintings).\(^1\) Forty-three painters from the Jin were regarded as important enough to be listed, and it is apparent from their given specialties that this list consists of painters who worked primarily in ink on silk and paper.\(^2\) There is less written in Middle Period or earlier texts on mural painters, but it is known that some celebrated court painters also painted temple murals. For example, the Tang dynasty (618 – 907) figure painter Wu Daozi 吳道子 (act. 710 – 760) was celebrated for his paintings on temple walls.\(^3\) Additionally, some literati and monk painters were lauded in eleventh century writings for their unique methods for creating evocative landscape paintings on walls.\(^4\) However, almost nothing is written about the workshops of artisans and craftsmen who painted the walls of lavish tombs. The larger body of texts on ink painting on silk and paper is not


\(^{2}\) Deborah Del Gais Muller, “Hsia Wen-yan and His “T’u-hui pao-chien (Precious Mirror of Painting),” Ars Orientalis 18 (1988): 137. Del Gais Muller identified that the sources for juan 4 are based in part on two supplements to Deng Jun’s (act. 12\(^{th}\) century) Hua ji 畫記 [“Painting” Continued (preface dated 1167)], specifically Zhuang Si’s (act. late 13\(^{th}\) century) Hua ji bu yi 畫記補遺 [A Supplement to “Painting” Continued (completed 1298)] and a lost text by Zhen Dehui titled Xu hua ji 繼畫記 [A Sequel to “Painting” Continued].

\(^{3}\) For excerpts from Zhang Yanyuan’s (c. 847) Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記, see Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., Early Chinese Texts on Painting, 2\(^{nd}\) ed. (Hong Kong University Press: 2012) 55 – 56.

\(^{4}\) Shen Gua (1031 – 1095) wrote that Song Di (11\(^{th}\) century) advised, “You should first look for a damaged wall, and then stretch plain silk against it. Gaze at it day and night. When you have looked for a sufficient length of time, you will see through the silk the high and low parts, or curves and angles, on the surface of the wall, which will take on the appearance of landscape.” Bush and Shih, trans. Early Texts on Chinese Painting, 122. Guo Ruoxu (c. 1080) wrote of the monk Zezhen (early 11\(^{th}\) century), “… whenever he got drunk [he] would splatter ink onto silk or a whitewashed wall. When he sobered up he would add and fill in [until there were] a thousand shapes and myriad forms of the most extraordinary sort… Painters would pay homage to his inspired brush.” Bush and Shih, trans., Early Texts on Chinese Painting, 121.
surprising given that the elite, literate individuals who produced and collected ink painting were the same individuals who wrote and preserved the art historical texts – texts which continue to shape the field of Chinese art history even today. Take for example the important 1997 publication, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, to which the 20th century’s most prominent Chinese painting scholars contributed. In Richard Barnhart’s chapter on Five Dynasties and Song painting, there is only one image of a mural. The Khitan-ruled Liao 辽 (907 – 1125) and the Jurchen-ruled Jin dynasties are elided, as the Northern Song and Southern Song (1127 – 1279) chapter seamlessly transitions into a chapter on the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271 – 1368). As suggested by this dissertation’s title, *Beyond Silk*, in order to reconstruct the multivalent painting cultures of the Jin, it is necessary to look beyond the scholarly preference for ink paintings on silk and paper. Moreover, it is important to look beyond the ways that textual records artificially shape the history of Jin painting and examine the full body of painted materials which are available today.

The Jin was one of the major Chinese dynasties led by a non-Han ethnic group during the Middle Period. At its height, Jin territory encompassed north China’s plains and loess plateau, extending from Harbin in the east, to the border with the Xia 夏 state (1038 – 1227) in northwest Gansu province. The founders of the Jin dynasty were Jurchen, an ethnic group that originated from the forested mountains near present-day

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Heilongjiang province in northeast China. Neither sedentary agriculturalists like the Han Chinese in the south, nor pastoral nomads like the Khitan or Mongols to the west, the pre-dynastic Jurchen practiced a variety of hunting, fishing, and agriculturalist lifestyles, depending on the diverse landscapes in which they lived. In the tenth century, while subjects of the Liao empire, Jurchen tribes confederated under a man named Wugunai 烏古迺 of the powerful Wanyan 完顏 clan. In 1115, Wugunai’s grandson, Aguda 阿骨打 established the Jin dynasty. Aguda was successful in overthrowing the Liao dynasty in 1125, and then the Northern Song dynasty in the winter of 1126 – 1127.

The Jin ruled north China for 119 years, yet the cultural, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Jin dynasty are often framed as inferior to, or derivative of, those of Han-Chinese regimes. An emphasis on the “sinicization” of the Jurchen-ruled Jin dynasty in many scholarly works simplifies and minimizes the agency that individuals under Jin rule exercised in the adoption, adaptation, and development of Han Chinese practices. It allows for the formation of an art historical canon that offers a monolithic view of Middle Period Chinese cultures and civilizations by giving primacy to Han-ruled regimes and empires that unified China.

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8 See for example, Tao Jing-shen, The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China, A Study of Sinicization (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977) 83, 117. Tao Jing-shen’s concluding paragraph on the discussion of the Jurchen cultural revival under Shizong (r. 1161 – 1189) from The Jurchen in Twelfth Century China. Tao writes, “… the Jurchen were prisoners of Chinese tradition, with no alternative but to bow before its demands” (83). Although Tao writes an important and foundational early monograph on the politics and state formation of the Jin dynasty, his repeated use of the term “barbarian,” (eg. “Sino-barbarian relations,” 117) to describe the Jurchen and other northern groups perpetuates the idea of the Jurchen and the Jin dynasty as culturally inferior to the Song.
9 Specifically, I am referring here to the paucity of scholarship on the art of the Jin and Liao dynasties (907 – 1125), especially when compared with the amount of scholarship on the Northern Song, Southern Song, and Yuan dynasties.
It is undeniable that Jin painting follows in north Chinese painting traditions, particularly those established during the Northern Song. This is because, across north China, many of the same artisan workshops, families, and individual painters continued to engage in the regional painting traditions and cultures. The visual cultures and painting traditions of north China persisted even though a Jurchen emperor sat on the throne. The first through third chapters of this dissertation establishes the continuation into the Jin of this line of northern Chinese painting cultures via careful examination of paintings on silk, paper, and tomb and temple walls. The continuity of this established regional visual culture is essential to understanding the significance of the relationship between Jin painting and the Xia murals in Yulin 榆林 Cave 3 explored in the fourth chapter. It is in this chapter that I propose a regional-based framework, rather than dynastic chronology, as a way to reframe and approach Middle Period painting history. The term “Jin” is helpful because it marks the chronological period and geographic scope of this dissertation project. However, it is clear that north Chinese painting traditions and cultures developed and spread without regard for the dynastic chronologies that historians attempt to place upon them. By shifting our analytical framework to regional centers of painting culture in twelfth to thirteenth century north-northwestern China, and by considering the full spectrum of painting cultures outside of the elite literati and courtly circles, the Jin dynasty emerges an important moment in the development and continuation of north Chinese painting history.
Research Scope and Methodology

Over the past several decades, a few studies have directly addressed the unique developments made in Jin cultural, intellectual, and art history.\textsuperscript{10} The work of these scholars has been instrumental to establishing the fields of Jin visual and material culture. Several scholars have also specifically made great contributions to various aspects of Jin painting history. However, each of these works focuses primarily on either literati and court painting or funerary painting and funerary art. As such, these works are discussed and reviewed in the introductions to each of the individual chapters. There has not yet been a study which systematically integrates tomb and temple murals alongside paintings on silk and paper into the history and development of Jin painting. This dissertation analyzes paintings on silk, paper, and tomb and temple walls in order to gain a fuller understanding of the diversity, interconnectivity, and breadth of Jin painting.

One of the limiting factors of this dissertation is the lack of dated materials. As mentioned above, there are few paintings on silk or paper securely dated to the Jin. In the case of funerary murals, although there are dozens of tombs with murals which have been dated to the Song-Jin-Yuan period, the majority of the Jin tombs are dated by stylistic attributions, not by inscription. Moreover, there is only one Jin temple with murals that warrant stylistic, compositional, and iconographic comparison with ink or funerary painting.

As a way to reconcile the desire to understand Jin painting cultures within the limitations set by the small number of extant materials, this study approaches analysis of singular, disparate works as a way to construct a better understanding of the diversity of ways that Jin painters preserved and permutated north Chinese painting traditions. Specifically, this study seeks an interface or “visual vernacular” shared between paintings on silk, paper, and walls. In this dissertation, the phrase “visual vernacular” will be used to describe a structural system of visual representation that was shared by painters of twelfth to thirteenth century north China. For my purposes, a “visual vernacular” is specific to a region and a time, and also consists of a visual vocabulary (consisting of motifs, types of brushwork, references to past styles) governed by a visual syntax that places these elements into logical arrangements. I have chosen the term “visual vernacular” because this study will not be simply iconographic or semiotic in nature. In looking for a “visual vernacular,” I am not looking for a characteristic Jin “style” or “aesthetic,” as this type of inquiry would likely end up being essentializing and reductive. Moreover, I do not use the term “aesthetic” because the study will not focus on issues of philosophy, perception, or will of the artist. Instead, I look specifically for visual aspects of paintings that point to a larger structural system of design that is shared across painted media. Identifying a visual vernacular across paintings on tomb and temple walls and on silk and paper will demonstrate not only how Jin painters inherited and understood past traditions, but also how they developed and deviated from these established traditions.

11 This understanding of a visual vernacular is loosely informed by Otto Pächt’s ‘design principle’ (Gestaltungsprinzip), a concept that points to a “hidden logic that governs the structure of a picture … to grasp the design principle is to grasp the basic conceptions of time and space lying behind the work,” as described by Christopher S. Wood in the introduction of Pächt’s The Practice of Art History: Reflections on Method, (London: Harvey Miller, 1999) 11. Pächt’s ‘design principle’ seeks for a broader context or system that characterizes an artwork, such as framing devices, or relationships between horizontal and vertical components or foreground and background.
Outline of Dissertation

The first chapter addresses Jin paintings on silk and paper and brings together a core group of landscape paintings to establish a conventional baseline of “Jin painting.” Not only are there few paintings which can be confidently dated to the Jin dynasty, the reasoning and evidence used in dating paintings to the Jin dynasty is easily lost in the interdependent web of attributions. The first section of the chapter addresses the methods and criteria used by previous scholars who have worked to identify and characterize Jin painting over the past several decades. The second section of this chapter brings together the paintings that form the core landscape paintings on paper and silk dated to the Jin dynasty. This section examines why and how each painting attained a Jin attribution, the strength of the evidence supporting these attributions, and considers the paintings together as a group. I argue that north Chinese painting traditions neither declined in technical or stylistic quality under Jin rule, nor stopped evolving between the Northern Song and the Yuan.

The second chapter focuses on Jin tombs, many of which have been recently excavated and gone unstudied in the past several decades. Accompanying this chapter is an annotated and translated appendix of important Jin tombs with murals that have been published in Chinese archaeological journals. The chapter begins by introducing the common construction, layout, and thematic content of Jin tombs with murals. Using case studies drawn from recently excavated tombs, the topic of how tomb murals were funded and produced will also be addressed. The second part of the chapter focuses on a group of tombs from the Changzhi 長治 region of southern Shanxi, dated by inscription to a
seventy-three-year period from 1135 until 1208. This group of dated tomb murals reveals two important characteristics about Jin tombs. First, Jin tomb murals undeniably perpetuate the visual repertoire of regional north Chinese funerary mural traditions. Second, close analysis of these murals shows that, even when sample size is restricted by date and region, there is still a wide variety of painting quality and style produced by Jin tomb painters. The diversity of Jin tomb painting is used to demonstrate the continued flourishing of painting cultures on the regional and local scales. The results of this chapter show that in no way did the production of tomb painting under the Jin lack the diversity, creativity, or vitality of other Middle Period north Chinese painted tomb traditions.

The third chapter examines the murals from Yanshansi巖山寺, a temple complex in Shanxi province. The temple complex includes a hall dedicated to Manjusri, inside of which are murals dated to 1167. This chapter first investigates inscriptions from the Manjusri Hall as well as on steles found at the Yanshansi site, both of which are relevant to the Jin period murals. Next, each of the two large narrative murals on the east and west walls of the Manjusri Hall are systematically analyzed, inscriptions are translated, and specific narrative episodes are identified. This section also demonstrates a number of stylistic and iconographic similarities between Jin tomb, scroll, and temple painting. Additionally, shared painting techniques, such as the application of parallel perspective and use of jiehua 界畫, a style of painting executed with measuring devices used to depict buildings and other structures, are examined. This chapter also touches upon the ways that the culture of popular drama was intertwined with the narrative content of the murals, especially the west wall mural depicting the story of Hāritī, the demon mother 鬼
子母（guizimu）。The Yanshansi murals provide an exemplary instance in which the worlds of local painting craftsmen and court painters of the Jin met to reflect not only the techniques and styles of the trained courtly brush, but also contemporary, local painting idioms and the culture of popular drama.

The fourth chapter examines a larger twelfth to thirteenth century visual network which was shared across north and northwest China, taking the landscape murals of Cave 3 from the Yulin Caves 榆林窟 in Gansu as a case study. This chapter examines compositional, stylistic, and technical features of the Jin landscape painting tradition found in the northwestern Chinese deserts of Guazhou, Gansu. The painting style, technique, composition, and landscapes of Yulin Cave 3’s west wall murals depicting Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra are examined in detail and related to the corpus of Jin painting. This chapter suggests that instead of relying on the dichotomy between Northern Song and Southern Song court and literati painting to understand the twelfth to thirteenth century painting history of north China, an alternate framework based on north-northwestern Chinese urban and artistic centers can be used to re-frame and understand Jin and Xia painting.
Chapter 1 Addressing Jin Paintings on Paper and Silk

Modern histories of Chinese painting often only briefly address the contributions of Jin painters. This is due in part to the fact that there are few paintings that can be confidently dated to the Jin dynasty. However, the study of Jin painting is important not only because the history of Jin painting deserves to be considered in its own right, but also because it is through Jin painters’ use and development of northern Chinese painting traditions that the development of Chinese painting from the end of the Northern Song into the Yuan can be better understood. This chapter focuses on Jin paintings on silk and paper and the obstacles in trying to define or characterize the diverse, yet limited, number of works. This chapter first addresses the methods or criteria used by scholars in the past who have worked to identify and define Jin painting, specifically landscape painting. Next, the paintings that form the core landscape paintings on paper and silk attributed to the Jin dynasty will be analyzed. This section will examine why and how each painting attained a Jin attribution and how strong the evidence supporting these attributions actually is. The concluding section of this chapter analyzes the paintings and their data and attempts to determine if, given the varied styles and low numbers of Jin paintings, a unifying or characterizing statement on Jin paintings on silk and paper can or should be sought.
Foundations of Jin Landscape Painting

The majority of paintings that are attributed to the Jin period are landscape paintings. Jin landscape painting finds its structural and stylistic foundations in the landscape painting of the late Five Dynasties period (tenth century) and the Northern Song dynasty. In many cases, it is much easier to observe the parallels between Northern Song and Jin landscapes than it is to identify aspects that differentiate the two. There are two main reasons for these similarities. The first is the retention of Northern Song painting masters in north China after the fall of the Northern Song court. After the Jurchen armies took over the Northern Song capital of Bianliang汴梁 in 1127, painters and artisans living in the capital and serving the court either fled to the south to the Southern Song capital of Lin’an临安 (modern-day Hangzhou), or were taken north with the Jurchen troops along with parts of the Northern Song imperial painting collection. It is likely that some of those painters and artisans who were taken hostage by the Jin continued to live and work in north China under Jin rule. A second reason is the lack of extensive interaction with the styles of contemporary Southern School Academic painting. In times of peace, the Jin and Southern Song courts exchanged diplomatic missions and the exchange of goods along the state borders persisted. While Susan Bush has found several instances of Southern Song paintings making their way into the hands of Jin

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subjects, Jin texts on painting do not list Southern Song painters or philosophers as sources of inspiration or models for learning. The limited intellectual interaction is evidenced by the absence of pronounced Southern Song court painting styles and conventions in Jin landscape paintings.

Many of the landscape and figure paintings that are attributed to the Jin dynasty follow the landscape painting styles of the Northern Song court, that is, the style of professional painters who painted with descriptive, dry brushwork techniques in the styles associated with Li Cheng 李成 (919-967) and Guo Xi 郭熙 (after 1000 – c. 1090). There is only one major literati-style painting securely dated to the Jin dynasty, which will be discussed below. However, it should be mentioned that the literati under the Jin, particularly in the later twelfth century, remained active. The writings of the Northern Song literati figure Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037 – 1101) and his circle continued to shape the calligraphy, poetry, and writing of Jin literati and the literati culture. Reverence for Northern Song literati culture can be seen in the writings of Jin literati painters and officials like Wang Tingyun 王庭芻 (1151 – 1202), Wu Yuanzhi 武元直 (act. ca. 1190 – 1196), Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190 – 1257), and Yang Bangji 楊邦基 (ca. 1110 – 1181). Although it is recorded that Jin scholars followed the painting styles of Northern

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Song literati like Su Shi and Mi Fu 米芾 (1052 – 1107), examples do not survive or have not yet been identified.17

**Who was Painting under the Jin?**

Socially, there does not seem to be a rigid or clear cut distinction during the Jin between professional and literati painting or vocational and avocational painters. In the Northern Song and Southern Song courts, there was a Hanlin 翰林 Bureau of Painting within the Hanlin Academy with ranked officials serving as painters. However, this official bureau and academy did not exist in the Jin. Waikam Ho has explained clearly that,

In the middle of the twelfth century, two official organs directly involved in the production and conservation of paintings are recorded in the dynasty history: *Shuhua ju* [書畫局] (Bureau of Calligraphy and Painting), under the directorate of the Imperial Archive; and *Tuhua ju* [圖畫局] (Department of Painting), under the Directorate of Construction and Manufacture. The former was a government bureau supervising state projects of painting and calligraphy. The latter seems to be responsible for decorative paintings produced for the palace, and in 1196 it was reorganized and became part of the Commission of

Palace Services [zhīyìng sì 祇應司]. In addition, there were keepers of calligraphy and painting who were conservators of the imperial collection.\(^\text{18}\)

In fact, several of the most celebrated Jin literati painters held official positions within the Bureau of Calligraphy and Painting: Yang Bangji (jǐnshì 进士 1139) was the vice director and then director of the Imperial Archive under Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161 – 1189),\(^\text{19}\) Wang Tingyun (jǐnshì 1176) was a Chief Supervisor in the Mingchang Period (1190 – 1195), and Wu Yuanzhi also served under Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1189 – 1208) as a compiler of painting.\(^\text{20}\) As will be discussed below, the painter Li Shan 李山 (act. late 12\(^{\text{th}}\) century) as well as Wang Tingyun’s adopted son, Wang Wanqing 王萬慶 (late 12\(^{\text{th}}\) – early 13\(^{\text{th}}\) century), also a scholar-painter, were also affiliated with the Palace Library. The overlap between painting as vocation and avocation seems to not have been a conflict in the Jin court.

In terms of identifying Jin painters, there are two main sources for learning about the identities of painters under the Jin: later art historical publications and inscriptions. First, one may turn to later art historical publications, such as Xia Wenyan’s *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (preface dated to 1365) which includes a section detailing the names and specialties of forty-three Jin painters.\(^\text{21}\) The other major source for learning of the


\(^{21}\) Xia, *Tuhui baojian, juan 4*. 
identities of painters is from inscriptions on or attached to paintings themselves. These include the artist’s inscriptions or inscriptions by the artist’s contemporaries which, if original to the painting, provide the best documentation for Jin attribution. There are also published poems that were composed by literati scholars for paintings that are recorded only in texts. While an inscription of this type has been used to identify a painting discussed below, these types of inscriptions are more helpful in giving insight to the values of the Jin literati and into the role of painting during the Jin as a way to connect with Northern Song literati values.

Identifying Jin Landscape Painting

Since the mid-20th century, scholars in China, the United States, and Japan have worked to identify Jin dynasty paintings and their place in Chinese painting history. However, the works attributed to the Jin are few in number and vary quite a bit in style and composition. While this variation makes it difficult to winnow down on a characteristic “style” that defines Jin painting, it does show the diversity of painters and schools of painting at work under the Jin state.

There are two main scholars whose work on Jin painting has been foundational to our current understanding of Jin landscapes. In 1965, Susan Bush addressed stylistic features of Jin landscape, arguing that the Taipei National Palace Museum’s painting “Clearing

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23 One of the longest lists of Jin paintings can be found in Richard Barnhart, “Sō Kin ni okeru sansuiga no seiritsu to tenkai 宋金における山水画の成立と展開 (The establishment and development of landscape painting in the Song and Jin),” in Bunjinga suihen: To Go, Kyonen 文人山水: 董源，巨然 [Literati Landscapes: Dong Yuan, Juran], vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1977) 120-121. See bibliography for other major scholars to address the topic: Susan Bush, Stephen Little, Yu Hui, Chiang Yi-han, and Fu Xinian.
After Snow in the Min Mountains (岷山晴雪) (from here on “Clearing After Snow”) was painted in north China during the Jin dynasty, and showing that although “Clearing After Snow” has many similarities with Guo Xi’s “Early Spring,” the two exhibit different “conceptions of painting.” Specifically, Bush and later Stephen Little highlight the following major “conceptual” and stylistic differences:

1. expressive, sketch-like outlining of forms; a simplification of the Guo Xi technique
2. motifs: “linked double or triple finger peaks with rounded tops that flank the central range”
3. motifs: simplification of the gnarled Guo Xi-style pine tree
4. exaggerated rock formations inclined at “unlikely angles” or “topped with bulging overhangs”
5. strong contrasts of black and white, especially in use of dark heavy outlining and white ground to represent snow
6. abrupt shifts of view from close-up to distant in a single composition

Bush’s treatment of “Clearing After Snow” shows how and why Jin landscapes should be considered neither the backwoods counterparts of contemporary Southern Song landscapes nor simplistic derivations of the Northern Song traditions. Instead, the recurrence of these features in Jin landscape indicate that painters in the north during the Jin consciously used and built upon Northern Song landscape traditions and conventions,

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conceiving of painting in their own way. Bush’s research has been foundational to the outline of this chapter as well as to the field of Chinese painting at large.

Although stylistic analysis is important, it can be problematic to rely solely on the characterization of a Jin “period style.” Looking beyond a painting’s stylistic or compositional attributes, the scholar Yu Hui has outlined additional criteria for identifying potential Jin paintings. On differentiating Jin and Northern Song landscape paintings, Yu offers five factors that signal a potential Jin landscape painting:27

1. Signature, inscription, or identifiable style of a Jin painter who is recorded in historical records found together on one painting.

2. Paintings depicting the geography and/or climate of the Jin state, including:
   a. the geology of northern mountains, and a rather open composition
   b. the flora and fauna of the north
   c. snowy scenes

3. The collector’s seal or colophon of a Jin or Yuan collector

4. Among those paintings that have been transmitted to us as Song landscape paintings, depictions of Jurchen life during the Jin dynasty including:
   a. people wearing Jurchen style robes and caps
   b. other Jurchen lifestyles or customs

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27 Yu Hui. “Cangni yu Song hua zhong de Jin dai shanshui hua 藏匿於宋畫中的金代山水畫 [Jin Landscape Paintings Concealed among Song Paintings]” Gugong Xue kan 故宮學刊 3 (2008) 394. In this article, Yu Hui includes a list of paintings which most scholars agree to be Jin, many of which are discussed in this chapter. Yu also proposes five new Jin attributions. These paintings are not included in the current chapter because their attributions are fully discussed in Yu’s own article. Additionally, Yu’s criteria for attributions mean that Yu’s “new” Jin paintings are stylistically different from the ones discussed in this chapter.
c. religious activities that have characteristics of Jin court society or Jurchen ethnicity

d. Northern style architecture from the Northern Song to Jin dynasties.

5. Paintings believed to be Song, that evoke Northern Song landscape paintings, and that are clearly not Southern Song paintings.

For Yu Hui, a painting exhibiting three or more of these features warrants further investigation into its potential for Jin period attribution. Yu’s eclectic approaches to identifying Jin paintings have included relating painted animal figures to findings from Neolithic archaeological sites and evolving biospheres as well as trying to link paintings with contemporary descriptions of biographies and historical events. While some of Yu’s approaches may seem unconventional, Yu adopts these wide-ranging and “creative” approaches to Jin painting connoisseurship because of the small number of, and wide stylistic variation among, Jin paintings.

**Jin Paintings on Silk and Paper: A Core Group**

This section addresses a core group of paintings that are dated to the Jin dynasty. These paintings are often referenced and used as stylistic or iconographic evidence through which other Jin-period attributions are made, including other paintings on this list. In this almost cyclical network of attributions, it can be confusing as to exactly why

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and how scholars come to agree that certain works belong to the Jin period, and how the paintings are related to one another. By bringing these paintings together, reviewing their attributions, reviewing the scholarship on them, and analyzing their stylistic and compositional qualities in depth, the following section attempts to clarify the interwoven core group of Jin attributions and the stylistic traits that have come to define them.29

Works with Jin Signatures and Colophons

Wang Tingyun’s Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree (late 12th century)

The least controversial group of Jin paintings consists of three works whose artist is attested to by original inscriptions or signatures on the paintings or colophons appended to the paintings. The first is a handscroll in the Yurinkan Collection in Kyoto titled Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree 幽竹枯柵圖. [Image 1.1]. The painting is not a landscape, but it is an important example of Jin literati ink painting and demonstrates the prevalence of Northern Song literati thought among Jin scholar-painters. The painting depicts, in black ink on paper, a close-up view of an old tree and bamboo against a blank background. From the carefully wavering moss tendrils that hang from an old branch on the tree to the strong and heavily-saturated strokes used to depict the healthy bamboo leaves, the painter demonstrates his predilection for, and mastery of, a variety of expressive brushwork over any major concern for formal likeness.

The Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree scroll includes an inscription by the painting’s artist, Wang Tingyun 王庭荺 (1151 – 1202). Wang’s inscription is written in
large, dark running script and gives the painting its title [Image 1.1]. A Jin scholar-official, Wang Tingyun was from Liaodong (in today’s Liaoning province) and styled himself as Huang Hua Laoren/ Shanren 黃華老人/ 山人. He received his jinshi degree in 1176 and served in the Hanlin Academy at the Jin capital in Beijing where he reached the rank of Compiler. Wang Tingyun was celebrated by contemporary literati circles for his mastery of calligraphy, writing, and painting. About his ink bamboo painting, Wang Tingyun’s friend and fellow scholar-official, Zhao Bingwen (1159 – 1252) praised Wang, likening him to the Northern Song literatus Su Shi who, as mentioned above, was much venerated among Jin literati.

In the Yuan dynasty, Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree became the subject of great praise from Yuan collectors and connoisseurs for being an iconic work of Jin literati painting. Appended to the painting are fourteen colophons by Yuan and Ming connoisseurs and collectors that record Wang’s reputation, especially among the Yuan scholars, as one of the finest Jin literati painters. Of particular interest is the colophon

30 Taki Seiichi, “On the Painting and Calligraphy of Wang Tingyun 金人王庭筠の書画に就て,” Kokka 523, no. 6 (1934): 155 – 163. See page 155 for transcription of Wang Tingyun inscription which reads, “黃華山真隐，一行涉世，便覺俗状可憎，時拈秃筆作幽竹枯槎，以自料理耳.” This inscription may be translated as, “I, the True “Hidden One” (Recluse) of Huanghua Mountain [i.e. Wang Tingyun], with my one stroke ventured into the world, and I easily become aware of my vulgar forms; [they are] detestable. That was when I picked up my bald brush and created Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree of my own accord.”

31 Xia Wenyan, Tuhui baojian, juan 4, 26A.

32 Bush and Shih, Early Chinese Texts on Painting, 342.

33 Bush, “Literati Culture under the Jin,” 109. Wang Tingyun was renowned for his ink bamboo which he modeled after the famed literati ink bamboo painter, Wen Tong (1018 - 1079). His painting was said to follow the Jin painter Ren Xun and his calligraphy followed that of his uncle, Mi Fu.

34 Zhao Bingwen wrote, “Yü-k’o was able to sketch a true portrait of bamboo, and Tung-p’o could catch the essential likeness of bamboo. These ink gentlemen have a speech that a gentleman may know or not; you must believe that [Wang] Huanghua is a sympathetic person.” Bush, “Literati Culture under the Jin,” 109.

35 See Marilyn Wong Fu, “The Impact of Reunification: Northern Elements in the Life and Art of Hsien-yü Shu (1257? – 1302) and Their Relation to Early Yüan Literati Culture,” in China under Mongol Rule, John
by the Yuan scholar-official Xianyu Shu 鮮于樞 (1257? - 1302) who recorded his
thoughts when he viewed *Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree* in 1300. Xianyu Shu
writes,

> I have often thought that the ancients who excelled in calligraphy ought to excel in painting too. That is because calligraphy and painting possess the same basic principles. There has seldom been a case when someone who could do one could not do the other. Few can become famous for both, however, because the superior achievement invariably overshadows the less superior one... Only with Mi Yuanzhang 米元章 [Mi Fu 米芾 (1052 – 1107)] were calligraphy and painting so excellent that both became equally famous today. After Mi Yuanzhang, there was only one person like that – Mr. Huanghua [Wang Tingyun] … If you study this scroll carefully, you will see that there is painting in calligraphy and calligraphy in painting. It is resplendent with a natural truth and overflows with a primal spirit...

The concept that painting and calligraphy are both ways of expressing a true literatus’ self was a crucial literati concept established as early as the Northern Song. Xianyu Shu praises Wang Tingyun for his painting and calligraphy skills which are only comparable

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to the great Mi Fu’s. Xianyu Shu’s colophon exemplifies the Yuan view that Wang Tingyun played a major part in the preservation and transmission of northern literati culture and traditions from the end of the Northern Song into the Yuan.  

The praise of Wang’s success as a true literatus is furthered by another colophon appended to *Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree* by fourteenth century art connoisseur and collector, Tang Hou 湯後 (act. 1290 – 1300, after 1322). Tang Hou’s colophon highlights the “unrefined,” amateur hand of Wang Tingyun as a true literati painter – the type of painter who through his brushwork allows the viewer to “[see] the man himself.” Tang Hou’s words, that the painting was “finished in an instant” and is “the embodiment of a single moment,” mirrors many of the ideas of spontaneity and instantaneous

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38 Marilyn Wong Fu, “The Impact of Reunification,” especially 409 – 416. Xianyu Shu’s colophon is followed by several other Yuan colophons, including Zhao Mengfu’s own writing which, translated by Wong Fu reads, “Whenever I see the painting and calligraphy of Huanghua, it makes my spirit feel truly refreshed. This scroll is especially outstanding in its perfection.” Though Zhao Mengfu’s colophon is not particularly enlightening, it again helps emphasizes the painting’s value among Yuan connoisseurs and artists.

39 James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 95. Cahill translates Tang Hou’s colophon as, “The scholar-gentleman turns to painting as a form of play. Often the images he paints take on new forms beneath his random brush, and a scene comes forth, exuberant and fresh… Wang Tingyun, with the overflow of energy from his activities as *litterateur* and calligrapher, devoted himself to “ink-plays” … This painting of *Secluded Bamboo and a Withered Tree* is simple in substance but antique in conception… What was for him only a means of giving lodging to a moment’s exhilaration is passed down over a hundred generations, and all who see its torn silk and remnant paper must gaze in admiration, loving and revering it. He may truly be called a man of accomplishment. [Signed:] Tang Hou, whose hand cannot forbear going on to add his encomium: “Set forth your heart, without reserve, / and your brush will be inspired/ Writing and painting serve a single aim, / The revelation of innate goodness./ Here are two companions,/ An old tree and tall bamboo,/ Metamorphosed by his unrefined hand,/ Finished in an instant./ The embodiment of a single moment./ Is the treasure of a hundred ages,/ And one feels, unrolling it, a fondness,/ As if seeing the man himself.”

inspiration that are associated with later literati ideas about “Southern School” literati painting and Chan Buddhism.\textsuperscript{40}

**Li Shan’s *Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines (late 12th century – 1202)***

Another painting identified by the artist’s inscription to be a genuine Jin landscape painting is a handscroll in ink and color on silk at the Freer Gallery in Washington D.C. titled *Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines 風雪松杉圖*. [Image 1.2] At the opening of the painting, along the right edge, is an inscription of five characters which read, “Created by Li Shan of Pingyang 平陽李山製” followed by a square seal that reads “Pingyang 平陽.”\textsuperscript{41} [Image 1.3] Pingyang most likely refers to the region of Linfeng County southwest of Taiyuan, Shanxi.\textsuperscript{42} The Pingyang region was a center for drama, robust funerary sculpture and murals, and woodblock printing during the Jin and Yuan periods.\textsuperscript{43} The name “Li Shan” is associated with several individuals during the Jin and

\textsuperscript{40} Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 96. Cahill points out the stylistic and technical similarities between Wang Tingyun’s painting and the Chan Buddhist paintings of late Southern Song painters like Muqi and Liang Kai.

\textsuperscript{41} James Cahill, “A Pure and Remote View: Visualizing Early Chinese Landscape Painting: Part 12A Paintings of the North: The Jin Dynasty,” Youtube Video, 39:08, posted by UC Berkeley Events, Published Dec. 20, 2011, https://youtu.be/qGgKASniKxI. Cahill notes the specific use of “zhi” used to emphasize the finished, polished creation of a work, as opposed to *bi* 筆 “sketched” or *hua* 畫 “simply painted.”

\textsuperscript{42} Angela Li Lin, “Notes on ‘Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines’ Part 1,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 15, no. 1 (1980) 2. Lin further details that “Pingyang” likely refers to the Pingyang of *Hedong nanlu* which had been a General Administrative *fu* (府) starting in 1128 (sixth year of the Tianhui reign), later demoted to a *sanfu* 散府.

\textsuperscript{43} Fan Jeremy Zhang, “Jin Dynasty Pingyang and the Rise of Theatrical Pictures,” *Artibus Asiae* 74, 2 (2014): 337 – 376; and “Drama Sustains the Spirit: Art, Ritual, and Theater in Jin and Yuan Period Pingyang 1150 – 1350” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brown University, 2011) 25 – 28, 37 – 42. The “Four Beauties” print was excavated in 1909 in the Tangut city of Khara Khoto by Russian explorer Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov (1863 - 1935) along with approximately 2,000 objects, including sutras, statues, prints, paintings, from a Buddhist stupa in Heicheng, Inner Mongolia. Approximately twenty woodblock prints were found, including two individual prints (including the “Four Beauties” print) and a booklet made in Pingyang. The “Four Beauties” print is today in the Hermitage State Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia. The print depicts four female figures, each labeled, a title reading “beautiful ladies from previous dynasties, with fragrant visages that overwhelmed the whole state 朝朝窈窕呈國之芳容”, and another cartouche reading “Carved and printed by the Ji family of Ping Yang 平陽姬家雕印.”
Yuan dynasties.\textsuperscript{44} However, all biographical information which is definitively known about the identity of the painter of \textit{Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines} is from the first two colophons of the painting.

The first colophon is by Wang Tingyun who signs his inscription with his \textit{hao} 黃華真遺 (The True Recluse of Huanghua).\textsuperscript{45} If this colophon is indeed authentic and original to the painting, Wang Tingyun’s death would give the painting a \textit{terminus ante quem} of 1202. The second colophon is by Wang Wanqing (late 12\textsuperscript{th} – early 13\textsuperscript{th} century), the nephew and adopted son of Wang Tingyun.\textsuperscript{46} Wang Wanqing was a scholarly individual who was also accomplished in poetry, calligraphy, and painting bamboo, landscapes, and rocks.\textsuperscript{47} In Wang Wanqing’s inscription, dated to 1243, he gives the name of the painting and writes of meeting Li Shan during the Taihe period (1201 – 1209) when Li Shan was already an elderly man, almost eighty years old. Wang Wanqing adds that during this time Li Shan had long held an official position as Director of the Palace Library (\textit{bishujian} 祕書監) and was accomplished in painting.

\textsuperscript{44} Lin, “Notes on ‘Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines’ part 1,” 2-4. Lin suggests that the painter may be a Li Shan who held the official post of “Military Governor” of Fenyang Jun (\textit{Fenyang jun jiedu shi} 汾陽軍節度使) around the year 1164 (the year determined by an article by said Li Shan titled, “The Reconstruction of the Confucius Institute in Fenzhou” published in 1164). Additionally, Wang Zungu 王遵古, the father of Wang Tingyun who authored the first colophon on the painting, also held an official post as Fenzhou’s Lieutenant Magistrate (\textit{guancha panguan} 觀察判官). Wang Zungu held this position in 1173 when Wang Tingyun visited him in Fenzhou. Li’s evidence situates Wang Tingyun, his father, and an official named Li Shan in the same Fenzhou region during the Dading era (1161 – 1189 CE).

\textsuperscript{45} For translation of inscription, see Lin, “Notes, part 1,” 5. Lin also notes that Wang Tingyun retired from an official post in 1180 to Huanghua Mountain, where he adopted the aforementioned \textit{hao} in 1181. This means that his colophon should be dated to 1181 – 1202 (when he died).

\textsuperscript{46} Bush and Shih. Early Chinese Texts on Painting, 342. See also Bush, “Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains,” 169, note 28. Bush shows that although Wang Wanqing is recorded in the \textit{Jin Shi} and in the \textit{Tuhui baojian} as “Wang Manqing 王曼慶,” it is most likely an error. Bush found that in Wang Tingyun’s epitaph, his three sons also had the character “wan 萬” as the first character of their given names. Bush also found Wang Wanqing listed as a Yuan scholar and as a son of Wang Tingyun in Yuan Haowen’s (1190 – 1257) collection of Jin poetry (\textit{Zhongzhou ji} 中州集, compiled in 1233). Thus, it is likely that the Wang Wanqing colophon is authentic and its information about Li Shan is correct.

\textsuperscript{47} Xia Wenyan. \textit{Tuhui baojian, juan} 4, 26A; Bush and Shih, Early Chinese Texts on Painting (2012) 342.
rocks and trees. Additionally, a poem by the Qianlong emperor (r.1735 – 1796) is inscribed on the painting itself and sixty-five seals (twenty-five on the painting, fifty seals on the mounting) also document its history through the hands of various collectors and art connoisseurs.

*Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines* depicts towering fir-pine trees in a landscape of snow-covered crags that emerge from a foggy distance. Fir-pines, or the Manchurian fir (*Abies holophylla*), is a hearty fir that is native to northeastern China and it is known to grow with a “wide-spreading horizontal branching pattern with age,” a characteristic that is rendered particularly well in this painting. Starting at the handscroll’s opening on the right, a withered pine branch clings onto the underside of a rock cliff overhang. The artist


“During the Taihe reign period [1201–09], this old fellow [Li Shan] was still serving as Director of the Palace Library, and though he was indeed nearly eighty when I first made his acquaintance, his energy had not diminished in the slightest. Whenever he felt happy about some mural he had painted of great trees and rocks, he would step back and squint at it, then sigh to himself saying, “Now that I’m old, I’m beginning to understand how to paint!” Had he truly not built up his strength for a long time and attained such a level of proficiency, his harmonious achievement certainly would not be so easy to know. Now the skill and finesse one sees in *Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines* are like this. But while it is no fault for someone late in years to trust in his own ability, can anyone in the mundane world truly understand him? Therefore, when my deceased father [Wang Tingyun, who was a member of] the Hanlin Academy, wrote out the poem by some earlier person as an appraisal [of Li’s character], it must have been to place the old fellow on the same ground as the ancient masters. Reading at it, as they say, “makes one feel more deeply.” Twenty-second day in the sixth lunar-month of the *guimao* year [July 10, 1243], respectfully written by [Wang] Wanqing.”

The scroll includes three other inscriptions by Wang Shizhen (1526 - 1590) and Wen Boren (1502 – 1574), both dated to 1568 in the Ming dynasty, and a final inscription by Wang Wenzhi (1730 – 1802) dated to 1786 in the Qing dynasty. See also Thomas Lawton, “Notes on Five Paintings from a Ch’ing Dynasty Collection,” *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 191 – 215. for alternate translation.

49 Paul W. Meyer, “Manchurian Fir *Abies holophylla*,” *Arnoldia* 68, no. 2 (2010) 55 – 56. Manchurian fir is also native to southeastern Russia, as well as North and South Korea. Capable of surviving low temperatures, as low as -34 degrees Celsius, the tree is known to grow in mountainous as well as valley environments. See online resource at [http://arnoldia.arboretum.harvard.edu/pdf/articles/2010-68-2-manchurian-fir-abies-holophylla.pdf](http://arnoldia.arboretum.harvard.edu/pdf/articles/2010-68-2-manchurian-fir-abies-holophylla.pdf)
has depicted with abbreviated strokes a stream tumbling over rocks and small dry dots are used to render the withered remains of dry winter foliage. Above, the viewer’s eye is drawn back into a narrow vista of snowy cliffs against a grey sky. The sky has been covered with a grey wash, allowing for a stark contrast with the unpainted ground of the whiter cliffs. Moving to the left, the viewer is immediately brought to the snowy foreground and a grove of tall, sparse fir-pines; the outer bark of the trees is covered with a circular, scale-like patterns and tight, neat clusters of fir-pine needles are carefully rendered on each branch. A sense of depth is portrayed through lighter and darker ink tones, allowing some trees to appear in layers that are farther away. Among the fir-pines sits a thatched-roof hut, enclosed by a gate and surrounded by snowy bamboo stalks. Within the hut, there is one of the only signs of human presence in the landscape - a small robed figure is shown seated on the floor. Leaving the fir-pine grove, the vista sweeps open on the left to a broad view of a distant, snowy mountain bluff over a river that slowly dissolves into the empty grey sky.

Li Shan was able to convey with deft manipulation of his meticulous, dry brush a cold and still winter evening. From the use of dark grey wash across the sky, to the unpainted ground to describe the snow covered landscape, to the carefully rendered stillness of the sparse fir-pines and winter foliage in varying ink tones, his careful control of different brushstrokes and ink tonalities do not suggest the hand of a backwoods painter, but rather an individual with practiced painting skills. Li Shan’s composition takes the viewer on a dynamic three-phase journey through this still landscape: from a framed distant view of the snowy mountains with a water fall in the foreground, to the close view of fir-pine grove and scholar’s residence, to the sweeping view of the snowy cliffs which dissolve
into the distance. The three scenes, though they move quickly from close to far views, are surprisingly cohesive and demonstrate the careful planning on the part of the painter and his ability to translate the concept of grand journeys as experienced in monumental landscapes into the handscroll format.

In describing and defining the painting style used by Li Shan in “Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines,” paintings attributed to Li Cheng and Guo Xi provide useful context and comparisons, especially in their shared treatment of old trees. Specifically, looking at the withered tree emerging from the cliff at the very opening of the painting and in the withered fir-pines, we can see echoes of Guo Xi’s dry “crab-claw” branches and withered pines. [Image 1.4] Li Cheng’s and Guo Xi’s paintings are known for their use of dry, descriptive brushwork to create monumental landscape painting that are considered masterworks of the Northern Song landscape tradition and key works in the development of Chinese painting history and theory. Li Shan’s painting is important not only because it helps transmit important brushwork and landscape elements of the Li-Guo tradition, but also because it uses this tradition in a conceptually different way; in “Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines,” Li Shan has scaled-down the intimidating composition and awe-inspiring breadth of a Northern Song monumental landscape and portrayed their dramatic groves of old trees and scholarly retreats in the more intimate handscroll format.

**Wu Yuanzhi’s Red Cliff (late 12th century)**

The third painting believed to be a genuine Jin painting is the handscroll titled, *Red Cliff* 赤壁圖 in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. [Image 1.5]
The painting is attributed to Wu Yuanzhi 武元直 (act. ca. 1190 – 1196), a prominent scholar (ming shi 名士) at the Jin emperor Zhangzong’s court during Mingchang era (1190 – 1195), who was skilled at painting clouds and snow.  

However, the painting bears neither artist’s signature nor inscription. A frontispiece with four large small-seal script characters by the Ming dynasty’s Sun Gong reads “The Text, bequeathed, of the Red Cliff (赤壁遺言).”  

The first colophon mounted after the painting, dated to 1228, is by the Jin scholar Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159 – 1232). Zhao’s colophon is a poem rhyming with one of Su Shi’s Red Cliff ci 詞-poems. Zhao’s colophon mentions Su Shi and his importance in the Jin dynasty, but makes no mention of the painter’s identity.

Colophons by Xiang Yuanbian 项元汴 (1525 – 90) date to the Ming dynasty and attribute the painting to Zhu Rui 朱銳 (1130 – 1200), who was a painter at the late Northern Song and early Southern Song courts. The painting remained attributed to Zhu

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50 Xia Wenyan, Tuhui baojian, juan 4, 27B.  
52 As opposed to Su Shih’s Red Cliff 赋 (rhapsody).  
53 Joan Stanley-Baker, trans. “Jin Wu Yuanzhi Chibi tu [art reproduction, includes enclosed booklet of information on painting] 金武元直赤壁圖” Tokyo, Japan: Nigensha Publishing Co. 1982. Zhao Bingwen’s translated inscriptions reads: “A blaze of pure light. (I) ask the luxuriant shade of the cassia trees what there is among them. A tiny skiff among myriad billowing waves. Looking around all (the waters) touch the skies without walls. Knocking upon the oars (they) let out long songs, (that the) fairy weaver Heng-e (Chang’e) may descend. Ten thousand li of whirling snow and ice, ten thousand feet of dust encompass man’s heroic deeds. Turning my head back toward the Red Cliff I see (in my imaginings) a man riding away on a whale, and several times the cliffs erupting in blooms. Pale are the endless skies, like dreams of today and yesteryear, here is only the end of the returning tides. We came riding over the clouds, to visit where the mane be dispersed. The three divine mountains… where are they? Jade flutes play into the moon-lit night. Bingwen (inscribed this) on the Day before the Double Nine Festival in the 5th year of the Zhengda reign (1228 CE).”  
54 Silbergeld, “Back to the Red Cliff,” 27. Silbergeld notes that Xiang Yuanbian attributes the painting to Zhu Rui during Zhu Rui’s tenure at the late Northern Song court, a time and place in which Su Shi (and his circle) was “persona non grata.” However, Xiang uses Zhu’s title gonglang 功郎 which he received under the Southern Song court. Joan Stanley-Baker translates Xiang Yuanbian’s colophon: “The Red Cliff painted by the ti-kung-lang Chu Jui of the Sung dynasty, with Chao hsien-hsien (Bingwen) following the rhyme-scheme of the “Ode” by the immortal [Su] Dong-p’o. A genuine work of the divine class. Secret Treasure
Rui until 1960 when National Palace Museum curator Zhuang Yan made note of a separate colophon dated to 1251 by Yuan Haowen 元好问 (1190 – 1257). This colophon refers to being attached to a “Red Cliff” painting. Moreover, the colophon also mentions an inscribed Zhao Bingwen poem rhyming with Su Shi’s “Red Cliff” ci and attributed the painting to a scholar in Jin Zhangzong’s court named Wu Yuanzhi. The curator Zhuang Yan believes that this colophon was once attached to the National Palace Museum’s “Red Cliff” painting. This does not conclusively prove that the National Palace Museum’s painting was by Wu Yuanzhi, since the Yuan Haowen colophon is not necessarily original to the National Palace Museum’s Red Cliff, but it does provide a compelling case, and the Wu Yuanzhi attribution is generally accepted.

The painting depicts, in monochrome ink on paper, a river that winds before a steep cliff face. Reading the painting from right to left, the viewer is led into the painting through a steeply descending and jagged rock covered in pine trees anchored in the lower right corner. The rock formations are outlined in dark ink but filled with streaks of lighter-toned ink cross-hatching to provide texture. Old pine trees rendered in dark ink outline grow from the tops of this rock formation; lighter ink is used to show a layer of trees behind. Above, a river flows with a view of the distant opposite shore. This light spit of land on the opposite shore grows into craggy hills, painted in gradually darkening ink tones. The artist has rendered these distant hills in soft, wet strokes, reminiscent of Juran’s 巨然 (act. c. 960 – 980) “hemp fiber” textured hills. In front of these soft hills, the water’s edge is peppered with layers of pine trees – misty and light in the back but

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quickly transitioning to strong and bold in the front. Following the waterway from the right to the left, the artist builds up the description of the water’s surface, slowly bringing the viewer into choppier water filled with swirling eddies in light grey ink. Following the curve of the river, about two-thirds of the way into the painting, the viewer loses view of the land in the foreground and is brought instead to a central, tall, vertical cliff on the opposite shore. The steep, flat face of the cliff is textured with streaky, vertical strokes in light ink wash, which utilizes unpainted ground for textural contrast. The whiteness of the cliff-face further contrasts with the dark peppering of pine trees growing along the top and the foliage that dangles on the sides of the vertical cliff faces. Below, a long and narrow skiff moves from left to right. Three figures sit in the front of a boat, enjoying food or beverage on a low table, while a figure standing in the back guides the boat forward with a long oar. The river narrows as the eye travels to the left. The bank in the foreground reemerges with textured, grassy boulders topped with more pines. The large cliff on the opposite bank disintegrates at its base into lighter and lighter ink wash until the viewer loses sight of land and water in a white haze of unpainted ground.

One of the most striking aspects of the painter’s technique is his use of dark ink tones, such as in the foliage and pine trees, next to much more washed out ink forms, like the description of distant hill formations. [Image 1.6] The artist also makes heavy use of unpainted ground in the rock and cliff formations. The use of unpainted white ground, beside streaky textural strokes in light ink, next to the dark ink used to render pine trees and other foliage creates stark contrasts between different landscape elements. The viewer is constantly brought to the foreground, then pushed back into space in this relatively short landscape painting. As we will see in the third group of paintings, this
landscape attributed to Wu Yuanzhi also shares various compositional qualities with the archaeologically dated landscape from the tomb of Feng Daozhen. The gnarled and bent fir-pines rendered in dry, dark brushwork is another shared motif in the paintings addressed in the second group of Li Shan-style paintings. [Image 1.7] These similarities help to buttress the Red Cliff’s dating to the Jin period.

**Works in the Style of Li Shan**

Because the Li Shan *Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines* has secure attribution to the Jin dynasty, there exists a group of paintings that have been attributed to the Jin dynasty because of their stylistic and compositional similarities to *Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines*. A shared characteristic of these Li Shan-style paintings is that they draw heavily upon the brushwork, style, and compositions of Guo Xi (ca. 1001 – 1090), especially as seen in Guo’s monumental “Early Spring” (1072). [Image 1.8] The following five paintings will be briefly described and their similarities with *Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines* and use of the Guo Xi idiom will be examined.

**Travelers among the Fir Pines**

The painting “Travelers among Fir-Pines 松杉行旅圖” is a large hanging scroll in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C. [Image 1.9] The painting bears fourteen collectors’ seals, including a spurious Mi Fu, an uncertain Xiang Yuanbian (1525 – 1590), and five Qianlong seals.56 The painting includes a label slip that gives its title and attributes it to Li Shan. The label slip purports that the painting once belonged to the “Qingteng shuwu 青藤書屋,” referring either to the collection of the painter Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521 – 1593) or

56 Stephen Allee, “Song and Yuan Painting at the Freer” last updated May 6, 2010. See the record for F1916.552, pages 4-5.
an as yet unidentified individual. There are two inscriptions (mounted with the painting), both by Xu Lin 徐璘 (hao Qiucha 秋查) who lived during the early to mid-nineteenth century during the Qing dynasty, which attribute the painting to Li Shan of the Jin dynasty.

Despite the absence of an artist’s signature and inscription, the painting is generally accepted as a twelfth to thirteenth century work in the style of Li Shan that draws from the painting style of Guo Xi. This characterization and dating is based on stylistic similarities with the Freer’s *Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines*, along with analysis of its composition and style which places it after the conventional monumental landscapes of the Northern Song, but before the more abstract and exaggerated Yuan northern landscape traditions. *Travelers among the Fir Pines* depicts a large, unnatural mountain cliff which looms over the composition in the top left corner. As with Northern Song monumental landscape painters, the painter of *Travelers among the Fir Pines* has a clear interest in depicting a dominating mountain peak, but the peak no longer inhabits the center of the painting and rather is pushed to the left. Moreover, Northern Song monumental landscapes often can be divided into tripartite compositions with a distinct foreground, middle-ground, and background layers. The artist of *Travelers among Fir Pines* rearranges this spatial construction, dividing the painting into a less balanced lower one-third and a heavy upper two-thirds.

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57 Ibid. see note 1.
58 Ibid. pages 3-4. In an undated colophon, Xu Lin attributes the painting to Li Shan of the Jin dynasty, writing that Li Shan drew inspiration from Guo Xi and Dong Yuan (d. 960). This undated inscription is signed with Xu Lin’s hao, Xu Qiucha. However, the second inscription, dated to 1856 and signed with the name Xu Lin, contradicts the first Xu Lin inscription and asserts that of the three painters named Li Shan found in records of painters (one each from the Tang dynasty, Jin dynasty, and the Kangxi reign of the Qing dynasty), it is most likely that this painting was executed by Li Shan of the Tang.
The viewer enters the painting through the lower right corner where a low rocky bank meets a river. Here, the foreground is extended up into the bottom third of the composition by over-sized pine-firs with bare trunks and drooping branches on top. [Image 1.10] With the scale-like treatment of the trunks’ bark and the tightly bound needles and “crab-claw” reaches of the drooping, outstretched branches, the trees in *Travelers among Fir Pines* are similar to those in *Wind and Snow among the Fir Pines*. Next the viewer encounters three small figures, two carrying staffs and one carrying a long pole balanced on either end with his belongings. They approach a narrow bridge over a river on which figures in a skiff are rowed. On the opposite bank the large, oddly-shaped mountain peak that dominates the painting rises up. A small bridge, a waterfall, the mist-covered tops of temple roofs, and a thatched-roofed hut are depicted throughout the peak. No trees are shown at its very top, only a large, awkward rocky mass. To the right, the top ridges of a distant mountain range float in the distance. [Image 1.11] These mountains are rendered with a combination of medium and light ink tones with a wetter brush which makes them appear to dissolve into the distant mist. In fact, all of the rock formations seem to be rendered with broader brushstrokes that show limited desire to describe the details of actual rock formations; darker ink is used to shadow and provide a soft outline, but the faces of rock formations are described with almost simple washes of ink, rather than distinct textural strokes (e.g. “axe-cut” stroke, “hemp-fiber” stroke). This contrasts with the snow-covered cliffs in Li Shan’s *Wind and Snow among the Fir-Pines* which were largely left unpainted. There is, however, the dry, descriptive brush associated with Guo Xi-style paintings used to render the old leafless deciduous trees which grow haphazardly from the tops and sides of the cliff formations. [Image 1.12]
These withered trees are given bare, “crab-claw” branches and are strung with old mossy vines, like those seen in *Wind and Snow among Fir Pines*.

The unbalanced composition, the careful attention to gnarled old branches and outstretched old pines, and bizarre rock forms brings to mind the later landscapes of Tang Di 唐棣 (c. 1287 – 1355), such as *Traveling in the Autumn Mountains* in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. [Image 1.13] In Tang Di’s landscape paintings, especially *Traveling in the Autumn Mountains*, we find elements that directly echo the *Travelers among Fir Pines*’ outstretched and over-sized pine trees, gnarled withered leafless trees, and rendering of distant mountains. The style, brushwork techniques, and composition of *Travelers in the Fir-Pines* shows a moment in Chinese painting history in which painters are able to make direct references to Guo Xi, but we also see the creation of a style once removed from the Northern Song master that prefigures the exaggerated landscapes of Yuan painters like Tang Di. The Freer’s painting exemplifies why Li Shan, and those who painted in his style, are significant in the history of Chinese painting – the painting exemplifies their role in developing, preserving, and transmitting the Guo Xi-style school of northern painting to later Yuan artists.

**Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains**

The National Palace Museum’s *Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains* 峨山晴雪 (from here on, “Clearing after Snow”) is a large hanging scroll that shows a wintery mountain landscape. [Image 1.14] *Clearing after Snow* is an undated and unsigned painting that was the subject of Susan Bush’s article which broached the subject of
characterizing a Jin period style.\textsuperscript{59} The composition of *Clearing after Snow* is similar to *Travelers among the Fir Pines*; both feature a rocky mass planted with tall, bare fir-pines in the lower right corner cut off by a river from an imposing and awkward mountain cliff anchored on the left; the large mountain cliff in both paintings is balanced on the right by the depiction of floating ridges meant to portray a distant mountain range. In *Clearing after Snow*, the artist also has chosen to depict the Li Shan style of over-sized, tall fir-pines with drooping branches and “crab-claw” arms reaching out. The artist is again less interested in depicting fine outlines or careful textural strokes in the rock formations, and instead relies on heavier dark ink to contrast with lighter ink or unpainted ground to render the shadows on textures on the rock surfaces.

While *Clearing after Snow* and *Travelers in the Fir Pines* share some compositional, technical, and iconographical similarities, *Clearing after Snow* is overall a more technically sophisticated painting than *Travelers in the Fir Pines*. As with other paintings in the Li Shan tradition, *Clearing after Snow* follows the Li-Guo style of dry descriptive brushwork to describe tiny figures, temples rooftops, small residences, gnarled trees. There are also larger compositional effects used in this painting that more successfully echo Guo Xi’s *Early Spring*, such as the almost organic or smoke-like way that the main peak on the left twists and winds its way to the top of the painting. Additionally, above the high waterfall to the left of the main peak, the artist has created a view into the far distance behind it which recalls the view into the distance to the left of the monumental peak in *Early Spring*. [Image 1.15]

**Travelers among Valleys and Peaks**

*Travelers among Valleys and Peaks* is a narrow hanging scroll in ink and light color on paper in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco. [Image 1.16] It bears no signature or artist’s inscription and an attached inscription signed by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) attributes the painting to Fan Kuan 范寛 (c. 960 -1039). However, when it is compared with the Freer’s *Travelers in Fir-Pines* and the Taipei National Palace Museum’s *Clearing after Snow*, it is clear that this painting bears more similarities to the Li Shan-style late twelfth to thirteenth century interpretations of Guo Xi’s *Early Spring*. These similarities will be discussed below.

The overall composition of the Asian Art Museum’s painting follows the same model as that of *Clearing after Snow* and *Travelers in Fir Pines*. A river landscape is depicted at the bottom in the foreground. Here, boulders with dark and thick outlines from which grow Li Shan-style fir-pines and short trees with patterned leaves line the banks of a diagonally flowing river crossed by a rustic bridge on which walks a robed scholar and his diminutive attendant carrying a *qin* 琴. A large peak grows from the left side of the painting, its lower rocky base pushing up through a band of mist to the twisting, pine covered summit. In the middle ground, there is an area of light ink wash from which emerges the faint outline of temple roof architecture in a misty valley. Above, wet and light ink is used to show a rise into a band of mist which emerges and separates the top cliff and a floating distant ridge on the right from the lower foreground and middle ground. Heavy, dark ink is used to outline the crevices of the upper reaches of the bulging

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60 Stephen Little, “The Elusive Nature of Jin Dynasty (1115-1234) Painting (Part 2 of 2),” Youtube video, 32:12, posted by Asian Art Museum (San Francisco) Published January 24, 2017, [https://youtu.be/e0r-EOB3nMw](https://youtu.be/e0r-EOB3nMw)
cliff as well as the pine trees that emerge from it. The actual rock faces are left unpainted or are painted with light wash, creating strong contrasts in ink tonality. The outlining of the crevices of the peak also contrasts greatly with the light ink used in the middle ground.

The alternation between dark and light ink is obvious in this painting, not only in the description of the rock faces, but also in the movement from dark foreground, to hazy middle ground, to the dark, well-detailed mountain peak. While the division of the monumental peak from the foreground via a misty band echoes the composition of Northern Song monumental landscapes, as seen in Guo Xi’s *Early Spring*, the stark contrasts also call to mind the way that distance and movement through the landscape is conveyed in Li Shan’s *Wind and Snow among the Fir Pines*, and also seen in the sudden bands of mist in *Clearing after Snow*.

**Winter Landscape**

The so-called *Winter Landscape* is a small rectangular painting that has been mounted as an album leaf in the Yale University Art Gallery. [Image 1.17] The painting depicts a gnarled and withered wind-blown pine reaching its branches to the right while growing from a rock anchored in the lower left corner. In the bottom of the foreground, a small residence beneath the tree is approached by a donkey rider and his attendant. Broad, wet strokes that disintegrate into unpainted ground are painted slightly below the upper right corner; here the painter has described a water fall tumbling over the simply rendered rocks. Although the painting has no signature or inscription, it is mounted with a label reading “Li Shan of the Song 宋李山.” Suggestive label aside, it has been attributed to the Jin dynasty based on the similar technique used in depicting the withered pine trunks
and branches seen in the Freer’s *Travelers among the Fir-Pines*. However, since there is no inscription or literary evidence confirming a Jin attribution, some scholars have argued that stylistic analysis of the painting, namely its orientation along a diagonal axis and brushwork, point to a Southern Song academic painter attribution.

**Flock of Birds Returning to Wintry Woods**

This small-scale painting in ink and color on silk titled *Flock of Birds Returning to Wintry Woods* 寒林歸鴉圖 is a painted, circular fan mounted as an album leaf at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [Image 1.18] It depicts a barren winter scene with rocks and withered deciduous trees painted with a dry, descriptive brush. The trees are leafless, with their branches bent in the wind, rendered in a style similar to that seen in the Yale album leaf and in the Freer’s *Travelers in the Fir Pines*. [Image 1.19] Beneath, a small thatched roof hut sits among some green bushes with patterned leaves. [Image 1.20] Above, small birds alight upon the tree branches as they descend in a swirling vortex formation from the upper right. The painting has suffered damage, but it seems that unlike the rock surfaces in *Travelers in the Fir Pines*, the rock surfaces in this painting are textured with discrete textural strokes. This can be seen in the mat of light, almost

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62 Angela Lin Li. “Notes on ‘Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines’ by Li Shan of the Chin Dynasty, Part Three” *National Palace Museum* Bulletin 15. (July – August 1980) 11. Li believes that the Yale painting should instead be attributed to the Southern Song court writing that the rocks are executed in the washed out “big axe-cut” strokes of the Southern Song court painters Ma Yuan (act. after 1190 – after 1225) and Xia Gui (act. early 13th c.), and that the brush stroke which stops and starts at the end of each branch is not characteristic of Li Shan. Susan Bush has suggested that this painting and its asymmetrical composition can be compared to the asymmetrical compositions of Jin Cizhou-ware with bird and flower or landscape painting. See Susan Bush, “Chin Literati and Landscape Traditions.” 5.
63 This painting is currently listed on the MFA website as a thirteenth century Southern Song painting. For scholars who believe it to be a Jin attribution, see Richard Barnhart “Sō Kin ni okeru sansuiga no seiritsu to tenkai” 40 – 41; Germain L. Fuller, *Eight Hundred Years of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* (Waterville, ME: Colby College 1979) 26, no. 10; Susan Bush “Chin Literati and Landscape Traditions,” 5.
“hemp-fiber” style brushstrokes used to describe the grassy bank on the right of the painting. A light blue wash of ink is used to depict the outline of a ridge of distant mountains horizontally across the center of the composition, a detail that is not seen in the other Li Shan-style paintings, but calls to mind Southern Song academic styles as well as their later followers, and can be observed in later thirteenth century works like *Clear Weather in the Valley* (to be discussed below).

**Works in the Style of the Feng Daozhen Tomb Mural**

The landscape mural from the north wall of Feng Daozhen’s 馮道真 tomb provides an archaeologically dated example of a late thirteenth century landscape painting. [Image 1.21] Although the mural was completed circa 1265, thirty-one years after the fall of the Jin dynasty, it is a useful model for understanding the development of landscape painting in north China during the thirteenth century. The brick tomb of Feng Daozhen was discovered and excavated in the fall of 1958, but has since been destroyed. The tomb consists of a passageway, an entrance way, and a four-sided funerary chamber with murals. A stone epitaph dates the death of Feng Daozhen to 1265. Covering the north wall of the funerary chamber is a landscape mural. The mural measures 270 cm in length and 91 cm in height. In the upper right corner of the north wall landscape is a four-word inscription that reads “Sunset over Sparse Forests 疏林晚照.” In the mural, an imposing, strongly outlined mountain peak with textured hillocks, peppered with dark dots of vegetation dominates the left center of the composition. The misty base of the mountain immediately gives way to dark pine trees and several small architectural structures along

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a low and strongly delineated foreground. The artist used lighter ink to render a soft atmospheric dissolution into distant silhouetted hills on either side of the main peak. Those hills in the background are rendered in increasingly lighter ink wash. To the far right the misty hills give way to a river upon which a two skiffs with small figures float. Moving past the man on a skiff, the viewer finds a distant misty bank in the upper right corner. The dark outline and strong textural strokes used to delineate the mountain peak along with the old trees sharply rendered with a dry brush in the foreground recall the brushwork of Northern Song landscape painters in the style of Li Cheng and Guo Xi. However, the use of more washed out ink to create misty recession into space in the upper right and left corners of the composition recalls the development of the lyrical compositions of Southern Song court painters, individuals like Ma Yuan (act. after 1190 – after 1125) and Xia Gui (act. early 13th c.). As will be argued below, the overall composition and style of the Feng Daozhen mural can be related to two important paintings on silk and paper.

**Clear Weather in the Valley**

One of the finest paintings that finds compositional and stylistic parallels with Feng Daozhen’s landscape mural is the tall handscroll titled *Clear Weather in the Valley* 平林霽色 at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [Image 1.22] The painting’s recorded provenance begins with the Yuan Emperor Wenzong 文综 (1304 – 1332) and later colophons help place the painting in various collectors’ hands in the seventeenth and nineteenth century; the painting was viewed once by Dong Qichang who deemed it the
work of Dong Yuan 董源 (d. 962).\textsuperscript{65} By 1912, it was to be sold by Wanyan Jingxian 完顔景賢 (d. by 1928) in Beijing to the Museum of Fine Arts Curator of Asian Art, Okakura Kakuzō (1862 – 1913) and his buyer in China, Hayasaki Kōkichi (1874 – 1956).\textsuperscript{66}

*Clear Weather in the Valley* depicts, in light color and ink on paper, the approach to the water’s edge of a mountainous bluff interspersed with misty valleys. Along a low foreground, the artist has rendered a journey through a flat ground planted with many trees. The trees are of the deciduous variety and have been portrayed with either discrete, outlined and patterned leaves in ink and light red pigment or with a much wetter brush, abstractly dotting the tree foliage. Although topographically flat, the foreground is textured with small hills and rocks; light and dark ink is used to add texture to the grassy ground. In the foreground, the viewer encounters a waterfall, as well as a scholar figure accompanied by his attendant holding a long object, perhaps a *qin*. [Image 1.23] The two approach a rustic structure with a thatched roof hut, enclosed within a wall and a gate. The viewer is allowed to see into the structure through the open doors; a brick couch, perhaps a heated northern-style *kang* 炕, as well as a table laid out with books are visible inside.

Above this first section of the foreground, three mountains peaks interspersed with views into distant valleys dominate the top four-fifths of the painting. The first bluff reaches a height of a little over half of the painting’s and is covered with abstractly rendered pine trees that are shown in clear, dark ink in the front, but with increasingly


lighter ink as they recede into the distance. The ground is simply colored with a light-grey tone ink wash. A valley to the left is demarcated by unpainted ground before the well-defined crest of the second mountain bluff comes into view, also covered with pine trees and spotted with dark dots along its top ridges. Here, the texture of the rock face is given more treatment; the mottled surface of the rock and its outlines are rendered in light grey ink. Behind, the silhouettes of distant rounded mountain peaks are rendered in light blue ink wash; dissolving at their bases into unpainted ground, they hover over the second bluff. The second bluff falls on its left into a misty valley. From below, a narrow corridor through the mountain peaks is nestled into this valley where a temple complex resides. The upturned eave ends of the ceramic-tiled roofs of two buildings built along a central axis that aligns with the temple gate are rendered in light but precise ink, emerging from the misty depths of the valley. Finally, the mountain range reaches its crescendo with the third and largest bluff, rendered in the darkest and boldest brushstrokes of the three. The outlines of the cliff face as well as the pine trees which grow along its top are rendered in dark ink. Lighter ink is used to provide fainter, sketchy textural strokes to the surface of the mountain face as well as to show more distant trees along the ridge which are engulfed in mist. The main peak exemplifies the dexterity with which the artist was able to incorporate both atmospheric painting techniques, seen in the dissipation of the mountain peak into the adjacent valleys, with well-defined, dark brushwork used to render the trees and the outline of the main bluff which grows, almost billowing, from its base upwards. To the left, the mountain becomes a washed-out outline of a ridgetop, disappearing into a lower valley with a river which echoes Guo Xi’s distant
view to the left of the monumental peak in *Early Spring*. Again, faint blue ink wash is used to show hovering mountain tops in the far distance.

Meanwhile, in the foreground, past a grove of thick deciduous trees, the viewer comes upon a donkey rider wearing a hat followed by two figures carrying loads upon their shoulders. They are depicted with an exact dry brush and minimal strokes. They are shown traveling into the woods to the right along the water’s edge. The spit of land continues to the left, narrowing out into the water. At the end of the spit stands another donkey rider with a hat and two attendants also carrying loads on their backs. Above them floats a long and narrow landmass in light ink wash dotted with dark dots, extending horizontally and gradually dissolving at its edges into unpainted ground. [Image 1.24] The artist has again used light blue pigment to create a misty, atmospheric effect with the distant floating mountain tops. The unpainted ground between the two bodies of land represents a body of water, as indicated by two skiffs sketched in light ink on the water’s surface. To the far left, the painting closes with a triangular bank in the lower left corner. Here painter brings the viewer back to solid ground, again outlined with dark ink and spotted with dark and light textural wet brushstrokes. Abstract deciduous trees grow above a small, empty wine-shop, identifiable by the flag hanging above its entrance.

It is certain that the *Clear Weather in the Valley* has been trimmed since, along the left edge, the right half of at least three characters remain. Nevertheless, the painting presents a detailed and dynamic journey through mountains, valleys, and water. The overall composition of the painting, with its crescendo of rounded bluffs growing almost like billowing clouds of textured and rocky smoke before dissipating into a river with a
floating distant, mountainous isle, is similar to the landscape composition seen in Feng Daozhen’s tomb mural. Although the minutiae of style in Feng Daozhen’s mural are today lost in the early photographic reproductions, the use of dark ink to define ridges and crevices alongside the build-up of textural strokes on the mountain face, the dissipation of large mountain forms anchored in one side into low and misty valleys on the other, the use of ink wash to create hovering silhouettes of distant mountain peaks, and the scale of the rounded mountain bluffs to the wooded foreground are similar in the Feng Daozhen mural and Clear Weather in the Valley. When Clear Weather in the Valley is mirror reversed along its y-axis, these compositional and stylistic parallels are even more apparent. [Image 1.25] Aside from distinct compositional parallels with the Feng Daozhen mural, Clear Weather in the Valley echoes several of the paintings discussed above, including the Li Shan style paintings and the late twelfth to early thirteenth century Red Cliff mountain and river landscape attributed to Wu Yuanzhi. First, it should be mentioned that Clear Weather in the Valley has compositional parallels with Wu Yuanzhi’s Red Cliff painting at the National Palace Museum, Taipei. While the types of trees and the treatment of rock faces in the two paintings are different, the compositional focus on a central rock cliff that fades in and out, using atmospheric effect and liberal use of unpainted ground in rendering space and distance is shared by the two hand scrolls. Clear Weather in the Valley and the Li Shan-style hanging scrolls also share similar compositions. In Clear Weather in the Valley, the Freer’s Travelers in the Fir Pines, Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains, and the San Francisco Asian Art Museum’s Travelers among Valleys and Peaks, the artists have anchored their compositions on the left or the right through the placement of a dominant mountain peak, while
simultaneously balancing the compositions by creating floating islands of mountain ridges on the opposite side. Even in the schemas of Chinese landscape painting, in which the upper portions of paintings are understood as farther away, these hovering isles and mountain ridges are not common in the monumental landscape paintings of Northern Song masters like Guo Xi’s *Early Spring* or Li Cheng’s *A Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks*, where monumental cliffs occupy the center of the composition. [Image 1.26] Instead, this compositional device occurs with surprising frequency in late twelfth and thirteenth century landscape paintings to balance otherwise lopsided compositions.

**Red Cliff at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston**

The painting titled *Red Cliff* 赤壁圖 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is a handscroll in ink and color on silk depicting a river in front of a mountain range falls within the same general style of *Clear Weather in the Valley* and the Feng Daozhen mural. [Image 1.27] The painting was formally attributed to Yang Shixian 楊士賢 (c. 1120 – 1160), a court painter at Huizong’s court who fled south with the fall of Kaifeng to the Jurchens and went on to serve in the Southern Song Academic Court; Yang’s effaced signature was found on the painting. 67 The main scholar who believes this painting to be of a Jin date is Susan Bush who cites the close compositional similarities with the Feng Daozhen mural and Wu Yuanzhi’s *Red Cliff* at the National Palace Museum, Taipei. 68 Like the National Palace Museum, Taipei’s *Red Cliff*, the Museum of Fine Art, Boston’s *Red Cliff* includes eddying swirls of water flowing past vertical and

geometric cliffs. The Museum of Fine Art, Boston’s *Red Cliff* also uses darker ink to outline the cliffs, but the lighter textural strokes on the surface of cliff are less wavering and more decisive, at times almost axe-cut, strokes. The pine trees that top the mountain bluffs are identifiable as northern, horizontally growing pine trees, but they are suppler and not rendered with the same level of withered, wind-blown form seen in the Wu Yuanzhi painting. The overall composition does echo the Feng Daozhen mural in some ways. When mirror reversed, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston’s *Red Cliff* does have a dark, rocky mountain cliff on one side, balanced on the other by light washed out cliffs shown in silhouette. However, while the painting may be a thirteenth century work, it is not as technically sophisticated as *Clear Weather in the Valley* which bears so many close similarities with not only the Feng Daozhen mural, but also with the landscape details seen in the Li Shan group of paintings.

**Works Dated by Style or Iconography: Weakest Attributions**

This group includes paintings which have the weakest evidence for a Jin dynasty attribution. They are dated primarily on the basis of iconography related to a particular period (i.e. period architecture or material culture), historical event, or “eclectic” style that has come to be associated with the Jin dynasty.

*A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin attributed to Yang Bangji*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s *A Diplomatic Mission to Jin* 聘金圖 (from here on “Mission”) is a handscroll in ink and color on silk which depicts a mountainous blue and green landscape with figures, horses, a structure, and swirls of vapor. [Image 1.28]
Mission is compositionally structured like Li Shan’s Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines at the Freer Gallery. In both paintings, the viewer travels about one-third of the way into the landscape before encountering a small thatched roof structure in the low foreground among pine trees. The remaining two thirds of both paintings are devoted to mountainous landscapes that fade into the distance. The fir-pines in Mission, which frame the small structure and accompanying figures with their long, thin trunks with scale-like bark, bare roots, and drooping, craggy branches, each with pine needles carefully applied, recall the wintery fir-pines in the Li Shan Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines. Unlike Li Shan’s painting, however, Mission keeps the viewer in the foreground; there is no movement from the far distance to a close foreground as there is in Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines. Moreover, there is much more use of soft, pigmented ink wash to render the silhouetted cliffs in the top part of the painting as well as in the lower cliffs which dissolve into misty bands in the middle sections of the painting. These misty bands permeate the painting; they divide the figures from the mountains above with more frequency and intensity than in paintings like Clearing after Snow and the other Li Shan-style hanging scrolls after Guo Xi. Though the mountain cliffs are rendered in color and softly dissolve into mist, they still resemble in form the craggy, faceted rock formations of north China seen in other Jin paintings.

Mission makes use of pigment not only in the blue and green landscape, but also in the small figures which are seen parting ways at the thatched-roof pavilion in the center of the painting. The pavilion is raised on a platform, with four columns, covered with a four-sided roof of organic thatched material, topped with a large finial. Within the

pavilion are four short stools and a large rectangular table. A group of five figures in long robes with split sides and pants wearing blue conical hats stand to the side. Two of these figures carry objects, one of which can be identified as a bent-neck pipa 琵琶. A single figure in a jacket and pants exits the pavilion and gestures to a group of four figures on horseback. These four men wear long, round-necked robes and the black hats of officials. The horses with their round buttocks and spry legs, drawn with precise and minimal brushwork, recall the paintings of horses associated to the literati-painter, Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049 – 1105/6). Two figures in tightly fitting robes and jackets wear large conical hats as they ride their horses away from the pavilion. The figure farther away from the pavilion carries a rolled item on his back and the figure following seems to look back at the pavilion as he rides onward.

Scholarship of the past several decades agrees that this painting depicts the meeting of Southern Song and Jin diplomats at a postal station. Chen Rentao’s colophon on the painting dated to 1953 first suggests that the artist is Yang Bangji 楊邦基 (ca. 1110 – 1181), an official of the Jin court, and that the painting depicts a Southern Song lament over the loss of the north. Chiang I-han suggested that the painting depicted the historical event in 1123 when four Song officials went to the Jin capital of Yanjing (modern-day Beijing) to negotiate for the return of six northern prefectures. Yu Hui also supports the attribution to Yang Bangji since Yang was known for painting horses after

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70 See Liu “Epitome of National Disgrace,” Appendix. Liu has transcribed and translated the painting’s colophons.
Li Gonglin, landscapes after Li Cheng, and mountain landscapes with travelers. Liu Shi-yee’s recent study, however, argues that the painting could only have been done by Yang Bangji given his official position that granted him the access to the only post station with a pavilion where Song and Jin diplomats met, the Zhuoqing Ting (Cleansed Pure Pavilion) in Luanzhou (modern-day Luanxian, Hebei), the region where Yang Bangji served in the 1140’s. Liu suggests that this painting was completed in the 1150’s, after Yang Bangji went to serve at the Jin capital of Yanjing (modern-day Beijing) and potentially could have presented this painting to Hailing Wang as a symbolic image of the Jin’s dominance over the Southern Song. In this way, the painting fits with the figure paintings of the early Jin dynasty associated with court, to be discussed below, and their role as vehicles to express the glory and legitimacy of the new Jin state as inheritors of the imperial mandate to rule.

Nelson Atkins’ Zhao Yu’s Pacification of the Barbarians

The Nelson Atkins’ Museum’s so-called Zhao Yu’s Pacification of the Barbarians South of Lu 趙遹泸南平夷圖 (from here on “Zhao Yu”) is a handscroll in ink and color on silk. [Image 1.29 a-c] The scroll consists of a piece of calligraphy and the painting mounted together. When the painting entered the Qing imperial collection in the late eighteenth century, it was titled, “Calligraphy of Song Huizong with a Painting by Li

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Song 宋徽宗書李松畫和卷." According to a spurious colophon, the painting depicts Zhao Yu 趙遹, a military general during the Northern Song Zhenghe (1111-17) and Xuanhe (1118-25) periods, who led a successful military campaign against the “barbarians” in Sichuan province. The Qing emperor Qianlong remarked in his inscription on the painting that neither was the calligraphy Huizong’s, nor was the painting of the Southern Song Academy painter Li Song, but that it likely depicted Zhao Yu. Modern scholars agree that this is likely not a painting of Zhao Yu, and some argue that it is likely to by a late twelfth century painting by a Jin painter. With floating mountains rendered in ink wash, heavy use of atmospheric effect, dry sketchy brushwork in creating texture, and the gnarled, withered, horizontally-growing pine trees seen also in “Clearing after Snow” and paintings associated with Li Shan, the “Zhao Yu” painting includes familiar Jin motifs and brushwork techniques. Specifically, the scene of figures cutting down trees has been associated with the Liao armies’ practice of cutting down trees planted by the Song to protect Song borders from advancing northern cavalry. Although the painting may be considered a Jin dynasty painting, and includes some familiar Jin motifs, it is different from other Jin landscapes and does not help deepen our understanding of common twelfth to thirteenth century landscape painting styles; instead
it lends itself to broadening our understanding and expectations of what may be considered “Jin painting.”

**Cleveland Museum of Art’s Streams and Mountains without End**

The long handscroll *Streams and Mountains without End* at the Cleveland Museum of Art has been dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century at the end of the Northern Song, the mid-twelfth century in the early Jin, as well as the late twelfth century or early thirteenth century in the middle Jin.\(^{79}\) [Image 1.30 a-f] The scroll includes nine colophons, including four from the Jin dynasty and three from the Yuan, which do not attempt to identify the anonymous painter.\(^{80}\) The first two colophons are dated to 1205 and place the painting in “Hedong” (in today’s Shanxi province).\(^{81}\) The painting has been considered as a study in or homage to past landscape masters with each section imitating the style of past painters of renown: Jing Hao 荊浩 (late 9\(^{th}\) – early 10\(^{th}\) century), Guan Tong 關仝 (early 10\(^{th}\) century), Li Cheng 李成 (919 – 967), Yan Wengui 燕文貴 (act. late 10\(^{th}\) – early 11\(^{th}\) century), and Fan Kuan, arranged chronologically from

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\(^{79}\) Sherman Lee and Wen Fong gave the painting an early twelfth century date, putting it at the end of the Northern Song. They write that the painting is the Northern Song landscapist’s answer to the translation of monumental landscape into the handscroll format. Lee and Fong, “Streams and Mountains with No End: A Northern Sung Handscroll and Its Significance in the History of Early Chinese Painting,” *Artibus Asiae. Supplemetum* 14, Streams and Mountains without End (1967 Revised Edition, 1954), 1-31, 33, 35, 30, 41-43, 57, 59, I-XXV. In *Summer Mountains*, Wen Fong revises his dating, saying that the painting could be as late as 1205, the date of the first colophon. Wen Fong, *Summer Mountains*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975) note 14 and cat. no. 36. Susan Bush believes that the painting is likely a Jin painting, created at least after 1190 under Zhangzong when appreciation of Northern Song literati and landscape painting culture had been established. She writes that the painting could also have been done in the late Northern Song (early 12\(^{th}\) century), but that an early Jin (mid-12\(^{th}\) century) date is unlikely given the large range of old paintings that the painter must have studied, and the political climate which would not have supported such study. Bush instead points to the types of figural paintings that characterize the types of auspicious paintings that were commissioned by the early Jin (mid-12\(^{th}\) century) court. Susan Bush “Yet Again *Streams and Mountains without End*” *Artibus Asiae* 48 (1987) 197 – 223.

\(^{80}\) Sherman Lee and Wen Fong (1967) Appendix II, for complete translations.

right to left.\textsuperscript{82} It is important to this current study that the painting is a pastiche of northern style landscape masters. The styles are not far from the monumental landscape styles of the Northern Song, yet do not quite fit with what has come to be expected of Northern Song monumental landscape. If Streams and Mountains without End is indeed a study of past landscape masters and their styles, it is useful in demonstrating how Jin painters placed themselves within the northern painting tradition, and which past traditions shaped their own conceptions of landscape painting.

**Nelson Atkins Travelers among Mountains and Streams by Taigu Yimin**

At the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City is a handscroll in ink on paper which has been attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century. [Image 1.31 a-f] The artist signed the painting as “Taigu Yimin 太古遺民,” the “Left-over Subject of Remote/ High Antiquity.” As Maxwell K. Hearn writes, “the eclectic blend of tenth- and eleventh-century landscape idioms, the spatial integration of forms along a well-defined receding ground plane, and the graphically assertive brushwork with relatively little use of ink wash to model forms all bespeak a mid- to late thirteenth-century date.”\textsuperscript{83} Simply put, the Nelson Atkins’ Taigu Yimin landscape is attributed the thirteenth century, by some to the Jin dynasty, for its “eclectic” style and similarities with other paintings that are more firmly situated in the Jin period, including Wu Yuanzhi’s *Red Cliff* and the Feng Daozhen’s tomb mural.\textsuperscript{84} Moreover, Fu Xinian has argued for a northern regional identity

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid. 200.
\textsuperscript{84} Several scholars who attribute this painting to the Jin dynasty include: Susan Bush, “Chin Literati painting and Landscape Traditions,” 2-3; Janet Carpenter, “A Landscape Painting and Its Literary Sources:
for the artist, based on the painting’s architectural structures. The basis for the dating of this painting is iconographic and stylistic. The painting is stylistically related to the traditions associated with landscapes of the tenth through twelfth-centuries, does not fit exactly with current conceptions of Northern Song traditions, but pre-dates the Mongol period. Its accumulation of various painting styles relates it also to the Cleveland Museum’s *Streams and Mountains with No End*.

**The Art Institute of Chicago’s “Wangchuan Villa”**

In the Art Institute of Chicago there is a handscroll painting of a landscape in ink on silk that bears the spurious signature of Li Gonglin hidden among rocks. The painting depicts the Tang poet Wang Wei’s famous estate, which Wang Wei once painted and for which he composed poems. Many artists were said to have painted or copied Wang Wei’s painting of his Wangchuan Villa, including inscriptions identifying the different spots in the villa, or the poems Wang Wei composed. Stephen Little supports a Jin dynasty attribution of this painting by emphasizing the painting’s “mixture of Northern Song brush techniques with a lyrical composition more typical of the Southern Song dynasty.” The eclecticism is what has made the painting difficult to date, but also is a feature that has come to be used to characterize Jin paintings. The eclecticism of the painting that Little points out extends itself also to the styles of

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85 Fu Xinian. “Fang Mei suojian Zhongguo gudai minghua zhaji,” 85-88. Fu Xinian sees similarities with Zhang Zeduan’s *Qingming Shang he tu* and no architectural similarities with paintings from Southern Song painters like Liu Songnian or Xia Gui. Fu Xinian also suggests that the painting be dated to the late Jin or pre-dynastic/early Yuan period.

landscape that are portrayed in the painting. In the first third of the painting, there is a small water body of water that is traversed by a rustic bridge. [Image 1.32 a] To the right, a small rustic hut painted in measured jiehua technique sits beneath a variety of deciduous and pine trees that recall the diversity and style of trees seen in Clear Weather in the Valley. Above the body of water, the artist shows his ability to paint the far distance as washes of misty mountains disintegrate into lighter and lighter ink wash, a technique that is likely what Little referred to as the “lyrical composition” which is strongly associated with the Southern Song court painters. To the left of the body of water is another large mass of rock; here the texturing of the rock through many small brushstrokes is more apparent. [Image 1.32 b] The rock mass is made jagged by the use of dark, small strokes to delineate the contours of the rock faces. These already disparate painting styles, placed one next to the other, are interesting when compared with a section in the last third of the painting. Right before the rustic, thatched-roof hut and crane section is a waterfall. [Image 1.32 c] The rocks in the waterfall, like the ones in the first third of the painting, are finely textured and outlined with small jagged strokes. However, the way that the rocks tumble down one another and their oddly stylized and geometric shape are not easily comparable to other landscape paintings on silk or paper of the Jin period. James Cahill believed this painting to belong to the Yuan dynasty.\(^{87}\) A Yuan or later date is conceivable, since the conglomeration of multiple painting styles and techniques in this landscape painting suggests a painter who was trained and familiar with north Chinese painting of the tenth to fourteenth centuries. It is due to the conglomeration of these eclectic styles and techniques used in quick succession, in the

same painting, that this Art Institute handscroll is associated with the Jin. This attribution raises the question – are Jin landscape paintings simply eclectic, or do we simply put eclectic landscapes of Middle Period China that resist categorization into the category of Jin?

**Figure Paintings**

There are five important figure paintings that have been thoroughly and directly addressed by Susan Bush. They include:

1. **Zhang Gui. *Sacred Tortoise* (mid-12th century).** Beijing Palace Museum. [Image 1.33]
2. **Zhao Lin. *Six Horses* (mid-12th century).** Beijing Palace Museum [Image 1.34]
3. **Lady Wenji’s Return to China** (late 12th – mid-13th century). Jilin Museum [Image 1.35]
4. **Dream of Sima Yu** (early 13th century). Cincinnati Art Museum [Image 1.36]
5. **Ma Yunqing, attrib. *Vimalakirti Expounds Buddhist Sutras* (first half of the 13th century).** Beijing Palace Museum [Image 1.37]

Of this list, the first three should deserve special attention because of their creation in, around, or for the imperial Jin court and because they may all be read for messages of glorification of and legitimation of the Jin within China’s imperial lineage and as

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inheritors of cultural legacy. In this way, these three paintings conceptually parallel the ideas and messages that have been associated with the Metropolitan’s Mission painting, as well as the Nelson Atkins’ Zhao Yu painting.

Of particular interest is the Sima You’s Dream of the Courtesan Su Xiaoxiao. The subject of the painting is taken from a story based on the historical figure, Sima You (late 11th century) who was the great nephew of the famed Northern Song figure, Sima Guang (1019 – 86). The story of Sima You unfolds after he has a dream of the late fifth century courtesan, Su Xiaoxiao, singing to him. In the 1090’s, one year after Sima You is stationed in Hangzhou where Su Xiaoxiao was buried, he drowns in a boat accident. Fan Jeremy Zhang has recently published an article relating the painting to twelfth to thirteenth century culture of popular drama. Zhang believes that the Pingyang culture of drama specifically contributed to an improved and heightened sense of emotion and drama in Jin visual culture. Zhang asserts that the composition and subject of the Cincinnati painting was a cumulative result of the evolution of performance stages, the development of zaju performances involving action, song, dance, and dialogue, and the interest in images of fantasy and romance on the part of Jin audiences and consumers. Zhang’s perspective on the Cincinnati painting is intriguing because of the ways that the

90 Bush, “Five Paintings,” 183 – 215. Sacred Tortoise employs the tortoise, a symbol of longevity, and a speech-bubble with the actual character for longevity, “shou 寿,” making it a likely vehicle for auspicious wishes in the early Jin court. An inscription on the “Sacred Tortoise” believed to be by the artist reads “Zhang Gui of the imperial retinue 隨駕張珪” indicating the artist’s affiliation with the imperial Jin court. “Six Horses” is a handscroll in ink and color on “Lady Wenji’s Return to China” provides a most detailed rendering on silk of Jurchen dress, seen worn by Lady Wenji herself, the central female figure in the procession. “Six Steeds” has been argued to be related to the Jin appreciation of the Tang cultural and political legacy.

culture of popular drama intertwined itself with other facets in Jin painting culture which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

**Concluding Thoughts on Jin Paintings on Silk and Paper**

This chapter has brought together twenty paintings on silk and paper that were likely created during the Jin dynasty. Of the fifteen that are landscape/bamboo paintings, three are well-documented and securely dated to the Jin: the Wang Tingyun bamboo painting at the Yurinkan, the Li Shan handscroll at the Freer Gallery, and the Wu Yuanzhi *Red Cliff* at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, each utilizing different painting styles and brushwork techniques. The group of “Li Shan style” painting consists of five works that are believed to be Jin paintings because of their similarities to the Freer’s Li Shan, while the two paintings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston have been attributed to the Jin because of their similarities with the landscape mural from the tomb of Feng Daozhen. The dating of these two groups of paintings rely heavily upon stylistic and compositional analysis (essentially using style, composition, and brushwork techniques as iconography) to validate their Jin date. The final group includes paintings that are dated to the Jin based on eccentric style or iconography alone. This group includes the two paintings depicting narrative or historical landscapes, the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s *Mission* and the Nelson Atkins’ so-called *Zhao Yu* painting which are attributed to the Jin through architectural and figural iconography and comparisons with historical texts, yet they diverge stylistically and compositionally from each other as well as from previously discussed works. The final three eccentric landscapes, *Streams and Mountains with No End* at the Cleveland Museum of Art, *Travelers among Mountains and Streams* at the
Nelson Atkins, and the Art Institute of Chicago’s *Wangchuan Villa* provide three examples of development in landscape painting attributed to the Jin that are difficult to properly classify.

The small number of works and the variation in their styles present a limited, yet diverse sliver of Jin painting. From this small set of paintings, it is unclear if or how Jurchen rule influenced the development of north Chinese landscape painting styles. The Jin is not characterized by “monumental” paintings or great advancements in landscape painting like the Northern Song, nor can it be relished as a period for the production of “new” and “revolutionary” ink traditions like the Yuan. The fact that so few paintings remain from the Jin dynasty prohibits general characterizations of Jin painting. In some ways, these limitations placed by the small number of Jin paintings remind us of a greater truth about the study of painting history – that there are undoubtedly painting traditions and styles that have been purposefully eradicated or casually lost throughout the centuries. What can be known is that painting traditions in the north by no means declined or ceased evolving during the Jin dynasty. The variety of painting styles and the small number of confidently dated paintings show us that Jin painters continued to practice, preserve, and permute northern painting traditions in a variety of diverse modes.
Chapter 2 Jin Tomb Murals

This chapter surveys tombs with murals dated to the Jin dynasty and examines how the Jin shaped north Chinese funerary painting traditions. In the past several decades, excavations across north China have revealed numerous Jin dynasty tomb murals of great stylistic, material, and thematic diversity. These funerary murals offer new insight into the development of painting and funerary art during the Jin dynasty. The chapter begins with background on the geography, structural typology, and the patrons and painters of Jin tombs. The parallels between Liao, Northern Song, and Jin brick-constructed painted tomb decoration, especially with regard to imitation wooden architecture in painted brick, are introduced. Next, the chapter examines a group of painted brick tombs in the region around the modern-day city of Changzhi 長治 in southeast Shanxi. These six painted tombs are analyzed together for three reasons. First, the group consists of tombs dated by inscription to the Jin dynasty, putting the production of their murals between 1135 and 1208. Second, these tombs are all geographically near each other, allowing for a greater chance of a shared visual vocabulary among the tomb painters. In fact, these tomb murals do share iconography, including images filial sons and daughters, as well as tomb construction materials and techniques. Third, the region around Changzhi is located near the Fen River Valley and northern Henan province, two areas where a great number of painted or carved brick tombs of the Northern Song and Jin dynasties have been excavated. Given these three factors, this chapter asks to what extent this group of six
tombs share stylistic, technical, compositional, thematic and iconographic features – features that would help characterize Jin tomb murals from this region. Although the Changzhi region tombs are geographically close to each other, painted within a seventy-three-year period, and share mural iconography as well as structural features, close analysis suggests that much was left to personal choice, either of the client or the artisan, in the construction of painted brick tombs in the twelfth century Changzhi region. From painting style, to mural placement, to iconographic details, individuals commissioned funerary paintings of varying quality, style, and subject matter for the final resting place of their deceased. These tombs demonstrate the ways that the Jin simultaneously preserved and developed northern Chinese funerary painting traditions.

Where are Jin Tombs with Murals Found?

Jin tombs in which murals are the primary method of decoration have been excavated across north China in the provinces of Shanxi, Shaanxi, Shandong, Hebei, Henan, Liaoning, Gansu, and in the areas around the modern city of Beijing. A large number of these tombs with murals are located in Shanxi Province, in the north around Datong, in central Shanxi around the provincial capital of Taiyuan, and in the southeast and southwest of the province. Many tombs with murals have been dated to the Jin based on style alone. However, there are nineteen tombs which are notable because they have inscriptions that explicitly date them to the Jin dynasty and because their mural images have been published in excavation reports and catalogues. (See Appendix 1, Table of “Dated Painted Brick Jin Tombs”) While these inscribed dates could represent the year of
the tomb occupant’s death, of the tomb’s completed construction, or of the occupant’s interment, they provide a more concrete chronology than stylistic analysis alone.

**Structure of Jin Tombs with Murals**

Among dated Jin tombs with murals, the brick, single-chamber tomb structure predominates. These single-chamber tombs are often topped with corbelled, or domed, brick ceilings and are oriented along a north-south axis, with a ramped entrance passageway in the south. The funerary chambers of Jin tombs are usually rectangular or square. Circular, hexagonal, and octagonal chambers have been excavated as well and their domed brick ceilings usually have a similar number of sides. This type of brick tomb construction flourished across north China’s alluvial plains and loess plateau during the tenth to fourteenth centuries under the Liao (907 – 1125), Northern Song (960 – 1127), Jin, and Yuan (1271 – 1368) dynasties.

**Architecture in the Tomb**

A characteristic feature of painted, brick tombs (from here on referred to as the “painted brick tomb” or “painted tomb”) is *fang mugou* 仿木構, the imitation in painting or three-dimensional brickwork of above-ground timber-frame architecture. The functions of *fang mugou* in Chinese tombs have been extensively addressed by funerary art historians. The shared basis of these scholarly interpretations is that the tomb included elements of above-ground architecture because of a desire to continue an idealized
version of this life into the afterlife. The painted imitation of architecture on tomb walls became an element of funerary decoration in the second century CE. The practice of fang mugou continued through the tenth century, and became a more elaborate and consistent element of tomb decoration in the Liao, Northern Song, and Jin periods. Some early Liao tombs use the simple rendering of painted, two-dimensional architectural elements as framing devices for main murals showing human or animal subjects. The tenth century, single-chamber, brick tomb of Han Yi (936 – 995 CE) and his wife found near Beijing demonstrates this Liao-period style of fang mugou. [Image 2.1] In Han Yi’s tomb, columns, bracket sets, and beams are represented by flat, red blocks of color, sometimes with a simple black outline; molded brickwork is used sparingly to render a rounded column or a bracket set. For an example of the Northern Song dynasty’s three-dimensional, molded brick fang mugou, one may turn to the famous Baisha Tomb No. 1 (1099 CE) in Dengfengxian, Henan. In Baisha Tomb No. 1, painted brickwork was used to create three-dimensional bracket sets, doors, windows, beams, columns, and even

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92. The intense interest in imitating above-ground architectural features suggests that the function of fang mugou must have taken on meaning beyond simply providing a frame for murals. Ellen Johnston Laing suggested in the 1970’s that the tomb space was supposed to act as a courtyard of a residential structure, allowing the viewer to see the various goings-on of the interior spaces. Ellen Johnston Laing, “Problems and Patterns in Later Chinese Tombs,” Journal of Oriental Studies 16 (1978) 3-19. Dieter Kuhn has suggested that this intense attention to realism is a desire to recreate the life of the owner, and create a “domus aeterna”, for the afterlife. Dieter Kuhn, A Place for the Dead, (Heidelberg: Ed. Forum,1996) 47. Wu Hung and Wei-cheng Lin have both suggested that rather than trying to re-create the world of the living, the tomb with its brick architecture was meant to create a new kind of imaginary space, an illusory reality that was distinct from the above-ground world of the living. 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 61 (2011) 13; Wu Hung, Art of the Yellow Springs (Honolulu: Hawai’i University Press, 2013).


furniture. The bracket arms and blocks are all painted with bright colors and create a rich, three-dimensional viewing experience.

In Jin tombs in which murals are the main method of decoration, the appearance of *fang mugou* is also often three-dimensional. Bracket sets, artificial doors and slatted windows, as well as window carvings and balustrades can all be found rendered in molded brick and paint. Architraves and other connecting beams molded in low relief brick and painted with floral motifs or wood grain patterns are also common. However, it should be noted that Jin dynasty craftsmen, especially those from the Pingyang region of southern Shanxi, elevated funerary brickwork to even higher levels of intricacy. In tombs in which carved, molded, and painted brickwork is the main form of decoration, tomb builders covered the tomb with ornate carvings in three-dimensional relief. As seen in Jin tombs from Houma and Macun, in addition to multi-step bracket sets, beams, and columns, there are also highly ornamented wall panels, latticework doors, windows, roof tiles, balustrades, and balconies rendered in high relief brick. [Image 2.2] Three-dimensional brickwork was used not only for architectural elements, but also for other images, including renderings of tomb occupants, Daoist figures, flower vases, and actors or characters from popular drama. This overwhelming impression of *horror vacui* and intense interior ornamentation was not just a feature of Jin carved brick tombs

; Nancy Steinhardt has shown this aesthetic to be a characteristic feature of Jin architecture, traceable to the interiors and ceilings of extant aboveground Jin structures.\(^95\)

Aside from *fang mugou*, Jin tombs include many of the painted motifs and mural themes that are found in north Chinese tombs as early as the first century BCE.\(^96\) Some

of the prominent themes and subjects depicted in Jin tomb murals include representation of the tomb occupant, food and beverage service, musical entertainment, images of idealized daily life, precious treasures, constellations, native Chinese deities, exemplary filial sons and daughters, funerary processions, and tomb guardians. Importantly, images from contemporary popular drama, including actors and stages, were also featured in Jin tombs. While entertainers, like musicians, were often depicted in earlier north Chinese funerary murals, specific allusions to contemporary drama, plays, and actors emerge in tombs starting in the Northern Song period and become a popular theme in the Jin dynasty. In fact, the rise of the culture of popular theater and its integration with painted arts of the Jin dynasty is a pattern that can be traced across tomb, temple, and scroll paintings. In sum, these funerary mural subjects and themes can be read as a desire to extend an idealized version of the good life of this world into the afterlife.

Who Painted Jin Tombs and for Whom?

The majority of painted-brick tombs from the Jin dynasty belonged to wealthy, non-literati elites. From the Northern Song into the Jin, scholar-officials eschewed lavish burials and scholar-officials’ graves were often simple pit-graves with accompanying epitaphs documenting their careers. The painted brick tombs of the Northern Song and Jin dynasties do not include formal epitaphs and their construction

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96 Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Xi’an jiaotong daxue, “Xi’an Jiaotong Daxue Xi Han bihua mu fajue jianbao 西安交通大學西漢壁畫墓發掘簡報 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Painted Han Tomb at the Xi’an Jiaotong University),” Kaogu yu wenwu, 4 (1990): 57 – 63.
98 Kuhn, A Place for the Dead, 44.
and decoration are far more elaborate than simple pit-graves. Dieter Kuhn points out that, for the non-literati elite, a well-furnished tomb was the only way for families to give their ancestors “commemorative signs of distinction.” This explanation accounts for the intense interest in depicting fang mugou in the tomb. Above-ground buildings’ scale, ornamentation, and bracket sets in the Northern Song were regulated by the state, as described in the building standards manual, the *Yingzao Fashi* (1103). Thus, the grade of architectural features imitated in the tomb could elevate the social status of the deceased in the afterlife, acting as a symbol of prestige and wealth in the life after death.

What little is known about the process of creating and decorating Jin painted brick tombs comes from murals and inscriptions in the tombs themselves. Repeated motifs and iconography in eleventh to thirteenth century carved brick and painted tombs suggest that tomb builders and artisans employed modular construction and standardization of images in tomb construction and decoration. However, there is also evidence that individual families and artisans used creativity and collaboration to construct meaningful mural programs and funerary spaces. The inscriptions and murals from Yuanzhuangcun 墓莊村 Tomb 1, a dated and painted Jin tomb from Shaanxi, demonstrate the types of roles artisans and individual families played in the construction of Jin painted tombs. Yuanzhuangcun Tomb 1, was excavated in 2008 in Chengguan Town 城關鎮, Ganquan

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Yuanzhuang Tomb 1 is notable because it is dated by inscription to the fourth year of the Mingchang era (1193) and contains well-preserved murals. It is also closely located to three other painted Jin tombs, two of which are dated by inscription to 1189. Three sets of inscriptions from the tomb will be examined here.

The first inscription comes from the mural on tomb chamber’s east wall and introduces the tomb occupant and his male descendant. The mural depicts a man and a woman seated at a table flanked by two diminutive figures, a male and a female, in front of a painted standing screen. [Image 2.3] An inscription by the head of the seated male figure identifies him as Zhu Jun 朱俊. Three characters, “nan Zhu Zi 男朱孜,” by the head of the diminutive male figure identify him as Zhu Jun’s male descendant, Zhu Zi. The second inscription can be found on the south wall mural and records when and by whom the tomb was created. The mural upon which the second inscription is written depicts a crying, white-robed figure standing before a funerary tablet which has been placed atop a stone turtle. [Image 2.4] This vignette represents the filial paragon Wang Pou 王裒. Due to his mother’s fear of thunder, Wang Pou would weep at her grave at its very sound. Beside the Wang Pou mural is the inscription, “On the fourth year of the Mingchang era, in the eleventh month, on the first day. Brick craftsman: Zhang Jiao, Painter: Wang Xin, Financier: Zhu Zi 明昌四年十一月初一日窯匠張僥 / 匠畫王信 / 出工錢人朱孜.” This is one of the interesting cases in which the artisans who worked on the tomb are named. Zhang Jiao and Wang Xin were likely the respective heads of the

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103 Ibid. Yuanzhangcun M3 and M4 are both dated to 1189. Yuanzhangcun M2 has no date.
brick and painting workshops who constructed and decorated the tomb. Additionally, the aforementioned male descendant Zhu Zi was the same individual who financed the tomb. The third inscription is a record on the financial success of millet farming. This inscription is on the west side of the south wall. It is written next to an image of a man and a woman carrying a baby while unearthing a glowing treasure. [Image 2.5] This vignette depicts the filial son Guo Ju 郭巨 who, due to financial difficulties, decided to bury his baby son alive in order to redirect family resources to care for his elderly father. On the Guo Ju mural is the inscription, “In the first year, the second year, and the third year of the Mingchang era, the price of one dou of millet was 300 qian 明昌元年二年三年三百錢一斗粟[初熟?].” This record of consistent millet prices in the three years leading up to the completion of the tomb may have been included by Zhu Zi in order to send a message of the family’s continued financial success to his deceased ancestor.104 From the inscriptions and the filial paragons scenes with which they are paired, we can begin to understand better the process and motivations behind the tomb’s construction and decoration. First, the listing of Zhu Zi, the son who paid for the tomb, and the names of the brick craftsman and painter together suggests that they worked in collaboration to create this tomb. Second, the inscriptions make explicit that Zhu Zi wanted his role in financing the construction of a finely painted tomb, in employing the painting and brick artisans, and in continuing the financial success of the family to be recorded for all.

104 This interpretation was suggested also by the archaeological team in the archaeological report. Wang Yonggang and the Ganquan County Museum, “Shaanxi Ganquan Jin dai bihuamu,” 26 – 42. In Middle Period tombs, there are sometimes inscriptions which offer auspicious wishes for the flourishing of future generations. If this inscription is interpreted as a report of new information to the deceased, it would suggest that Zhu Jun was not alive in the first three years of the Mingchang era (1190 – 1192); however, the tomb was not completed until the fourth year of the Mingchang era (1193). This timeline, in addition to reasons to be discussed in note 15, this tomb was probably constructed as a joint-burial and reburial for Zhu Jun.
This suggests that there was some sort of benefit to Zhu Zi, be it social, spiritual, or personal, associated with financing a tomb. Third, it is significant that the two stories of the filial sons Wang Pou and Guo Ju were selected to be painted in the tomb and that they accompanied inscriptions addressing similar themes. The pairing of the Wang Pou story and the inscription about the tomb’s construction and financing highlights the filial theme of caring deeply for a parent even after death. The pairing of the Guo Ju story and the inscription about millet prices highlights themes of sacrifice and redirection of financial resources for the benefit of parents. Filial sons and daughters is a mural subject that appears with increased frequency in Jin painted brick tombs and evidence from other Jin tombs suggests that the Zhu family was not alone in their personalized selection of paragons for the tomb. My survey of Jin painted tombs reveals that individual families in the Jin period had the flexibility to determine the style, quality, placement, and combination of filial paragon murals in the tomb. Although iconography may have been standardized and tomb construction may have been “modular,” families still worked with artisans and workshops to create meaningful funerary spaces for their deceased family members. The inscriptions and mural program in this tomb suggest that societal and personal motivations drove Zhu Zi to finance this tomb and record specific aspects of its creation. As a result, in Yuanzhuangcun Tomb No. 105, on the west wall of the tomb is a similar composition to the one seen on the east wall. However, in this west wall mural, Zhu Zi and his wife are the ones seated at the table. The excavation of four skulls in this tomb suggests that this tomb could be the joint burial of Zhu Jun, Zhu Jun’s wife, Zhu Zi, and Zhu Zi’s wife. If this is the case, then Zhu Zi financed the tomb, replete with images of auspicious filial imagery, for his father and for himself.

105 On the west wall of the tomb is a similar composition to the one seen on the east wall. However, in this west wall mural, Zhu Zi and his wife are the ones seated at the table. The excavation of four skulls in this tomb suggests that this tomb could be the joint burial of Zhu Jun, Zhu Jun’s wife, Zhu Zi, and Zhu Zi’s wife. If this is the case, then Zhu Zi financed the tomb, replete with images of auspicious filial imagery, for his father and for himself.

106 It should be noted that Guo Jujing 郭居敬 (fl. 1295 – 1321) would publish Poems on the Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars 二十孝詩 which would go on to be the most popular source material for later imperial works in the genre of filial exemplars.
1, we find an interesting “snapshot” of the relationship between the tomb murals and the people behind the tomb: the tomb builders, decorators, financier, and occupant.

As mentioned above, Jin painted tombs were created by and for the non-official, regional elite. Similarities between late Northern Song and Jin painted tombs in construction and decoration suggest that the socio-economic groups commissioning and creating painted tombs were similar across the dynastic transition. When the Jin armies overthrew the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng in the winter of 1126 - 1127, there were major disruptions in the lives of those serving in the Northern Song court. Members of the imperial family fled to the south and the reigning Northern Song emperor and members of his court were taken as captives to the north. However, it seems that the lives of the landowning elite with no official titles were little affected by the change in dynastic rule. Herbert Franke notes the relative silence in textual sources regarding any social upheaval. He suggests therefore that class structure in the countryside and eventually, after the tumult of the Jin conquest subsided, in the cities remained much the same. By this, Franke means that rich landowners of the north stayed rich, and the less fortunate “masses of laborers, small tenant-famers, and poor landowners” stayed poor.  

Franke’s assessment is supported by the continued production from the late Northern Song into the Jin dynasty of painted brick tombs with similar fang mugou, mural themes, and subjects. This phenomenon is addressed by Minkyung Ji in her 2014 dissertation, which examines tomb structures in the Song and the Jin through the lens of

commercialism. Ji determined that the wealthy landowners who were constructing tombs in the Northern Song and Jin exhibited the same material and commercial desires in their tombs, and thus should be considered as belonging to the same socio-economic classes.

Even if the socio-economic status and commercial desires of wealthy non-official elites of north China from the Northern Song into the Jin remained consistent, how did funerary painting change or stay the same during the 119 years of Jin rule? Although Jin tombs perpetuated many of the funerary art traditions established in the Liao and Northern Song periods, the blossoming of popular drama and theater in late Northern Song and Jin urban centers resulted in the culture and imagery of popular drama infiltrating many aspects of Jin visual and painting culture. The intertwining of popular drama and visual and material culture develops throughout the history of Middle Period Chinese tombs, but it is a notably prevalent characteristic of funerary art of the Jin dynasty. In search of trends in Jin period tomb murals, the following section examines a group of painted brick tombs from the Changzhi region of southeast Shanxi province and highlights the ways that Jin tomb murals preserved past funerary painting traditions while simultaneously reflecting contemporary social and cultural developments.

109 This is discussed in Hong Theater of the Dead with regard to funerary art, especially incised stone or brick funerary depictions of drama, and in Zhang (2017) with particular regard to printed materials.
The Changzhi Dated Tombs

This section focuses on the murals and painting styles found around the Changzhi city region in southeast Shanxi province. [Image 2.6] Of the provinces mentioned above, Shanxi and northern Henan province have the largest number of well-preserved and published Jin dynasty painted tombs. The Changzhi region is situated in the midst of several regions which are prominent sites for the excavation of Northern Song and Jin dynasty painted or carved brick tombs. Changzhi is approximately 225 km east of Houma in Shanxi, 220 km south of Taiyuan in Shanxi, and 230 km north of the city of Zhengzhou in Henan. That so many lavishly decorated tombs have been excavated from this region suggests that there must have been a flourishing market for the commissioning and production of decorated tombs during the Northern Song and Jin periods. There is, therefore, the possibility of regional styles or a shared visual index of motifs and painting styles emerging from exchange between regional painting workshops in such an active region. Of the six tombs in this group, five are within an approximate 16.5 km (10.3 mi) diameter of each other, and a sixth which is about 70 km south in the Jincheng 晋城 region. The earliest tomb in the group dates to 1135 and the latest to 1208.110 Given their proximity to each other in date and in geographic region, the six tombs will be analyzed

110 Of these six tombs, three have full excavation reports – the Songcun tomb, Guzhangcun tomb, and the Xiaoguancun tomb. The Yuquancun Tomb has an excavation report but only some of the pictures have been published; for Yuquancun Tomb images see Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quanji 中国出土壁画全集 [A Complete Collection of Excavated Murals from China], vol. 2 (Beijing: Kexue chuban she, 2012) 149 – 155 (cat. no.141 – 149); for excavation report see Shang Tongliu 商彤流 and Zheng Lingyou 郑林有. “Lingchuanxian Yuquancun Jin dai bihua mu 陵川縣玉泉村金代壁畫墓 [The Jin painted tomb from Yuquancun, Lingchuan county].” Zhongguo kaogu xue nianjian 中国考古学年鉴 (2008) 174 – 175. The Nanchuicun and Ligaocun tombs only have some images of tomb murals published in Xu, Zhongguo chutu bihua quanji, vol. 2, 141 – 142 (cat. nos. 134 – 135), 167 (Cat. no. 160).
below for identifiable patterns in painting styles, content, and programs shared across the six tombs that would help characterize Jin tomb painting from the Changzhi region.

The following section will outline a brief description of the painting found in each of the six tombs from the Changzhi region in chronological order.

**Songcun Tomb (1135)**

This painted brick tomb was excavated in 1999 from Songcun 宋村, Gaolixiang 高李鄉, Tunliuxian 屯留縣 in Shanxi Province. It is one of two published Jin painted brick tombs from Songcun. Of the two Songcun tombs, only this tomb includes inscriptions that date the tomb to the thirteenth year of the Tianhui era (1135) and names its painter as Li Tongjia 李通家 from Tongdi 銅堤 county. The tomb is a brick-constructed, single square-chamber tomb oriented along a north-south axis, with its entrance in the south. The *fang mugou* decoration inside the tomb chamber was designed to imitate a multi-storied construction. [Image 2.7] The first story consists of four columns placed on the ground at the corners of the tomb chamber. A second level of four columns was constructed atop main architraves. Atop the second level of columns, bracket sets with two levels of three arms were constructed, along with inter-columnar bracket sets on each of the walls.

The tomb murals consist of three registers. A lower level depicts human figures and scenes of idealized rural life, a middle level depicts *zaju* 雜劇 actors, and a top level depicts filial paragons.

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111 The other Songcun tomb is reported Zhu Xiaofang, et al. "Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu 山西 屯留宋村金代壁畫墓 (A Jin dynasty tomb with murals from Songcun, Tunliu, Shanxi Province)" *Wenwu* (2008, 8) 55-62. The painting in this tomb is far superior, but is not dated by inscription.
There are four main themes depicted in the Songcun tomb: idealized farm life, idealized occupant imagery, filial sons and daughters, and contemporary popular drama. Images of idealized farm life is one of the oldest funerary painting themes in north China and murals depicting this theme be found on all four walls of the Songcun tomb chamber. The entrance to the tomb chamber is constructed on the south wall. On either side of the entrance are military figures seated on floating clouds, standing sentinel like door guards. [Image 2.8] Depicted behind each military figure are male figures in a round-necked robes leading horses with a saddle on their backs. Farm tools are also shown, including a plough and harrow. On either side of the north wall’s imitation doorway are carved brick windows. Below each window on the west side of the north wall is a woman at a low table with scissors and a woven basket, doing some sort of needlework. [Image 2.9] The images of idealized farm life are continued on the east and west wall murals, depicted around the imitation carved brick doors and windows. The east wall mural includes images of cooking, drawing water from a well, and the pulley system over the well. [Image 2.10] The west wall mural depicts two figures carrying out daily farm chores, two horses and three cows feeding at troughs, a wooden rice huller, a stone mill. [Image 2.11] In both the east and west walls the brushwork is loose, fluid, and simple; the minimum number of strokes to render each image is used. The artist seems to have control of the brush, but this is not the hand of someone who formally studied painting on silk or paper.

112 For an early example, see the third century CE painted funerary bricks depicting idealized farm life in Tomb 6 at Jiayuguan in Gansu Province. Richard Barnhart, et al. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, 37.
The idealized image of the tomb occupant can be seen in the center of the north wall. The tradition of painting idealized images of the tomb occupant in the tomb can also be seen as early as the second century CE (the Anping tomb dated to 176 CE from Hebei contains one such early example) and images of tomb occupant couples in Northern Song, Jin, and Yuan tombs are abundant. Inside of an imitation doorframe on the Songcun tomb’s north wall is depicted a couple, identified as the tomb occupant and his wife, seated at table. [Image 2.12] The woman sits to the left and has a tall hairstyle. She wears an outer yellow jacket and inner robe while the man, seated on the right, wears a round-necked robe and a high black cap. Standing behind the woman is a female attendant and behind the man is a male attendant. Framing the seated couple are two screens, each decorated with illegible calligraphy. The couple is seated at a rectangular table arranged with a number of dishes, which has sustained much damage. The composition is framed at the top by draping textile curtains decorated with evenly-spaced, round, yellow floral motifs on a white ground.

The third main mural theme rendered in this tomb is that of filial paragons. Filial paragons and exemplars of filial piety can be found depicted in the funerary context as early as the second century CE (the painted lacquer basket from the Han dynasty commandery in Lelang in modern day North Korea is one such early example). The subject of filial sons and daughters became a major part of the funerary painting tradition in the Northern Song and Jin periods. Around the upper portion of each of the four walls are painted twenty-four stories of filial sons and daughters, each titled with a short

113 For an image of the Anping tomb occupant, see Barnhart, et al. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, 32. For examples of Northern Song tomb occupant images, see Su, *Song Baishamu*.

The fourth theme addressed in this tomb is that of contemporary drama. Atop the scenes of filial sons and daughters on the south wall are two horizontal paintings of zaju actors, six processing to the center from the right, and six from the left. [Image 2.15] Each figure is shown in costume and carrying a specific object associated with their dramatic role.

The painting in the Songcun tomb is not sophisticated in terms of technical skill. As seen on the south wall murals, figures and objects are simply painted at different heights; there is no sense of depth or use of foreshortening. There, however, is some sense of recession into space on the north wall occupant portrait, seen in the depiction of the screens behind the figures. On the left side of the west wall, cows and horses are painted alongside feeding troughs. The depiction of the animals lined-up, in profile and slight ¾-profile is probably the most sophisticated painting in this tomb. Throughout the tomb, neither painting style nor technique bears much relation to that seen on silk or
paper. The paintings of farm implements, however, such as the plow and harrow on the south wall, the well on the east wall, and the stone mill and rice huller seen on the west wall provide visual evidence for the types of agricultural implements that were familiar to the Changzhi region in the early twelfth century.

**Nanchuicun Tomb (1153)**

The Nanchuicun tomb was excavated in 1965, but no excavation report was published. The tomb inscription dated the murals to the first year of the Zhenyun era 貞元元年 (1153). Two images of the tomb’s murals are available though, one showing a bridge with a procession and another showing an occupant portrait. The processional bridge scene is located above the tomb entrance on the south wall. [Image 2.16] The mural depicts approximately twenty robed figures processing right to left across a wooden bridge. Below the bridge are stylized waves and some figures who seem to be struggling in the water. The procession is led by several tonsured figures playing cymbals on the left. In the center of the bridge stand two figures carrying long, tasseled banners. A male and female, perhaps the tomb occupant and his wife, are depicted as distinguished figures with two ornamented canopies over their heads. In the rear of the party are two more tasseled banners and more figures carrying offerings with both hands. Swirling cloud vapors surround the bridge. These cloud vapors and the figures are drawn carefully with precise brushstrokes. The bridge itself is rendered with straight, measured lines. Ornamental lotus finials are carefully depicted on the bridge’s balustrade. The mural overall presents a carefully delineated and engaging image with many small details.
On the top part of the north wall is a mural of the occupant and his wife. [Image 2.17] To the left of the seated woman is a diminutive female attendant figure. A diminutive male attendant stands to the right of the seated male figure. The occupant and his wife are seated on wooden chairs with footrests. The table is set with simply painted white dishes and a round-bodied ewer in a warming dish with a foliated edge. There are four, cylindrical objects placed at the four corners of the rectangular table, painted green, with a diamond pattern in black drawn on them, perhaps candles or lamps. The faces of the figures are damaged, but the man wears a long, round-necked robe and the wife wears an outer jacket and long skirt. A tasseled ornament hangs from the center of the ceiling, above the table. Behind the table seems to be standing screens, but it is unclear. Framing the mural are yellow curtains pulled to either side and a rolled up bamboo screen at the top. Below are swirling cloud vapors. A painted fang mugou beam and curtain fringe can be seen as part of a lower register mural below.

Both of the published Nanchuicun tomb murals are painted with many bright colors, including blues, greens, red, and yellow. The brushwork in both murals is quite controlled and the depiction of figures, furniture, robes, and ceramic dishes are careful and precise. A sense of depth in the murals is better expressed than in the Songcun tomb. Additionally, the use of color is more varied and the brushwork is more controlled.

Yuquancun Tomb (1169)

The Yuquancun tomb is one of the finest examples of mural painting found in a north Chinese painted brick tomb of any period. The brick tomb consists of one square-

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115 Xu, Zhongguo chutu bihua quanj, vol. 2. 150 – 156.
shaped chamber, oriented north-south, with its entrance in the south.\textsuperscript{116} The ceiling is constructed as a four-sided domed ceiling. A brick funerary bed was built onto the north side of the tomb chamber, measuring 0.15 m tall, and 1.42 m deep, and extending the width of the chamber. No funerary goods were found inside the tomb, but the skeletal remains of three adults were discovered. Additionally, in the southwest and southeast corners, the bones of two children were discovered, suggesting that the tomb was a reburial, or at least opened multiple times. The excavation report describes bracketing placed symmetrically at the corners of the room, with floral motifs between them, but no image of this is published.

In the passageway is a stone slab with an epitaph of twenty-four lines. The epitaph tells of the tomb owner’s life in farming, his upright character, his children, and that he was buried in 1169, the ninth year of the Dading reign of the Jin dynasty (金朝大定九年).\textsuperscript{117}

The two main mural themes depicted in the Yuquancun tomb are filial exemplars and banquet preparation. The filial exemplars can be found on the four sides of the tomb chamber ceiling. Although these ceiling murals are not labeled with inscriptions and the surfaces have suffered damage, it is still possible to identify the specific exemplars. Moreover, it is still clear that the figures and the key attributes are depicted in landscape settings with small, dry trees, delineated land forms, and cloud vapors. On the north side of the ceiling is a mural depicting Tian Zhen and his brothers dividing the family

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid. 174 – 5.
Inheritance. On the west side of the ceiling is a scene identified as the story of Yang Xiang and the tiger. The tiger, with Yang Xiang on his back, turns and faces a male figure who is fleeing in the opposite direction. Each hair of the tiger’s fur around its belly, face, and tail is depicted with fine brush strokes. Three trees, two with dry branches and one with red leaves, are also depicted and frame the composition. Craggy ground rendered in dry brush is seen in the distance. On the south side of the ceiling is a mural showing the story of Dong Yong and on the east side is a mural showing the story of Guo Ju. Both of these murals show their figures in the same carefully outlined style as the other two ceiling murals. However, seen more clearly in the Dong Yong mural are the dry, withered trees, stylistically similar to those associated with the acclaimed landscape painters Li Cheng (919 – 967) and Guo Xi (ca. 1020 - 1090) and perpetuated in the Jin by the painters working in the style of Li Shan. Fast, downward strokes, almost like the axe-cut strokes used in silk paintings, are also employed for shading an outcropping of land in the Dong Yong mural. Between the trees and the depiction of rocks and land, parallels can be drawn between the dry brushwork seen in these ceiling murals and brushwork on silk. These parallels between the ceiling murals and landscape painting on silk and paper is interesting because the murals on the main walls of the tomb chamber also are skillfully painted.

The themes of banquet (i.e. food and drink) preparation are addressed on the tomb chamber’s south wall, and the south sides of the east and west walls. The layout of the murals in this tomb is quite unique because the composition on the east side of the tomb extends from the south side of the east wall onto the south wall, forming a continuous

scene in the southeast corner of the chamber. The same can be seen on the south side of the west wall, in which the west wall mural extends onto the west side of the south wall.

In the southeast corner of the tomb chamber is painted a mural of beverage, probably wine, preparation. [Image 2.22] Five male figures bustle about a cabinet next to a table filled with various ceramic wares. Their faces are shown with great detail, giving each figure a sense of personality. Of particular interest is one man in light blue holding a tray of three bowls, and another behind the table holding a round-bodied, long-necked vessel in two hands. Both wear round-necked tunics decorated with repeating medallions, the blue tunic with round yellow medallions and the brown with dotted tear-drop shaped medallions. The circular or teardrop medallions on a plain field are often seen in fragments of textiles dated to the Jin dynasty, such as the green silk fragment with swan hunt motifs from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. [Image 2.23] The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s textile is a green silk brocaded with gold-leaf wapped leather strips. Set against the green ground are repeating teardrop-shaped medallions depicting a swan against a floral background with a falcon overhead. During the seasonal Jurchen “spring-water” hunt, Jurchen nobility would wear green textiles decorated with such swan-hunting motifs.\(^{119}\) That a servant in the Yuquancun tomb would be depicted wearing this specific luxury textile is unusual, except for the fact that this is an idealized vision of life in which perhaps even servants wear gold-brocaded silk textiles. There is also a detailed depiction of the ceramics shown in this southeast corner mural. The ceramics include a gourd-shaped ewer carried by the male servant in white, the round-bodied, long-necked vessel mentioned above, as well as cups, saucers and two wine jugs.

The furniture, a cabinet and table that extends from the south wall to the east, is also painted carefully with precise brushwork. This mural shows a rich and detailed depiction of Jin material culture.

The southwest corner mural depicts more scenes of banquet preparation. On the west side of the south wall, three male servants stand among tables preparing food. [Image 2.24] One wears an apron and uses a knife to slice food on a board. To his right are two other male servants, one holding a tray bearing three shallow covered-bowls and one holding a bowl and ladle. Three taller bowls are arranged on the wooden table in front of him and a large gourd-shaped box sits on a table behind the three servants. The overall composition of this scene is complex. The layering of the tables and use of foreshortening creates a sense of depth, which is impressive and sophisticated for a tomb mural. On the west wall, three male servants are depicted. One male servant carries a tray with a transparent gauze cover with a bowl inside. [Image 2.25] He wears a jacket with long flowing sleeves upon which the delicate, repeating medallion motifs are still visible. Two other male figures, one in a belted brown robe, the other in a belted blue robe, stand behind a table with a stack of cups and saucers. The figure in the brown robe has repeating yellow teardrop motifs on his robe, similar to the figure in brown on the east wall.

The style of painting in the Yuquancun tomb is far more detailed, meticulous, fluid, and technically accomplished than other tomb murals dated to the Jin dynasty. Each figure, piece of furniture, or piece of ceramic is outlined in a fine, steady black line. Every detail, from the furniture ornaments, the motifs on the textiles, even the facial expressions and the creases in the figures’ hands are carefully and clearly rendered. The
compositions, with their complex layering and foreshortening of tables and cabinets, betray the painter’s careful consideration and understanding of the portrayal of depth and space within his two-dimensional medium. While the style of painting on the chamber walls differs from that seen on the ceiling, both the wall and ceiling paintings are exceptionally controlled, planned, and executed funerary murals. The paintings on the north wall and north sides of the east and west walls are of great interest. The excavation report indicates that two screens are painted on the north wall. Additionally, paintings of hanging scrolls with birds and flowers are on the north sides of the east and west walls.\footnote{A sliver of the painting on the east wall has been published, and the mountings of yellow silk with brown floral medallions can be seen on both the east and west walls. Unfortunately, the full images of these murals have not been published. The Yuquancun tomb’s hanging scroll-murals could be a valuable link in understanding the relationship between of Jin paintings on scrolls and in tombs.}

\textbf{Xiaoguancun Tomb (1174)}

The Xiaoguancun Tomb was excavated in 1994. This painted brick tomb is oriented along a north-south axis, with an entry in the south.\footnote{Image 2.26} The tomb consists of an entryway, a passageway, a square-shaped tomb chamber, and a side-chamber to the north. The tomb is dated to the fourteenth year of the Dading 大定 era (1174) by an inscription around the inside of the doorframe on the south wall. \footnote{Image 2.27} The mural program, which consists of auspicious motifs, \textit{fang mugou}, idealized farm life, and

\footnote{Shang and Zheng, “Lingchuanxian Yuquancun Jin dai bihua mu,” 174 – 175.}
occupant images, is strongly rooted in north Chinese funerary painting traditions. However, the depiction of screens decorated with a calligraphic inscription drawn from a play reflects the integration of contemporary popular drama with Jin funerary painting traditions. The murals and their significance will be discussed below.

The ceiling of the Xiaoguancun tomb chamber is brightly painted with a variety of auspicious motifs, including large lotus and peony blossoms, *lingzhi* fungus, and cranes. [Image 2.28] The ceiling also includes several motifs from native Chinese cosmology that can be found in funerary painting as early as the Western Han dynasty (2nd century BCE); the depicted motifs include the twenty-eight celestial lodges, the sun with a black bird painted in the east, and moon with the medicine-pounding hare painted in the west.¹²²

The painted, carved brick *fang mugou* in this tomb is elaborate and brightly painted as well. There is a bracket set in each of the four corners of the tomb chamber and one in the center of each wall, totaling eight bracket sets. Each bracket set consists of two levels of three arms. The arms and blocks are decorated with stylized floral motifs. Interlocking vine and floral motifs are painted in inter-columnar spaces between the architraves and connecting beams. Some of these carved-brick beams are even painted to resemble wood grain. [Image 2.29] On all four of the walls are doorways, each flanked by two carved brick windows. The doorways on the east and west walls are fake, but the door on the north wall leads to the small, auxiliary chamber. The construction and placement of imitation doors and windows are features that are shared by other dated tombs in the

¹²² For example, the bird in the sun and the hare in the moon motifs can be found on the T-shaped silk painting found on the coffin of the Lady Dai, dated to the second century BCE. See Eugene Wang, “Ascend to heaven or stay in the tomb?” in Amy Olberding and Philip Ivanhoe, eds. *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2011) 37-84.
southeast Shanxi region, such as the Songcun tomb discussed above and the Guzhangcun tomb (1189) to be discussed below.\textsuperscript{123}

Above the doorways on the east and west walls are a total of sixteen vignettes depicting filial paragons. These vignettes, eight on the west wall and eight on the east wall, are painted in rectangular compositions and arranged linearly in a horizontal register across the length of the wall. Each rectangular composition is titled by script neatly written in rectangular cartouches. The scenes and their inscriptions include, on the east wall: “Ding Lan carves (a statue of) his mother 丁蘭刻母,” “Carrying his mother on his back on Baoshan 鮑山背母,” “Guo Ju buries his son 郭巨埋子,” [Image 2.30] “Dong Yong sells himself 董永自賣,” [Image 2.30] “Zeng Can asks his mother 曾參問母,” “Min Zi pleads with his father 閔子諫父,” “Cai Shun fetches mulberry for his parents 蔡順椹親,” and “Liu Yin sobs in the bamboo 劉殷泣筍.” On the west wall are the eight scenes of “Yanzi fetches milk 瞳子取乳,” “Wife Wu cuts her thigh 武妻割股,” “Shunzi (the Emperor Shun) plows the field 舜子耕田,” “Han Boyu cries at the beating 韓伯瑜泣杖,” “Cao E cries at the river 曹娥泣江,” “Yang Xiang straddles a tiger 楊香跨虎,” “Tian Zhen divides the residence 田眞分居,” [Image 2.31] “Wang Xiang lies on the ice 王祥臥氷.” [Image 2.31] The Xiaoguancun tomb’s depiction of the filial paragons framed in regular, rectangular boxes suggests the use of printed \textit{fenben} 粉本 or model sketch books (unfortunately, none are extant) among funerary painting workshops.

Idealized scenes of daily farm life and banquet preparation are depicted on the east and west walls. As mentioned above, idealized life is a common and early theme in funerary murals of north China. Depicted on the south side of the west wall are objects from idealized farm life, including a donkey by a flowering tree, oxen, and farm implements, including a stone mill. [Image 2.32] A male figure with an attendant is also shown with his chest exposed, while a cup and a sandal are placed in front of him. When figures in Chinese painting are depicted bare-chested, they are often not common, secular figures. Based on his partially-clothed state and drinking cup, it is possible that this figure is a Daoist eccentric, like the ones famously depicted drinking and disheveled in the *Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi* (5th – 6th century) funerary brick relief excavated near Nanjing.\(^{124}\) Images of the good life are continued on the tomb chamber’s east wall. On the east wall mural, a six-tier stack of steamer-baskets above a heat source, a water jug, and a shelf for bowls continue the themes of food preparation while another glimpse of idealized farm life is given by the depiction of a woman getting water from a well. [Image 2.33]

The north, east, and west wall murals include images of three seated couples. These couples are idealized images of the tomb occupants. Of the three Xiaoguancun couples, only the couple on the west wall is not seated in front of calligraphy screens and will be excluded from the discussion below. First, the couple on the east wall are seated on either side of the imitation window on the north side of the wall. The woman sits on the left of the window and inscription on the screen behind her reads, [Image 2.34 c]

春雨 名[各?]利塚，猛風吹破是非塚

\(^{124}\) For an image of the funerary molded brick relief, *ibid.* 48 – 49.
The spring rain […], the ferocious winds will blow and destroy right and wrong [in the] grave.

A female attendant stands by her, holding a tray with a small cup on it. Another woman holding a small child stands to the right. Across from her on the south side of the east wall sits a man by a table, with a male attendant, in front of a screen. [Image 2.34 d] He wears a robe with a center opening and a belt. The inscription on the screen behind him reads,

雨後碧川净，春来柳绿，谁家涤洗处，到卖花

After the rain, the jade river is pure. When spring comes, the willows are green.

Whose family will clean this place… selling flowers…

On either side of the passageway to the north side chamber on the north wall is the third seated tomb occupant pairing. To the left is the seated woman with a small female attendant and the screen behind her partially reads, [Image 2.34 a]

青松映里…

In the reflection of the green pines…

These three evocative inscriptions on the east and north walls all seem to be concerned with green (青/碧), the passing of time, and seasonal changes in the natural world. They do not match texts from extant plays, but many plays have been lost or altered in the interceding centuries between the tomb’s construction and present day. It is the fourth and final of the standing screen inscriptions that is instructive in understanding the relationship between the Xiaoguancun tomb and contemporary popular drama. The fourth inscription behind the male occupant on the north wall reads, “青山只會磨今古，綠水
何曾洗.[Image 2.34 b] I have identified that this inscription may be found in the play, *The Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed* 東窗事犯. Using the received text of the play to fill in the last two illegible characters of the tomb inscription, the text reads, “The green mountains can only grind down the past and the present, but the verdant water can never wash away right and wrong.”  

The *Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed*, is a *zaju* 雜劇 or “miscellaneous comedy,” a genre which developed in north China during the Northern Song, Jin, and Yuan periods. This play has been preserved in a collection of *zaju* compiled during the Yuan dynasty, known today as *Thirty Miscellaneous Comedies Printed in the Yuan* (Yuanka zaju sanshi zhong 元刊雜劇三十種). The identity of the playwright who wrote the *Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed*, however, has been disputed. One author who is credited is an individual named Jin Renjie (d. 1329) from Hangzhou. Modern editors, however, credit the play to Kong Wenqing 孔文卿, from Pingyang 平陽, who is listed as a “second author” in Zhong Sicheng’s early fourteenth century catalogue of popular plays, *Register of Ghosts* 錄鬼簿. Kong’s dates are not preserved, but it is significant that his hometown was Pingyang, an important center in southern Shanxi for Jin drama, printing, and carved brick tombs with depictions of actors and theater.

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125 Stephen H. West, and W. L. Idema, eds. *The Orphan of Zhao and Other Yuan Plays: The Earliest Known Versions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) 340. The last two characters according to the received text are 是非 “right or wrong.”
126 Ibid., 3. The title was given to this collection by the modern drama scholar Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877 – 1927) in his preface to the 1924 Shanghai reproduction of a recutting and reprinting of the plays by Kyoto University in 1914. The *Affair of the Eastern Window* is a “four-act musical drama in which each act has as its core a suite of arias (taoshu 套數) sung to one of the nine musical modes (gongdiao 宮調) and utilizing a single rhyme throughout one act.”
127 Ibid., 4
128 Ibid. 326.
The Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed centers on two historical figures, Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090 – 1155) and Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103 – 1142). In the years between 1127 and 1141, the Southern Song (1127 – 1279) and Jin courts were often at war, disputing their borders. Qin Gui, who was a captive of the Jin from 1127 – 1130, became a prime minister at the Southern Song court in Hangzhou and called for accommodation with the Jin dynasty. In 1141, when peace negotiations were being held with the Jin, Yue Fei was called to court. Yue Fei was a successful general in the Southern Song army, famous for retaking cities like Zhengzhou and Luoyang from the Jin. However, when he was brought back to Hangzhou, he was imprisoned for rebellion and died in prison when he refused to confess. It was said that he was murdered at the order of Qin Gui. The Treaty of the Huai River was signed in 1142 and allowed for peaceful relations between the Southern Song and Jin until 1161. When hostility resumed in 1161, the atmosphere in the Southern Song court had changed and Qin Gui was no longer admired for the diplomatic peace that he made with the Jin. His relationship with the Jin court, which developed during his time as a Jin prisoner, was seen as evidence of his treachery to the Song and his loyalty to the Jurchen regime. During this time, Yue Fei was remembered as a great general who would have been able to take back the north, if only he had not been imprisoned and murdered by Qin Gui.129 The Xiaoguancun tomb is dated to 1174, thirteen years after the disintegration of the peace established by the Treaty of the Huai River and thirty-two years after the death of Yue Fei. This timeline would have allowed sufficient time for news of the murderous event to find its way north and potentially become the subject of

129 Ibid. 321 – 322. The title Affair of the Eastern Window refers to a line in the play in which Qin Gui’s wife remarks that it is easy to catch a tiger at the east window, but impossible to release the beast once it has been made one’s enemy. The capture and murder of Yue Fei is thus the eponymous affair of the eastern window.
contemporary intrigue. My identification of the quotation in the tomb would place the play’s creation and first waves of popularity before 1174, but likely after the disintegration of peace in 1161.

The line from the Xiaoguancun tomb occurs in the second act of the play. In this act, Yue Fei has been murdered and Qin Gui visits the Lingyin Monastery outside of Hangzhou “to appease the specters that haunt him by sponsoring sutra recitations and vegetarian feasts for the monks. At the monastery he is taunted at length by a deranged postulant…The idiocy of the holy fool allows such a character to freely express truths that others would hardly dare utter.” The quoted line, “The green mountains can only grind down the past and the present, but the verdant water can never wash away right and wrong” is said to Qin Gui by the so-called “deranged postulant.” The following line ominously reads, “All it will achieve is your own death and your family’s destruction, scattered like tiles, gone like stars.” The appearance of this quote reveals the interest in the intersecting worlds of funerary painting, contemporary drama, and theatrical performance. Actors and theatrical stages are depicted in Jin carved brick tombs from the sites of Houma and Macun in southwest Shanxi province, but this quotation is a direct and literate reference to a specific play. Additionally, the quotation’s appearance in the dated tomb gives insight to the extent of the popularity and circulation of this play in late twelfth century southern Shanxi.

\[130 \textit{Ibid.} 324. \]
\[131 \textit{Ibid.} 340. \]
\[132 \text{I would like to thank Christopher Atwod and Adam Smith for their suggestion that, due to the proximity in time of the tomb’s date to the Yue Fei/ Qin Gui incident and the fact that the other three quotations are not directly matched to lines from plays, this line may simply be a popular poetic sentiment or saying from this time period.} \]
Another allusion to theater and popular drama may be seen in the upper register of Xiaoguancun’s south wall in murals placed on either side of the entrance. [Image 2.35] On the east side of the entrance is a mural depicting two female attendants, one holding a banner and another holding an object with both hands, leading a procession of five other figures. [Image 2.36] The composition is framed by a tree on the left and a scrolling cloud at the bottom. The two leading female attendants are followed by a male figure in a round-necked robe and pants. Behind him a woman in a robe and a long jacket leads a male child by the hand. A male figure in military attire and a dark, hirsute man, described in the excavation report as resembling the legendary demon queller Zhong Kui, walks in the back. On the west side of the wall, a procession is also pictured over a bridge under which is depicted flowing water. [Image 2.37] On the bridge, a female figure holding an offering with both hands leads a man and a woman, perhaps the tomb occupants, across. Another dark, hirsute figure and a man in boots holding an offering stand to the right of the bridge. The excavation report suggests that this may be a reference to popular beliefs during Song and Jin times of the Naihe Bridge 奈何橋, over which people crossed to enter the underworld.133 However, given that I have demonstrated the tomb occupants’ interest in the culture of popular drama, it is possible that these processions have dual functions as representing a dramatic scene from a play, as well as a symbolic visualization of the tomb occupants’ crossing over to the world of the dead. The eclectic group of individuals is unusual and the inclusion of a hirsute figure resembling Zhong Kui raises the possibility that this figure is an actor in drag. Additionally, since there are similarities in structure, fang mugou, and mural program between the Xiaoguancun tomb

and the nearby Songcun tomb dated to 1135, it is worth noting that this Xiaoguancun processional bridge scene shares the same location in the tomb as a painting of zaju actors in the Songcun tomb (i.e. both are located in a horizontal register by top of the entrance on the south wall). [Image 2.15]

The Xiaoguancun tomb encapsulates several of the important and frequently observed characteristics of Jin painted tombs. The tomb perpetuates the funerary mural traditions seen in earlier and contemporary northern Chinese tombs, exemplified by the interest in fang mugou decoration and mural themes including filial piety, idealized life, and idealized images of the occupant. However, the tomb murals also portray allusions to the contemporary popularity of drama and theater. The Xiaoguancun tomb is an exemplary case for understanding how Jin funerary painting carried on the Northern Chinese funerary painting tradition, yet still evolved in response to the specific cultural developments of Jin China.

**Guzhangcun Tomb (1189)**

The Guzhangcun Tomb consists of a tomb passageway, an entrance, a main burial chamber, and smaller side chambers on the left and right of the central burial chamber. The tomb is built of brick and vaulted ceilings in each chamber.134 [Image 2.38] The tomb is oriented along a north-south axis with the entrance facing south. The burial chamber is square, while the two side chambers are rectangular. [Image 2.39] An inscription over the north wall states that this tomb belonged to an individual who was buried in 1189 and died at the age of eighty-six. In analyzing parts of the damaged inscription, excavators

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believe that he may have held the office of *dunwu xiaowei* 敦武校尉, a regional official position detailed in the *Jin Shi*. There are three lines more of inscription in the arched doorway between the western side chamber and the tomb chamber. This inscription includes the date and the name Chen Ruri 陳如日, who may have been the craftsman who built or painted this tomb.

Throughout the tomb is carved brick in imitation of architectural features including columns, bracket sets, beams, and slatted windows. There is a column in each corner of the main chamber, each topped with a bracket set. Two inter-columnar bracket sets are also constructed on each wall. The images of these features are grainy, but it can be seen that two-level bracket sets, with three arms in each level, and floral motifs were painted in the inter-bracket space. [Image 2.40] The colors in the tomb murals are common in Jin and Northern Song tombs; red-brown, white, and black are the main colors. The primary subjects of the murals are guard figures and stories of filial sons and daughters.

On the south wall, on either side of the tomb entrance are two male figures with tall black hats. [Image 2.41] They both wear long red robes with belts and white collars and they wear black hats. They hold black batons with both of their hands in front of their bellies. The style of painting on the south wall differs from that seen on the other three walls. The figures were outlined first and then flat swaths of color were filled in. Garment folds in black were painted onto the pigment, giving some depth and movement to the painting.

135 Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Imperial Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985) 238. *Xiaowei* 校尉 is a “Commandant, usually prefixed with functionally descriptive or laudatory terms” in this case, military (*wu*).
The murals depicted on the east, west, and north walls of the tomb all stories of filial paragons. The east and west walls are divided into two sides by entranceways and the north wall is divided by an imitation carved-brick doorway. [Image 2.42, Image 2.43] On either side of the east, west, and north wall doors are two imitation, brick-constructed slatted windows. Each story is titled with a small rectangular cartouche bearing an inscription. Compositionally, this tomb’s murals are unique with filial piety stories depicted all over the main registers of the walls, neither divided into framed rectangles, nor cohesive as a single composition.

The story of Yuan Gu “原穀” and “The Tian Family Divides the Residence 田氏分居” are painted on the west side of the north wall. Below the left window is “Wife Wu Cuts Her Thigh 武妻刮股.” [Image 2.44] Above the right window is “The Great Shun Plows the Field 大舜耕田” and “Min Ziqian 閔子騫”. Below the right window is the story of Liu Mingda 劉明達. [Image 2.45]

On the east wall, above the left hand window is “Cai Shun 蔡順”, “Cao asks his Mother Three Times “曹三問墓”, and “Old Laizi 老萊子”. Under the left window is “Wang Xiang Lays Down on the Ice 王祥卧冰”. Above the right window is “Cao E Cries at the River 曹娥哭江”, “Jiang Shi’s Mother 姜師婆”, and “Zhao Xiao Zong 趙孝宗”. Below the right window is the story of “Lu Ji Hiding Oranges to Give to His Parents 遣親懷桔.”

On the west wall, above the left window are the stories of “Dinglan Carving wood 丁蘭刻木,” “Dong Yong Sells Himself 董永自賣”, and “Meng Zong Sobs among the
Bamboo 孟宗哭竹.” Below the left window is probably the story of “Seeing the Father’s Face in a Dream 梦见父面”. Above the right window is the story of “Yang Xiang Strikes the Tiger 杨香女打虎”, “Bo Yu Sobs at the Cane Beating 伯俞泣杖,” and “Guo Ju Buries His Child 郭巨埋兒.” Under the right window is the story of Baoshan “鲍山.” The east and west walls were not photographed in detail, only images of the full walls have been published.

The landscape features painted in this tomb are different from the thin brushwork seen in the trees and rocks of the previously discussed tombs. The depictions on the north wall of the trees and rock formations seen around the Tian family story and the rock formation upon which the grandfather has been abandoned in the Yuan Gu scene are well reproduced in photograph. The brushwork is mottled and thick, but rather skillfully accomplished with modulated brushstrokes. There are some trees in the east and west wall murals, but a detailed image is not available, only a full picture of the walls. The Guzhangcun tomb murals are quite unlike the other tomb murals discussed in this Changzhi group for two reasons. First, it is strange that the south wall murals depicting the standing male figures are stylistically different from the murals on the other three walls. Second, the composition of murals, the placement of filial sons and daughters across the walls without any sort of border or frame, and the thick and mottled brushwork is considerably different compared to the painting in the other five Changzhi tombs.

Ligaocun Tomb (1208)

This tomb has not been published in a full excavation report. It was excavated in 1988 and has since been destroyed. One image of an orange bull leading three male
figures, two carrying farm tools, has been published. The bull is outline in black and filled in with color. The brushwork is skillful and the form is realistically proportioned. The human figures are more sketchily rendered, but they are also well-proportioned, and details such as garment folds are shown. The farm tools that they carry are depicted in a way similar to that seen in other tombs with a simple, unmodulated black outline and flat color. A brick beam painted in imitation of wood grain is visible at the top of this image, suggesting that the Ligaocun tomb also had fang mugou features.

This selection of six tombs demonstrates that there was a great diversity of tomb mural subjects, mural composition and placement, and technical quality in twelfth century Jin tombs of the southeast Shanxi region. Although standardization of images and modular construction may have been used to some extent in the construction and design of Jin painted brick tombs, there was also a fair amount of creativity and personalization put into tomb construction and painting. What follows below is analysis of a shared mural subject, “filial sons and daughters,” which will be used to demonstrate more concretely the diversity and extent of personalization in funerary murals design and painting in twelfth century southeast Shanxi.

**Changzhi Scenes of Filial Sons and Daughters**

“Filial sons and daughters” is a mural subject that is depicted in the four Changzhi region tombs for which there are complete excavation reports. Across these four tombs, a total of twenty-nine different stories are illustrated, each identified by a short inscription;

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only the Yuquancun tomb’s murals do not bear inscriptions. The Songcun tomb murals (1135) depict twenty-four different stories, the Guzhangcun tomb murals (1189) depict twenty-two, the Xiaoguancun tomb murals (1174) depict sixteen, and the Yuquancun tomb murals (1169) depict only four. This sample of four tombs shows that, even within a forty-three-year time span and a small geographic region in which filial sons and daughters seem to be standard funerary mural subjects, there was not a set repertoire of paragons during the twelfth century that defined the genre; someone was making a decision about which stories to include. There are, however, four stories which appear in all four of the tombs. These are the stories of Dong Yong, Guo Ju, Tian Zhen, and Yang Xiang Nü. The second next most frequent stories are those of Baoshan, Cai Shun, Cao E, Ding Lan, Han Boyu, Min Ziqian, Emperor Shun, and Wang Xiang. This second group of eight filial piety paragons are all depicted in the Songcun, Guzhangcun, and Xiaoguancun tombs. The variety of stories suggests that while there were certainly a group of more popular filial paragons to depict in tombs in the Changzhi region, there was a level of personal preference in their selection. As exemplified by the case of filial paragons, funerary mural subjects were not completely standardized.

The placement of the filial paragon murals within the four tombs varies as well. In the Songcun tomb and the Xiaoguancun tomb, the filial paragon stories appear as vignettes contained in rectangular compositions accompanied by inscriptions contained in rectangular cartouches. The rectangular compositions are arranged linearly in a horizontal register above the imitation windows and doorframes, but below the architrave that supports the bracket sets. In the Songcun tomb the stories are on all four walls, but in the Xiaoguancun tomb they appear only on the east and west walls. In the Guzhangcun tomb,
the filial paragon stories appear on the north, east, and west walls and are depicted as the primary mural subjects of each wall. Each story is given its own space-cell, framed by landscape elements, such as trees or rocks. Each scene is discrete and, when the full composition of each wall is considered, they do not constitute a continuous landscape or narrative. In the Yuquancun tomb, each of the four filial paragon murals is depicted on its own surface of the vaulted, four-sided ceiling. The varied placement of the murals suggests that although “filial sons and daughters” was a shared thematic subject for the tombs in the Changzhi region, the murals’ placement in the tomb and the emphasis on the theme within the programmatic scheme was decided on an individual basis.

**Painting Styles: Images of the Story of Tian Zhen**

The four Changzhi tombs, Songcun, Yuquancun, Xiaoguancun, and Guzhangcun, also demonstrate the diversity of Jin funerary mural painting style and technical quality. To demonstrate this diversity, the murals from each of these four tombs depicting the filial son Tian Zhen will be compared.

The story of Tian Zhen and his two brothers involves a family in which the parents have passed away and there is a dispute among the three brothers over inheritance. While the brothers are arguing over how to divide the family estate, the flowering tree on their property begins to die, prompting the brothers to reconcile their differences and keep the family, and the estate, together. In each of the four Changzhi tombs, the iconography of the Tian Zhen story consists of a tall tree standing at the center of the composition; male figures in long robes, shown in states of grief with long sleeves covering the mouth, or gesticulating in the midst of conversation, stand around the tree; precious goods are
depicted scattered about. Although the four murals share the same basic iconography, they are depicted in painting of distinctly different style and quality. In the Songcun tomb, a basic style of painting is used. [Image 2.13] Thick, fast brushstrokes are used to describe the central tree. Two male figures are depicted with abbreviated strokes, but the painter still took care to show garment folds and interaction between the two figures, as suggested by hand gesture and the facial hair of the brother standing on the left. Behind the tree is a bale of multi-colored silk and silver ingots, representing the family’s fortune. The Songcun tomb Tianzhen mural is, stylistically and compositionally, the most basic mural of the four. The Guzhangcun mural of the Tian Zhen story shows three brothers, a tree, and no treasures. [Image 2.44] The Guzhangcun mural uses thick, mottled brushwork to depict the tree. This thick and mottled brushwork is also seen on the rock and tree to the left of the Tian Zhen section and in the rocky outcrop upon which a figure in the scene above sits. However, the three brothers are painted with finer, more controlled brushstrokes. The painting styles in the Songcun and Guzhangcun tombs contrast greatly with the style of painting seen in the Xiaoguancun mural of Tian Zhen. In the Xiaoguancun tomb, the three elements of the tree, precious treasures, and the three brothers are all seen in a compact rectangular composition. [Image 2.31] A framed cartouche is neatly placed in the top left corner, and a title in careful script is given which reads “Tian Zhen fen ju 田真分居 (Tian Zhen Divides the Household).” The overall brushwork in this mural is much more controlled. The fine, clean lines used to show the figures and tree are akin to baimiao 白描 style painting. In fact, the clean brushwork along with the framed, rectangular layout of the composition give the impression of a printed illustration. Finally, the Yuquancun tomb mural depicting the Tian Zhen story
was executed with artistry that far exceeds the other four tomb murals. [Image 2.18] As with the other murals painted in the Yuquancun tomb, the Tian Zhen mural is finely depicted. A lot of damage to the ceiling has been sustained, but the careful painting is still obvious. The tree with the brothers standing around it is at the center of the composition. Meticulous brushwork can be seen in patterned leaves on the trees, the swirling cloud vapors framing the composition, and garment folds on the robes as well as the plaques-belt seen on the brother standing to the left, all clearly and carefully painted. The clarity with which the array of treasures scattered across the ground are depicted is interesting; these treasures include coral, silver pieces, rhinoceros’ horns or elephant tusks, flaming pearls, and bales of colored and white bound silk. As noted above, one feature which makes the Yuquancun tomb murals stylistically and compositionally more sophisticated is the inclusion of landscape elements executed in a style that recalls brushwork on silk.

These six tombs represent a seventy-three-year period of twelfth-century funerary art from the Changzhi region in southwest Shanxi province. Although geographic region was restricted, there was substantial diversity among the funerary murals. This diversity in mural style, content, placement, and technical quality demonstrates that although modular construction and standardized images may have been used in Jin tomb decoration and construction, individual families had a certain level of involvement and personal input in the creation of the painted funerary program. Additionally, this chapter has demonstrated that Jin tomb murals preserved north Chinese funerary painting traditions, but also reflected contemporary trends, like the fascination with popular drama. In particular, the Xiaoguancun tomb from the Changzhi region is a good example for understanding the
subtle ways that individual families under Jin rule continued to permutate and preserve the north Chinese funerary painting culture.
Chapter 3 The Yanshansi Murals

Introduction to the Yanshansi Site

This chapter will analyze the wall painting from the Yanshansi’s巖山寺 Hall for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī 文殊殿. The Yanshansi, originally named the Lingyanyuan 靈岩院 and sometimes referred to as the Yanshangsi 巖上寺, is a Buddhist temple complex located on the northern slopes of the Tianyan Mountains in Tianyan Village, Fanshi County, Shanxi. The temple complex currently consists of a number structures, most dating to the Qing dynasty (1644 – 1911), constructed along a north-south axis. The extant structures include an entrance gate, bell tower, the southern Hall for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (from here on, the “Mañjuśrī Hall”), and east and west side auxiliary halls. North of the Mañjuśrī Hall are the remains of the Water-Land Hall 水陸殿, or the Hall for the Retreat for the Souls of Water and Land. The Water-Land Hall and the Mañjuśrī Hall are of particular interest to this study because, according to steles found at the site, both halls were decorated with murals in the late twelfth century by a group of painters led by an individual named Wang Kui.

Today, all that remains of the Water-Land Hall are the foundations of the raised platform upon which the hall was built and the remains of columns showing that the hall

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137 Fu Xinian 傅熹年. “Shanxi sheng Fanshi xian Yanshansi nan dian Jin dai bihua zhong suo hui jianzhu de chubu fenxi [Preliminary Analysis of the Architecture Painted in the Jin Dynasty Murals in the South Hall of Yanshansi in Fanshi County, Shanxi Province],” in Fu Xinian jianzhu shi lunwen ji [Fu Xinian’s Collected Papers on Architectural History] (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 1998) 282. All of the extant structures aside from the Mañjuśrī Hall date to the Qing dynasty.
originally measured five bays wide and three deep. The Mañjuśrī Hall, however, is still standing and the murals on its walls are dated by an inscription on the painting to 1167. The Mañjuśrī Hall measures five bays in width and six in depth. It is covered with a single-eave, gabled roof and grey ceramic roof tiles. There is an inscription from a Yuan dynasty renovation on the north side of the building, on the western flanking bay below the rafters which reads, “Renovated on the jiazi day of the gengchen (third) month, of the second year of the yanyou era [i.e. February 5th, 1315]… (壹大元國延祐二年庚辰月甲子日重建…”). From this inscription, it is known that, with the exception of the eave brackets and the four walls which date to the Jin dynasty, the interior beam frame was renovated during the Yuan dynasty. There are a number of sculptures that remain in the hall, including one of Mañjuśrī.

**Previous Scholarship on Yanshansi**

There have been several important articles and publications on the Yanshansi and its murals. In 1979, the Yanshansi murals and mural inscriptions were first published in two articles in the archaeological journal *Wenwu* by Pan Jiezi and Zhang Yaping. Following that publication, Patricia E. Karetzky published the first,
and to date, only article in English focusing on some of the iconography and stylistic
traits of the Yanshansi murals. The first major monograph on the temple site, the steles,
structures, and murals was published in 1990 by Chai Zejun 柴澤俊 and Zhou Chouliang
張丑良. With short introductory essays, transcriptions of the mural and stele
inscriptions found at the site, and many higher definition color plates of mural details,
Chai and Zhou’s publication provides an introductory survey to the Yanshansi site. Two
slim publications expanding the body of published Yanshansi mural details were also
published, one in 1983, sponsored by the Shanxi Research Institute for the Conservation

Petra Rösch discusses the murals, but focuses mainly on their relationship to the Water-
Moon Guanyin in a 2007 publication focusing on north Chinese temple sculpture from
the tenth to thirteenth centuries. The most recent and comprehensive publication on the
Yanshansi murals is Chang Le’s 常樂 Yanshansi Xiang Shi 巖山寺詳釋 of 2013. In
this well-illustrated monograph, Chang Le includes large, fold-out images of the entire
west and east wall murals so that details of the murals can be understood and identified

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142 Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, “The Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals Illustrating the Life of
143 Chai Zejun 柴澤俊, Zhang Chouliang 張丑良, and Shanxi Sheng gu jian zhu bao hu yan jiu suo 山西省古
建築保護研究所, eds. Fanshi Yanshansi 繼峙巖山寺 [Fanshi’s Yanshansi], 1st Edition (Beijing:
Wenwu chuban she, 1990).
144 Shanxi Sheng gu jianzhu baohu yanjiu suo bian 山西省古建築保護研究所, eds. Fanshi Yanshansi 繼峙巖山寺壁畫
145 Petra Rösch, Chinese Wood Sculptures of the 11th to 13th Centuries: Images of Water-moon Guanyin in
Northern Chinese Temples and Western Collections (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) Chapter 2
and Chapter 3, section 2.
within the larger tableaux. His introductory essays to the monograph also provide updated images of the extant architecture and various stone objects and steles found at the site. Moreover, Chang Le provides transcriptions of each of the legible inscriptions on the east wall along with his own interpretation of many of the mural details—a great contribution to the field.\(^\text{147}\) These transcriptions have been translated, their placement in the east wall mural noted, and annotated in Appendix Two of this dissertation. In addition to these publications on the identification of the murals and their iconography, two Chinese scholars also have published an important article each on the Yanshansi murals. In 1998, architectural historian Fu Xinian 傅熹年 published an article identifying the types of architectural structures found in the Mañjuśrī Hall murals.\(^\text{148}\) In 2016 and 2015, Li Ling 李翎 of the National Museum of China 中國國家博物館 published a two-part article on the political interpretation of the Ṣārī mural on the east wall as well as alternate interpretations and identifications of several mural sections.\(^\text{149}\) This chapter will examine the east and west wall murals thoroughly and consider how the Yanshansi murals fit into the larger landscape of painting, both funerary and on silk and paper discussed in the previous two chapters, from north China under Jin rule.

\(^{147}\) Chang Le in some instances provides details of the inscriptions with the corresponding transcriptions. When the images are hard to read, Li Ling reports that Chang Le either transcribed the inscriptions while they were still visible during his field visits, or the inscriptions were re-constructed using older images and speaking with locals who had viewed the murals before the oxidization and damage of the recent decades. It is noted in Appendix 2 when it is unclear what an inscription actually says, based on published images, or when alternate transcription from Chang Le’s is provided.


Inscriptions from Yanshansi

The exact date that the Yanshansi temple complex was founded is unknown, but a number of inscriptions from the site help give more insight to the Yanshansi’s history. Several of the earliest inscriptions date from the late eleventh century and provide evidence that the temple complex pre-dates the Jin dynasty.¹⁵⁰ Two inscriptions, one from a stele dating to 1158 and one from the west wall of the Mañjuśrī Hall, give useful information on the history of the Yanshansi murals and the circumstances under which they were created.

The 1158 Stele Inscription

The first important inscription, which ends with “the third year of the Zhenglong reign,” dating it to 1158 CE, is from a stele and is written about the Yanshansi’s Water-Land Hall.¹⁵¹ The inscription on front of the stele describes the Water-Land Ritual. The stele inscription then goes on to describe the construction and painting of the Water-Land Hall at Yanshansi. The inscription reads in part,

… 鴻教然後布行天下，太宗為經戰陣之所立寺，薦救
陣亡之士，何況此邦乃平昔用武爭戰之地，暴骨郊原，
沉魂疎魄，久幽泉壤，無所憑依，男觀女覩，嗟泪垂
弾，豈不傷哉！極感厚人矜閔
一方相乣命工圖像，凡繪
水陸一會，故以斯緣，留意資拔...

¹⁵⁰ Chai and Zhang, Fanshi Yanshansi, 3.
大邑社長姚良，張德…管社人侯善，張京…小邑社長張全，李杲…管社人李儀，李旺…命工圖畫聖像。維那人三會村尚教練，第一郎…管琉璃施主趙圓，弟趙京…小木匠人都料王敏，檀明，蘇明…瓦匠林真，張贇；琉璃匠…御前承應畫匠王逵，同畫人王道” 152

…[this] teaching 153 afterwards was promulgated and practiced everywhere. Taizong built temples at sites which had seen battle to save those soldiers who perished in battle. How could he not build one at this place which, in the past, was used as a site for military battles, where desecrated bones lay in the wasteland; where weighed-down hun and obstructed po were for so long imprisoned in the springs and the earth, with nothing to rely upon. When men and women saw this, they would cry and sigh; who would not grieve! These generous people, who were so moved to compassion and sympathy, together as one ordered a number of images to be made [for the deceased] army. They had painted the Water-Land images, for this reason, and brought together their resources…

152 Chai and Zhang, *Fanshi Yanshansi*, 2.
… the Major Village Community Head Yao Lang, Zhang De… community managers Hou Shan, Zhang Jing… the Minor Village Heads Zhang Quan, Li Gao… community managers Li Yi, Li Wang… they ordered the project of paintings and religious images. The “Temple Supervisors” (weina ren) met three times to instruct and train… Managing glass [were] temple patrons Zhao Yuan, his younger brother Zhao Jing… the small-scale carpenters and supervisor builder were Wang Min, Tan Ming, Su Ming… the tile craftsmen Lin Zhen, Zhang Yun; the glass artisans…the imperially contracted painter Wang Kui and fellow painter Wang Dao.

First, the stele inscription indicates that Taizong built the temple on the grounds of a battlefield to pay worship to soldiers who had perished. There are two main schools of thought on who “Taizong” is. Many scholars believe that the inscription refers to the second Jin emperor Taizong (r. 1123 – 1135), who was the younger brother of Aguda, the founder of the Jin dynasty. However, in 1158, the usurper Hailing Wang 海陵王 (r. 1149 – 1161), a direct second generation descendant of Aguda, was sitting on the throne and had killed a number of Jin Taizong’s family members on his way there. Why would Hailing Wang have ordered palace painters to execute murals in a temple

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154 Hucker, Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, 416, no. 5128 – shezhang 社長 as a designated or chosen Community Head, especially in the Yuan – Qing period.
155 Chai and Zhang Fanshi Yanshansi; Pan, “Lingyan cai bi dong xinpo”; Karetzky, “The Recently Discovered Chin Murals.”
156 Dennis Twitchett and Herbert Franke, eds. Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6, 239.
with structures built by Jin Taizong? A different explanation recently put forward by Li Ling is that the inscription does not refer to Jin Taizong, but rather to Tang Taizong (r. 626 – 649). Li Ling supports this hypothesis by citing the style of the inscription and the fact that during the time of Jin Taizong battles were ongoing between the Jin and the Song; Li’s opinion is that Jin Taizong would not have had the resources or desire to build such a temple. Reading the emperor mentioned in the stele as Tang Taizong, the inscription also would mean a Tang-period *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the Yanshansi.

Second, the inscription quoted above states that in 1158 Wang Kui and Wang Dao painted Water-Land images in the Water-Land Hall. Although the Water-Land Hall and murals are no longer extant, a basic understanding of the ritual and the associated mural imagery is helpful in understanding the Yanshansi site and its murals. The Water-Land Ritual is a “grand liturgy… [which] involves summoning all of the beings of the cosmos, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist to assemble in a ritual arena…[to be] bathed, receive offerings, listen to the Buddha’s teachings, [to be] purified of past transgressions,… led to accept the precepts upheld by lay Buddhist devotees, and ultimately [to be] sent to be

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157 In 1149 at the age of twenty-seven, Digunai, whose Sinicized name was Wanyan Liang 完颜亮 and who was later called Hailing Wang, killed the emperor and usurped the throne. He carried out a mass termination of all of Taizong’s descendants, more than seventy people, along with many others likely numbering in the hundreds. Although he was not a Buddhist, Hailing Wang strongly believed in adopting and using Han Chinese practices. Given the popularity of the Water-Land Rituals from end of the Tang into the twelfth century, Hailing Wang’s use of Han Chinese traditions, and the number of dead whom he slaughtered, Li Ling suggests that perhaps Hailing Wang ordered the painting of the Shuilu Hall by palace painters to help atone for his murderous deeds. Li Ling, “Zhengzhi de yinyu (part two),” 57.

158 Li Ling. “Zhengzhi de yinyu (part two),” 56. It was not until 1127, four years into Jin Taizong’s reign, when the Jin captured the city of Kaifeng and Jin Taizong took the members of the Kaifeng court, objects, and paintings to the Jin’s upper capital, Shangjing. Li Ling writes that records do indicate that Jin Taizong sponsored a temple, the Jingtus 净土寺, in Shanxi but make no mention of the Yanshansi.

159 It is unclear why Li Ling does not consider Song Taizong – this could be the topic of further investigation.
reborn into a higher path of existence.”\textsuperscript{160} The creation of the Water-Land Ritual is attributed to the sixth century monk Baozhi who, acting under Emperor Wudi of the Liang dynasty, enacted the first performance of the ritual 538 CE.\textsuperscript{161} Starting in the ninth century, the ritual was often performed for the unburied dead; by the Song period there are more accounts of the ritual being enacted by the state for soldiers who had died in wars.\textsuperscript{162} The deities and beings that were called upon by the ritual were depicted in an array of visual materials including hanging scrolls, relief carvings, prints, and murals.\textsuperscript{163} The earliest extant Water-Land murals in North China can be found in the Middle Hall 腰殿 of the Qinglongsi 青龍寺, in Jishan County 稷山縣 in southern Shanxi.\textsuperscript{164} These murals were completed in the Yuan dynasty in 1289, and then restored during the Ming dynasty in 1406. On the west wall of the Middle Hall, a pantheon of deities among swirling clouds are depicted in three registers. Inscribed cartouches identify each member of the pantheon. The murals that were completed at Yanshansi by the imperially-ordered painters may have shown a similar iconographic program, composition, and levels of artistry and technical skill.

Third, the stele inscription indicates that a number of local people and officials, as well as named craftsmen and artisans were involved in renovation and painting of the Water-Land Hall. The inscription on the stele mentions ceramic tile, glass, and small-

\textsuperscript{160} Phillip Bloom, “Ghosts in the Mists: The Visual and the Visualized in Chinese Buddhist Art, ca. 1178,” \textit{Art Bulletin} 48, no. 3 (Sept., 2016) 304.
\textsuperscript{162} Bloom, “Ghosts in the Mists,” 304 – 305.
\textsuperscript{164} Bloom, “Descent of Deities,” 244.
scale carpentry craftsmen all by name. Importantly for our purposes, the stele names two “imperially contracted 御前承應 (yuqian chengying)” painters, Wang Kui 王逵 and his colleague Wang Dao 王道 as the painters of the Water-Land Retreat murals. As was discussed in Chapter One, the Jin court did not have an official painting academy and painters were not given official titles. In the Jin Shi, individuals who are deemed chengying ren 承應人 included cooks, livestock handlers, and security guards who worked for the court. So, this “imperially contracted” modifier refers to the fact that Wang Kui and Wang Dao were simply working for the Jin palace, not that they were titled officials of the Jin court. Wang Kui and Wang Dao likely were painters in the Department of Painting (Tuhua ju 圖畫局/署) which at the time was housed under the Directorate of Construction and Manufacture.

The West Wall Mural Inscription

The second important inscription concerning the creation of the murals at Yanshansi is located on the west wall of the Mañjuśrī Hall. On the left (south) upper corner of the west wall mural is an inscription in a long, horizontal cartouche. Unfortunately, the inscription is no longer fully legible today, but it has been transcribed in part,首發誠心謹捨淨財

165 Fu, “Shanxi sheng Fanshi xian Yanshansi nan dian Jin dai bihua,” 308. Fu specifically quotes the Xuan ju zhi 選舉志, baiguan zhi 百官志 section of the Jin shi 金史.
166 Ho and Lee, Eight Dynasties, xxix. It was not until 1196 when the Department of Painting was reorganized into the zhiying si 祇應司, or Commission of Palace Services (the department from which the palace painters mentioned in Chapter 1, Zhang Yu and Liu Yuan, worked).
願畫西壁 諸人姓名如後…

大定七年前  二十八日畫了靈巖院普  畫匠王逵年

陸拾捌

並小起王輝，王瓊，福喜，润喜

…[they] sent sincerely and gave, as charity, all of the resources,
[they] desired to paint the Western Wall… all of their names are listed here below…

In the seventh year of the Dading reign… on the twenty-seventh day, painted in the Lingyanyuan [by the] painter Wang Kui, at the age of sixty-eight.

…Wang Hui, Wang Qiong, Fu Xi, Run Xi.

Again, in this inscription Wang Kui is named as the mural painter along with several other individuals who are likely to have helped him in the painting of the mural. Wang Kui finished the Mañjuśrī Hall murals in 1167, nine years after the Water-Land Hall murals were initiated. It is interesting to note that in this inscription, Wang Dao is not mentioned and Wang Kui is not described as “imperially contracted” as he was for the Water-Land Hall murals.

167 Chai and Zhou, Fanshi Yanshansi, 25.
Who was Wang Kui

All that is known of Wang Kui, who headed the painting of the lost Water-Land Hall murals and the extant Mañjuśrī Hall murals, must be gleaned from these two inscriptions. From the stele inscription, it is known that in 1158, Wang Kui was an imperially-contracted painter sent to paint the Water-Land murals. From the mural inscription, it is known that Wang Kui was sixty-eight years of age in 1167, meaning he was born around 1099 during the late Northern Song. Wang Kui would have been around the age of twenty-seven when the Northern Song capital Bianliang 汴梁, in modern day Kaifeng, fell to the Jin forces in the winter of 1126-1127. Since Wang Kui was painting in service of the Jin court in 1158 at the age of fifty-nine, it is possible that he received some training from Northern Song court painters during his twenties.¹⁶⁸

As mentioned earlier, after the fall of Bianliang, some painters in the Northern Song academy and other artisans were brought north to the Jin upper capital, Shangjing 上京, in Heilongjiang and went on to serve the Jin court. Although Wang Kui is not mentioned in Northern Song records, the mountains and architectural structures he painted in the Mañjuśrī Hall resemble Northern Song court styles. This can be seen in the dissolutions of mountains into unpainted ground along the top registers of the two mural tableaux, as well as in the

¹⁶⁸ This is an opinion also supported by Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 3-6; Li Ling “Zhengzhi de yinyu (parts 1 and 2)”; and Chai Zejun, et al., Fanshi Yanshansi. However, Li Ling and Chang Le have extrapolated further on Wang Kui’s life, suggesting that Wang Kui and Wang Dao were originally from the Fanshi County area and they were returning home to escape the city life and paint the murals. Li Ling and Chang Le go on to suggest that the nine-year period gap between the completion of the Water-Land murals in 1158 and the completion of the Mañjuśrī Hall murals in 1167 means that Wang Kui likely devoted a lot of that time designing, sketching, and painting the Mañjuśrī Hall murals. However, although the murals are quite spectacular in design and composition, it is impossible to know what Wang Kui was doing during this nine-year period or other projects, now lost to time, that he was working on or completed.
meticulous rendering of roofs, windows, and balustrades which all conform to measured parallel-perspective, to be discussed further below.

The following section is an analysis of the stylistic, technical, and iconographic features of the east and west walls of the Yanshansi’s Mañjuśrī Hall. Relevant stylistic and technical features will be related to those found in painting on scrolls and tomb walls. The final section will consider thematic or “conceptual” interfaces between the Yanshansi murals, Jin tomb murals, and scroll paintings. I will argue that the culture of theater and drama is one of the main themes intertwined in the concerns, interests, and visual imaginations of artists and patrons in funerary and temple painting contexts, and, to a lesser extent, in scroll painting.

**West Wall of the Mañjuśrī Hall**

The west wall of Yanshansi’s Mañjuśrī Hall is covered with a mural (height 3.45 meters, length 11.2 meters) depicting stories from the life of the Buddha. The mural is designed around a group of large palatial structures in a blue and green landscape. Among the architectural structures and various landscape elements are discrete scenes with inscriptions written in rectangular cartouches which identify jātaka, stories of the past lives of the Shakyamuni Buddha, as well as events from the Shakyamuni Buddha’s life, from his conception to his life as Prince Siddartha to miracles after his

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169 There are murals on the south and north walls as well, but they are rather narrow and heavily damaged in some areas.
The explanatory inscriptions in the cartouches along with knowledge of Buddhist iconography are necessary for understanding the visual program of the west wall mural because the narrative events are not arranged in linear chronological order. Instead, the central palatial structure is used as a focal point around which Wang Kui arranged the scenes of narrative events into two categories - events that happen within the palace and events that occurred beyond its walls.

Although the narrative events on west wall mural are not arranged in linear chronological order, it is likely that the viewer was to proceed through the painting from the left (south) to the right (north). This progression through is likely for two reasons. First, the entrance of the Mañjuśrī Hall is in the south, making the left (south) side of the west wall a logical entry point for viewing the mural. Second, Wang Kui made it explicit that the directional orientation of the painting matches the actual orientation of the Mañjuśrī Hall. The central palatial structure in the mural is oriented to its placement on the west wall of the temple hall. This means a viewer entering the Mañjuśrī Hall from the south entrance would turn to the left to face the west wall; the south would be the viewer’s left and the north to their right in the actual space of the temple hall, as well as in the painted world depicted in the mural. Wang Kui achieved this directional orientation by identifying the cardinal directions of the four gates from which Prince Siddartha secretly leaves the palace to confront old age, illness, death, and an ascetic monk (see Appendix Two, Items 18 – 21). This directional orientation allows the viewer to enter both the temple hall and the west wall mural from the south and move to the north.

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170 The legible cartouches have been transcribed and explained by Chang Le Yanshansi Xiangshi. Appendix 2 of this dissertation includes translations of these inscriptions into English, notes on their location in the mural, as well as notes for their interpretation.
Using a south to north (left to right) progression through the mural, this next section will identify the key images, motifs, and scenes in the west wall mural. Relevant technical or stylistic similarities with tomb or scroll paintings will also be discussed. Starting on the left side of the mural, the major narrative points of the mural that are discussed below include the story of the Dīpaṃkara Buddha 燃燈佛 and Sumedha, the birth of the Buddha, the life of the Prince Siddartha in the palace, the Four Sights, the Great Departure, Siddartha’s life as an ascetic, and miracles performed after the Enlightenment.


¹⁷² In all later translations of chu 处 as “place,” the clause “in the narrative pictorial sequence, visualized” is implied. This understanding of chu 处 is taken from Victor Mair’s research on the bianwen 變文 (“transformation text”) verse-introductory formula. Mair demonstrates the link between the use of the word chu in bianwen verse-introductory formulae and in inscriptions identifying individual scenes on paintings. Mair writes that chu 处 is a formulaic indicator of narrative locus (75), a “discrete narrative event depicted as part of a series” (76, versus the actual physical place or space where an event occurs), a “[narrative] locus [pictorially represented or visualized]” (80). Victor Mair, T‘ang Transformation Texts (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 28. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, 1989) 73 – 80. See also Victor Mair, Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and its Indian Genesis (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1988); and Victor Mair, “Records of Transformation Tableaux (pien-hsiang).” T‘oung Pao, Second Series 72, Livr. 1/3 (1986) 3 – 43.

¹⁷³ Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi (2013) 30 for transcription.
relates a past life of the Shakyamuni Buddha in which he was a Buddhist ascetic-student named Sumedha. When Sumedha heard that the Dīpankara Buddha was arriving, Sumedha paid 500 coins to a girl for five of her seven lotus blossoms, and promised to marry her in a next lifetime for her last two blossoms. When Sumedha met the Buddha, he threw the lotus blossoms in the air; when five hovered in the air around the Buddha’s body like a halo and two came to float on either side of his shoulders; the Buddha predicted that Sumedha would be reborn as Shakyamuni.

This section of the mural shows a street that evokes the style and subject matter of the eleventh to twelfth century scroll painting *Qingming Festival on the River* 清明上河圖 in the Palace Museum, Beijing and attributed to Zhang Zeduan 張擇端. The similarities are apparent when the figures and the use of *jiehua* to depict architectural structures are considered. Just as in the street scenes in the *Qingming* painting, the mural’s bustling street is lined on either side with simple and closely constructed wooden structures topped with ceramic-tiled roofs. On the street, approximately twenty-seven men, women, and children move through the street going on their daily business. Many figures wear similar types of clothing as those seen in the *Qingming* painting, short tunics with longer loose pants, often with a bulging tied sash around the waist. The figures in the mural’s street scene include, at the top of the street, a man pushing a one-wheel cart with food vessels and a woman with a white face and T-shaped black mark on the front of her face standing beneath a large round canopy. The T-shaped black mark was originally painted in white, lead-based paint and was probably meant to highlight the

174 Spiro, “Hybrid Vigor,” 131 – 133.
woman’s nose or her makeup, but the lead has since oxidized.\textsuperscript{176} Other figures in the mural’s street scene include a man carrying a child on his back, a woman holding a slaughtered chicken, and three bald figures in robes conversing by a horse. In the foreground, a stooped man in a tall black hat carries a cane and a number of vendors with portable tables sell their goods to women and children. An interesting difference between the mural and the \textit{Qingming} scroll depictions of the city streets is that a much higher percentage of the figures in the mural’s street are women, while only a scant few of the many figures pictured in the \textit{Qingming} painting are women.\textsuperscript{177} In the foreground standing by the cartouche, a male figure has draped a spotted fur over his shoulder and holds long-stalked white blossoms in his arms. This figure is Sumedha coming into town after he has purchased the seven lotus blossoms.

To the right of the street in the mural is a wine shop with a large flag with the advertisement, “Wild Flowers from throughout the land here, local wine overflows from fragrant jars 野花攢地初/村酒透瓶香”\textsuperscript{178} The structure with its ornate roof is a one-bay-square pavilion overlooking a body of water. [Image 3.3] Inside, five men sit at a table covered with small cups. They turn their heads to watch a female entertainer in a white robe beating a drum sitting beside a man holding a clapper. Two other men stand by the wine shop’s railing, looking out over the street. This wine shop brings to mind the wine shop with a \textit{jiaodian} 脚店 sign in the \textit{Qingming} painting, also located by the river’s edge.

\textsuperscript{176} Hu Xiaohong 胡瀟泓. “Shanxi Fanshi xian Yanshansi Wenzhu dian xi bi bihua secai chutan 山西繁峙縣巖山寺文殊殿西壁壁畫色彩初探 [A preliminary study on the pigments in the western wall mural of the Mañjuśrī Hall in Yanshansi, Fanshi County, Shanxi],” \textit{Meishu daguan 美術大觀} 3 (2012) 61.

\textsuperscript{177} Female figures are important on both the east and west murals of this hall. As will be discussed below, in addition to the female figures on the street, the wife and mother of Shakyamuni on the west wall, we will also see Hāritī and the Sage Mother as integral subjects of the east wall mural.

\textsuperscript{178} Karetzky translates “Wild Flowers (girls) from throughout the land bloom here; full jars of local fragrant wine.” Karetzky, “Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals,” 248.
just outside of the city gate by the bridge. [Image 3.4] In this detail from the *Qingming* painting, several men are shown inside on the second floor of the wine shop enjoying themselves. Although the structures and the figures are different, in both paintings is a shared interest in showing this social aspect of northern Chinese urban life. Additionally, it is clear that both painters were trained in *jiehua* 界畫, a style of painting that relies upon exact measurements and use of measuring devices to depict architectural structures and other large objects of human manufacture like boats and carts. *Jiehua* was a technical style of painting that was enjoyed by the court, especially by the Northern Song collector-emperor Song Huizong (r. 1100 – 1126). In the Northern Song imperial catalogue of painting, the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜, compiled at Huizong’s court in 1120, architectural painting is listed as the third most important category of painting out of ten. Only four painters are considered true masters of *jiehua* by the writers of the catalogue for, as they describe, “[*jiehua*] painters painstakingly picture their forms and shapes not merely for the sake of the pictorial splendor … Every dot and line must follow the rules of drawing. It is more difficult than other paintings.”179 The specific depictions of Northern Song-style clothes and use of the *jiehua* technique to depict the structures lining the city streets show the continuation of the Northern Song court’s architectural and figural painting traditions in Wang Kui’s mural.

The next scene depicted from the Dīpaṃkara Buddha and Sumedha story is the meeting of the two. [Image 3.5] This section is identified by an inscription which reads, “This is the place where the Deer Hide Sage spread his hair and covered the mud 此是鹿

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The Deer Hide Sage here refers to Sumedha, who in the street scene was carrying a spotted deer hide over his shoulder. In order to keep the Buddha’s feet clean, Sumedha first laid down his deer hide on the mud for the Buddha to walk over. When the hide was not enough, he crouched on the ground laid his hair on the mud for the Buddha to walk over. The mural shows the larger than life Dīpaṃkara Buddha descending with nine attendants surrounded by swirling blue and green clouds. Peeking out from the clouds on the right are deciduous trees with simple, patterned leaves. The clouds also swirl up to meet ceramic-tiled roofs along the bottom of the scene; the roofs here act as a framing device for the scene. Above floats a swaying, beribboned canopy with a blazing finial. Behind the canopy and the group is a flying attendant in a trail of vapor that extends back to distant blue and green mountains depicted in the composition’s upper register. [Image 3.6] These artists have used different grades of ink saturation in their rendering of the mountains to show their recession into the distance, as well as the mountain masses’ disintegration into misty foothills. Small black strokes are used to show the distant pine trees on the mountain tops. This is a landscape ink wash technique that is associated normally with ink painting on silk or paper, as seen in Jin landscape paintings like Wu Yuanzhi’s Red Cliff. [Image 1.5] Below, the Dīpaṃkara Buddha wears a long robe with his chest exposed. The physical signs of the Buddha including the ushnisha on top of his head, the urna between his eyes, and his elongated earlobes are clearly rendered. He stands with bare feet firmly on a lotus pedestal and his head is surrounded by a flaming circular halo. On either side stand a total of four male figures in military garb. To his left stand two bodhisattvas with ornate robes, headdresses,

180 Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 38.
and jewels. Immediately flanking the Buddha are two diminutive monks in long robes with tonsured heads. Green and blue clouds outlined in black unfurl and glowing rays emanate from the group. Below, his lotus blossom pedestal descends upon the spotted fur hide laid upon the ground and Sumedha himself is shown crouching with his face towards the ground and his long hair extended on the ground.

Adjacent to the meeting of the Dīpaṃkara Buddha and Sumedha is the birth and the early life of prince Siddartha. It would make chronological sense to first have the viewer witness the conception of the Siddartha, but the conception is reserved for the center of the mural where it is depicted within the walls of the palace. The birth of the Buddha is identified by a cartouche which reads, “The place where Queen Maya held the “tree of no sorrow” and bore the Prince [Siddartha] 摩耶夫人攀無憂树降太子處.”

[Image 3.7] The queen in long flowing robes is shown holding a short deciduous tree with patterned, regular leaves. She is accompanied by seven diminutive female attendants, all of whom are depicted with the oxidized T-shaped pattern on their faces. The auspicious nature of the scene is enhanced by a border of swirling clouds outlined in black. Immediately next to the birth of the Buddha is a scene of the bathing or purification of the Buddha, identified by the inscription reading, “The place where earthly deities held up a golden basin and nine dragons spouted water for bathing 地神捧金盤九龍噴水沐浴處.”

[Image 3.7] Nine dragons are shown gathering among the clouds with streams of fragrant water pouring from their mouths. The streams fall from the heavens into a golden basin held up by two strong attendants emerging from clouds. Siddartha as

181 Charles Muller, “wuyoushu 無憂樹,” Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.”
182 Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 48.
183 Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi (2013) 51 – 53.
a baby is seated inside of the basin with a flaming halo surrounding him with a tree on his left covered with patterned leaves. Next is a cartouche and the scene of the Buddha taking his first seven steps. Moving further to the right is a scene set in a slightly higher register, identified by a cartouche which reads, “This is the place where the envoys and officials were sent to invite Asixian [Asita-ṛṣi]此是遣使臣請阿斯仙人之處.” [Image 3.8] The mountains surrounding Asixian’s cavernous abode are carefully modeled to show the crevices in the rock face. This technique, although rendered with pigment on a plaster wall, recalls the careful shading of rock formations seen in contemporary silk painting, like in *Clearing After Snow.* [Image 1.14] Two figures emerge from a doorframe set into a large boulder and walk towards a man in a robe and his attendant carrying a fan. This larger man is likely Asixian, the sage who foretold the destinies of Siddartha as a baby and read the signs of the Buddha on his body. [Image 3.8] To the left stands a saddled horse behind a green hill. Behind the horse is a small pavilion on raised stilts in the water. Stacks of books are depicted on low tables and the roof of the pavilion is heavily ornamented and covered in ceramic tiles. Note here, the use of parallel perspective, which will be discussed further below, to create a sense of depth. Blue and green mist emerges in the center foreground and the upper right corner, drifting into the scene, but not framing the figures or the action as it does in other scenes with the Prince in it.

Immediately to the right of the section with Asixian are two feats accomplished by Prince Siddartha before he ventures from the palace. The prince is shown on a horse completing a Parthian shot, galloping away from a series of drums cushioned in clouds.

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[Image 3.10] Also depicted is an incident in which Siddartha and some of his attendants were leaving the palace when a large elephant was in its way. [Image 3.9] The first attendant killed the elephant and a following attendant pushed it to the side of the road. When Siddartha saw the elephant, he felt sad and threw the elephant over the city wall. When the elephant landed, he was alive. Here Siddartha is shown in long robes with hanging sleeves lightly throwing a white elephant with two tusks up into the air. In both of these depictions, swirling ruyi and blue and auspicious blue and green vapors encircle the prince and his entourage, highlighting his superhuman identity.

In the center of the mural is the large palatial structure where Siddartha spent his early years as a prince. Above the center of the palace there is a seated bodhisattva on a white elephant. A cartouche reads “The place where the bodhisattva entered the belly of the wife in the palace 菩薩將內宮入夫人腹內之處”[Image 3.12] The bodhisattva is shown seated cross-legged upon a white elephant with a round halo around his head and a flaming body halo. A ray that forms an acute angle emanates from his forehead. He is accompanied by eleven figures: five-haloed figures in robes on the left, four on his right, all wearing long robes with long sleeves. Ahead, two curly haired attendants in pants and ribbons hold a flaming altar. The entourage descends from the sky on blue and green clouds with swirling ruyi heads; the tail of the clouds can be traced back to the distant mountains. Following the ray emanating from the bodhisattva’s head, the viewer is brought to a large five-by-five bay, blue and green palatial pavilion. [Image 3.13] Here, meticulous jiehua is again used to depict the palatial pavilion with great detail. The

186 Patricia E. Karetzky, Early Buddhist Narrative Art: Illustrations of the Life of the Buddha from Central Asia to China, Korea and Japan (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2000) xxxii. 187 Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 42.
pavilion is raised on top of a platform and has a two-level roof with two layers of bracket sets. The interior is mostly obscured by rolled bamboo blinds but several female figures in long robes are pictured. The pavilion bears a plaque on the front which is no longer legible. A woman emerges from the structure in a long robe and sets a flaming, circular tripod incense burner onto a tall, square altar table. [Image 3.14] In this detail, the complexity of the blue and green, openwork balustrades, and the attention paid to each multi-jump bracket set can be observed.

The palace, as mentioned earlier, is oriented on a north-south axis with south being to the left and north to the right. The palace structure has gates in the north, south, east, and west. Each of these gates is identified by an inscription indicating one of the four times when the prince Siddartha left the palace. The east gate where he witnessed old age is shown in the central foreground of the mural, the south gate where he witnessed illness is depicted on the left side of the palatial structure, the west gate where he first encountered death is shown on an upper register underneath the elephant riding bodhisattva, and the north gate where he encountered the monk who introduced him to asceticism is shown on the right side of the palace. Of these four, the west gate scene is best preserved. [Image 3.15] The prince is depicted riding his horse with an attendant who points out a decomposing corpse being fed upon by a dog and two black crows. Evident in the examination of the west gate is how the discontinuity of the chronological narrative is softened by the easy integration of the scenes into the landscape. Especially in the landscape outside of the palace, the transition from narrative cell to narrative cell is facilitated by the blue and green clouds outlined in unmodulated black lines. They act not only as indicators of the Prince’s divine identity, but also as narrative framing devices,
separating scenes, allowing the viewer’s eye to travel easily from one scene to the next. In this visual continuity, Wang Kui’s attention to the conceptual design of the mural is evident.

The central palatial structure discussed above houses several identifiable narrative locuses (處) within it. Additionally, the structure itself is meticulously rendered, displaying Wang Kui’s ability to utilize jiehua to construct space and depth through parallel perspective. Wang Kui’s technical skill and design are apparent in the sections depicting Siddartha’s Great Departure from the palace. In the central Great Departure scene, a cartouche reads, “This the place where the four guardian kings (heavenly kings) with both hands bore the horse’s feet when leaving the palace 此是四天王捧馬足離宮之處.”

Siddartha is shown astride a white horse with an attendant and four gaurdian kings holding up the hooves of the horse with both hands. The group ascends over the roofs of the palace on a great green and yellow cloud. The part of the palace from which the Prince leaves on the Great Departure is a particularly well-preserved section of interior and exterior architecture. A woman, identified by the inscription as Yaśodhara, Siddartha’s wife, is depicted lighting incense inside the hall. The artists have used jiehua-style painting to depict the intricate openwork balustrade with straight and measured lines. The bamboo blinds which hang between the columns in the bays are painted with straight and regular lines and the textiles which hang from the blinds are decorated with delicate floral motifs. The measured jiehua technique was also used to create “parallel perspective,” seen in the way that the lines of the buildings and the objects inside are all

188 Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 81.
approximately parallel to each other, rather than converging onto a single point.\textsuperscript{189} Although parallel perspective mostly works in these small scenes in which the viewer is offered a bird’s eye view into an enclosed section, wider views and certain architectural elements are harder to depict realistically using parallel perspective. This is apparent when frontal views of gables are shown next to connecting corridor roofs. [Image 3.17] There is an awkwardness created between the flat depiction of the gable and the angle at which the adjoining corridor roof meets the gable wall. Despite this slight issue with parallel perspective, the complex bracketing, ornament, and numerous corridors, halls, and pavilions are detailed and well-planned by Wang Kui. Wang Kui’s planning and design is even more evident when the entire palatial structure is examined in line drawing. [Image 3.18] Fu Xinian has compared his line drawing of the ground plan of the west wall mural’s palatial structure with his reconstructed ground plan of Jin Zhongdu drawn from Southern Song written accounts of the city; many similarities are apparent.\textsuperscript{190} [Image 3.19] Jin Zhongdu was established in 1153 by Hailing Wang at the site of the former Liao Southern Capital in modern day Beijing. This means that there were fourteen years between the establishment of the capital and the completion date of the Yanshansi mural in 1167. Given Wang Kui’s status in 1158 as a painter hired by the court, it is likely that he himself observed the Jin palaces, and likely the ones at Zhongdu. The parallels between the two plans make the west wall mural a valuable resource for study of


\textsuperscript{190} Fu, “Shanxi sheng Fanshi xian Yanshansi nan dian Jin dai bihua,” 294. Fu Xinian consulted Lou Lun’s \textit{Record of the Days Journeying in the North} 北行日錄, Fan Chengda’s 范成大 \textit{Lan Pei Lu} 攬轡錄, and Zhou Hui’s 周煇 \textit{Bei Yuan Lu} 北轅錄. Similarities between the two include: (1) Both have a southern gates with \\textit{que} 闕 and flanking \\textit{duo} 朵 halls; (2) Each of the southern corridors have three gates: a central gate and two side gates. (3) to the left and right of the front hall, there are diagonal rooms 挟屋. Note, however, that Yanshansi west wall palatial structure is smaller in scale than Jin Zhongdu.
Jin Zhongdu, which was destroyed by the Mongols, as well as the Northern Song capital Bianliang (modern day Kaifeng, Henan) upon which Jin Zhongdu plan was based.\textsuperscript{191}

Moving above and to the right of the palace structure, the viewer then encounters several scenes from the Buddha’s life as an ascetic before his enlightenment. The style, form, and brushwork used to depict the livestock are similar to those seen in depictions of the idealized farm life in Jin tombs. In a small clearing beneath tall blue and green mountains, above the rays emanating from the palatial pavilion housing the conception of the Buddha, are two scenes which represent the time when Siddartha who, in his ascetic practice, had been abstaining from all human needs including sustenance; he was upon the brink of death when a young cowherd offered him a bowl of milk. [Image 3.20] In a lower space cell, a woman, a child, and three cows are pictured and are accompanied by an inscription in a dark cartouche which reads, “This is the place where the cowherd girl offered milk to the prince 此是牧牛女獻乳太子之處.”\textsuperscript{192} [Image 3.21] The woman milks one cow into a black bowl. To her right stands a small child with a tuft of hair on top of his otherwise bald head. Two other cows, one partially visible behind the milk cow and another off to the right, stand in frontal facing postures. The artist took care to show the folds on the bottom of the cows’ necks and with the faces and horns. However, in attempting to depict their bodies from the front, the artist created disproportionately bulbous cows with awkward splayed out front feet. This awkwardness is evident on the cow standing on its own to the right. It could be argued that this style of awkward cow painting originates from the type of oxen portrayed in scroll painting associated with the

\textsuperscript{192} Chang Le, \textit{Yanshansi xiang shi}, 89.
Tang dynasty painter Han Huang 韓滉 (723 – 787). [Image 3.22] The flat outline and the unnatural poses of the animals are similar. While Wang Kui during his time painting for the Jin court may have seen such a painting, it is more likely that this was simply how painters and artisans undertook the difficult task of painting a large animal from the front. The modulating curves of the animal and the emphasis on the ripples of the hide are seen in multiple Shanxi period Jin tomb murals. For example, similar treatment of oxen can be seen on the west wall of the Xiaoguancun tomb, dated by inscription to 1174 from the Changzhi region. [Image 2.32] Similar oxen or cows are seen again on the west wall mural of the earlier Songcun tomb of 1135. [Image 2.11] Another tomb nearby in Songcun is also dated to the Jin period because of its similar mural program, though the painting quality is better. Here another example of similar oxen can be found. [Image 3.23] Finally, in the Shanghaolao M1 tomb, excavated in 2010 also from the Changzhi region and dated to the Jin period based on stylistic evidence, an almost full frontal image of a cow on the north wall of the tomb’s front chamber shows another artist’s attempt to portray a slightly angled, frontally-facing cow. [Image 3.24] The resulting posture is strikingly similar to the unnatural form seen in the Yanshansi mural. These funerary images painted by unnamed and formally “untrained” artisans working in the Shanxi region point to a visual vocabulary shared by painters in temple and funerary contexts.

Moving to the far right of the Yanshansi’s west wall mural, past a section that is damaged and hard to read, the viewer comes across a section that addresses various beneficial miracles that were associated with the Buddha. These miracles, some of which involve animals, offer another opportunity to see how the depictions in the temple of rural life are again similar to those seen in funerary painting. The best preserved of these
is identified by the inscribed cartouche which reads, “This is the place where the auspicious cows birthed qilin 此是種種吉祥牛生麒麟之處.” [Image 3.25] The site is a small clearing with two cows rendered in heavy, modulated black strokes. The cows stand under some trees with regular, patterned leaves which are partially obscured by thick, puffy clouds. The two cows are painted in the same awkward posture as seen in the cowherd section and in Shanghaolao M1. They exhibit the same general form and interest in depicting the ridges in the cow’s hide. The two cows look down at the fantastic creature which stands before them, the qilin. The qilin is more damaged than the cows, but a small creature with spotted hide, long antlers, and a deer-like face rendered in much finer brushwork than the cows is still visible. To the right, two farmers look on: an older bearded man is so stunned that he takes a seat on the cows’ trough, while the other holds a round container with two hands and looks around. This interest in depicting realism through careful details in facial expressions is not unique to the Yanshansi murals. Looking at the humanism expressed in sculpture through “facial intensity”, Nancy Steinhardt has suggested that “perhaps the interest in sensitivity and detail [can] be viewed in the even broader context of twelfth and thirteenth century sculpture.”

**East Wall of the Mañjuśrī Hall**

The east wall of the south hall is painted with a mural which measures 3.42 meters in height and 11.06 meters in length. Like the mural on the west wall, the east wall’s mural depicts various palatial structures set among a blue and green landscape with mountain cliffs and trees. However, in comparison with the west wall mural, the east

193 Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 93.
wall mural’s composition is dominated by large iconic images of deities, and has suffered more damage. A large depiction of Shakyamuni flanked on his right and left by bodhisattvas, arhats, and heavenly kings is at its center. Various other figures, including a Water-Moon Guanyin set among mountains in the upper left corner of the mural, are also depicted. Although there are larger iconic images in the east wall, Wang Kui also managed to incorporate several informative images of quotidian life. As in the west wall mural, each scene on the east wall mural was once titled with an inscription written in black ink inside of a rectangular cartouche. However, the white lead pigment for the background of the cartouches, as well as on the faces of some of the figures, has since oxidized. This oxidization along with other damage over the years has rendered the majority of the east wall’s inscriptions illegible.

Although the majority of the inscriptions are no longer legible, the narrative portrayed on the East Wall is identified as the story of the Häritī, known in Chinese as “Guizimu 鬼子母” (Mother of Demons) or “Jiuzimu 九子母” (Mother of Nine Children). Häritī was first worshipped on the Indian subcontinent as a guardian of children and granter of fertility. Like other indigenous deities of South Asia, Häritī and her consort Pāñcika were adopted into Buddhist practice and art, and were adapted to serve local cultural systems and traditions. Iconic Gandaharan stone sculptures dating to the second to fourth centuries depict Häritī as a robust deity accompanied by Pāñcika and many children, emphasizing her role as a guardian of children.195 The earliest Chinese text describing Häritī is the Häritī-sutra, translated into Chinese as the Guizimu jing 鬼子母

One early extant example of Hāritī imagery in China is a ninth-century temple banner discovered by Albert von Le Coq in Yarkhoto (Turfan), collected by the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.\footnote{Murray “Representations of Hāritī” (1981) 254, note 10. For image, see Albert von LeCoq, Chotscho: Facsimile-Wiedergabe der Wichtigen Funde der Ersten Königlich Preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan, (Berlin, 1913), pl. 40. Murray also notes that the Chinese monk Yijing (635 – 713) recorded that he saw Hāritī’s image often while traveling in Southeast Asia.} [Image 3.26] Hāritī is shown breastfeeding a small baby, wearing a short red and gold veil. She is dressed in a red robe with gold lozenge motifs scattered across it. Along the edge of her veil and robe collar is a scalloped gold hem with scrolling vegetal motifs. The combination of the lozenge motifs on the robe textile, the scalloped gold design, and the short veil suggest non-Han sartorial traditions and are quite different from how Hāritī is robed and depicted at Yanshansi. In the late twelfth century murals at Yanshansi, Hāritī wears long flowing robes and bejeweled headdresses or has her hair piled into a high chignon. Accompanied by robed female attendants, she has taken on the iconography associated with native Chinese female deities, like Xi wangmu 西王母, commonly translated into English as “Queen Mother of the West.”\footnote{Paul Goldin argues that a superior translation of “Xi wangmu” might be “Spirit-mother of the West.” Goldin, “On the Meaning of the Name Xi wangmu, Spirit-Mother of the West,” Journal of the American Oriental Society 122, no. 1 (January – March, 2002) 83 – 85.} This native Chinese representation of Hāritī shows that by the twelfth century, her iconography, identity, and story have been fully incorporated into the Chinese painting idiom.

The story of Hāritī can be summarized as follows: Once in a previous life, Hāritī was the pregnant wife of a shepherd. One day, while on the road, she began to feel ill and asked some travelers for help. When they ignored her pleas, the shepherd’s wife...
miscarried. The wife prayed and wished that in her next life, she would be reborn as a *yaksha*, or demon, to exact her revenge. In the next life, she was indeed born as a *yaksha* and took a consort, Pāñcika. With him, she bore five hundred children. Additionally, she terrorized the local townspeople of Rājaghra 王舍城 by capturing and devouring their children, earning her the name of Hāriti, “the rapacious one.” When the townspeople prayed to the Buddha for aid, Shakyamuni had Hāriti’s favorite son captured in an iron bowl. After Hāriti searched everywhere for her child and could not find him, she went to Shakyamuni and asked him for help. The Shakyamuni Buddha told her that her child would only be returned to her if she would promise to stop devouring children and convert to Buddhism. In this way, Hāriti became a Buddhist, one of the twenty *devas*, and a protector of children.

The east wall mural can be read to follow the narrative trajectory of the *Hāritī*-sutra. The following progression through the mural takes the viewer through the painting from left to right (from north to south) along the top register of the mural, then to the lower register to read the mural from right to left (from the south, back to the north).

On the left side of the Hāriti mural, there is a depiction of the Water-Moon Guanyin.200 [Image 3.27] Chang Le has identified this scene to be of villagers whose children have been stolen by Hāriti coming to beg for aid from Guanyin.201 However, it is difficult to ascertain whether this is actually the narrative event depicted, since the inscription is completely destroyed. It is worthwhile to note that this image of the Water-Moon Guanyin, depicted almost casually, with one arm resting on a raised and bent knee

\[\text{200 Rösch, *Chinese Wood Sculptures of the 11th to 13th Centuries*, 81. Rösch has found that there are several textual records that state that monks came to this hall to pay worship the Water-Moon Guanyin.}\]

\[\text{201 Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 124.}\]
with the other on an arm rest, draped in flowing, beribboned robes is by this time a
custom in mural painting and in sculpture. This image is similar to the Xia period
Water-Moon Guanyin on the south side of the west wall of Yulin Cave No. 2 (i.e. on the
wall to the left of the entrance to the cave), all the way to the west in Gansu province.\textsuperscript{202}

[Image 3.28] The same relaxed posture, flowing ribbons, and long robes can be seen in
many sculptures dating to the Jin period from Central China as well, such as the examples
found at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (originally from Shanxi Province)[Image 3.29]
and the Penn Museum in Philadelphia. [Image 3.30]

Immediately to the left of the Water-Moon Guanyin is an intense composition of
landscape elements. The blue and green landscape gives way to a crevasse in the green
ground, only to immediately rise up to tall green boulders that organically shoot upwards.
[Image 3.31] A man with a wide-brimmed hat wearing a blue tunic and white pants
carries an oblong black object. Next to him walks a donkey, with a straw saddle upon
which several white sheaves have been placed. Looking at the legs of the donkey, there is
a fluidity to the lines and overall form of the animal that suggests a higher level of
technical skill or at least familiarity with the subject than seen in the depictions of the
cows discussed above. This slightly more controlled brushwork used to depict the figures
of the east wall mural is another feature that differentiates the east and west wall murals.

Above and to the left of the man and donkey is a scene of small, willowy figures. This
scene could be the meeting on the road of the shepherd’s wife and the travelers.

Just to the right is a scene of demons in the landscape and a large demon figure
with a rotund belly standing on a descending cloud. [Image 3.32]. According to Chang

\textsuperscript{202} Dunhuang Research Institute,\textit{ Ansei Yurinkutsu 安西榆林窟} (Tokyo Heibonsha, 1990) plate 137.
Le’s interpretation of the mural, this section depicts the moment that Hāritī and her entourage of demons discover that one of Hāritī’s children is missing and become distraught.\textsuperscript{203} This interpretation is reasonable since a number of the smaller demons are seated on the ground with their heads down and buried in their arms, as if in despair. However, since this interpretation would not follow with the left to right reading of the mural, Li Ling has suggested that this section represents the yaksha or demon world into which Hāritī desired to be reborn.\textsuperscript{204} This would make more sense, in the linear chronological reading of the mural narrative, especially since in all of the other instances that Hāritī is depicted, she is shown as an eminent lady in long robes. However, given that the west wall mural did not ascribe to a linear chronological progression through its narrative imagery, and the fact that the inscriptions are no longer legible on the east wall, it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion.

Below the yaksha or demon group, there is a blanket of hazy clouds that transports the viewer to the realm of man below where several figures are working at a watermill. [Image 3.33] Again, in this section, Wang Kui and his team’s technical skill in jiehua architectural painting and design is put on full display. The flowing water turns a water mill which is situated between two wooden structures covered by thatched roofs that house a hulling machine on the left and a grindstone on the right. A number of cogs and axels are precisely depicted to show the mechanism by which the entire mill runs. The clarity and detail with which the mill is depicted, and the subject of the water mill itself, hearkens back to the Northern Song painting The Water Mill (also known as, Water Sluice and Freight Carts 閘口盤車圖), Shanghai Museum of Art. [Image 3.34] Heping

\textsuperscript{203} Chang Le, \textit{Yanshani xiang shi}, 127.  
\textsuperscript{204} Li Ling, “Zhengzhi de yinyu (part 1),” 75.
Liu’s research has shown that during the Northern Song imperial patronage of water mills resulted in the association of water mills with imperial power. With the advances in hydraulic and mechanical engineering propelled forward and sponsored by imperial patronage, the water mill also became an image of modernity in Northern Song society. Additionally, this strong positive association of the water mill with the modern feats of the prosperous Northern Song government was reinforced by the writing of contemporary scholar officials who created “many compelling literary and political metaphors …[posing] the water mill …as an inspiration for moralistic expression and as a vehicle of political rhetoric.”

The use of jiehua in the Hāritī mural to depict the water mill subject suggests two interrelated points about Wang Kui and the design and meaning of the Hāritī mural. First, Wang Kui was familiar with the Northern Song depiction of jiehua water mills, that is in terms of technical and stylistic familiarity. This is yet another reason that it is possible that Wang Kui received training in the Northern Song Painting Academy before the fall of Bianliang. Secondly, the association of the water mill with the modernity, prosperity, and efficiency of the previous Northern Song dynasty which, by Heping Liu’s account, was well-known and easily recognized at the very least by most members of the educated elite and imperial court, suggests that Wang Kui could have been using the image to make covert political statements. As a former contract painter of the Jin court, Wang Kui could be employing the image of the water mill to imply that the rule of the Jurchen over north China was like that of the Northern Song, also prosperous and efficient, advanced and modern. However, as a former subject of the Northern Song, Wang Kui could be making a covert statement of dissent through a

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nostalgic remembrance of the great Northern Song which was wiped out by the Jurchen.\textsuperscript{206}

To the right of the central Shakyamuni figure, there is a clearing in which the members of a family and some attendants, human and demon, have gathered. [Image 3.35] The clearing is bound in the back by two boulders which form an arch over large red doors decorated with several rows of gold bosses. The entrance to this cavernous dwelling is made more eminent by a slightly raised stone platform with steps. On the steps sit a man and two women on stools to his left and right. Their three faces are heavily damaged by paint deterioration, but the woman to the man’s right carries a small child while the woman to his left motions to a demon figure in an official hat who carries a long handscroll billowing in the wind. In front of the three seated figures are three winged and partially clothed demons who kneel or stand in postures of supplication, mouths open as if making a report. To the right are seven children and two attendants. Three children sit attentively in front of a small rectangular standing screen and gesture towards it. [Image 3.36] There is an attendant who is seated behind the small screen who is barely visible because of deterioration of the paint and the similarity in color between his or her robes and the green grass. However, a black circle of oxidized paint shows where this attendant’s head should be. This seated attendant behind the screen performs a shadow puppet show for the three children seated in front of the screen. The faint black outline of the puppets on the screen is still visible. Even more telling, however, is a

\textsuperscript{206} That the mural contains a political message regarding Wang Kui’s political beliefs is an idea discussed at length by Li Ling in “Zhengzhi de yinyu (parts 1 and 2).” Li does not include the image of the water mill as a specific example of Wang Kui’s political metaphor, but does argue that the Mañjuśrī Hall mural program, especially the east wall depicting Hāritī and her demons running amok, can be read as a political metaphor for Wang Kui’s dissenting political views towards the Jin court.
solitary child who sits to the side with his head turned towards the screen. In his hands are small human silhouettes, their legs and extended arms and heads are clearly rendered, attached to sticks. These are probably the paper shadow puppets that are being used in the puppet show by the attendant. Li Ling also supports that these are shadow puppets and further demonstrates the popularity of puppets in the Middle Period by citing a later mural depiction of a child playing with a small puppet on a stick from the Yuan tomb at Wanshangcun in Dengfeng, Henan.\(^{207}\) [Image 3.37]

Far to the right of the west wall is a damaged section of the mural. One portion that is still legible includes heavily oxidized male figures in pants and short tunics running out of a residence which is enclosed by a meticulously rendered bamboo fence. Because the inscription is completely destroyed, it is impossible to tell what this scene depicts; two possibilities include townspeople running to look for their missing children or demons collecting children for Ḥāritī.

Below the scene of Ḥāritī and her children playing is a large palatial structure enclosed by a wall. [Image 3.38]. The entrance to the enclosed palatial structure is situated in the lower third of the mural and the central axis of the palace runs vertically, rather than horizontally as it does in the palatial structure in the west wall mural. The front side of the city wall has a central gate with a five-bay-wide roofed structure on its second story. [Image 3.39] To the right and left above the gateway are five-bay-wide corridors, *doulang* 钜廊, which extend on either side to join small three-bay-wide halls with hip-gable roofs.\(^{208}\) Extending outward away from the three-bay wide halls are more

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\(^{208}\) Fu, “Shanxi sheng Fanshi xian Yanshansi nan dian Jin dai bihua” (1998) 285. Fu writes that these structures were called *duolou* 杜樓 in the Song dynasty.
corridors which connect to single-eave que 閣 towers. The main gate, corridors, side halls, and que towers form a concave ao 閣- shaped façade. Inside the city walls there are a main hall and side halls to its right and left. These structures are all three bays wide and are also covered with hip-gable roofs. Covered corridors surround the central courtyard of the main hall. A tall raised platform with a long staircase to a side entrance projects from the left side of the main hall. Atop this platform is a small three-bay-wide hall with a number of figures attending to a table of offerings. Meticulously depicted in the background of the small hall is a standing screen with just a bit of monochrome ink landscape painting visible. Below in the main hall, a man sits on a throne flanked by attendants with large fans and officials in futou 襦頭 hats with two horizontal legs. In the courtyard of the hall are a number of other standing officials and one figure in an orange robe kneeling in supplication to the royal. This section likely represents the requests to the king by the people whose children have been taken by Hāritī.

Just to the right (south) side of this group of palace halls is a relatively small temple complex. [Image 3.40, Image 3.41] Its main hall and side halls on the right and left are also topped with hip-gable roofs. A veranda with a hip-gable roof extends from the front of the main hall. In front of the main hall is a three-bay-wide main gate with a single eave, hip-gable roof. Inscribed on a plaque above the door are the four characters “Shrine of the Sage Mother” (聖母之廟). According to Chang Le, after speaking to locals, the converted Hāritī is worshipped today in the Fanshi county region as a protector

209 Ibid. 285. According to Fu, in the Song dynasty, this type of small hall was found inside of palace grounds or gardens and was called a “qitai 砌臺” or a “cacatai 擦擦臺.” The tall platform that projects to the side is a yuetai 月臺.

210 Ibid. 285. Fu writes that in the Song period this was called a guitou 蟄頭屋, “turtle head chamber.”
of children at “Grandma Shrines 奶奶廟;” Chang Le surmises that the “Shrine of the Sage Mother” referred to here is simply another appellation for these “Grandma Shrines.”

However, the “Sage Mother” has particular historical significance in the Shanxi region. The Jin Ci 晉祠, or the Memorial Shrines of Jin, is located just outside of Taiyuan, Shanxi province, approximately 220km from the Yanshansi site; the largest hall at the Jin Ci is the Sage Mother Hall 聖母殿. According to official texts, the Jin Ci was established for the historical figure Shu Yu of Tang, the founder of the Jin state during the Western Zhou dynasty (1046 – 771). Aside from Shu Yu of Tang, the Spirit of the Jin Springs was also worshiped at this site. The Jin Ci’s Sage Mother Hall, constructed in the mid- to late-eleventh century, was dedicated exclusively to the Spirit of the Jin Springs, a female water deity revered for her ability to supply water for the region’s important agrarian water irrigation needs. The Spirit of the Jin Springs was elevated to the status of “Sage Mother of Manifest Aid” by the Northern Song Emperor Shenzong (r. 1067 – 85) in 1077, and she would continue to be promoted through the early twelfth century. Tracy Miller writes that this “pattern of the Sage Mother’s promotion … suggests that local people identified her as a powerful provider of rain, and in addition to rebuilding and enhancing the Sage Mother Hall, petitioned the central government to give her title

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211 Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi (2013) 137.
214 Ibid. Other promotions of the Sage Mother and the shrine are listed in the Song Huiyao. Imperial plaques were bestowed upon the shrine in 1104 and 1112, indicating the Sage Mother’s continuous importance.
increases so that she would continue acting on their behalf.” This revered status demonstrates that the Sage Mother was a popular, powerful, and highly regarded deity for worship during the Northern Song in Shanxi. The Yanshansi mural’s Shrine of the Sage Mother is painted low in the mural composition, near the depiction of a body of flowing water, and could be alluding to the Sage Mother’s rain-giving abilities or the Jin Ci’s physical location on the Jin springs. That Wang Kui or his patrons would want to depict this powerful and benevolent female deity in the Hāritī mural could be a reflection of popular local beliefs of the late twelfth century. The Sage Mother Shrine’s depiction could, like the water mill depiction, also be a nostalgic hearkening back to the earlier glory of the Northern Song dynasty, when the Sage Mother received many promotions.

Immediately above the Shrine of the Sage Mother, there is a figure in long flowing blue, green, and yellow robes. [Image 3.42] His tonsured head and the window-pane pattern on his robes suggest that this is a monk. He stands on elaborately rendered swirling clouds, green and blue vapors shoot up from behind him, and green and white rays emanate from his person. His hands are outstretched to the left and flying above him to the left is a round bowl which, due to deterioration of the pigments, today is simply black. This is most certainly the instance in which Hāritī’s child is captured in the bowl by one of the Shakyamuni Buddha’s disciples. The large image of Shakyamuni in the top right corner represents Shakyamuni receiving the child captured in the bowl from his disciple. [Image 3.43] Shakyamuni sits on a pedestal, with multiple body haloes and light

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215 Miller, “Water Sprites and Ancestor Spirits,” 17. Miller relates the increase in promotions of deities during the 1070’s to the New Policies which aimed to strengthen local governments.
216 Li Ling also supports the idea that the Jin Ci’s Sage Mother Hall is the source for the mural’s depiction of the Shrine of the Sage Mother; however, Li suggests that the benevolent Sage Mother could be meant to serve as a foil for the child-devouring Hāritī. Li Ling, “Zhengzhi de yinyu” (2016) 53 – 54.
rays emanating from his person. His is flanked on either side by a total of six figures, three on each side. In front of him stands the same tonsured disciple with two outstretched hands.

The narrative progression then circles back to the left, below the central Shakyamuni icon. Here, a meeting between an elegantly dressed woman, Hāritī, and a royal male figure takes place. [Image 3.44] A partially visible inscription can be seen in an image published in 1983 just above the male figure’s procession; the three characters “海龍王”, the “Ocean Dragon King,” can be deciphered.\(^\text{217}\) [Image 3.45] The Dragon King is on the left, standing in a long red robe and cap, waiting with two small attendants at the water’s edge for Hāritī. Hāritī approaches the Dragon King as a round-faced lady with a high floral headdress and long flowing robes. She is accompanied by an entourage of female attendants, some carrying long-handled fans and others attending to small children. In the back of her procession, where the mural has sustained more damage, several demons are depicted with little children on their backs. The group moves forward over the stylized watery waves on an immense green and white cloud. The tendrils of the cloud are outlined in modulated black ink strokes. The cloud trails from the right side of the mural, past two scraggly pine trees which are not unlike those seen in scroll painting dated to the Jin period. This is the clearest rendering of Hāritī in the mural. Her flowing robes, her headdress, and her entourage of diminutive female attendants immediately call to mind the depiction of processions of elite or divine women seen in tombs, for example the tenth century Baoshan Liao tomb showing the descent of a female deity, identified by

\(^{217}\) Li Ling claims that more characters can be read and transcribed as, “次是海龍王等節鬼母”, but it is difficult to discern this from the Pan and Ding published image.
a damaged cartouche as “Xi wangmu 西王母.” [Image 3.46] Hāritī’s resemblance to the Xi wangmu, just adjacent to the representation of the Shrine to the Sage Mother, highlights the confluence of divine female individuals in this mural. Moreover, it speaks again to the importance of the Sage Mother in this Shanxi region. 218

The lower left part of the mural is badly damaged and the published images are difficult to read. 219 The next legible section includes a partial inscription which reads, “This is the place where the “Small Pox Villain” turned to the front of the Cave Opening and saw many children and Ainu [the missing, favorite child] 此是天花恶人向洞門前 / 見孩多孩兒內報了愛奴現.” [Image 3.47] This refers to a small partially visible scene below. All that is truly discernible is a door set into two blue and green boulders that are slanted toward each other, quite like the door in Hāritī’s family scene on the top right of the mural with the children enjoying a puppet show. [Image 3.48] There are scant outlines of small figures that should be children. 220 Above, in the heavily damaged cloud

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218 Additionally, the Sage Mother assimilated a number of identities throughout the Shanxi region, including the mother of Shuyu of Tang (as at the Jin Ci), Earth Goddess at Fenyin (in southwest Shanxi), and the Xi wangmu. Huishu Lee, Empresses Art and Agency in Song China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010) 29; Peng Hai 彭海. Wenhua de laoyin: Jin Ci wenwu toushi 文化的烙印: 晉祠文物透視 [Seal of Culture: Examination of the Cultural Relics of the Jin Ci] (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1997) 46 – 47.

219 Li Ling, “Zhengzhi de yinyu” (2015) 76. Above the meeting of the Dragon King and Hāritī is a section that is badly damaged and for which there are no clear published images. Li Ling believes this section to show Vaisravana 異沙門, one of the heavenly kings, to ask the Shakyamuni Buddha where her missing child could be Li writes that there is also a inscription which reads, “此是鬼子母感 神 下落答信 X 前之處” Li writes that there is an inscription which tells that this is where Hāritī thanked Vaisravana for answering her question of where to find her child.

220 According to Li Ling, before Hāritī entered the Buddhist canon, she was a deity who used small pox to steal children for food. However, this association with small pox is not mentioned in the Chinese translations of the Hāritī-sutra. Li Ling has attempted to address this confusing appellation of the “Small Pox Villain” by speaking with Chang Le about his conversations with local villagers. Chang Le’s theory is that small pox was a disease that afflicted many children. This resulted in the worship of a local deity called the “Two-Faced Maiden 雙面娘娘” who would use her benevolent face to protect children, but her malevolent face to kill them with small pox. Unclear if this would have had any bearing on Jin dynasty understandings of Hāritī. See Li Ling, “Zhengzhi de yinyu” (2016) 77.
section are a number of demons with weapons, beating drums, and holding flying banners. The published details of this section show demons holding the black bowl in which Hārīti’s lost child was captured.

**Concluding Thoughts on the Yanshansi Murals**

By identifying the narrative scenes and iconography of the east and west murals on the Mañjuśrī Hall walls, a number of stylistic, technical, and iconographic similarities between tomb, scroll, and temple painting of the Jin dynasty become apparent. These include the stylistic and formal similarities in the depictions of trees and cows in the temple and tomb paintings, and similarities between rocks, mountains, and trees in temple and scroll paintings. Moving through the murals section by section allowed for technical similarities, such as the application of parallel perspective and use of *jiehua* to depict architectural structures, to be highlighted as a shared feature between tomb, temple, and scroll painting. These shared aspects, especially between temple mural and courtly or literati scroll painting, are not unique to the Jin period. Painters at the imperial court are recorded to have painted on temple and palatial hall walls, as well as on silk and paper. However, the Yanshansi murals provide a concrete visual interface between the painting cultures of the imperial Jin court and regional, popular funerary painting idioms and styles.

Additionally, the Yanshansi temple murals interacted with the culture of popular drama and theater. In the scene on the east wall in which children are playing with puppets, Wang Kui makes a direct allusion to dramatic entertainment. During the Northern Song and through the Yuan, as demonstrated by the depiction in the Dengfeng
tomb of the child holding a puppet, puppet shows, *kuilei xi* 傀儡戲, were popular; there were a variety of different puppets as well, including hanging marionette puppets 懸絲傀儡, walking marionette puppets 走線傀儡, stick puppets 杖頭傀儡, gunpowder puppets 藥發傀儡, “flesh” puppets 肉傀儡, and water puppets 水傀儡. 221 To the left of the children is a demon with a long scroll fluttering in the wind. Li Ling suggests that this is a figure which is derived from, and alludes to, the life and death registers which were reported by the Ten Kings of Hell. 222 However, perhaps this handscroll relates to the puppet show – could the demon be reading a narrative or a story that goes along with the puppet show?

Secondly, “Account of the Mother of Demons Raising the Alms-bowl 鬼子母揭鉢記,” named for the episode in which Hāritī attempts to free her child from the bowl in which he has been trapped by Shakyamuni, is recorded as a *zaju* drama title in the fourteenth century catalogue of drama, *Register of Ghosts* 錄鬼簿 by Zhong Sicheng. 223 Wu Changling, a playwright who was active in the late Jin into the early Yuan, is listed as the play’s author. 224 Although the text to this Jin- Yuan period drama is no longer extant, the inclusion of its title in the fourteenth century catalogue attests to Hāritī’s


222 Li Ling, “Zhengzhi de yinyu (part 1),” 76.

223 Murray, “Representations of Hāritī,” 260

224 *ibid.* This particular episode in the story was an important scene that would continue to be depicted in late imperial scroll painting. However, no scroll painting shows the entirety of the Hāritī narrative as the Yanshansi mural does. Instead the scroll paintings focus on the singular episode of Hāritī and Shakyamuni’s confrontation.
recognition as a subject of a popular drama in the thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries. This parallels the relationship between *Register of Ghosts* and the Xiaoguancun tomb. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *zaju* drama, “Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed” was included in the same catalogue by Zhong Sicheng and the drama itself was quoted in the Xiaoguancun funerary mural (1174 CE).

The relationship between popular drama and a temple mural is not unexpected in tenth through fourteenth century north China. Temples provided public space for the congregation of local people and often incorporated theatrical stages into their very architecture, making the temple a site for performance; a well-known and studied example of this cultural phenomenon is the Shanxi monastery Guangshengsi 廣勝寺 where the members of a theatrical troop are themselves painted on the walls of a temple hall.225 While we cannot know if the decision to depict the story of Hāriti was a result of the contemporary popularity of the drama, that Hāriti appears both in the catalogue of plays and on the walls of the Mañjuśrī Hall highlights the intertwining of popular drama, visual culture, and religion during the Jin. Although the walls of Jin tombs and the walls of Jin temples were different, created for and by different contexts and functions, neither developed in a vacuum. Both influenced, or were influenced by, the greater cultural influence of contemporary popular theater and drama.

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Chapter 4 The Yulin Cave 3 Landscape Murals

This chapter examines the broader cultural sphere of twelfth to thirteenth century north Chinese painting by relating Jin painting to two landscape murals from the Yulin Caves, a Buddhist cave temple site in Gansu. In Yulin Cave 3, there are two landscape murals depicting the bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century under the Xia 夏 state (1038 – 1227) ruled by the royal Tangut clan, a state also called the Great Xia 大夏 or the Western Xia 西夏. Due to the sinocentric nature of China’s art history, the Yulin Cave 3 landscape murals are often framed simply as peripheral and passive beneficiaries of the landscape painting traditions of the Northern and Southern Song literati and courts. This chapter argues for a new framework which situates the Yulin Cave 3 murals and Jin painting within a twelfth to thirteenth century painting culture shared between north and northwest China. Within this new framework, the Yulin Cave 3 landscape mural painters are active producers and developers of landscape painting traditions. This chapter connects the use and adaptation of the stylistic, iconographic, and technical elements at Yulin with similar visual elements employed prominently in Jin scroll, temple, and tomb paintings. Through this comparative study of the Yulin Cave 3 murals and Jin painting, I argue that there was a broader twelfth to thirteenth century painting and visual culture shared across north-northwest China that created different interpretations and translations of “Chinese
landscape painting,” while simultaneously shaping and contributing to the greater narrative of Chinese painting history.

**Introduction to the Xia State**

A short introduction to the Xia state is helpful in understanding the Tangut empire that controlled the steppe and deserts of northwest China from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The Xia state was established by the Tangut. According to early Chinese sources, the Tangut emerged during the third through seventh centuries from an “intermingling” of the Western Qiang 西羌, a nomadic group from northeastern Tibet, and the Altaic Xianbei tribes in the steppe of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau.\(^{226}\) In their own language, the Tanguts called themselves the Mi. The Tanguts established a semi-independent regime in the late tenth century and in 1038 CE, the Tangut ruler Li Yuanhao (r. 1032 – 48) named himself emperor. The Tangut named their empire the Great Xia (Da Xia 大夏) in Chinese, or in their own language, the “Great State of White and High.” The name “Western Xia (Xi Xia 西夏)” was given to the Xia state by Chinese scholars in the Song and later periods in order to highlight its geographic location in relation to the contemporary Northern Song empire (960 – 1127); this name is currently the standard name for the Xia state used in Chinese and English scholarship today.\(^{227}\)

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\(^{227}\) See *ibid*. In this dissertation, I follow Dunnell’s conventions for using the term “Tangut.” I use “Tangut” to refer to the “specific ethnic group or federation, its culture, and its language... the people who lived and the things they produced under the Xia state (1038 – 1227) ruled by the Tangut royal clan.” I also follow Dunnell for the use of the term “Xia” – i.e. “to denote the period from the early eleventh century (or from 982) up to 1227 and the territories ruled by the dynasty. The date 1038 marks the formal commencement of
At its height, the Xia was an expansive state whose territory included parts of modern day Shaanxi, northern Qinghai, western Gansu, all of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, and western Inner Mongolia. Running through the empire was the vital Hexi Corridor, a chain of oasis cities south of the Gobi Desert, which linked China and Central Asia. [Image 4.1] The Xia interacted on political and cultural stages with a number of empires and groups: to the north and west were powerful tribes and tribal confederations of the steppe, to the southwest were the Tibetans, to the west were the kingdoms of Central Asia, and to the south and east were the Liao (Khitan) and the Northern Song, then the Jin.228

Introduction to Tangut Art History

Since the early twentieth century, excavation and study of Tangut material remains have broadened our understandings of Tangut art history and several important publications have highlighted three critical aspects of Tangut visual and material culture.

First, Tangut artists engaged with contemporary north Chinese and Tibetan painting techniques and styles. This is a major theme that is addressed in the exhibition catalogue Lost Empire of the Silk Road, a publication which includes many Tangut paintings found in the “lost city” of Khara Khoito. The authors examine each painting for Tibetan, north Chinese, or Central Asian sources.229 Following the publication of the Khara Khoito...
materials, Rob Linrothe’s study of two paintings excavated from Ningxia called for a “heterotopic” understanding of the Sino-Himalayan/Sino-Tibetan aspects of Tangut painting. Linrothe argued that Tangut painting can perhaps be best characterized by its embracing of the dual systems of Chinese and Himalayan Buddhist painting practices. This theme of contemporary material and visual exchange is further elaborated upon by Shih-san Susan Huang’s work on printed Buddhist frontispieces from Khara Khotó which highlights the exchange between the Tangut, Northern Song, and Jurchen contemporaries.

Second, Tangut artists and artisans were aware of, and actively employed, the material and visual cultures of China’s past. This is an important concept demonstrated by Nancy Steinhardt in her article on the Tangut royal tombs near Yinchuan in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. Through comparisons with Tang, Northern Song, and Liao tombs, Steinhardt shows how the Tangut royals demonstrated their own knowledge of elite Chinese funerary traditions. Importantly, Steinhardt notes that although the Tangut royals cited the Chinese past, they maintained and cultivated their own unique cultural agency in the construction of their royal tombs. In this way, Steinhardt’s view of Tangut funerary architecture complements Linrothe’s view of

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Tangut Buddhist silk painting; both Steinhardt’s and Linrothe’s research highlight assertions of Tangut cultural agency and autonomy in art and architecture.

Third, Buddhism, which since its introduction to East Asia was an important tool in the legitimation of non-Han regimes, played an integral role in shaping Tangut state and culture. The topic of Buddhism and state formation is the subject of Dunnell’s 1996 book and the importance of Buddhist art in Tangut culture is highlighted by the large percentage of Buddhist works in the Khara Khoto paintings. In Nancy Steinhardt’s study of the Tangut royal tombs and the octagonal shape of the mounds which cover them, Steinhardt directly connects the Tangut royals’ devotion to esoteric Tantric Buddhism to that of the Liao and the construction of the Liao eight-sided pagodas.²³³ Esoteric iconography can also be found in the murals of the Tangut period Yulin caves, including Cave 3.²³⁴ Considering the high levels of painting quality in the Cave 3 murals, it is possible that they were created under royal Tangut patronage.²³⁵ The Xia use of Buddhism as a tool for legitimation connects the empire to the visual, material, religious, and political networks of the Northern Steppe and north China.

These three aspects of Tangut art and visual culture are critical to understanding the murals in Yulin Cave 3. Through the Xia state’s exchange of visual culture and painting traditions with north China, citations of the Chinese past in visual and material forms, and Tangut participation in the cultural, political, and religious networks of north China and

²³⁴ The Tangut Period Yulin caves include caves numbers 29, 2, 3, 10 according to the catalogue Dunhuang Research Academy’s Anxi Yulin ku 安西榆林窟 [Yulin Caves in Anxi], Zhongguo Shiku, Volume 9. Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 1997.
²³⁵ Linrothe believes that the murals in Cave 3 were most likely created during the stable and prosperous reign of the Xia emperor Renzong (r.) due to the amount of time and resources that they would have required. Linrothe also suggests that perhaps they were patronized by a royal individual or Renzong himself. Rob Linrothe, “Ushnishavijaya and the Tangut Cult of the Stūpa at Yulin Cave 3,” National Palace Museum Bulletin 31, no. 4-5 (1996) 1 – 25.
the Northern Steppe, we can begin to reconstruct the cultural and artistic background of
the Yulin Cave 3 murals.

**Introduction to Yulin Cave 3**

The Yulin Caves are located approximately 137 km west from the more famous Mogao Caves in Dunhuang, Gansu. The caves were excavated from the sandy cliffs on the east and west sides of the Yulin River, for which the cave-temple site is named. There are approximately eleven caves on the west side of the river and about thirty caves on the east side. The caves on the east side of the river are arranged on two rows, an upper and a lower. Yulin Cave 3 is situated on the lower row on the east side of the Yulin River. The cave is oriented along an east-west axis, with its entrance in the west. The cave is comprised of an entrance passageway and a central rectangular chamber covered by a domed ceiling. [Image 4.2] There are murals on the entrance passageway as well as on the ceiling and four walls of the main chamber. [Image 4.3] Donors in Tangut-style garb are painted on the walls of the entrance passageway, but no published images are available. Below the Tangut donor figures is a row of smaller female donors in Mongol garb on the south wall and male donors in Mongol garb on the north wall, all facing the entrance to the cave. The male Mongol figures wear rounded caps with partially shaved heads and looped hairstyles; the female donors wear short jackets, long skirts, and gugu, the headdress of married Mongol women.236 [Image 4.4] Inside the main chamber, the ceiling is decorated with a mandala surrounded by borders of interlocking and geometric motifs in bands. These motifs are related to architectural ornamentation illustrated in the

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236 Only one image of a male Mongol donor from the Cave 3 entranceway is published. The other Mongol donors were observed in person by the author. Similar Mongol donors can be found in other Yulin Caves, including Cave 4 on the lower registers of the west wall of the main chamber on either side of the entrance.
early twelfth century building standards manual, the *Yingzao fashi*. The north, south, and east walls are decorated with three panels each. With the entrance in the west, the east wall is the central wall of the cave chamber. The central panel on the east wall depicts a stupa and a *parinirvana* scene in a top register. The two flanking panels each depict a Multi-Arm Avalokiteśvara. The central panel of the south and north walls each depict Pure Land tableaux, rendered with one-point perspective and *jiehua* palatial Chinese architecture. The architectural structures in these two tableaux have been compared to Song and Jin architecture from China’s Central Plain, specifically the Northern Song architecture found at the Longxingsi in Zhengding, Hebei. Flanking each of the Pure Land tableaux are two Himalayan-style mandalas. The ceiling, north wall, and south wall murals exemplify the dualism of Chinese and Himalayan styles that is characteristic of Tangut period painting. On the west wall is the entrance to the cave chamber and there are scenes from the Vimilakiriti sutra above the entranceway. On either side of the entrance are the landscape murals, each depicting a

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237 Li Luke 李路珂, “Gansu Anxi Yulin ku Xixia hou qí shiku zhuangshi ji qi yu Song “Yingzao fashi” zhi guanxi chutan 甘肃安西榆林窟西夏後期石窟裝飾及其與宋《營造法式》之關係初探(上) [A preliminary discussion on the decoration of the later Western Xia caves in Yulin, Anxi, Gansu and their relationship with the Song *Yingzao fashi*, 1],” *Dunhuang Yanjiu* 3 (2008) 5-12; and for Part 2 see *Dunhuang Yanjiu* 4 (2008) 12 – 20 + images. See Part 2 for Cave 3. These two articles examine the decorative architectural motifs in Yulin Caves 2, 3, and 10 and compare them to illustrations from the *Yingzao fashi*. Li concludes that these late Xia caves derive the decorative motifs from Nepal, India, and the Himalayas, as well as China’s Central Plain and the *Yingzao fashi*.

238 The south wall’s central mural depicts a Pure Land from the *Guan Wuliangshou Sutra* 觀無量壽經, or the *Contemplation Sutra*. The sutra consists of the sermon given by Shakyamuni to Queen Vaidehi while she is imprisoned by her son. The north wall’s central mural depicts a Pure Land from the *Tianqingwen Sutra* 天請問經, or the Devatā Sutra, the *Requesting Heavenly Blessing Sutra*. See Dunhuang, *Ansei Yurin kutsu*, 安西榆林窟 [The Anxi Yulin Caves] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990) plates 149 – 150.

239 Xiao Mo. 蕭默. *Dunhuang jianzhu yanjiu* 敦煌建築研究 (Beijing: Jixie gongye chuban she, 2003) 78-79.

240 On south wall: (east side, see Dunhuang 1990, plate 153) Ushnīṣhabhūtija 胜陀羅尼 Mandala (the subject of Linrothe’s 1996 article) and (west side, see Dunhuang 1990, plate 154) Womb-Container 胎藏界 Mandala. On the north wall: (east side) Buddha of the Five Directions 五方佛 Mandala and (west side) Diamond 金刚界 Mandala.
central bodhisattva surrounded by retinues and framed by mountainous landscape. To the south of the entrance is the mural of Samantabhadra riding an elephant and to the north of the entrance is the mural of Mañjuśrī riding a lion. The landscapes are located primarily at the top of the murals; viewers must crane their necks to get a good look, meaning that specific details which are readily visible in published reproductions of this mural are more difficult to see in person.

There are a number of inscriptions in the cave in Phag-spa script (Mongolian), the Tibetan alphabet, and Chinese characters written by travelers to the cave. These inscriptions are dated with unknown accuracy to a period that ranges from the Xia period to the Qing dynasty (1644 -1912), so they cannot provide a date for the murals’ completion.

The paintings in the cave chamber are therefore dated based on stylistic analysis. Most scholars date the cave to the late Xia period (late 12th – early 13th century), with a few speculating that the murals may be slightly later (c. 1300). 241 For summary of major opinions on the date of Cave 3, see Zhao Shengliang 趙声良, Dunhuang bihua fengjing yanjiu 敦煌壁畫風景研究 [Research on the Background Landscapes in the Dunhuang Murals] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005) 190. Some important scholars who believe that the murals date to the Xia period include Duan Wenjie 端文傑, Yulin ku bihua yishu Zhongguo shiku,Anxi yulinku 榆林窟壁畫藝術 / 中國石窟，安西榆林窟 [Art from the Yulin Cave Murals/ Chinese Caves, Anxi Yulin Caves] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1997); Liu Yuquan 劉玉权, “Gua-, Sha, Xixia Shiku Gailun 瓜沙西夏石窟概論 [Introduction to the Guazhou and Shazhou Xixia Caves],” in Zhongguo Shiku, Dunhuang Mogao Ku, Volume 5, Dunhuang Research Academy, gen. eds. (Beijing: Wenwu Chuban she: 1987) 164 – 177; Huo Xiliang 霍熙亮, Yulin ku, Xiqianfo dong nei long zonglu Zhongguo shiku, Yulin ku 榆林窟，西千佛洞內容總錄 [A Complete Record on the Yulin Caves and Western 1,000 Buddha Caves/ Chinese Caves, The Yulin Caves] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997); Su Bai 宿白, Mogao Yulin liang ku de cang zhuan Fojiao yiji 莫高榆林兩窟的藏傳佛教遺跡 [Collection and transmission of Tibetan Buddhist historical remains in Caves at the Mogao Yulin caves] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996). Scholars in the 1950’s believed that the murals date to the Yuan period. See Xiang Da 向達, Mogao, Yulin erku za kao 莫高榆林二窟雜考 [Miscellaneous Research on the Mogao and Yulin Caves] (Sanlian shudian, 1957); Huang Shijian also argued for a Yuan period date due to a form of vessel for distilling liquor depicted in the cave mural that he believes is only used in the Yuan period or later. Huang Shijian 黃時堅, Zhongguo shaojiu de
study of the Ushnīśhavijayā 勝陀羅尼 Mandala on the south wall and the Shakyamuni and Avalokiteśvara murals on the east wall led him to believe that the cave was painted in the late twelfth century under the reign of the Xia emperor Weiming Renzong 嵬名仁宗 (r. 1139 - 1193). Liu Yongzeng has also examined the entire cave mural program to address the issue of dating. Liu believes the cave may have been initially excavated and the entranceway painted in the late Tangut period (early 13th century), but the inclusion of donors in Mongol style garb suggest that the chamber murals were completed or renovated in the early Yuan (c. 1300). For Liu, one of the factors that suggests the later date is that the landscape murals seem to be drawing from Tang and Song landscape paintings, a characteristic that Liu associates with Yuan dynasty landscape painting. It is unclear why Liu does not believe that twelfth to early thirteenth century north Chinese landscape painters were conversant in Tang and Song landscape traditions.

Several other scholars specifically address the landscape murals on the west wall. These studies, for the most part, forge connections between the murals and the earlier Five Dynasties and Northern Song monumental landscape tradition, or the lyrical landscapes of the Southern Song court. Li Yuebo has argued for the influence of literati painters from the Five Dynasties and Northern Song periods, including Jing Hao (late 9th century)....
early 10th century), Xu Daoning (act. ca. 1030-67), and Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (act. ca. 1008, d. 1050). Fan Jinshi has argued that the landscape murals from Yulin Cave 3 demonstrate the Xia painters’ use of Five Dynasties, Northern Song, and Southern Song landscape painting styles. He directly compares details of mountains from the murals with Li Cheng or Guo Xi paintings; Fan also compares trees and smaller landscape details with Mi Youren, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui’s hazy, ink washed, small-scale landscape views of the Southern Song court.

In other words, studies have established that the landscapes in Yulin Cave 3 developed from the monochrome ink landscape tradition established Five Dynasties and Song period China, but have not considered the Yulin Cave 3 murals within the greater scope of contemporary developments in landscape painting across twelfth to early thirteenth century north China. The following sections will reorient the analysis of the Yulin Cave 3 landscape murals by considering their connections to Jin painting and the landscape painting traditions of twelfth to thirteenth century north China. Because the murals prominently feature Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī along with their retinues, an attempt will also be made to characterize the individual figures. The diverse multicultural and multi-ethnic retinues reflect the diversity of the Tangut empire and Yulin’s

245 Li Yuebo 李月伯, “Cong Yulin ku di 3 ku Wenshu bian Puxian bian kan zhong yuan wenren hua dui Dunhuang bihua de yingxiang 从榆林窟第 3 窟文殊普贤变看中原文人画对敦煌壁画的影响 [Examination of the Yulin Cave 3 Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra murals in search of the influence of literati painting on the murals at Dunhuang],” in Yulin ku yanjiu lunwen ji 榆林窟研究論文集 [Collected Essays on Yulin Cave Research], vol. 2, Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩, Dunhuang Research Academy, eds. (Shanghai: Shanghai ci shu chuban she, 2011) 701 – 707.
246 Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩, Dunhuang Research Academy, Yulin ku yishu 榆林窟藝術 [Art from the Yulin Caves] (Nanjing: Jiangsu yishu chuban she, 2014).
247 Fan, Yulin ku yishu, 106.
248 Thank you to Christopher Atwood who informed me that Tangutologists like K. Solonin now estimate that the Xia population may have been sixty to seventy percent ethnically Tangut. This is interesting when
location at a cultural cross-roads. This analysis of the Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī landscape murals will highlight the direct relationship between the Yulin Cave 3 landscapes and Jin painting, while simultaneously demonstrating the shared visual language of twelfth to thirteenth century northern painting culture.

The Mañjuśrī Mural

The Mañjuśrī landscape mural is located to the north of the cave chamber’s entrance, on the right when facing the west wall from the interior of the cave. [Image 4.5] The mountainous landscape depicting Mañjuśrī’s mountain abode of Wutaishan occupies only the top one-third of the mural. The bottom two-thirds of the mural centers upon Mañjuśrī who rides on a large cloud of auspicious vapors. Landscape elements in the bottom right corner of the mural and the along the top one-third of the mural will be compared stylistically with examples of painting from Jin tombs, temples, and scrolls. Additionally, the cultural and ethnic diversity of Mañjuśrī’s entourage will be examined in order to highlight the Yulin Caves’ location as a crossroads between Central Asia and north China.

The Mañjuśrī Mural Figures

Mañjuśrī is surrounded by a retinue of eleven figures, each adorned with a blue and green outlined halo. The figures process to the left, towards the entrance of the cave. The eleven haloed figures include, starting from the left, three royal males wearing long
robes and highly ornamented crowns. One of these three royal male figures is shown bearing with both hands a large platter filled with flaming treasures, including green coral, rhinoceros tusks, flaming pearls, and gold coins. [Image 4.6] These objects are depicted frequently as precious treasures on the walls of Liao and Jin tombs. For example, on north side of the Yuquancun tomb ceiling, dated to 1135, a vignette representing the filial paragon Tian Zhen includes a number of the same precious treasures scattered on the ground. [Image 2.18] On his head, the royal male figure wears a meticulously rendered crown which ties under his chin and rises up in the front into a curving swell above the top of the head where it is decorated by four flaming pearls. The back of the crown is pierced by a pin around which is looped a long, knotted, black ribbon. This is likely a tong tian guan 通天冠, a court headdress described as early as the Han dynasty.249 A similar version of the tong tian guan can be seen in details of Wu Zongyuan’s Northern Song painting, Procession of the Immortals Paying Homage to the Primordial 朝元仙仗圖.250 [Image 4.7] This crown, along with the figure’s long robes, suggests that he is of Han Chinese origin. Below the royal figures, a nude, plump boy stands on a large lotus blossom facing the right. He holds in his hands a large lotus bloom and green ribbons

249 Wu Shan 吳山, Zhongguo lidai fuzhuang, ranzhi, cixiu cidian 中國歷代服裝染織刺繡辭典 [Historical Dictionary of Chinese Clothing, Dyeing and Weaving, and Embroidery] (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chuban she, 2011) 165. Eiren Shea has translated tong tian guan 通天冠 as an “Accessing Heaven Hat.” Shea describes it as, “An ancient ceremonial hat, tying under the chin and curling at its peak. Also known as ping ding guan (平釘冠), juan yun guan (卷雲冠), [and] ping mian (平冕), often abbreviated as tongtian. Worn by the emperor in the Liao dynasty as part of “Han-style” court dress.” Shea, “Fashioning Mongol Identity in China (c. 1200 – 1368),” 258.

250 This painting was in the private collection of C.C. Wang, but its whereabouts have been unknown since 2009. Graham Browley, “A Family Battles Over a Disappearing Trove of Chinese Paintings, Charges of Looting as Heirs Dispute C. C. Wang Collection.” New York Times, October 15, 2015. (Accessed Online December 27, 2017 https://nyti.ms/2pG2IC6). The painting, believed to be a sketch made by the Northern Song painter in preparation for a Daoist temple mural, perhaps in Kaifeng where Wu was active, depicts the tong tian guan worn by a deity standing on a bridge. Stephen Little, Taoism and the Arts of China (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago: 2000) 240 – 241.
trail from his hands. In front of Mañjuśrī stand four other figures, two of which are bodhisattvas in long ornate robes and with flowing hair and grand headdresses. One is a monk holding an alms bowl in one hand and a staff in the other. He is depicted with a bulging and tonsured head, a robe with an open chest, and sandals on his feet. The fourth figure is a bearded man who does not wear a headdress, whose head is not tonsured but has hair which is simply tied back in a knot. He wears long robes, carries a slender staff and along slender rectangular object painted blue, perhaps sutras in the palm leaf booklet format. Both of these figures are of ambiguous ethnic origin. Behind Mañjuśrī are two large military generals wearing ornate armor and headdresses. These are likely two of the four Heavenly Guardian Kings 天王; the other two Heavenly Kings are depicted on the Samantabhadra mural. A short, shirtless figure wearing only loose pants, an ornate necklace, and trailing ribbons is shown at the lower right corner of the cloud. His Central or West Asian origins are highlighted by his curly dark hair and curling mustache. Balanced on the palm of his left hand is a lobed jar with a wide melon-shaped body and a narrow neck and mouth. The jar sits in a wine warming dish with foliated edges and an object, resembling a piece of red coral, is placed inside the jar.

Aside from these eleven figures with haloes, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, his lion mount, and a Central Asian groom are also depicted. Mañjuśrī is shown in a seated posture atop a blue lotus pedestal. [Image 4.8] The bright blue and light green pigments that were used to accent the halo around his head and body, his hair, robes, and flowing ribbons are still vibrant. In his right hand he carries a green ruyi-scepter which curves to a cloud motif at its end, while he holds his left hand with the palm up, four fingers extended and the thumb bent up. He wears on his head an ornate and bejeweled crown
that encircles his head. His downcast eyes are simply but delicately executed, as are his sloping nose and small mouth with pursed lips. Above his mouth is a wavering mustache and below is a small goatee. A rounded chin adds to the plumpness of his face, which is accentuated by neck folds that are visible above the collar of his robes. Mañjuśrī’s rich clothing and jewelry are also rendered with meticulous detail. His distended earlobes are weighed down by heavy circular earrings and he wears a long robe with sleeves and a rounded collar. Over the robes are depicted many layers of jewels and sashes. Chains of jewels hang off his body, swinging loosely, and are ultimately connected to a network of jewels hanging off of the bottom of his robe. The artists took great pains in depicting the fine and dense floral motifs that decorate the bottom hem of the robe. The garment folds in the robes, ribbons, and sashes are shown realistically, with some ribbons trailing behind, as if lifted up by a slight breeze. Mañjuśrī’s right leg is drawn up onto the pedestal while his left foot hangs straight down, resting on a lotus blossom which blooms from the side of his saddle. The easy drape of the robes and sashes across Mañjuśrī’s body recalls the form of lacquered-wood bodhisattvas from the Jin, such as the example from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [Image 3.29] Additionally, his familiar posture of “royal ease” is seen in many depictions of the Water Moon Guanyin of the same period, including the Water Moon Guanyin from the upper left corner of the west wall of the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall. [Image 3.27]

The technical skill and precision employed in the depiction of Mañjuśrī is extended to the rendering of his Central Asian groom and his lion mount. Mañjuśrī’s lion is depicted with four tall legs and a curling, patterned mane. Each of the four giant paws of the lion are shown atop large lotus blossoms. A scrolling rectangular saddle is placed
over the lion’s back and a garland of plaques adorned alternately with bells and tufted ornaments is slung across the front of the lion’s chest and around his rear haunches. The lion’s face turns to look with a snarling growl at the groom who, with his right hand, holds taut a rope which is tied around the lion’s neck. In his left hand, the groom grasps a slender baton. This groom is depicted with a tall, ornate crown which rises to a central peak and has rounded, foliated edges. His face is sensitively rendered; the slight hook of his hose and the way that his thick beard is twisted into five pointed sections are all carefully depicted in order to highlight a Central Asian, non-Han ethnicity. He wears a mid-length robe with a center seam and longer front panel that extends to the ground. His sleeves end right above his elbows and the musculature of his arms straining against the lion’s strength are clearly defined. Around his upper arm are ornamental cuffs constructed of geometric, circular medallions. Around his hips is a belt from which hang at least six leather strips, a diexie 蹣躞. The belt has a long history across Central Asia and China. It can be seen in a Jin scroll painting, worn by Cai Wenji in the Jilin Provincial Museum’s, Wenji gui Han tu. [Image 1.33] Two panels with a blue border surrounding a central rectangular purple field are positioned on the sides of his robe at the hips. Below, extends a shorter light-green skirt. Where the light-green skirt ends, somewhere at the groom’s knee, purple pants are visible. A section of uncovered leg is

251 A gold and silver diexie belt belonging to the Prince of Chen was excavated from the Liao Princess Chen’s tomb. Zhu Qixin. “The Liao Dynasty tomb of a Prince and Princess of the Chen Kingdom” Orientations, Vol. 22, NO. 10 (1991) 58, fig. 16. This type of belt has a long history as a symbol of elevated social status and identity, particularly in northeast Asia. For an early example of such a belt, see Korea’s National Treasure No. 88 at the Gyeongju National Museum. This belt is made of gold and dates to the fifth century under the Silla Kingdom. Gyeongju National Museum, Guoli Qingzhou bowuguan 國立慶州博物館 [The Gyeongju National Museum], (Gyeongju, Gyeongju National Museum, 2010) 39.
shown above his black boots which come up to his mid-calf. These details accentuate his dress as culturally non-Han.

The image of Mañjuśrī depicted on his lion accompanied by his retinue and non-Han groom is part of an iconographic tradition that connects Yulin to Central Asia and China. This Mañjuśrī iconography can be seen in earlier Yulin caves, Tangut paintings on silk from Khara Khoto, and in Uighur painting. It is simply rendered in the central tableaux of the east wall in Yulin Cave 29. [Image 4.9] In Yulin Cave 29, Mañjuśrī is depicted on a lion with a groom and a multi-ethnic retinue, but the mountains are simply rendered with singular, stylized pine trees growing in isolation. There are two paintings from the Khara Khoto excavation in the State Hermitage museum which depict iconic images of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra riding on their respective mounts. [Image 4.10, Image 4.11] These two paintings, dating to the twelfth century, were likely part of a triptych with a central Shakyamuni. In the painting of Mañjuśrī, the foreign groom is dressed in a similar fashion to the one seen in the Yulin caves. He wears a triangular crown, short robe with a long front panel and elbow-length sleeves, a diexie, and high boots. His bare forearms strain against the rein attached to the lion’s harness as his body leans back in a posture also similar to that seen in the Yulin Cave 3 mural. Although the postures of the groom and lion are similar, the use of modeling and the pigments in this painting is different from that seen in the Yulin Cave 3 mural.252 The iconography of

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252 To the right of Mañjuśrī is a boy identified in the Lost Empire of the Silk Road as Sudhanakumāra, also known as Sudhana or Shancai tongzi 善財童子, a practitioner who is depicted in the Flower Garland Sutra. (Charles Muller, “shancai tongzi 善財童子,” Digital Database of Buddhism.) To the left of Mañjuśrī is an elderly male figure who provides a connection between the Khara Khoto painting and funerary painting of China. The authors of the Lost Cities of the Silk Road identify this old man as Yamāntaka, the Lord of the Underworld. (Lost Empire, 212) Yamāntaka was one of the five or eight wise kings 五 / 八大明王, also described as the “terminator of death” and the “wrathful manifestation of Mañjuśrī.”(Charles Muller,
Mañjuśrī with his mount and groom in front of mountains is also seen in Uighur painting; Lilla Russell-Smith argues for Uighur patronage and Tangut influence on the painting *Mañjuśrī on Wutaishan* at the Musée Guimet, due to the painting’s similarities in composition and iconography with the Yulin Mañjuśrī mural.²⁵³ [Image 4.12] The occurrence of this shared iconography across north and northwest China again exemplifies the twelfth to thirteenth century intercultural visual network in which the Tangut painters at Yulin Cave 3 partook.

**The Mañjuśrī Mural Landscape**

Below the central cloud of deities is a large body of water, represented by stylized waves formed of repeating concentric arcs and ripples. Interspersed every so often between the rows of waves are black hooks which curl out of the water like tentacles. On

“*Daweide ming wang 大威德明王,*” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.* This figure is not seen in the Yulin Mañjuśrī mural, but similar figures are seen in Liao, Jin, Xia, and Yuan period tomb murals and etched reliefs. This old man, often dressed in long yellow robes with a tall black hat and a long staff, is the Haoli Elder 荻里老人 (*Haoli laoren*). He is mentioned in Song and Yuan geomancy texts as an underworld official who decides if a person should go to heaven and was also mentioned as an afterworld official in Daoist texts. (Bai, “Daoism in Graves” in *Modern Chinese Religion*, Vol. 1, 576 – 577) His image is seen on the south wall to the left of the entrance to the tomb chamber of the Liao dynasty tomb in Dongfengli, in the same position on Zhang Gongyou’s tomb (Xuanhua M2, early 12th century), and on southeast wall of the Nanguan Village tomb from the Jin dynasty. (Shanxi Provincial Archaeological Research Institute, et al. with Yuan Quan, et al. “Shanxi Fanshi Nanguancun Jin dai bihua mu fajue jianbao 山西繁峙南關村金代壁畫墓發掘簡報 [Excavation of a Jin Dynasty Tomb with Murals from Nanguan Village, Fanshi County, Shanxi Province],” *Kaogu yu wenwu*, Issue 1 (2015) page 13, image 19. For the Dongfengli Tomb see: Datongshi Kaogu yanjiu suo [The Datong Municipal Institute of Archaeology]. “Shanxi Datong Donfengli Liaodai bihuamu fajue jianbao 山西大同東風里遼代壁畫墓發掘簡報 [An Excavation report on the Liao Dynasty Painted Mural Tomb from Dongfengli in Datong, Shanxi Province],” *Wenwu*, 10 (2013) page 47, image 5. This figure is also seen painted on a board from the Wuwei Tombs in Gansu province (ca. 1198) during the Xia period. See Zhang Baoxi, *Wuwei Xixia mu ban hua 武威西夏木板畫 [Board Painting in the Western Xia Regime Period, Wuwei].* (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin meishu chuban she, 2001) 6. This correlation strongly suggests the exchange of funerary images and images from popular religion between north China and the Tangut.

the right side of the body of water are two large fish. [Image 4.13] Below the fish, anchored in the lower right corner of the composition, is a rocky piece of land with large boulders and trees. A bridge connects the rocky land in the corner to an island closer to the bottom center of the mural. In the center of the bridge is a single story pavilion with a flat roof, raised on a stepped platform. Inside sit four small figures conversing with one another. In this corner of the mural, it is possible to see a gnarled and dry pine tree which grows from the bit of land anchored in the lower right corner. The dry, twisted branches of the pine recall the gnarled pines of the Li Shan-style paintings on silk, specifically the ones seen on the left side of *Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountain* and in the Yale University Art Gallery album leaf *Winter Landscape* attributed to Li Shan. [Image 1.13, Image 1.16].

Above the central cloud supporting Mañjuśrī and his entourage, the body of water continues, until it gives way to mountainous landscape interspersed with architectural structures. [Image 4.14] The focal point of the top register is a multi-storied, Chinese, timber-frame palatial complex, painted just right of the center among the mountain peaks. This eminent and meticulously rendered structure has a multi-story gate in its front which is three bays wide with a double door in the central bay. The base of the gate and the wall is covered by misty clouds. The gate has multiple roofs, each supported by multi-jump bracket-sets. The upper roof is a hip-gable roof with owl’s-tail ornaments. Both roofs have upturned eave ends with small irregular protuberances suggesting figural roof ornaments. Vertical ridges along the roof surfaces were painted to show that the roofs are covered with ceramic tiles. Behind is a multi-story hall with a double-roof and large bracket sets. The complex sits within a mist-filled valley implied by empty ground set
between mountain boulders. The entrance to the mist-filled valley is a pair of large double doors set in a large boulder. The doors are open and a single ray of light emanates from within and shines upon a single figure who stands upon a spit of land next to a dry, straggly tree. Unfortunately, the figure has been heavily damaged. To the left of the central structure and mountain are several other peaks, from which emerge the double, hip-gable roofs of five other eminent structures and one small thatched roof hut.

Stylistically and compositionally, the mountains painted at the top of the Mañjuśrī mural share many similarities with Jin landscape paintings on silk, paper, and on tomb walls, particularly in the ways that they interpret and develop the Five Dynasties-Northern Song landscape traditions. The mountains are primarily rendered in black, but green pigment is used in the trees that poke out from the cliffs. The left side of the mural has sustained some damage, but it is clear that the painters were aware of contemporary landscape painting traditions. Starting near the damaged section on the left side of the mural, there is a close view of a rock from which grows a single dry tree with bare branches. Moving to the left, the viewer is given a closer look at a number of rooftops, which are the same size as the dried tree. The rocks which conceal the buildings recall the unnatural rock formations seen in the Cleveland Museum’s *Streams and Mountains with No End.* [Image 1.28 a-e] Immediately to the right of the rooftops, the viewer’s perspective is again shifted, telescoping into a distant, mist-filled valley. Here, unpainted ground is dotted by miniscule trees. Following the roofs of the five structures up the left side of the mural, the viewer is transported to tops of high mountain peaks in the left corner. To the right is the central mountain which houses the central structure described above. This section bears many similarities with the mountain peak depicted in *Clearing*
After Snow in the Min Mountains. [Image 1.13] Like the artist in Clearing After Snow, the muralists are less concerned with depicting the fine details to texture the face of the mountain, and instead rely on the contrast between dark black pigment at the tops of the peaks and the lightly colored or unpainted ground on the peaks’ faces. Like the form of the mountains in Clearing After Snow, the Freer’s Travelers among the Fir Pines [Image 1.8], and the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco’s Travelers among Valleys and Peaks [Image 1.15], the central peak in this mural is unbalanced and leans to the right, almost organically as a plant would grow towards the sun. As mentioned in Chapter One’s section on paintings in the Li Shan style, this leaning, organic rock form seems to be a later twelfth to thirteenth century interpretation of Guo Xi’s organic S-curve mountain forms in Early Spring. [Image 1.8] To the right of this central peak is another smaller hill, set farther back into the distance. This hill is lower and depicted with a build-up of softer, longer strokes. It calls to mind the textured, rounded hills in the thirteenth century landscape funerary mural of Feng Daozhen and in the MFA’s Clear Weather in the Valley. [Image 1.21, Image 1.22] In front, a five-story pagoda is pictured. The viewer is then brought forward to a much closer view of the male figure standing beneath the ray of light next to the dry tree.

It seems that the Mañjuśrī mural’s landscape, in terms of singular elements as well as compositional structure, has specific parallels with several Jin paintings on silk, paper, and tomb walls. The amalgamation of forms and brushwork techniques derived from the Li-Cheng tradition, the juxtaposition and telescopic travel between near and far views, and the reliance upon contrasting heavy and light ink to create texture are all also visual characteristics of Jin landscape paintings. It is not surprising that the Yulin
muralists and the Jin painters mentioned above drew heavily upon the Northern Song landscape tradition. It is, however, surprising that the interpretations created by the Yulin muralists and the Jin landscape painters, as outlined above, are so comparable. Similar parallels between Jin painting and the landscape murals in the Samantabhadra mural follows below.

The Samantabhadra Mural

To the south of the entrance, on the left when facing the west wall from the interior of the cave, is a mural depicting the bodhisattva Samantabhadra and his retinue in front of a mountainous landscape. [Image 4.15] The composition of the mural is similar to that of the Mañjuśri mural; a central field of clouds covers the lower two-thirds of the mural while the one-third of the mural is filled with mountains and architectural structures.

The Samantabhadra Mural Figures

Arranged in a group around Samantabhadra are eleven haloed figures standing on an auspicious cloud. The group moves from left to right, also processing towards the entrance as the Mañjuśri group does. In the rear are two male figures dressed in military garb. These are likely the other two Heavenly Kings of the four directions. One of the Heavenly Kings has curly blue hair and wears armor that includes a breast plate that is decorated with two faces on the pectorals and a wide belt with an open mouthed beast face in the center. [Image 4.16] A similarly outfitted figure is portrayed in the Yuan
murals at the Yonglegong 永樂宮. With a similar belt with an animal and animal faces placed on his pectoral plate, this Yonglegong figure is identified as the manifestation of the White Tiger Constellation, Bai hu xing jun 白虎星君. According to Chinese cosmology, the White Tiger is one of the four animals, along with the Vermillion Bird, the Black Warrior, and the Green Dragon, associated with the four cardinal directions. The Heavenly King figure in Yulin Cave 3 with his tiger-face decorated breast plate and belt suggests the convergence of the two iconographies.

Next to these Heavenly Guardian Kings, behind the elephant, is a Chinese official with a large black beard and a tall black official’s cap with two legs hanging in the back. He wears a long-sleeve robe and clasps his hands in front of his chest. Below is a diminutive Central Asian figure with a mustache and swirling scarves carrying a large drum-shaped object. Two bodhisattvas stand on lotus blossoms on either side of the elephant’s head. Beside the lower bodhisattva is an itinerant monk with a fully tonsured head, holding his hands in front of him in a prayer gesture, and carrying a load of scrolls on his back. With a curling beard and hairs covering the backs of his hands and the tops of his sandaled feet and toes, it is clear that his is also a caricature of a Central or West Asian figure. In front of the elephant stand three royal, male figures,
wearing crowns and long robes with long sleeves. These three men are depicted with more East Asian features, robes, and Han Chinese-style crowns, but no detail of this section is available. One carries a vase filled with flowers, another a plate of flaming treasures (rhinoceros tusk, pearls, etc.), and the third carries an indiscernible long, narrow, black object. A diminutive child-like figure stands to the lower right corner, but it is hard to see the details of his garb as his back is turned to the viewer.

Samantabhadra is shown seated upon a blue lotus flower in a pose of royal ease, with his left leg drawn up onto the pedestal while his right foot rests on a lotus blossom. [Image 4.19] Over him floats an ornate textile canopy with a golden bird ornament perched on its apex. The crown on Samantabhadra’s head is similar to the tong tian guan worn by the royal male figure described above from the Mañjuśrī mural. Samantabhadra’s face is, like Mañjuśrī’s, delicately rendered in fine black brushstrokes. His eyes are downcast below thin blue eyebrows. His urna, nose, and plump mouth held in a neutral expression are simply rendered with fine and controlled brushstrokes. His rounded jawline is accentuated by his protruding chin, as well as the three folds on his neck. Samantabhadra’s robe is open on his chest and has short sleeves with a multitude of draped scarves and ribbons. On his upper arms are bands of geometric shapes, diamonds, and motifs resembling fleur de lis, likely ornamented metallic cuffs. In his left hand, he holds a long, blue, rectangular object, perhaps a selection of palm-leaf sutras, bound together in the center with a black ribbon. In his right hand he holds the black ribbon between his thumb and index finger. Samantabhadra’s mount is a six-tusked white elephant. The body of the six-tusked elephant is wrinkled with long folds in the skin around his neck and legs. His feet are splayed out with toes that almost looked webbed,
suggesting that the artist had never seen a real elephant. The elephant wears a harness around his head and along his spine, decorated with rectangular metal plaques and dense floral motifs.

Next to the elephant stands a groom beneath an ornate umbrella canopy. The groom holds with both hands a rope attached to the neck of the white elephant. He is bare chested, draped in flowing scarves and a blue sash around his waist. He wears black pants and is barefoot. The top of the groom’s head is shaved, leaving hair only on the sides and long, curling hair flowing behind, indicated his non-Han ethnicity. The Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongols were known to partially shave their heads, but the curly mass of blue hair shown behind this figure’s head is not commonly seen in their tombs. Given his hooked nose, curly blue hair, and partially tonsured head, it is likely that this figure was meant to be a caricature of Central or West Asian figure. This representation again would be in line with both of the west wall murals’ interest in portraying the multi-ethnic world of the Tangut empire.

This image of Samantabhadra is also a part of a set iconography that links Yulin Cave 3 with art across the Tangut empire and Song China. The image of Samantabhadra in front of mountains with a retinue is seen in Yulin Cave 29. Although there is no published image of the entire mural, it can be assumed from a detail that the painting style and composition are similar to those seen in the Mañjuśrī mural on the opposite wall of the same cave. This Samantabhadra iconography is also seen on the twelfth century

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258 See Dunhuang Research Academy, Anxi Yulin ku, plate 129.
painting on silk discovered at Khara Khoj. [Image 4.11] The depiction of Samantbhadra with two attendant figures, on his six-tusk elephant mount led by a Central or West Asian groom, demonstrates that this iconography was used under the Xia outside of the Yulin region. Additionally, that the iconography was well-established in China is demonstrated by a silk painting attributed to the Southern Song, today in the Cleveland Museum of Art. [Image 4.21] The style and technique of Cleveland painting is different, but it shares the iconography of Samantabhadra on his six-tusked elephant mount, accompanied by a Western groom. These connections demonstrate once again that the Yulin Cave 3 muralists were part of a greater visual culture than simply the one which existed in the Yulin or Dunhuang region.

Above and to the left of the main group is an outcropping that softly meets the waves of the water. A monk with a tonsured head surrounded by a halo is shown facing Samantabhadra. [Image 4.22] He wears plain robes, pants, and sandals made of strips of fabric. Behind him is a white horse, outfitted with a saddle, reins, and a decorative tassel below his chin. The horse carries on his back a lotus platform on which sits a bundle wrapped in cloth, emanating rays. Behind the horse stands a monkey, with his head thrown back, mouth open, and hands also held out in front of his face. The monkey is clothed in a similar fashion to the monk.

The group of monkey, monk, and precious load-bearing horse can be identified as the monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (c. 600 – 665) carrying sutras on his horse back to the Tang empire (618 – 907) with his mythical monkey companion. Xuanzang was a Tang dynasty monk and translator who traveled to India’s sacred Buddhist sites to bring back sutras and Buddhist images and relics to the Tang capital, Chang'an. Following his return to the
Tang capital, he translated the texts into Chinese with the imperial patronage of the Tang emperors Taizong (r. 626 – 649) and Gaozong (r. 649 – 683). Xuanzang remains a character in popular culture even today due to his depiction in the sixteenth century novel by Wu Cheng’en 吳承恩 (d. 1582), the Journey to the West (Xiyou ji 西遊記), along with his mythical companions, including Monkey. But the popularity and cult of Xuanzang precede the Ming dynasty novel. Dorothy Wong has traced the literary and popular folkloric evolutions of Xuanzang imagery through images and material objects in China, Korea, Japan, and Tibet as he gained “supra-human,” saintly status. Between the Tang and Song dynasties, Xuanzang started to be depicted as an itinerant monk carrying bundles of sutras, as we see in Yulin Cave 3. The earliest fictionalized account of Xuanzang’s journey, “The Story [in verse] of How the Monk Tripitaka of the Great Country of Tang Brought back the Sūtras 大唐三藏取經詩話,” is dated to the same thirteenth century time period as the Yulin Cave 3 landscape murals. The depiction of Xuanzang in this mural suggests that the muralists and patrons were aware of Xuanzang as a figure in contemporary popular Buddhism, and likely aware of the significance of citing a figure from China’s historic past.

259 See Wong, “The Making of a Saint.”
262 Wong, “The Making of a Saint,” 73. Wong writes that the Yulin Cave 3 depiction of Xuanzang is tied to the young boy Sudhana’s encounter with Samantabhadra described in the Huayan jing 華嚴經, the Flower
The Samantabhadra Mural Landscape

The top one-third of the Samantabhadra mural is crowded with architectural structures, mountainous cliffs, and rocks. [Image 4.23] While similar to the landscape in the Mañjuśrī mural, the landscape in the Samantabhadra mural is slightly larger and compositionally more complex. As with the Mañjuśrī mural, this landscape ultimately derives from the Five Dynasties and Northern Song monochrome ink landscape traditions, but shares several compositional and stylistic developments in landscape painting with Jin painting.

The main parallels between the Yulin Cave 3 Samantabhadra mural and Jin landscape painting are the shared development of the Li-Guo tradition, the use of telescopic near and far views, and the high contrast between light and dark pigment as a main way to create visual interest. The upper register of landscape can be approached through a cliff on which Xuanzang stands along the left side of the mural. [Image 4.24] Crossing a body of water, the viewer is brought to the main section of the landscape. Rustic huts enclosed by gated walls lead the eye up to an eminent complex of four structures with heavily decorated roofs, recalling the Five Dynasties-Northern Song trope of the monastery hidden in the mountains. The eminence of the structures is made clear through the architectural details which are meticulously rendered, including the lattice windows, the multi-layered bracket sets, and the hip-gable roofs decorated with ceramic tiles, owls tail ornaments, and roof figurines. The misty tree-filled valley in which the

Garland Sūtra. Sudhana’s encounter with Samantabhadra is “the attainment of the goals of his pilgrimage, the fruition of the practice of the bodhisattva path in the Mahāyāna faith.”
complex sits is suggested through the tops of small pine trees sketchily depicted on unpainted ground. To the left of the valley is a group of cliffs painted with rounded tops, populated by a few pine trees. These cliffs are small and painted with a much finer, dry brush. Their size in comparison to the monastery indicates that the viewer has been given a view to a more distant mountain. This smaller collection of cliffs is stylistically and proportionately incongruous with the large monumental peak which rises up behind the monastery. The top of the mountain is delineated with a dark buildup of textural strokes, while the base of the mountain dissolves into unpainted ground. To the left of the large peak is a view of the two banks of a river. On the near bank of this river stand several trees growing along a slope. On the opposite side is another group of single- and multi-story structures next to a grove of trees. The central part of the trees has been left unpainted; only the tops of the branches and the trunks are rendered in dark ink, creating the illusion that a thick mist hovers over the ground. To the right of the peak is a crevasse through which the viewer is given a deep, distant view of tiny trees painted over a waterfall. On the other side of the crevasse, the dark craggy peak reemerges, sandwiching the distant view of the waterfall between two closer views of the mountain. The inclusion of these two types of distance on either side of the same high peak strongly suggests a local interpretation of Guo Xi’s three types of distance.263 Similar interpretations and layering of Guo Xi’s distances can be around the central peak in *Clearing After Snow in the Min Mountains*.

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263 Guo Xi’s “Advice on Landscape Painting” includes the passage, “Mountains have three types of distance. Looking up to the mountain’s peak from its foot is called the high distance. From in front of the mountains looking past it to beyond is called deep distance. Looking from a nearby mountain at those more distant is called the level distance… the appearance of high distance is of lofty grandness. The idea of deep distance is of repeated layering. The idea of level distance is of spreading forth to merge into mistiness and indistinctness.” Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, trans. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 169.
In the upper right corner is a large rounded mountain with a flat front face and ridges on its side, as if the rock was compressed from the front. [Image 4.25] This form is repeated in the smaller hill to the left. This rounded, compressed mountain form is similar to the ones seen in the thirteenth century tomb mural belonging to Feng Daozhen. [Image 1.21] As the viewer meanders back down towards the water along the right side of the mural, smaller landscape scenes are interspersed among the larger peaks and architectural structures. These scenes are arranged around a central rock which resembles an oversized Taihu garden rock. On the right of this large rock is a single-story, thatched roof structure enclosed within a rustic bamboo fence. To the left of the large rock is a multi-story palatial complex, the largest in this mural. The contrast between the rustic and eminent structures is particularly apparent due to their close proximity in this section. In total, there are four rustic dwellings and three eminent, multi-structure complexes scattered throughout the mural. As we observed in Chapter One, the placement smaller, closer views alongside larger monumental peaks is a pictorial device used of Jin landscape painting on scrolls as well.

Both the Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra murals from the west wall of Yulin Cave 3 demonstrate a deviation from the older traditions of Buddhist cave landscape composition. The Yulin Cave 3 landscape murals do not fall in line with these earlier

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264 The interest in the contrast between the two types of structures foreshadows early Zhe School landscapes which draw upon this tradition, but much more heavily emphasize the viewer’s journey from rustic scholar’s studios to larger, eminent complexes all within the same landscape composition. The preservation of this tradition can be seen in early Zhe school paintings like Wang Shichang’s 王世昌 (act. 1462 – d. after 1531) Mountain Studio under Pines at the Freer Gallery, Washington D.C.

265 The first type of landscape composition to which I am referring here is the Northern Zhou (557 - 581) mural from Mogao Cave 428 of the Mahasattva jātaka in which the jātaka is depicted as a continuous narrative across horizontal registers, reading from the right to left, from the top to the bottom. Since handscrolls were viewed one section at a time, from the right to the left, the Cave 428 Mahasattva jātaka mural resembles an unfurled handscroll which has been cut into sections and pasted in horizontal registers.
painting traditions found at the Mogao Cave site. However, when compared with the
twelfth century temple murals at Yanshansi, three large compositional, stylistic, and
technical similarities shared between the murals at the two sites are evident. First, both
murals rely heavily on blue and green pigments to color their landscape elements. This
suggests that the artisans who designed Yulin Cave 3 and Wang Kui, who was in charge
of the Yanshansi murals, were aware of the established tradition of blue-and-green
landscape painting, which first became popular in the Tang dynasty. Examples attesting
to the later popularity of blue and green landscape can be seen in the imperial Liao tomb
murals and in scrolls by court painters like Zhao Boju (1120 - 1182). Second, the
landscape compositions of the murals at Yanshansi and Yulin Cave 3 are not derived
from earlier cave-temple landscape compositions. Instead, they both utilize a division of

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266 Zhao Shengliang disagrees; Zhao devoted only two sentences in his book on landscape murals at
Dunhuang to the Yulin Cave 3 murals parallels with the Yanshansi murals, simply stating that although
they are contemporary, there are limited similarities between the two. Zhao Shengliang, Dunhuang bihua
fengjing yanjiu, 191.

267 For an example of Zhao Boju’s painting, see Barnhart, et al. Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting,
130 – 131. For images of landscape murals of the four seasons from the Liao Imperial Mausoleum
(Qingling) see Tamura Jitsuzo and Kobayashi Yukio, Tombs and Mural Paintings of Ch'ing-ling Liao
Imperial Mausoleums of Eleventh Century A.D. in Eastern Mongolia, Vol. 1, 2 (Kyoto: Dept. of Literature,
Kyoto University, 1952-1953).
space and form of perspective which originated in scroll painting. In this compositional schema, the lower foreground is closer to the viewer and the upper registers depict scenes in the distance. Third, murals at both sites also contain careful depictions of eminent, Chinese timber-frame structures set among the mountainous cliffs. The *jiehua* painting technique seen in both Yanshansi and at Yulin, along with the visual trope of monasteries and rustic dwellings concealed in misty mountains, were adapted from silk painting to adorn temple walls. In sum, the murals in the Yanshansi Mañjuśri Hall and Yulin Cave 3 murals all suggest a strong grasp of, and familiarity with, the principles of contemporary landscape scroll painting. Moreover, the way that the landscape scroll painting tradition was interpreted for depiction on temple walls was conceptually similar in the Yulin Cave 3 and Yanshansi murals.

**Concluding Thoughts on the Yulin Cave 3 Landscape Murals**

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it seems that artists in north and northwest China developed northern landscape painting traditions in similar ways across different media and artistic contexts. This similar development and evolution can be seen in the ways that Jin painters and muralists at Yulin Cave 3 drew upon a shared visual vernacular, using similar visual vocabulary (i.e. the styles and landscape iconography of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song) and ordering it according to a visual syntax. Specifically, I have highlighted the use of diverse mountain forms similar to ones in the Li Shan-style landscapes and the Feng Daozhen landscape mural, the stylistic and conceptual references to Guo Xi, the alternate placement of far and near telescopic views, and the use of small-scale misty scenes alongside larger monumental peaks as visual features shared in both Jin painting and the Yulin Cave 3 landscape murals. Additionally, in the
interpretation of scroll painting motifs and compositions for temple walls, there are parallels between the Yulin Cave 3 murals and the Yanshansi murals.

Given their shared source material (i.e. the Five Dynasties - Northern Song landscape painting traditions) this shared visual vernacular across north and northwest China is perhaps not surprising; however, it should be noted that the Southern Song court landscape painters developed their emblematic lyrical landscapes from the same Northern Song traditions, yet ended up with a distinctly different style of landscape painting in twelfth and thirteenth century Hangzhou. This is not to say that the Yulin Cave 3 murals were designed or painted by a Jin painter. There are many possible ways that the painting traditions of twelfth to thirteenth century north China may have been shared with the painters of Yulin Cave 3. For example, travelers from the Xia state could have visited a pilgrimage site like Wutaishan and seen paintings, or portable sketchbooks or actual scrolls paintings may have been exchanged through trade or gifting. More evidence is needed to conclusively determine how this visual vernacular was shared across north-northwest China.

This shared development of landscape painting at Yulin and in Jin China offers an alternate framework for understanding the landscape painting traditions of twelfth to thirteenth century north-northwest China – that is, it offers a framework centered on north-northwest China that does not hold the dichotomy between Northern Song and Southern Song at its core. Moreover, it is notable that Jin landscapes from scroll, temple, and tombs share features with the Yulin Cave 3 murals because it suggests that the developments in painting that took place under the Jin were not solely “Jin”, but can be connected as well to painting cultures across twelfth to thirteenth century north and
northwest China. This means that Jin painting is significant not only because it can tell us about the development of painting traditions in Jin China, but also because it offers insight into the developments of landscape painting cultures, like the Xia, for which there is even less material evidence.
Conclusion

In four chapters, this dissertation brings together and analyzes Jin paintings from scrolls, temples, and tombs in search of an organizational matrix, what I have termed a “visual vernacular,” shared by Jin painters. First, I established the baseline understanding of Jin painting by examining paintings on silk and paper, the type of painting which is placed traditionally at the heart of Chinese painting history. I analyzed a main group of paintings on silk and paper that have been attributed to the Jin dynasty and weighed the strengths and weaknesses of their attributions. The variety of styles and subjects, the small number of paintings in the group, and the tenuous and interdependent nature of the attributions demonstrate clearly why it is difficult to reconstruct a history of Jin painting on paper and silk. Nevertheless, the diversity of painting styles and subjects among this group suggests that painting culture under the Jin flourished; it is due to major losses over the centuries that the extant body of Jin painting on silk and paper is so small. In many ways, this lack of material and representative styles serves as a cautionary reminder for how we approach and understand painting of other dynasties. Although there are cohesive representations of painting styles from the Northern or Southern Song, Yuan, Ming, or Qing dynasties, there may be entire schools or traditions that participated in and influenced the trajectory of Chinese painting for which we have no extant examples. The state of Jin ink painting serves as a reminder that today we reconstruct our histories of centuries-old painting cultures and traditions from a data set that represents only a small, privileged percentage of a much larger, complex network of painting cultures.
In the subsequent two chapters, I seek a broader definition of ‘Jin painting,’ one which considers paintings on the walls of tombs and temple halls as integral components of Jin painting cultures. The second chapter examines the tradition of funerary painting in the form of Jin dynasty tomb murals. After introducing the common structure, thematic programs, and patrons of Jin tombs, the chapter investigates a closely grouped set of Jin tombs local to southeast Shanxi province to demonstrate that Jin tombs do not simply preserve north Chinese funerary painting traditions of the past, but that they flexibly reflect personal and social expectations of individual families. Additionally, Jin tomb murals could also reflect trends in the broader cultural landscape. My identification of a calligraphic inscription from the Xiaoguancun tomb murals as a direct quotation from the contemporary northern drama *Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed* demonstrates that Jin tomb occupants and their families also used tomb murals to express their own fascination with popular drama and theater. The third chapter focuses on the east and west wall murals of the Yanshansi’s Mañjuśrī Hall, which depict the Buddhist narratives of the life of the Historical Buddha and the demon mother Hāritī, respectively. When examined closely, several visual aspects are shared among the murals of the Yanshansi and Jin tombs, especially with regard to the depiction of more rural or agricultural motifs and scenes. Moreover, references to popular drama also were intertwined with the Yanshansi murals as evidenced by the incorporation of puppets and the appearance of a Hāritī drama in the fourteenth century catalogue of popular *zaju*. The intertwining of drama with Jin visual and material cultures has been also observed in scroll and funerary painting; the two examples of the Xiaoguancun tomb and the Yanshansi murals give further evidence for the far-reaching phenomenon of popular drama under the Jin dynasty.
Finally, the fourth chapter looks beyond the geographic scope of the Jin state and argues for an intercultural visual network and painting culture centered on the cities of north and northwest China during the twelfth to thirteenth century. Using the landscape murals from the west wall of Yulin Cave 3, I argue that the landscape murals’ governing visual vernacular – that is, the composition, the landscape iconography, and the stylistic and technical interpretation of the style associated with the Northern Song court painter Guo Xi – finds parallels in several of the Jin landscape painting on silk and paper discussed in Chapter One, as well as the Yanshansi murals. This relationship between Jin painting and the Yulin cave landscape murals is notable because it allows for the works of the Xia and the Jin dynasties to be studied as the primary agents in a visual culture network centered on north and northwestern China. This north-northwestern Chinese visual culture diverges from the conventional framework for understanding Middle Period Chinese painting history. The conventional framework centers on the dichotomy between the Northern Song and Southern Song, giving preference in the definition of “Chinese” as cultures ruled by Han groups, and defining “painting” primarily as the painting on silk and paper produced in or around the court or literati elite. Given the limited body of extant silk and paper paintings from the Jin and Xia states, it is easy for Jin and Xia painting histories to be marginalized under this conventional framework. While the landscape ink painting traditions of the Northern Song dynasty form the foundations of East Asian ink landscape painting, the ways in which the tradition is shaped by later cultures and painting contexts is important. By broadening the definition of “painting” to include paintings on tomb and temple walls, and by examining painters from the Jurchen and Tangut regimes as central agents in the development of Chinese
painting history, we are able to re-assess and re-orient our understandings of Jin painting, and see different centers of artistic production and artistic significance in twelfth to thirteenth century north China.

Avenues for Future Study

This study has only briefly investigated Jin painters’ important role in the preservation and permutation of the northern Chinese painting traditions across literati, court, temple, and funerary contexts. The continuing excavation and discovery of painted brick Jin tombs across north China is slowly adding to our fragmentary understanding of Jin funerary painting culture. One point for further study concerns the implications of the continuity of the northern Chinese funerary painting tradition from the Northern Song into the Jin and Yuan dynasties. The second chapter of this dissertation sought stylistic, material, and thematic trends across Jin tombs. Given a small sample size, general trends were difficult to identify. However, it was clear that throughout the Jin dynasty, north Chinese funerary mural traditions continued without decline in mural quality or diversity. This observation raises additional questions about the continuity and evolution of funerary painting more broadly across Middle Period north China, and suggests that there exist identifiable patterns in painting styles, content, and programs that transgress dynastic chronologies. Specifically: (1) there exist places or points in time in which specific mural themes or motifs (e.g. filial sons and daughters) emerge or converge; (2) there are identifiable trends in tomb mural composition (e.g. certain murals which draw more heavily from standardized or potentially printed materials) with respect to place and time; and (3) the visual programs in tomb murals and centers of popular drama were
correlated by region and by period. A larger and more inclusive survey of Middle Period tomb murals would bring new insight into the evolution of Middle Period tomb murals, specifically regarding the origins of styles and motifs, as well as the drivers of, and the obstacles to, their spread.

One of the ways that such a study of Middle Period funerary mural motifs and themes could be used is to illuminate the relationships across tenth to fourteenth century material and visual cultures. Throughout the course of this study, it became apparent that there is a relationship between the decorative motifs on the architectural features, fang mugou, of Jin tombs and on ceramic vessels of the same period. Specifically, there is a close visual correlation between the floral, geometric, or figural motifs on Yazhou and Cizhou wares (e.g. vessels, pillows) and the decorative motifs on imitation beams, doors, and inter-columnar spaces in tombs. Similar styles of decorative motifs can be seen illustrated in the early twelfth century building standards manual, the *Yingzao fashi*, which suggests that these motifs were also used on above-ground structures. The visual similarities between the two media (ceramic and architecture) suggest that the development and spread of decorative motifs from the walls of Middle Period tombs could be used to illuminate the development and spread of the motifs decorating ceramic wares. Geographically stable and securely dated tomb data could be used to visualize a concrete interface between decorative motifs on ceramics and tomb walls. Exploration of this relationship could illuminate the networks and exchanges between regional and local funerary mural painters, kilns and ceramic production sites, and consumers. Additionally, ceramic vessels and pillows are collected in North American and European museums, but often with limited information on their provenance or site of excavation. Relating
ceramic motifs to funerary murals, which are anchored in time and geographic region, would shed more light on the relationship between these decontextualized museum objects and the broader landscape of Middle Period visual and material culture.
## Appendix One

**Table 1. Dated Painted Brick Jin Tombs**

*Indicates no published excavation report; images only available in Xu Guangji, *Zhongguo chutu bihua mu quan ji* (2012).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Excavation Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Location (Ch)</th>
<th>Tomb No.</th>
<th>Reign Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th># Chambers</th>
<th>Shape of chambers/ Directional Orientation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Songcën</td>
<td>宋村, 长治市, 屯留, 李高鄉</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>天会13年</td>
<td>1135</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Baijikoctin (Shijingsham, Beijing)</td>
<td>八角村, 北京市, 石景山区</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>皇统3年</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Round, N/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>Nanchuocën*</td>
<td>南村, 长治市, 李高鄉</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>醒元年</td>
<td>1153</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>Däónggäli</td>
<td>大同市, 南郊「雲中大truck」</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>正隆2年</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rectangular, N/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Däónggäli</td>
<td>大同市, 南郊「雲中大truck」</td>
<td>M1</td>
<td>正隆4年</td>
<td>1159</td>
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<td>Xügäinmù</td>
<td>徐皇墓, 大同市</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>正隆6年</td>
<td>1161</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Yuqüelenën</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>大定9年</td>
<td>1169</td>
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<td>Square, N/S</td>
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<tr>
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<td>小顧村, 晋成市</td>
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<td>大定14年</td>
<td>1174</td>
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**Important Painted Jin Tombs from the Beijing Region**

**M1 Yanjiabao (晏家堡)**
Excavated 2005
Yangqingxian, Beijing (延慶縣，北京市)
Current Location: Beijing Institute of Cultural Relics
Dimensions: Full Length 12.3 m; tomb passageway (L: 5m, W: 0.96 - 1.06m, D: 1 - 3.52 m); tomb entrance; passageway after entrance (L: 1.84m, W: 1.9 m, H: 2.4 m); tomb chamber in north (diameter: 3.5 m, H: .74 - 2.4 m)

Description of Structure: The tomb consists of a passageway, an entrance, a passageway after the entrance, and a single, round-chamber brick tomb; the structure is oriented on a north-south axis, facing south. Murals are found on the walls of the tomb passageway and in the tomb chamber. No human remains or funerary goods were found. Traces of ashes suggest that the occupants may have been cremated.

Inscription: N/A

Passageway: Four male attendants are depicted on the east and west walls of the passageway. These attendants are depicted wearing long, round-collared robes and proceed from south to north (into the tomb) on the east wall, but north to south (out of the tomb) on the west wall.

Tomb Chamber: The tomb chamber is divided by eight columns which bear remnants of red paint. Bracket sets are above the columns. Five of the original eight sets are still extant.

On the ceiling were painted scattered dots (perhaps constellations).

On the southeast wall of the burial chamber is a mural depicting four entertainers, one with a drum. On the southwest wall is a mural with female attendants and wine or food vessels. One attendant carries a white round-bodied ceramic ewer in a warming bowl. These murals have been heavily damaged.
References:


2) Beijing Cultural Relics Research Institute 北京市文物研究所, Beijin diqu Liao, Jin muzang bihua baohu yanjiu 北京地区遼金墓葬壁畫保護研究 [Conservation Research on Beijing Area Liao and Jin Tomb Murals], (Beijing: Kexue Chuban She, 2008).

M1, Bājiǎocūn (八角村)
Excavated March 2002
Shijingshān, Beijing (石景山區, 北京市)
Current Location: Capital Museum, Beijing 首都博物館

Dimensions: Tomb ramp (L: 1.77m, W: 1.86M, D: 2.3 m); yingfeng wall; tomb chamber (H inner chamber: 2.25m, H from outside: 2.42m, ext. diamter 2.7 m, int. diameter: 2.3 - 2.38)

Description of Structure: The tomb consists of a tomb ramp and a round, brick constructed tomb chamber. The tomb is oriented along a north-south axis, with the tomb facing south. Murals are on the walls of the tomb chamber. A brick coffin bed was found in the burial chamber.

Inscription: An inscription found in this tomb dated it to 1143 and named the tomb occupant as Zhao Li 趙勛.

Tomb Chamber Murals: Painted on the ceiling of the tomb are floral motifs with intertwining vines, but much of it is lost.
Six red columns divide the tomb walls into six sections. Since the entrance is on the southern-most section, there are only five discrete mural scenes.

On the register between the main lower register of six murals and the ceiling are bracket sets and ten of the twelve zodiac animals remain painted in black circles.

On the southwest wall, a troupe of six musicians is depicted, including two drummers, two flutists, one figure playing the *pipa*, and another playing the clapper.

On the northwest wall, four male figures are pictured at a table bearing a ceramic ewer in a warming dish, shallow dishes, and three cups. Two male figures behind the table pour liquid from a tall jar into a dish with a floriated rim. Two figures on the right stand in yellow, round-collared robes. The yellow-robed figure to the left holds a long cloth. Excavators suggested that these two figures in yellow will bring the dish and the towel to the occupants to wash their hands and face.

On the central, north wall, behind the coffin bed, is a painted the scene of an empty bed. A tasseled pillow sits on the wide bed. A four-panel screen with flowers stands behind the bed. A female attendant with a painted fan stands to the right of the scene.

On the northeast wall are six male attendants preparing tea. One male figure standing facing the central mural to the far left stands in a round-collared yellow robe. He wears a belt, and holds his hands over his chest. His face is shown in abbreviated, but expressive, brush strokes. In the center of the composition are three figures standing over a table. One man in a blue-grey head covering and robe with a white cloth tied around his waist, pours liquid from a yellow ewer into a cup on a saucer held in his hand. Another shorter man, also in blue-grey, holds a cup in a saucer. His head is shaven on the top, but
he still retains two locks of hair that go behind his ears and some hair in the front, reminiscent of a Khitan hairstyle. The two men stand by a low yellow table which holds a cup, a saucer, a box, and a hammer-like object. A fourth man stands in the background carrying up above his shoulders a tray with a transparent cover. Inside, five circular white objects can be seen. To the right, one man in a round-collared yellow robe with a belt holds a long pole looking downward. The bottom of the mural has suffered damage, but another male figure can be seen crouching looking downward as well. Perhaps these people are milling tea and/or stoking a fire, as seen in the Liao Xuanhua murals.

On the southeast wall, seven attendant figures are shown. Four female figures on the left of the composition are seen moving towards the central north mural. The front figure carries a shallow dish, another a bowl and a small fan, and another a small bottle with both hands. The final fourth figure stands with her back to the viewer. To the right of the mural stand two male figures holding shallow dishes with both hands over a rectangular black table on which are five plates of food. A larger female figure turns around and directs the two male figures with a point of the finger as she too proceeds towards the left (to the north).

References:


Important Painted Jin Tombs from Hebei

Shizhuangcun M6
Excavation Date: 1960
Location: Shizhuang Village, Shijiazhuang City, Jingxing, Hebei 柿莊村,石家莊市,井陘縣
Current Location: Copy in Cultural Relics Institute of Hebei 河北省文物研究所藏

Description of Structure: The tomb consisted of a single chamber, square, brick-constructed funerary chamber with a domed roof.

Inscription: N/A

Tomb Chamber Murals: Limited images are published for this tomb. The murals on the ceilings included depictions of constellations and the moon and sun. On the south wall is the entrance to the tomb. On the left of the entrance is a shepherd with a sheep. On the right of the entrance is another shepherd with horse, oxen, and donkey. On the north wall is a fake door made of carved brick. On either side are windows, and above is painted a curtain. On the east wall is a mural of pounding silk (捣练圖). On the west wall is a scene of the occupant at a table, being served food and drink, and being entertained by a musical performance.

References:


Important Jin Painted Tombs from Shaanxi
Yuanzhuangcun M1 (袁莊村) 1193
Excavated 2008
Chengguan, Ganquan County, Yan’an Prefectural City (城關鎮, 甘泉縣, 延安市)
Current Location: Unknown

**Dimensions:** Tomb chamber (E-W: 2.17m, N-S: 2.14m, Ceiling: 2.58 m)

**Description of Structure:** The tomb is located on a mountain slope, about 800 m from Yuanzhuangcun M2, M3, M4. The tomb is oriented along a north-south axis, with the entrance in the south. The tomb consists of an entrance way, tomb entrance, a passageway, and a square-shaped tomb chamber. Two funerary beds were built along the east and west walls of the chamber (W: 0.62m, 0.71m, H: 0.35m).

Depicted on the upper register of the tomb walls are architectural features in painted and carved brick. Horizontal beams are painted yellow with wood grain designs painted in red. Three two-jump bracket sets are on the west, east, and south walls with four bracket sets shown in the corners.

**Inscription:** On the central murals on the east wall and on the west wall are inscriptions reading “Work completed on the first day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Mingchang era (November 26, 1193) 明昌四年十一月初一日工畢.” On the right side of the south wall, on the Guo Ju murals, is an inscription reading “明昌元年二年三年三百錢一斗粟 / 明昌四年初熟,” roughly translated as “in the first, second, and third years of the Mingchang era (1190-92), millet was three hundred qian, in the fourth year of the Mingchang era it is fully ripened.” On the left side of the south wall, on the Wang Pou weeping mural, is another inscription reading “明昌四年十一月初一日磚匠工畢 / 磚匠張僑 / 妝畫王信 出工錢人朱孜,” translated as “On the first day of the eleventh month
of the fourth year of the Mingchang era, the brick work was completed. The brick craftsman: Zhang Jiao. Painter: Wang Xin. Sponsor: Zhu Zi.”

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** Murals are found on the east, west, north, and south walls.

On the east wall, there are three murals. The central east wall mural shows people seated and standing on either side of a table. In the background stands a small, black-framed standing screen bearing a landscape painting. In front of the screen is a small black table with a set of white ceramic dishes set out on it. Seated on round yellow stools at the table is an elderly couple. The man sits on the right and wears a white robe with a high red collar. He has a medium length beard and wears a black cap on his head. His hands are covered by his sleeves and he holds them in front of his belly. Two words are written to the top right of his head, “Zhu Jun 朱俊,” likely his name. Behind him on the right is a shorter male figure in a similar blue robe with a high red collar. To the right of this figure’s head are three characters, “Nan Zhu Zi 男朱孜,” the male [descendant] Zhu Zi. On the left side sits a woman in an orange robe that opens in the center with red lining. Her hair is arranged high on her head, and she holds her hands covered in sleeves low on her lap. By her head are the two characters “Shao shi 少氏,” indicating that this woman, likely a wife of Zhu Jun, was originally from the family surnamed Shao. A smaller, younger female figure holding a tray stands behind her. This woman wears a long blue robe under a short yellow jacket and long sleeves. By this younger woman’s head are the character “Gao shi 高氏,” indicating that this woman was from a family surnamed Gao. The entire mural is framed by a yellow border decorated with a stylized vine-like black pattern.
On either side of the central east wall mural are scenes of filial sons and daughters. On the left is a mural of a young man bearing grain on his back, speaking to a younger man (no image is published). The mural on the right has been identified as the story of Zeng Shen. In this mural, a taller woman in a long orange robe with red trim stands with a staff facing a younger male figure in a long white robe with a high red collar. This white-robed figure is interpreted as Zeng Shen, and the orange-robed woman is his mother. There is a pair of wooden buckets placed between the two figures. Behind Zeng Shen on the right is a depiction of a rocky mass with a curving tree coming out of it. Loose, thick, looping brushstrokes are used in the rendering of this tree.

The west wall has three murals. The central mural depicts another scene of figures around a central black table with white dishes arrayed on top. In the background stands a black screen, in which there is a landscape painting. On the right side of the table sits a middle-aged man with a goatee in a round-necked yellow robe. His hands are held at his waist and are covered by long sleeves. By his head are the two characters “Zhu Zi 朱孜,” identifying him as the same standing figure on the right side of the central east wall mural. Behind him stands a figure in a white robe with a red collar. By his head are three characters “nan Xi lang 男喜郎” – “the male descendant, Xi.” On the left sit two women. The seated woman on the right wears a long orange robe with red trim that opens in the center. By her head are the two characters “Gao shi 高氏,” likely the same Ms. Gao from the east wall mural. The woman on the left wears a long white robe with red trim that also opens in the center. By her head are the two words “Liu shi 劉氏,” meaning she was a wife originally from a family surnamed Liu. Pleats can be seen at the bottom of both of
their robes. Behind the two seated women stands a younger looking woman, slightly smaller. She wears a long red robe, and a short yellow jacket with long sleeves. By her head are the two characters “Guo shi 郭氏,” indicating she is a wife surnamed Guo. An inscription on this side also dates the mural completion to the first day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Mingchang era (1193).

On either side of the west wall’s central mural are two other filial piety images. On the left side of the west wall is a mural identifiable as the story of Dong Yong. On the right side of the west wall is a mural identifiable as Meng Zong weeping in the bamboo.

(No images provided)

The mural on the north wall had suffered much damage. It seems that in the central mural of the north wall depicted a landscape with rocks, trees, and buildings. In this landscape, the archaeologists could make out a seated male figure in a green robe with his legs crossed, and a female figure sitting opposite him. The left mural on the north wall was damaged beyond recognition. The right mural on the north wall is identified as showing the story of the filial son Wang Xiang laying on the ice with four fish and some mountainous rocks in on the left of the image. (no images were published of the north wall).

On the south wall is the entrance to the tomb and two murals. On the right side of the entrance is a mural that can be identified as the story of Guo Ju. Although this mural has suffered some damage, it is possible to see a figure unearthing a ray-emanating find with a shovel on the left. On the right, a woman stands with a simply rendered child in her arms. An inscription on the left side reads “明昌元年二年三年三百钱一斗粟 / 明昌四年初熟.” (See above) The mural on the left side of the entrance can be identified as
Wang Pou crying at a tomb. Wang Pou shown in a white robe with a white headdress standing in front of a stele placed on tortoise base. A tree frames the composition on the left side. On the right is an inscription “明昌四年十一月初一日磚匠工毕 / 磚匠張僥 / 妆畫王信 出工錢人朱孜.” (see above for translation).

**Funerary Objects:** The tomb had been previously broken into and no funerary objects remained. However, four skulls and some incomplete skeletons remained. This tomb could be the joint burial of Zhu Jun, his wife Ms. Shao, who are pictured on the east wall, along with Zhu Zi and his wife Ms. Guo who are pictured on the west wall.

**References:**


**Yuanzhuangcun M2 (袁莊村)**

*Excavated 2008*

*Chengguan, Ganquan County, Yan’an Prefectural City (城關鎮, 甘泉縣,延安市)*

**Current Location:** Unknown

**Dimensions:** Tomb Chamber (L: 1.83 m, W: 1.52 m, H: 2.5 m)

**Description of Structure:** This single square chamber tomb is oriented on a north-south axis with the entrance in the south. The tomb consists of an entranceway, tomb entrance, a passageway, and a square-shaped tomb chamber. The ceiling is a stepped dome with four sides. There is a funerary bed on the east wall (H: 0.35 m, W: 0.6 m).
**Inscription:** N/A

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** There are murals on all four walls of the tomb chamber.

On the east wall are three murals. The central mural shows a mural of furniture and attendants. A black square table is depicted in the center. On the left of the mural is a wooden rack, likely used for hanging clothing/textiles. In between the table and rack is a small table with low-walled basin with a floriated lip. Atop the small table is also an object that looks like a rack with a piece of cloth on it with floral patterns. To the right of the table is a black chair with a slatted back. Two women attendants stand behind the chair in long robes, one carries a ceramic dish.

On either side of the central east wall mural are two landscape murals which, according to the excavation report text, show chains of misty and craggy mountains. (no image published).

On the north wall are two murals. The left side is damaged, and in the center are some rocks, bamboo, and four cranes. On the right is a landscape, but it is damaged (no image published).

On the west wall are three murals. The central mural has suffered damage. It seems like there is a table in the center, and a man sitting on the right side in a chair. Behind him is a male attendant. On the left side is a woman sitting in a chair, with two girls standing on either side of her. On the left mural is a scene of auspicious cranes, and on the right mural is a mural of peonies. (published image of peonies only)

On the south wall the murals have been completely damaged.

**Funerary Objects:** N/A
References:


Yuanzhuangcun (袁莊村) M3 - 1189
Excavated 2008
Chengguan, Ganquan County, Yan’an Prefectural City (城關鎮, 甘泉縣,延安市)
Dimensions: Chamber (L: 1.95m, W: 1.95 m, H: 2.68 m)

Description of Structure: This single square chamber tomb is oriented on a north-south axis with the entrance in the south. The tomb consists of an entranceway, tomb entrance, a passageway, and a square-shaped tomb chamber. The ceiling is a stepped dome with four sides. There is a funerary bed along the east wall (H: 0.35 m, W: 0.62 m)

There is a top register of architectural features rendered in painted, carved brick. This includes two-jump bracket sets.

Inscription: There are two inscriptions in the tomb on the west wall of the tomb chamber.

Tomb Chamber Murals:

There are 11 murals placed throughout the tomb on all four walls.

On the east wall were four murals. On the left side was a “banquet” scene. In the center of this mural is a tall, black table with a red cloth draped over it. Behind the table is a painted screen bearing a landscape painting. To the left of the table stand three men. The first wears a long robe and holds his hands at his belly, covered with his long sleeves. He wears a tight-fitting black cap on his head. The second man is shown with light
colored hair that is loose. He carries a cloth with a medallion pattern in his hands. The final male attendant wears his hair in two bunches. He wears a square necked robe that is belted in the center. He holds a vase in both hands. On the right stand three women. The first woman wears a long robe that opens in the center. She carries a round, dark plate in her hands and wears her hair in a high chignon. The second woman also wears her hair up, and wears a white robe with a black trim along the center opening. She carries a tray with a round bowl. The third and smallest female figure wears her hair in two buns atop either side of her head. She also wears a long robe that opens in the center with long sleeves. She carries a rectangular box in her arms.

To the left of the central east mural is a mural identified as “Hearing Thunder and Crying at the Grave.” (no image published). To the right of the central east mural is a scene identified as “Meng Zong Weeping in the Bamboo.” A boy in a long robe and upturned boots covers his face and three stalks of patterned bamboo are painted on the left side.

On the north wall there are three murals. In the center is a mural of the filial son Yuan Gu. In the foreground on the right, Yuan Gu’s father is shown in a tight black cap and a belted, round-necked long robe. The father gestures with his hand to Yuan Gu, who wears pants over a short robe and carries behind him a litter. Below their feet, the ground is rendered with a combination of thick strokes for shading and finer lines to show careful delineation of the ground. The abandoned grandfather sits atop a rock. Trees behind him are shown with fast, rough strokes. Distant mountains are shown in the top center of the mural. These are rendered to look like wet ink that has bled onto paper or silk. Although
this technique is seen in silk and paper paintings after the Dong Yuan-style of wet landscapes, it is interesting it rendered on a tomb mural.

On the left side of the north wall is a landscape painting. In the left corner of this mural are a number of simply rendered buildings, including a domed roof pavilion (or pagoda). The lines are not measured and thick. Above the structures is a tree with swaying branches, like a willow. In the top right corner are three soft mountain peaks painted in lighter ink, again suggesting a wet brush. Pine trees are shown atop these mountains.

On the right side of the north wall is a mural showing a dark rock with crevices from which grow some wispy and dry looking trees rendered in quick brush strokes.

On the west wall are three murals. On the center mural of the west wall shows another “banquet” scene. In the center of the mural is a square table on which there is an incense burner, two shallow basins, a small plate, and two books. There is an attempt in this mural to portray depth through one-point perspective. On the right side of the table sits an old man in a tall backed chair in front of a tall, blank screen. He wears a tight black cap, a square-necked robe with a tall collar. He holds his hands over his belly and his sleeves cover his hands. In front of him is a low rectangular table covered with a red fabric. On the table are ceramic vessels including a small bowl, a plate, and also chopsticks and a spoon. Behind the seated old man stands a smaller man, but the quality of the image makes it difficult to see discern any details. An inscription in two lines to the right of the male attendant reads, “大金大定貳拾玖年拾壹月拾伍日（葬）/ 記,”
translated as “On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the twenty-ninth year of the Dading reign of the Great Jin [1189] / Recorded by .”

To the left of the old seated man is a two-line inscription which reads “父親張忠五十八隨化/ 張倫殯三合,” translated as “Paternal ancestor Zhang Zhong turned 58 sui, Zhang Lun” On the left of the table sits a woman wearing a long robe that opens in the center. She wears her hair up in a tall chignon and both of her hands are placed in front of her belly. In front of her is another short table, covered with the same items as those in front of the seated man. Behind her stands a female attendant wearing a long robe, with her hands clasped in front of her body.

On the right side of the west wall is a mural depicting the story of the filial son Wang Xiang. On the right of the mural Wang Xiang is shown lying on the ice, framed by trees. On the left of the mural is the corner of a timer-frame structure on a raised platform. The painter has shown the corner column topped by a bracket set as well as an inter-columnar bracket set to the left. A slatted window is also depicted. The rocks and trees are rendered with a variety of brushstrokes; the rocks are given depth with dark, downward strokes while the dry trees are painted with calligraphic, pointed upward strokes.

On the left side of the west wall is a mural of a peacock shown mid-step, turning its head to look backwards. The peacock is carefully outlined with a thin, dark line. Although it is executed simply, there is care taken in showing each feather. Beside the peacock is a pitted lake rock from which spring branches with a proliferation of large leaves.
The mural on left side of the west wall continues onto the murals shown on the right side of the south wall where another peacock is shown (no image published). On the left side of the south wall, the bird theme is continued with a mural showing a group of cranes. Above the border framing the cranes, a horizontal register of interlocking peony motifs can be seen.

**Funerary Objects:** The tomb had been looted. All that remained in the tomb were two corroded iron nails, two skulls, and several damaged bones. The nails were square shaped and measured about 5.2 cm and 4 cm in length, respectively.

**References:**


**Yuanzhuangcun (袁莊村) M4 - 1189**

*Excavated 2008*

*Chengguan, Ganquan County, Yan’an Prefectural City* (城關鎮, 甘泉縣, 延安市)

**Current Location: Unknown**

**Dimensions:** Tomb Chamber (L/W: 1.84 m, H: 2.65 m)

**Description of Structure:** This single square chamber tomb is oriented on a north-south axis with the entrance in the south. The tomb consists of an entranceway, tomb entrance, a passageway, and a square-shaped tomb chamber. The ceiling is a stepped dome with four sides. There is a funerary bed along the east wall (H: 0.35 m, W: 0.62 m).

Above the murals which lined all four walls of the tomb chamber was a layer of carved brick bracket sets painted red. The imitation beams above and below the bracket sets were painted with realistic looking wood grain pattern.
**Inscription:** An inscription on the east wall reads “大定廿九 / 年十一月 / 初七日記,” translated as “recorded on the seventh day of the eleventh month of the eleventh year of the Dading reign (1189).

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** Between the layer of bracket sets and the main murals, on the east wall, there is a narrow register with paintings of bamboo leaves, chrysanthemums, plum blossom branches, orchid blossoms painted in red, and their leaves painted in black. Between the plum blossom and orchid flowers is an inscription that reads “大定廿九 / 年十一月 / 初七日記.” (see above) The bamboo, chrysanthemum, plum, and orchid are common botanical subjects for literati painters sometimes referred to as “The Four Gentlemen 四君子.” The bamboo, plum, and orchid on their own represent facets of an upright character, but together with the chrysanthemum also came to represent the four seasons in later East Asian painting and decorative arts. It is interesting to see that they are put together in this tomb, and raises the question of if this relationship between the four plants was already known in Shaanxi by 1189.

On the north wall there are entwined chrysanthemum motifs. On the west wall are red peonies outlined in black, with black leaves. On the south wall are lotus blossoms and leaves.

There are eleven murals in this tomb, three on the north, east, and west walls each, and two on the south wall.

On the east wall are three murals. The right mural shows a timber frame structure and a small grove of bamboo. The structure takes up the left two-thirds of the mural. The roof, a slatted window, a column topped with a multiple jump bracket set are rendered in
black outline. Several architectural details, including the bracket heads, are painted in red. A woman is painted coming out of the structure, carrying a bowl in both of her hands, but this is hard to make out in the published image.

The central mural on the east wall shows another building, painted with thick black strokes. Details like roof tiles are abbreviated with horizontal, wavering lines. A woman is shown peeking out of the building’s door which faces the viewer. A man bends over with a small broom in his hands outside of the structure. A willow tree stands to the right.

The left mural on the east wall shows three women sitting on the ground. The smaller woman on the left plays a qin. Two other women sit on the ground with their gaze and attention fixed on the musician. All three women wear white robes, with the garment folds depicted in black. With the V-shaped neckline, a band that sits high on the torso, the style of dress is archaic; similar robe styles can be seen on the women in imperial Tang tombs of the early 8th century. Their hair styles are also similar, arranged in loose buns with red hair ornaments.

On the north wall there are three murals. The right mural on the north wall shows three women in white robes and red hair ornaments sitting around a square weiqi 藤棋 board. The robes and hairstyles of the three women are similar to that seen in the left mural on the east wall. Leafy bamboo stalks and lake rocks bookend and frame the composition. (image)

The central mural on the north walls shows three women sitting among bamboo. The central woman holds up a handscroll, perhaps reading it out loud to her companions. On the ground in front of the woman with the handscroll are two inkstones and a brush.
The woman to the left has her hand slightly raised and her mouth is open, as if she is also reciting.

The left mural on the north wall shows three women in similar robes and hairstyles looking at a painting. The central woman holds up a hanging scroll on a pole with both hands to show the woman kneeling to the left. This woman on the left supports the painting along the bottom with her two hands. On the scroll is a painting of rocks and trees. On the ground is an ink stone. On the right is a woman who sits and looks on with her hands on her lap.

On the west wall are three murals. On the left side of the west wall is a scene of a rider on a horse attended to by a small figure holding a pole, walking on a rocky road. In the distance, a slight line is used to show distant mountains. The rider and his attendant are making their way towards a forested area, beyond which the roofs of houses can be seen. Although the figures are shown in a rather abbreviated fashion, the rocks and the trees are rather sensitively depicted. The abbreviated figure in the landscape recalls the small donkey riding figures seen in monumental landscape painting of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song painting. In some ways, this mural also calls to mind the subject scholar and his attendant in small-scale Southern Song album leaf paintings, but transposed onto a tomb mural. (image)

The central mural on the west wall shows bright red peonies with leaves painted in black.

The right mural on the west wall shows a riverbank scene complete with lotus leaves and flowers, reeds, and four geese that are each painted with different forms and poses. (image)
On the south wall are two murals. On the left side is a mural of red chrysanthemums.

On the right side is a landscape mural showing three levels of murals. In the foreground are densely packed pines on dark black hills. Above are mountain peaks dissolving into the distance. This landscape is also not similar to any of the other landscape paintings in the tomb.

**Occupant:** The tomb owner is not named in this tomb. However, although Yuanzhuangcun M4 was found in close proximity to Yuanzhuangcun M1 – M3, the content of the tomb murals suggests that the cultural background and social status of the tomb occupants are different. While M1 – M3 occupants were likely wealthy landowners. However, it is likely the occupant(s) of M4 had some formal education. This is suggested by the difference in mural subjects. M1 – M3 shows commonly depicted murals of paragons of filial piety and individuals at tables with dishes. However, in M4, there is the depiction of the “Four Gentlemen” plants, botanical subjects that are common themes of painting for literati painters. Additionally, the murals of women engaged in the acts of *weiqi*, enjoying painting, listening to and playing the *qin*, and calligraphy, would become codified as the “Four Arts of the Scholar.”

It is interesting to see that the individuals engaged in these scholarly arts are women.

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268 The Four Gentleman’s Arts were first associated with the skill and learning of a scholar in the Six Dynasties period (220 – 581 CE). It was only in the eighth century that the four arts were referred to as a group of learned skills. However, it was in the Northern Song, with the promotion and acceptance of painting as a learned activity, that the Four Arts became popular and frequently represented. Scarlett Jang. “Representations of Exemplary Scholar-Officials, Past and Present” in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting*, Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching, eds. (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999) see note 15.
**Funerary Objects:** The tomb had been looted and no objects remained aside from a piece of wood.

**References:**


**Liūhéwān (1196)**

Excavated 2008

Liuhewan, Yan’an City, Ganquan county, Xiasiwam, Shaanxi (柳河灣, 延安市,甘泉縣,下寺彎鎮)

**Currently:** Preserved insitu

**Dimensions:** unknown

**Description of Structure:** From partial images of the tomb, it seems that the main tomb chamber has six sides. Placed in each of the six corners of the chamber is a column of molded brick and painted red. Above each column is a three-armed bracket set, also painted red and molded, and between each bracket set is a painted floral motif.

**Inscription:** 明昌7年 (1196) – no published image of where this inscription is found.

On the east side of the entrance hallway to the tomb is an image of a man from the shoulders up. The modulating line of the brush shows the curvature of his nostrils, his large eyes, his mustache, and his large lips. His cap and his round-necked robe with a high collar are simply outlined in black pigment with no color. His cap and his round-necked robe with a high collar are simply outlined in black pigment with no color. Beside him is scrawled inscription which reads, “This is Master Li 此是李孛士.” This is one of
the few instances in which the tomb painter is named, and the only instance to-date that he has been pictured.

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** On the south wall is the entrance to tomb chamber as well as murals of two door guards in grey robes with red collars.

On the center of the south east wall is a slatted window, portions of the molded-painted window slats have been damaged revealing the brick foundation underneath. A black frame is painted around the window. Above is a branch of bamboo in black pigment, rendered with careful attention to brushwork. On the left and right are three, horizontally-stacked, equally-sized rectangular sections showing filial sons and daughters. They are not labeled, but on the left, from the top to bottom is Wang Xiang laying on ice, Meng Zong picking Bamboo shoots, and perhaps Wang Pou crying at the grave during thunder (?). On the right, from top to bottom are [a deity descending from a cloud to a male figure], Tianzhen with his two brothers crying over not dividing the family treasure, Guo Ju burying his son. Below are peonies flanking a tablet. Both rendered in un-outlined red pigment; there is not inscription on the tablet.

On the northeast wall is a rectangular opening framed by a blue cloud-border and a red frame. Above, irregular black lines delineate a top register decorated with a branch of black bamboo. Attention was paid to the leaves to again imitate brush painting on ink or silk. A horizontal plaque with a black frame bears the four words, "香花供養," roughly translated as, “fragrant flowers are cultivated together.” To the left and right stand attendants. Above each is one crane rendered in black pigment floating on auspicious clouds. Below on the right stands a female attendant in a long robe with a pleated skirt covered with a long yellow jacket. She carries in her hands a tray with a
flower vase and a small pot. To the right stands a male attendant in a white robe with white pants beneath. The robe is tied below his belly with a belt. From the square collar of the robe emerges a high white collar. His shoes are simply depicted in black pigment. He holds in his right hand a small spoon-style incense burner from which a wisp of smoke emerges. His left hand is raised to his eyebrow. Both of their faces are relatively well-rendered, but show little evidence of individualization.

On the northwest wall is another rectangular opening, again bordered with an ornate blue cloud shaped border along the top and a red frame. Inside the opening is a small screen with red borders. On the screen appears to be a small monochrome landscape, but detailed images are unavailable. Above the opening is a plaque with the two words “客位”, the “guest’s place.” To the left of the opening is a male figure in similar white garments as on the northeast wall. To the right is a female figure with similar robes and long jacket as on the northeast wall. These figures do not hold anything in their hands. Above each is a tall vase with water flowers and reeds inside.

On the southwest wall is a central floral motif bordered by cloud-like swirls and petals-shapes. It is placed in a central rectangular border like a small screen. Above are rough paintings of bamboo branches. On the left and right are large and detailed orange and red peony blossoms on leafy stems, outlined in black. Below is a red stool molded in high-relief that emerges from the flat surface of the wall.

Could this be related to: Liji 禮記, Tan gong 檀弓 1, 3.51: 子游曰：「飯於牖下, 小斂於戶內, 大斂於阼, 殯於客位, 祖於庭, 葬於墓, 所以即遠也。故喪事有進而無退。」

Could this be related to the inscription in the tomb?
Important Painted Jin Tombs from Shandong

Jinan Gangguozhen M1 (1201)
Excavated 1999
Location: 港溝鎮, 濟南市, 历城區, 港溝鎮
Currently: in situ

Description of Structure: The tomb structure consists of a passageway, an entrance, an entrance way, and a round funerary chamber. The tomb was roughly oriented along a north-south axis with the entrance in the south.

Inscription: On the south wall is the partially legible inscription: “秦和元年 / 九月十三日 / 葬畢祖田/政男三人 / 男名淙 次男 / 男 / 意延” Dating the tomb to 1201. On the east wall is the inscription: “西 三郡 宅大出 .”

Tomb Murals: The murals in this tomb are on the ceiling, around the walls of the funerary chamber, on the two walls of the entranceway to the funerary chamber.

Passageway Murals: On the east side of the entranceway is a male groom in a long, round-neck robe with its opening in the center with a high collar holding a stick with two strings tied to it (a type of whip or whisk?). He wears a black cap on his head but his facial features are damaged. He stands by a small horse wearing a saddle and pulling a two-wheeled carriage with no visible occupant. A small black dog and another figure in a darker, similar long robe follow behind the carriage. The carriage has a textile

References:
covering, and textile curtains. The carriage itself is constructed of wooden slats and high, spoked-wheels. The group faces to the left and enter the tomb.

On the west side of the entranceway is a single groom in a long, round-necked robe with a high collar leading a black horse wearing an empty saddle. The groom who carries a whip and stands behind the horse’s head leads the horse to the left, showing them exiting the tomb.

The ceiling of the tomb is painted in its center with a lotus blossom with three rows of petals. On the east side of the ceiling are painted lotus and peonies; on the west are two branches of flowers. These flowers are painted with black outline, and filled in with either red, white, or green color.

Floral motifs with interlocking vines are also painted in the spaces between the carved brick bracket sets.

Funerary Chamber: On the north wall was a brick constructed fangmu gou pavilion structure measuring 1.17 m high and 1.23 m wide. The pavilion is divided into two levels, a lower and an upper level, each with three inter-columnar spaces, four columns, and four accompanying bracket sets. Pictured in the center of the upper level is the image of a woman emerging from double doors with nails arranged in horizontal rows and large, ringed door handles. On either side of the door mural are two windows with hanging fishtail ornaments.

On the lower level are three images of figures, identified in the excavation report as children. The one on the far left crawls on hands and knees, the middle one sits on the floor with one leg bent at the knee and the other outstretched. This figure has a shaved head, save for a forelock in the center of his head and sideburns that stick out on the sides.
The figure on the far right sits with his feet crossed. He carries a whip like object in one hand. His jacket is open, exposing what seems to be his belly button. His hairstyle is similar to that of the figure in the central mural, with a shaved top, forelock, and sideburns that stick out to the sides.

The east and west sides of the walls are divided into three sections by columns. The three sections on each wall are painted with murals. The central and north murals on the east and the west depict indoor scenes, while the southern murals show courtyard scenes. On the south section of the east and west walls are T-shaped pavilions with spined-roofs built of painted brick.

On the east wall, on the far right (southernmost) mural is a square shaped pavilion with flaming pearls and treasures painted inside of it. The pavilion has two bracket sets, with three arms each, supported on two columns atop a raised platform. A male figure bearing a dish with glowing treasures stands to the right of the treasure pavilion. To the right of the pavilion is the inscription which reads, “西 三郡 宅大出”.

On the east wall, on the central mural, is a scene of a “lamp” and three female figures. The “lamp” consists of a narrow column painted yellow-brown that extends from the floor to the lintel painted with imitation wood grain pattern that encircles the tomb. In the center of the column is what seems to be a molded tabletop with scalloped ornament hanging from its bottom. Atop the tabletop is a bowl-like object, atop which is another bowl. Painted in red with a black outline is a six-lobed, fan-shaped object. Three female figures are also shown in the mural. They wear similar high chignon hairstyles and similar inner robes with a straight neckline covered and a jacket with long sleeves over
the top. Two of the women to the left of the “lamp” carry food and beverage vessels. The third from the right of the ‘lamp” and carries a small handled pot.

On the east wall, in the far left mural, is a portrait of the tomb occupant at a table with food and wine service. In the center of the image is a heavy wooden table with several white ceramic objects, including a foliated dish with a lade, a tea cup and saucer, three plates, and two cups. A male figure sits on a high-backed chair with a textile covering and a footstool to the right of the table. He wears a long round-necked robe with long sleeves and a high collar. Under his robe, on the footstool, his pointed-toe boots are visible. The man wears a black cap and his facial hair is visible, but his facial features are not too clear. Across from him is an empty chair with a textile covering. Behind each chair are hanging scrolls with calligraphy that is indecipherable.

On the west wall, on the far left is a molded-brick imitation wooden doorway. The doors are painted brown, with a lattice panel at the top and a decorative carving on the bottom panel. Flanking the doors are pitted rocks with flowers and bamboo.

On the central west wall mural shows three male figures, a table, and a rack. To the left is the wooden table set with a spouted ewer, stack of teacups, and a teacup on a saucer. Behind the table is a rack with a piece of fabric draped across it. Three attendants stand to the right. The attendant on the left stands with his hands clasped in front of his belly and wears a round necked robe with a belt and a high collar. The middle attendant carries a tall jug with a cover. He wears a shorter robe with pants, a belt, and a high collar as he gesticulates to a third attendant. The third attendant stands to the far right wearing a similar outfit to the middle figure, and carries a tray with a bowl as he walks to the north, turning around to look at the middle figure.
On the west wall, on the right (south) mural is another small pavilion, similar to the one on the east wall. Inside this pavilion is a small stele with the words “大吉.” To the right of the pavilion is a lake rock with bamboo coming from it. To the left of the pavilion is a man holding a broom with which he sweeps.

**Funerary Objects:** Two sets of skeletal remains were found inside the tomb. They were arranged so that the heads were positioned in the east and are perhaps were a married couple. Also found in the tomb were two small bowls, two larger bowls, and two bronze coins.

**References:**


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**Yu Yin’s Tomb 虞寅墓 (1197)**

**Excavated:** 1979

**Location:** Gaotang County, Hanzhai Township, Guguantun Village 高唐縣, 寒寨鄉, 谷官屯村

**Current Location:** Preserved in the Liaocheng Museum 聊城市博物館

**Dimensions:** Murals had a height of 1.27 m, length of 16.25 m, 21 square meters of murals around the tomb chamber. The floor of the chamber had a diameter of 5 meters.
Description of Structure: The tomb is built of bricks, faced south, and is a single chamber tomb. The tomb consisted of three parts: the tomb passageway, entrance, and funerary chamber. Murals were found on the walls of the round funerary chamber.

Inscription: A stone epitaph was found in the tomb dating the tomb to 1197. It also described Yu Yin’s life in 1,757 words. From the inscription it is known that Yu Yin, style name Bo Qin 伯钦, was from Xifangcun, Gaotang, in Shandong Province. Since his youth he practiced shooting and riding. He served in the military and was promoted rank due to his heroic feats. He served under the Jin in several other military positions until he died at the age of 83. (Chen Kunlin, 1982, 50)

Tomb Murals: A continuous line drawing of the murals surrounding the tomb can be seen in the 1982 excavation report of the tomb. The following images listed here are from this 1982 report: Image 1.1 shows the image of a horse and two grooms immediately to the west (right) of the entrance on the south wall of the tomb. 1.2 shows a stand, believed to be a drum stand or a lantern stand. 1.3 shows three people and an ox walking by a covered chariot. The figures and the chariot face south, towards the entrance of the tomb. On the north side of the west wall, 1.5 – 1.6, is seen the open lattice work window and a small box with words on it. Two female attendants in long robes stand in front of a curtained bed.

On the north wall of the chamber is a large painted and carved brick imitation door. Between the bracket sets are large floral motifs. On either side of the door stand attendants, one on the left and two on the right. (1.7 – 1.9)

On the eastern side of the funerary chamber is another scene with a lattice window. On the left of the window (1.10) is an empty chair and a table with two
diminutive attendants. On the rectangular table are a number of small ceramic objects, tea bowls, and a vase of flowers. A flowered textile hangs from the chair. While the artist(s) tried to create a sense of depth using foreshortening, the lines are all slightly askew. A screen with calligraphy stands in the back, though the calligraphy is not legible. A low table with two lidded jars stands in front of the window (1.10 – 1.11) There is also an image of a female attendant standing by a large, elaborately decorated four-legged urn behind which grows a leafy plant. 1.13 shows four attendants or grooms standing by a saddled horse. One attendant holds an umbrella. Two others hold other objects that are hard to make out. (1.13).

On the southeast wall (1.15) are four male figures talking in a group. In image 1.16 a figure rides a horse. On 1.17 are the remains of two figures’ feet, perhaps door guards by the south entrance.

Only black and white photos exist and the murals are quite damaged.

References:


**Shentou, Zibo Tomb**

**Excavation Date:** 1990

**Location:** Shentou, Boshan District, Zibo City, Shandong

**Currently:** Committee for Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Boshan District

**Dimensions:** The funerary chamber measures 1.96m (north to south), 1.91m (east to west), and 2.38 m high.

**Description of Structure:** The tomb consists of three parts – the tomb entrance, the tomb corridor, and the funerary chamber. The funerary chamber is four-sided, rectangular, and constructed of brick with a domed ceiling. The tomb is oriented along a north-south axis with the entrance in the south. Imitation wooden architecture in brick decorates the tomb walls.

**Inscription:** An inscription on the doorframe on the south wall of the tomb chamber reads “the second year of the Da’an Reign” 大安二年 月 日 (1210).

**Murals:** Murals are present on the walls as well as the domed ceiling.

On the south wall is the entrance and carved brick decoration. To the left of the entrance is a mural which shows a groom preparing a horse. The horse wears a yellow saddle with
stirrups and a blue blanket beneath. The man attending the horse wears a belted, round-neck blue robe that goes down to his shins. He wears pants below his robe. To the right of the door is painted a red peony with green leaves, but this section has been badly damaged.

On the east wall of the funerary chamber is a scene of the occupant, three seated women, and a rack of textiles. In the center of the mural is an object that is likely a lamp-stand, identified by the brick-built shelves coming out of it. The occupant portrait is to the left of the lamp stand. He sits to the right of the rectangular table. He wears a white robe with a red collar and his hands are covered and held over his torso. His face is described in the report as “foreign” and probably from Western regions, due to his long nose and big ears, particularly when compared to the face of the more “East Asian” features of the attendant in a red robe and white collar to the right. Such an argument, however, given the overall low quality and abbreviated of facial features of the figures, is not persuasive. All three women in this scene wear similar robes to each other – a long pleated skirt over which they wear a long robe which opens in the center. Their hair styles are also all similar – they wear their hair pulled back in a bun. One of the seated women wears a red jacket, while the other wears pale yellow. On the table are three oversized tea bowl and saucer sets, two plates, and a crudely drawn bowl. The table and high-backed chairs are yellow, and an attempt has been made at using one-point perspective to give depth to the scene. To the right of the lamp stand is a yellow rack with floriated corners on which at least thirteen different decorated textiles have been draped.
On the north wall of the funerary chamber is a woman emerging from a fake door with one male attendant on the right and one female attendant standing on the left side. Floral motifs are painted above the door.

On the west wall of the funerary chamber is a lattice-work window made of carved brick. On the left (south) side of the west wall is a man leading a horse.

On the right (north) side of the west wall is a male attendant facing the center lattice window.

**Funerary Objects:** 15 pieces of funerary objects were found including porcelain and iron coffin nails.

**References:**


**Important Painted Jin Tombs from Shanxi**

*Sòngcūn Tomb (宋村)*

*Excavated 1999*

*Gaolixiang, Tunliuxian, Shanxi (高李鄉，屯留縣，山西)*

**Current Location:** Unknown

**Dimensions:** Chamber dimensions - L: 3.3m, NS: 2.0 m. Ceiling: 3.64m

**Description of Structure:** Single-chamber, rectangular, brick-constructed tomb with a domed ceiling.
Inscription: N/A

Tomb Chamber Murals:

The tomb murals can be divided into three registers, a top register depicting architectural elements, a middle register showing scenes of filial sons and daughters, and a lower register showing human and animal figures.

The underside of a roof, suggested by bricks in the shape of eave end tiles and roof tiles. A lintel painted with wood grain patterns is held up by bracket sets rendered in carved brick. The bracket sets are painted red and decorated with floral motifs. (These motifs, the excavation report notes, can be seen in the Yingzao fashi,) Between the bracket sets are black floral motifs or vines black outlined borders. A red tie beam with alternating floral motifs and geometric interlocking patterns are depicted below the bracket sets.

Scenes of filial sons and daughters were depicted in the middle register, on the east, north, and west walls of the tomb. On the east wall are the vignettes of Lu Ji, Wang Wuzi, Ding Lan, Tian Zhen, Yuan Jiao/Jue, Pao Shan, Meng Zong (no image). On the west wall are the vignettes of Jiang Shi (no image), Tan Zi (no image), Lao Laizi, Min Ziqian, Cai Shun, Lu Yi gu, Liu Yin (no image), Han Boyu (no image). On the north wall are Yang Xiang Nü, Guo Ju (no image), Dong Yong, Wang Yang (no image), Shun Zi, Zhao Xiao Zong, Liu Mingda, Cao E Nü (no image).

Human and animal figures were depicted on the four walls. On the south wall is the entrance to the tomb. On the east side of the south wall (left, when facing the door) is an attendant with a brown horse tied to a stake. The attendant is dressed in a round collared top with pants and boots. He faces the entrance, has a beard, and carries a long
handled axe with both hands. On the other side of the horse is a brown stand holding a saddle. On the west side of the south wall (right when facing the door) is another male attendant holding a sword with both hands. Behind him are three oxen (three large, one smaller) and two horses with a male attendant. The figures on this side also face the entrance.

On the east wall, a door was constructed out of carved brick. Two slatted windows in carved brick were constructed on either side of the door. Between the door and the left window, a male servant prepares a tall stack of eight baskets for steaming food, perhaps the dough that is being kneaded to his right at a low table. Between the door and the right window, a woman fetches water from a well. The well and the well-pulley are described, but no image is provided.

No full image of the north wall is provided in the excavation report. The excavation report describes the two occupant portraits depicted on the left and right sides of the north wall. What is in the center of this wall is not described or pictured, but on the right side of the picture of the “right” side of the north wall is a border with a foliated vine inside. The same border and motif is seen on the left side of the “left” side of the north wall image. Since this border and vine motif is similar to that border around the south wall entrance, perhaps a door is also depicted on the north wall. However, this would mean that the picture titled as “left side of the north wall” is actually the “right side,” while the right side is actually the left.

On the “left” side of the north wall (perhaps actually the right side) a male and female couple is seated at a table. The woman sits to the left and wears a long robe with her hands covered by her sleeves. The man sits to the right and wears a robe that opens in
the center with his hands uncovered. Both are seated on wooden chairs with foot stools. Between them is a low wooden table set with several dishes. Four attendants stand around the couple with trays or wine ewers (two female servants attend to the female occupant, and two male servants attend to the man). A dog and cat play in the foreground. On the “right” side of the north wall (perhaps actually the left side) another couple sits at a similar table. The table is slightly higher and covered with more dishes. The couple have six attendants serving them. One of the male attendants has the top of his head shaved, similar to depictions of shaved Khitan hairstyles. The man and the woman have sleeves covering their hands in this scene. Paintings of textile curtains hang from above, framing both scenes.

On the west wall, again a central door is depicted with a slatted window on either side. Between the door and the left window, a man turns a mill stone. Between the door and the right window, the excavation report describes a servant pounding rice (no image published).

References:

Dimensions: Tomb chamber (W: 2.4m, L:2.20m; H: 3.65m). Tomb entrance (H:0.9m, W: 0.6m, Depth: 0.3m)

Description of Structure: This brick-constructed, single-chamber tomb was oriented along a north-south axis, with the entrance in the south. The tomb chamber was square in shape with a vaulted brick ceiling which was damaged by past tomb raiders. According to the excavation report, the fang mugou is designed as a multi-storied construction 樓閣. The first story is the tomb chamber, in which columns are placed in each of the four corners.

The second story was constructed above the architrave. Here, another set of four columns atop which were constructed bracket sets with two levels of three arms each. Imitation windows with bamboo slats are seen on the south wall. An imitation doorway was constructed on the north wall.

Inscription: See Wang Yiyin (2014)

Tomb Chamber Murals: The tomb murals consist of three levels, a lower level showing human figures and scenes of idealized life, a middle level showing zaju 雜劇 actors, and a top level showing filial exemplars. The main colors used in these murals are red and yellow.

On the south wall are depicted two armored figures facing each other on the left and right side of this wall, seated on auspicious clouds. They both wear armor and place their hands on their knees. Behind the left figure is a man leading a horse, wearing a round-necked robe. He leads a horse with a saddle on its back. Between the armored figure and the man are a plough, a harrow, and a black dog. On the right side of the right
armored figure is a man in a round-necked robe leading a white horse with a saddle. Between the two is a plow and another object for farm work.

North wall: In the center of the wall is an imitation doorframe in which a seated couple is painted, likely the tomb occupant and his wife. The two are seated at the table upon which there are some dishes placed, the woman to the left and the man to the right. The mural has been damaged so the lower portion of the mural is hard to make out. The woman is shown with a round face and her hair has been arranged into a high hairstyle. She wears an outer yellow jacket and the inner robe can be seen. The man wears a round-necked robe and a high black cap. Standing behind the woman is a female attendant and behind the man is a male attendant. Behind the seated couple are two small screens, each with some calligraphy in running script, framing the figures. Above them is a swagged curtain with yellow flowers painted on it.

On either side of the north wall’s imitation doorway are windows. Below each window are paintings of people at work. On the left is a woman with a similar tall hairstyle to the occupant’s wife. She sits on the ground at a low table with scissors and a woven basket, doing some sort of needlework. (The right window on the north wall is too damaged to make out the mural.)

West wall: On either side of the fake door on the west wall are scenes of working. On the left side is a woman beside a large basket, a stone mill, and a wooden rice huller. On the bottom of the right side are two horses and three cows or oxen at feeding troughs. On the right side of the west wall door are three female attendants with high hairstyles in blue robes.
East Wall: On either side of the fake door on the east wall are also scenes of work. On the left side is a kitchen scene. To the left of this scene is a woman washing dishes. On the right side is a burner with a seven-layer stack of steamer baskets. A man stands by the stack of baskets, attending to them. To the left of the east wall’s door is a scene of drawing water wish a man and a well. (limited published images)

On the upper part of each of the walls are painted 24 scenes of filial sons and daughters, six scenes on each wall, each identified with an inscription. (I have noted when images are published)

South wall:
1. Jiang Shi “姜詩”
2. Tian Zhen “田真” [image]
3. Wang Xiang “王祥”
4. (Emperor) Shun “舜子” [image]
5. Wang Bu “王補”
6. Yuan X (Jue/ Gu?) “元”

West wall:
1. Cao E “曹娥”
2. Han Boyu “韓伯俞”
3. Zhao Xiaozung “趙孝宗” [image]
4. Zeng Can “曾參”
5. Bao Shan “鲍山” [image]
6. Cai Shun “蔡順”.

North wall:
1. Ding Lan “丁蘭”,
2. Min Ziqian “閔子骞” [image]
3. Liu Yin “劉殷”
4. Lu Ji “陸績”[image]
5. Guo Ju “郭巨”
6. Wang Wuzi “王武子”

East wall:
1. Luyi Gu “魯義姑”
2. Dong Yong “董永” [image]
At the top of the south wall, there are two groups of zaju actors. The two groups face each other. On the left side is a painting of six figures, all of whom seem to be male, who process to the right. The first man wears a head tie and carries a wheel-shaped object. The second man is dressed in a short robe, a long head covering, and carries a gourd-shaped prop. Above him are written the two words “王贵”. The third man has his hair wrapped into two buns on top of his head, seems to be bare-chested, and rolls a tire-shaped object. The fourth man wears strange clothes and holds clappers in his hands. The fifth man has his hands at his waist. The sixth man also has his hair in double buns, and he carries a canopy.

On the right side, are also six figures walking towards the left. The first is a man who carries a tire-shaped object. The second is a man wearing a head covering and holding a similar gourd-shaped object, as on the left side. The third man carries a square-shaped prop with writing on it. The fourth man wears an official’s hat and carries a round fan with writing on it. The fifth figure is female, carrying a blank fan, and wears a headdress. The fifth is a diminutive figure with hair in double buns, carrying a canopy over the female figure.

Funerary Objects: N/A

References:


**Xiàoguāncūn (小闕村) 1174**

*Excavated 1994*

*Zhangzi County, Shanxi Province (長子縣, 山西)*

**Currently: unknown**

**Dimensions:** Tomb chamber: 3.84m high, L:2.5m, W: 2.5m. Funerary couch: .42m tall.

**Description of Structure:** The brick-constructed tomb sits in the north and faces south along a roughly north-south axis. The tomb consists of an entryway, a passageway, the square-shaped tomb chamber, a side-chamber to the north. A funerary couch made of bricks was found inside.

**Inscription:** The tomb is dated to 大定 14 年 (1174) by an inscription around the inside of the door on the south wall which reads, “大定十四年三月初八日”/ “Eighth day of the third month, of the fourteenth year of the Dading era.”
On the north wall of the tomb are two inscriptions on plaques. The inscription behind the elderly female figure reads, “青松映里” / “In the reflection of the green pines…”

The other north wall inscription behind the male figure reads “青山只會磨今古，綠水何曾洗”

This is a quote from the second act of the play, *The Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed* (東窗事犯).” Translated by West and Idema as “The green mountains can only grind down the past and the present, but the verdant water can never wash away right and wrong.” (West and Idema, *The Orphan of Zhao and Other Yuan Plays*, 340)

On the south wall:

Behind the female figure: “雨後碧川净，春来杨柳青，誰家涤洗處，到賣花

After the rain, the jade river is pure. When spring comes, the willows are green.

Whose family will clean this place… selling flowers…

Behind the male figure: 春雨名[各?]利塚，猛風吹破是非墳

The spring rain […], the ferocious winds will blow and destroy right and wrong [in the] grave.

See Chapter 2 for more information.

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** As noted by the excavation reports, the architectural painting is one of the most valuable finds in this tomb. Column heads are painted red and white, with small landscape compositions in between them. The connecting lintel (lan e 蓋额) is painted with yellow and red in imitation of wood grain. Lotus petals are painted below
the column head bracket (lu dou 櫨斗). Various other floral motifs are depicted on the bracket sets, arms, and spaces between bracket sets.

The ceiling was also brightly painted with lotus flowers, sketches of peonies, lingzhi fungus, cranes, flying between clouds and flowers. The top of the ceiling hosts the twenty-eight celestial lodges, but these have been damaged. In the east is painted the sun with a black bird and in the west is a moon with the drug-pounding rabbit.

The four walls of the tomb chamber are painted with murals depicting household activities, laboring in the fields, and scenes of filial sons and daughters.

The entrance to the tomb is on the south wall. Atop the left and right of the entrance are two red-crowned cranes facing each other. An interlocking, black and white geometric motif borders the entryway.

South wall: On either side of the door are slatted windows in molded brick relief. Above the windows are two murals of processions. On the east side of the entrance is a mural that could be a presentation or entry to the tomb. Two female attendants, one holding a banner and another holding an object with both hands, lead the procession of five other figures. The composition is framed by a tree is on the left and a scrolling cloud at the bottom. The two leading female attendants are followed by a male figure in a round-necked robe and pants. Behind him in a woman in a robe and a long jacket leads a male child by the hand. A male figure in military attire and a dark man, resembling Zhong Kui, walk in the back. On the west side of the wall, the procession continues over a bridge under which is depicted flowing water. On the bridge, a female figure holding an object with both hands leads a male and female figure across the bridge. The report
suggests that the two may be the tomb occupants. Another dark, bearded Zhong Kui-esque figure and a military figure stand to the right of the bridge.

Below the window on the east side is a wooden bed with a cat and dog playing nearby. Below the window on the west side of the door is an enclosure with livestock, cows and sheep, and a male attendant who cares for them.

On the center of the north wall is an entrance to the small rectangular north chamber. Above this door is a mural of flowers. The entire north wall is framed by a painting of a textile curtain along the top, with tassels hanging down, and with the curtain held back on the left and right sides. On either side of the doorway are two slatted windows in molded brick relief. To either side of the door, between the door and window, are narrow murals depicting a seated male and seated female, facing each other, each with one attendant, in front of standing screens with the inscriptions detailed above. The female figure sits to the left of the doorway while the male figure sits to the right. Two female attendants stand to the west side of the mural, in attendance to the female occupant. On the east side, two male occupants, and one other man holding a plate of peaches stand in attendance to the male occupant. Below the window on the east side stands one other male attendant with his hands clasped over his chest.

On the east wall is an imitation entranceway with two slatted windows in molded brick relief on either side. To the north (left of the door) are two tomb occupants seated facing each other. To the south (right of the door) is a mural showing food preparation.

On the left side of the east wall sits a woman next to a table with four boxes on it. A screen behind her says "春雨 名利塚，猛風吹破是非墳" (see above). A female attendant stands by her, holding a tray with a small cup on it. Another woman holding a
small child stands to the right. The child has a shaved head, with the forlocks and some hair above the ears remaining. Across from her on the right side of the window sits a man by a table, with a male attendant, in front of a screen. He wears a robe a center opening and a belt. The screen reads, "雨後碧川净，春来杨柳青，谁家涤洗处，到賣花" (see above)

On the right side of the east wall is a food preparation scene. A six-tier stack of baskets, a stove range, a water jug, and a shelf for bowls are on the left and on the right is a woman getting water stands next to a well with a pulley system and a tree.

The west wall shows four scenes painted between the two windows and the door. On the left west wall window, a donkey stands behind a tree. Below the left west wall window are two stone tools used for milling and grinding, other farm tools, and two oxen. A figure with his chest exposed sits to the right of the left side west window and a cup and a sandal sit in front of him. A smaller figure with a fan sits behind him. By the right window of the west wall two male attendants between the window and the door. On the other side of the window sits a couple on chairs with a footrest. They are being presented with tea ceremony vessels.

Images of Filial Exemplars include:
East Wall (7 scenes)
1. “Ding Lan carves (a statue of) his mother (Ding Lan kemu 丁蘭刻母),”
2. “Carrying his mother on his back on Baoshan (Baoshan beimu 鲍山背母),”
3. “Guo Ju buries his son (Guo Ju maizi 郭巨埋子),”
4. “Dong Yong sells himself (Dong Yong zimai 董永自賣),”
5. “Zeng Can asks his mother (Zeng Can wenmu 曾參問母),”
6. “Min Zi pleads with his father (Min zi jianfu 閔子諫父),”
7. “Cai Shun fetches mulberry for his parents (caishus shenqin 蔡順椹親)”
8. “Liu Yin cries in the bamboo (Liu Yin qisun 劉殷泣筍).”
West Wall (8 scenes):
1. “Yanzi fetches milk (Yan zi qu ru 晙子取乳)”
2. “Wife Wu cuts her thigh (Wu qi ge gu 武妻割股)”
3. “Shunzi (the Emperor Shun) plows a field (Shun Zi geng tian 舜子耕田)”
4. “Han Boyu cries at the beating (Han Boyu Yu qi zhang 韓伯瑜泣杖)”
5. “Cao E cries at the river (Cao qì jiāng 曹娥泣江)”
6. “Yang Xiang straddles a tiger (Yang Xiang kua hu 楊香跨虎)”
7. “Tian Zhen divides the residence (Tian Zhen Fen ju 田真分居)”
8. “Wang Xiang lies on the ice (Wang Xiang wo bing 王祥臥冰).”

Funerary Goods: N/A

References:


Yunzhong Daxue M1 (雲中大學)
Excavated 1988
Datong, Shanxi Province
Currently: Not Preserved
Dimensions: The square tomb chamber measures 2.0 meters, north-south, and 1.92 meters east to west. The funerary bed placed in the north of the tomb chamber is 1.92 meters across (the full width of the chamber) and measures 0.86 meters in length, and 0.2 meters in height.

Description of Structure:  The tomb is oriented on a north-south axis with its entry in the south. The single-chamber, brick constructed tomb consists of a tomb passageway, an entryway, and the tomb chamber. There is a funerary bed in the north wall. It is constructed of bricks and filled with dirt.
Inscription: N/A (the similar tomb murals and structure of Yunzhong Daxue M1 and M2 suggests that this tomb was also constructed around 1157/59 CE)

Tomb Chamber Murals: The painted program consists of three horizontal registers. On the ceiling are a number of floral motifs, including lotus blossoms. The middle register consists of architectural features, and the lowest registers shows scenes centered around human figures.

Only half the ceiling mural was extant upon excavation due to the damage caused during the tomb’s discovery. The center of the ceiling is decorated with a central lotus blossom motif which shows three layers of petals. Around the central lotus are six branches of red flowers with green leaves. The flowers above the north wall seem to be peonies.

The middle register consists of painted, sculpted brick architectural features.

The lowest register is divided into four compositions. On the north wall is a scene of a heavy textile curtain and two attendants. The curtain is hung on a wooden structure with four panels with decorated floral motifs. The curtain is decorated with round floral medallion motifs. To the left and right and left of the curtain stand a total of two attendants. They have the tops of their heads shaved and two forelocks that fall to either side of their face. Both attendants wear long round-collared, belted robes. A tall collar emerges from both of their robe collars. The pointed tips of their shoes peek out from underneath their robes.

On the east wall is a scene of six female attendants and two male attendants standing around a table (now lost) holding various types of ceramic vessels.
On the west wall is a scene of six male attendants and one female attendant in a more complete composition of food preparation and music performance. The man to the far right carries a bowl on a saucer. The next holds a *sheng* near his mouth; the one behind him plays clappers and the last plays a flute. The fifth carries some sort of object in his hands, and stands behind the table. The sixth man also carries a bowl and a saucer. The woman to the far left stands in profile, with her back facing the viewer and carries a round tray. A rectangular table with textile drapery stands to the left of the mural. On top of the table stands an ewer, a pile of narrow-footed tea bowls, other objects that may be for tea preparation, like a basket and small box, and finally a round, footed plate of white, spherical objects sits under a transparent, domed, cover.

**Funerary Objects:** Within the funerary bed were traces of ashes, but only scraps of silk textile remained. The tomb had been broken into before excavation and only fourteen objects remained in the tomb: 11 pieces of ceramics, 3 pieces of metalwork. Two small white ceramic plates (*die* 碟), one white ceramic cup with no handle (*zhong* 盅), one Yaozhou Kiln green ceramic cup with no handle, one white ceramic water pouring set (a pouring vessel and a bowl), a white ceramic alms bowl (*bo* 盛), a broken flat ceramic dish (*pan* 盤), a set of three “chicken-leg” shaped earthenware vessels, a yellow and green glazed candlestick, an iron flatiron, an iron pot, and an iron cauldron (*fu* 釜).

**References:**

Yunzhong Daxue M2 (雲中大學) 1157/1159
Excavated 1988
Datong, Shanxi Province
Currently: Not Preserved

**Dimensions:**
Square chamber – North to south: 2.07 m; East to west: 1.97 m. The funerary bed placed in the north of the tomb chamber is 2.07 meters across (the full width of the chamber) and measures 0.9 meters in length, and 0.25 meters in height.

**Description of Structure:**
Located 5m north of Yunda M1, Yunda M2 is a single-chambered, brick constructed tomb oriented along a north-south axis with its entrance in the south. The tomb consists of a tomb, the tomb passageway, and the entranceway.

**Inscription:** The tomb land deed records that the occupant, Chen Qing 陳慶, was interred in 1157 (正隆二年). In 1159 (正隆四年), Chen Qing’s wife was also buried here, making the tomb the site of a joint burial.

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** The murals suffered a lot of damage. While the west wall is mostly intact, only a small portion of the north and south walls remain, and the ceiling and the east wall are completely destroyed. From what remains of the ceiling, it seems that it was painted in a similar fashion as seen in Yunzhong M1.
The north wall shows a curtain with two attendants, similar to that seen in M1. The two attendants also wear long flowing robes and wear their hair in the same shaved and divided style.

On the south wall, the attendant standing to the west side is still extant. The hairstyle on this male attendant is similar to that of the attendant standing on the east side of the north wall in Yunda M1.

On the west wall is a scene of eight male attendants who stand in a line. The first attendant to the right wearing a black robe with a red collar and red belt holds a round tray with a round bowl on it. The second in a yellow robe with a red collar and belt carries a round tray with seven white balls that come to a point on it. The third in a similar light blue robe with red collar and belt stands with his hands covered, held over his mid-torso. The fourth stands in a dark robe with a white collar. The area around his hands has been damaged, so it is unclear if he is holding an object, or if he stands in the same postures as the third attendant. The fifth attendant holds a tray of what look like steamed buns covered by a transparent dome cover. The sixth attendant stands with his hands raised. The seventh carries another round plate of white balls. The eighth carries a small, white, round bodied vessel with a wide lip. A rectangular table with a fabric covering stands to the left (south side of the wall). On it is another domed net cover over a plate of spherical food objects. Two round bodied, covered pitchers, one black and one white, stand in warming dishes. A tray with two narrow footed tea bowls, and a small basket and smaller round covered container, similar to the ones in M1 are also depicted on the table. Perhaps these are also for tea preparation.
Funerary Objects: A total of 20 objects were excavated from the tomb including: twelve pieces of porcelain, five pieces of ironwork and bronze, one piece of ceramic, and a tomb deed. (see images in Wang, “Datong shi nan jiao Jin dai bihuamu”)

References:


Nanguancun Tomb (南關村)
Excavated 2007
Fanshi County, Shanxi Province (繁峙縣, 山西)
Currently: Shanxi Provincial Museum
Dimensions: The diameter of the round chamber is 2.95 meters. The height of the ceiling is 0.74 meters. The funerary couch is 2.45 m long and 0.36 m high.

Description of Structure: The round, single chamber, brick constructed tomb had a corbelled ceiling and was oriented along a north-south axis, with a tomb entrance in the south.

Inscription: N/A

Tomb Chamber Murals: The murals in the tomb can be divided into two main registers, a top register which shows painted and molded brick renderings of wooden architectural features and a lower register which shows human figures. The excavation report finds the murals and the architectural features comparable to mid-late Jin or early Yuan tombs. The windows, brackets sets, eaves, and roof tiles are rendered in painted, carved brick. The circular chamber is divided by six painted columns which are topped by two-jump
bracket sets, with three arms for each layer. Connecting beams are painted between the top layer of the bracket sets and the column heads. In the space between the bracket sets and between the two painted beams are floral designs painted in black, red, and white.

Murals are painted on the six walls between the columns, centered around tomb doors or windows. On the south wall is the actual entrance to the tomb. On the north wall is a fake door with bamboo painted on either side. On the northeast and northwest walls of the tomb, a central window is decorated with painted motifs creating a diamond pattern. Both the northeast and northwest wall doors are flanked by male and female figures. On the southeast and southwest walls, the doors are surrounded by human, divine, and animal figures. Precious treasures like rhinoceros’ horns or elephant tusks, flaming pearls, a single diamond motif, silver ingots, pieces of coral, and shells.

Southwest wall: The mural on the southwest wall is centered around a door above which is painted a number of precious treasures. On the left of the door stands a female attendant and a smaller male attendant with shaved hairstyle; they face the tomb entrance (on the south wall). On the right side of the door are two thick stalks of leafy bamboo. A bird with large feathers stands near the bamboo. The outlines of six birds with outstretched wings fly into the distance.

Northwest wall: On the northwest wall is a central window with a diamond pattern. Above the window are painted precious treasures. To the left of the window, standing among swirling cloud motifs, is a military figure with a curling mustache facing the window. He sits on a rock with one leg bent up towards his body, and the other hanging down. On the right of the window are three male attendants wearing round-
necked robes with belts at their waists. They hold a square stool, a large piece of red coral, and an object covered in fabric as they walk to the left.

North wall: The central door on this wall is flanked on either side with bamboo and cranes. Above the door is a collection of precious treasures.

Northeast wall: At the center of this wall is a window with a lattice made of slanted, ovoid shapes. To the left is a group of five female attendants and one male attendant with a shaved hairstyle. Each member of the group carries an object, such as a wide-mouth vessel, a large piece of coral, and at least one object covered with fabric. The excavation report also describes a bronze mirror, but the image in reproduction is hard to make out. Above and below are scattered various treasures. To the right of the window sits a male official figure at a desk. On the desk is an object which resembles an ink stone. Behind him are a standing screen and two stalks of bamboo.

Southeast wall: The imitation door is central to this composition, with varied treasures depicted above and to the bottom left of the door. To the left of the door are three male attendants standing together in the front, and one in the back holding a covered object. These men wear long robes with rounded collars. To the right of the door is an old man wearing a high hat with a long beard. The excavation report identifies this man as the Haoli Elder (蒿里老翁), a Daoist underworld official, most likely derived
from popular religion.\textsuperscript{270} This old man is seen in other Jin tombs, as well as a Xixia grave from Gansu, Song graves in Sichuan, Jiangxi, and Fujian, and a Liao tomb in Shanxi.\textsuperscript{271}

**Funerary Objects:** The tomb was in poor condition when it was excavated. Recovery and reconstruction of the five pieces of painted, wooden coffin materials suggest that there were originally two sets of funerary goods interred in this tomb. The wooden coffin pieces were first covered with a white ash plaster and then painted with either red or black pigment. Other colors were then painted above.

Included as parts of the wooden coffin was one cloud-shaped coffin head in the shape of the head of a *ruyi* scepter. Flowers and dancing children waiving ribbons were painted on this piece. (L: 82.3 cm, H: 34 cm, W: 2.3 cm). Two front coffin planks (前挡板) were found painted with the Red Bird of the South and a male attendant. (H: 70.5 cm, W: 16 cm (top) and 44 cm (bottom), W: 3 cm) One back coffin plank (後挡板) was found with the Black Warrior painted on it (H: 34 cm, W: 29.5 (top) 23.5 (bottom), W: 2 cm) One side coffin plank, trapezoidal in shape, was found with the white tiger painted on it (L: 68.5 cm (top), 63 cm (bottom), H: 42 cm (front) 20 cm (back), W: 2 cm). The tiger is shown walking to the front.

**References:**


Yuquancun Tomb (玉泉村) 1169
Excavated 2007
Pucheng City, Lingchuan County, Fucheng Township (普成市，附城鎮,陵川縣) (Shanxi)

Dimensions: Width and Length of burial chamber: 2.32m, Height of the chamber: 3m

Description of Structure: The brick constructed tomb consists of one square-shaped tomb chamber, oriented on a north-south axis, with its entrance in the south. The ceiling is a four-sided domed ceiling. A funerary bed made of brick is built onto the north side of the tomb chamber, measuring 0.15 m tall, and 1.42 m deep, and extends the width of the chamber. Architectural details, including dougong 斗拱, are plaed symmetrically on each wall and floral and vine motifs were painted between them. (no image)

Inscription: In the passage way is a stone slab (H: 0.9m, W. 9.58m, D: 0.17m) which bears a twenty-four-line long epitaph. The epitaph tells of the tomb owner’s life in farming, his upright character, his children, and that he was buried in 1169, the ninth year of the Dading reign of the Jin dynasty “金朝大定九年.”

Tomb Chamber Murals:

The four sides of the domed ceiling are painted with four scenes of filial sons and daughters. Although these scenes have suffered damage, the figures and the key story
attributes are placed in landscape settings with small, dry trees, wisps of land, and vapor helping to construct a well-framed and contextualized composition.

On the north side of the ceiling is the story of the three brothers, Tian Zhen 田真, Tian Qing 田慶, and Tian Guang 田広, splitting the family residence. The brothers are depicted in front of a gnarled, leafy tree. Around them are scattered bundles of rolled up textiles, silver ingots, flaming pearls, and rhinoceros’ horns or elephant tusks – the inheritance from their deceased parents. The three brothers are shown wearing long flowing robes with rounded necks and long sleeves that cover their hands which they bring to their faces as if crying. One brother on the right can be seen wearing a belt with square plaques. Cloud-like vapors are painted to the left and right of the group of brothers.

On the west side of the ceiling is a scene identified as the story of Yang Xiang and the tiger. A tiger and the human figure on his back turn and face male figure who is fleeing in the opposite direction. The fur of the tiger around his belly, face, and tail is depicted with detail. Three trees, two with dry branches and one with similar red flowers seen on the north side of the ceiling are shown. The ground and small distant crags are seen in the distance.

On the east side of the ceiling is a scene of a man with a shovel and a woman carrying a child standing on either side of an unearthed treasure. The scene depicts the story of Guo Ju who sought to bury his son to reduce household costs and keep his parents fed. The scene shows the reward of his filial piety. Two trees depicted almost in the Guo-Li style are seen on either side of the central human figures. Cloud vapors are in the sky.
On the south side of the ceiling is a mural showing a male figure, identified as the filial son Dong Yong, and an otherworldly female figure in robes standing on a floating cloud. On the bottom right corner of the mural is shown a group of dry trees and a small outcrop of ground that has been shaded in to provide a more sophisticated, three-dimensional sense of space.

*Tomb Chamber Murals:*

East wall and east side of the south wall – Scenes of drink preparation: In the south east corner of the chamber are four well-painted figures bustling about a cabinet and table filled with various ceramic wares. On the east wall are four male servants. Of particular interest of is one man in light blue holding a tray of three bowls, and another behind the table holding a round bodied, long necked vessel in two hands. Their round-necked tunics are both decorated with repeating motifs, the blue tunic with round yellow motifs and the brown with dotted tear-drop shaped motifs. There is also a detailed depiction of the ceramics shown in this mural. These include the gourd-shaped ewer carried by the servant in white, the round-bodied, long-necked vessel mentioned above, cups and saucers and two wine storage containers seen on the east side of the south wall, and the cabinet and table which extends from the south wall to the east. This mural shows a rich depiction of Jin material culture.

West Wall and west side of south wall – scenes of food and drink preparation: On the west side of the south wall, three male servants stand among tables preparing food. One wears an apron and uses a knife to slice food on a cutting board. To his right are two other male servants, one holding a tray bearing three shallow, covered bowls and one holding a bowl and ladle. Three taller bowls are arranged on the wooden table in front of
him. A large melon-shaped box sits on a table behind the three servants. The overall composition of this scene is complex and rather sophisticated. The layering of the tables and use of foreshortening creates a sense of depth in the scene which is impressive for a tomb mural. On the west wall, three male figures are shown. One male servant carries a covered tray with bowl inside. He wears a jacket with long flowing sleeves that is still faintly painted with delicate, repeating medallion motifs. Two other male figures, one in a belted brown robe, the other in a blue belted robe, stand behind a table with a stack of cups and saucers. These two hold cups and are pictured in the middle of a conversation. The figure in the brown robe has repeating yellow teardrop motifs on his robe, similar to the figure in brown on the east wall.

The excavation report writes that the details in the painting of the human figures is even greater than what can be seen in the reproduction. The hands and faces of each figure in the main murals is carefully rendered.

On the north wall, the excavation report describes two screens and an official looking man. [no published image]

On the north sides of the east and west wall are painted two hanging scroll paintings showing magpies on a branch. [No published image!]

**Funerary Objects:** No funerary objects – but in the chamber was found the bones of three adults near the east side of the funerary bed. In the southwest and southeast corners were the bones of two children. The excavation report suggests that this could have been a case of reburial or a moved burial.

**References:**


Guzhangcun (故漳村) 1189
Excavated 1981
Changzhi City, Shanxi (長治市)

Dimensions: Main chamber (W: 2.75, L: 2.50 m, H: 4.56m), side chambers (L: 1.84m, W: 0.90m, H: 1.98 m)

Description of Structure: The tomb consisted of a tomb passageway, an entrance, a main burial chamber, and smaller side chambers on the left and right of the central burial chamber. The tomb was built of brick and vaulted ceilings in each chamber. The burial chamber sat in the north, with the entrance facing south. The burial chamber was square, while the two side chambers were rectangular.

Carved brick in imitation of architectural features including columns, brackets sets, lintel beams, and slatted windows were constructed throughout the tomb.

Inscription: An inscription over the north wall states that this tomb was belonged to an individual who was buried in 1189 and died at the age of eighty-six. Excavators believe that he may have held the office of dunwu xiaowei 敦武校尉, an official position detailed in the Jin Shi (金史, 百官一), by reading parts of the damaged inscription. There is an
additional three lines in the arched doorway between the western side chamber and the tomb chamber. This inscription includes the date and the name Chen Ruri 陳如日, who may have been the craftsman who built or painted this tomb.

**Tomb Chamber Murals:** The colors used in the tomb murals are commonly seen in Jin and Northern Song tombs: red-brown, white, black are the main colors. The four columns in the tomb chamber, and the entrances to the two side chambers, the roof tiles around the chamber are painted black.

South wall: on either side of the tomb entrance are painted two guards, similar to each other. They both are dressed in long red robes with belts and a white collar. They wear black hats. They hold black batons with both of their hands in front of their bellies.

On the north, east, and west walls were divided into two sides by a real or fake door, and two slatted, brick-constructed fake windows were built onto either side of the doors. Scenes of filial sons and daughters were painted on all three walls. It is interesting that the filial sons and daughters were painted throughout the tomb walls, neither divided into framed rectangles, nor cohesive as a single composition.

North wall: Above the left window is painted “Yuan Gu [原穀] carries the litter and encourages his father [to be filial]元角拉笆劝父” and “The Tian Family Divides the Residence 田氏分居”. Below the left window is “Wife Wu Cuts her Thigh 武妻刮股.” Above the right window is “The great Shun plows the field 大舜耕田” and “Min Ziqian 閔子騫”. Below the right window is the story of Liu “Mingda 劉明達.”

Of interest on the north wall are the depictions of the trees and rock formations seen around the Tian family story and the rock formation upon which the grandfather has
been abandoned in the Yuan Gu story. The depiction is mottled and thick, but rather skillfully accomplished with modulating brush lines.

East Wall: Above the left hand window is “Cai Shun 蔡順”, “Cao asks his mother Three times 曹三問墓”, “Old Laizi 老莱子”. Under the left window is “Wang Xiang lays down on the Ice 王祥卧冰”. Above the right window is “Cao E Cries at the River 曹娥哭江”, “Jiang Shi’s [姜詩?] Mother 姜師婆”, and “Zhao Xiaozong 趙孝宗”. Below the right window is the story of “Hiding Oranges to give to his parents 遺親懷桔.”

On the west wall: above the left window are the stories of “Dinglan Carving wood 丁蘭刻木,” “Dong Yong Sells Himself 董永自賣”, “Meng Zong cries among the bamboo 孟宗哭竹.” Below the left window are the stories of “Seeing the fathers face in a dream (?) 梦見父面”. Above the right window is the story of “The Girl, Yang Xiang, who hit a tiger 杨香女打虎”, “Bo Yu Sobs at the Cane Beating 伯俞泣杖,” and “Guo Ju buries his child 郭巨埋兒.” Under the right window is the story of “Baoshan 鲍山”.

There are some trees seen in the east and west wall murals, but a detailed image is not available, only a full picture of the walls. To the excavators, although the south wall murals are much more carefully rendered than the other three murals of filial exemplars, all murals could have been executed by the same hand/workshop.

Funerary Objects:
- one ceramic pillow, broken
- five grey pottery two types of lidded jar (4 more narrow, one more squat)
- one white porcelain bowl
- pieces of one black porcelain bowl
- six coffin nails
- 89 coins, 12 different types, dating from Northern and Southern Song periods.
References:


Xu Gui’s Tomb (徐龟墓) 1161
Excavated 1996
Datong, Shanxi

Dimensions: The square chamber of the tomb measured 1.64 m in width and length, 2.18 m in height. The passageway was 1.42 m in length, 0.66 m in width, 0.98 m in height. A funerary couch in the north of the chamber measured 0.74 m in width, 9.24 m in height.

Description of Structure: The brick constructed tomb consisted of a single square shaped funerary chamber, an entranceway, and a passageway, oriented on a north-south axis with its entrance in the south. The funerary chamber was topped by a corbelled dome ceiling. The floor was paved with bricks. A funerary couch sat in the north of the chamber with a stone epitaph placed atop of it. Brick carved in imitation of wooden architectural features (fangmu gou) decorate the upper registers of the chamber.

Tomb Chamber Murals: The west wall of the funerary chamber shows a scene of food and entertainment. In total there are nine female figures. To the right are two attendants carrying ceramic vessels. Next is a group of four playing instruments including a qin, and two types of flute. To the right stands an attendant with a round fan. Next stands a woman holding a book with markings in her left hand and a writing brush in her right hand. To the far left stands a smaller female figure pouring liquid from a tall vessel into a
low basin with a floriated edge on a table. In the left background stands a folding screen. In the front on the left is a table on which a number of ceramic vessels including a pitcher with a warming dish, several bowls, cups and saucers, have been placed along with two dishes of fruit. In front of the table is another, smaller low rectangular table on which two covered, black vessels have been depicted. The vessel to the right bears a label with two characters “瓊” and the vessel to the left is labeled “金”. The scene in framed by a heavy textile curtain, as well as a rolled bamboo curtain.

The north wall mural can be divided into three sections, an empty center section that is framed on either side by images of standing attendants. The entire north wall composition is framed by a heavy blue curtain under a rolled bamboo curtain, as on the west wall. To the left stands a male attendant and to the right stands a female attendant. Both attendants are dressed in blue and stand behind a long curtain which shields the empty center section.

The east wall is heavily damaged and only one standing female attendant remains.

Some of the painting from the passageway survived the tomb’s discovery and excavation.

On the east wall of the passage way was a mural of three men wearing robes, caps, and mustaches and goatees, followed by a horse. The first man holds a scepter; the middle man stands in profile and also carries a scepter on his shoulder; the third man carries a scepter and a box. This horse follows last and wears reins, a saddle, and bells. They are seen facing right (south), towards the tomb exit.
On the west wall of the passageway are also three men and a horse. These figures face north (into the tomb). The first man carries a parasol, the second a chair, and the last man carries a scepter.

References:


Donglongguan M5 (東龍觀村) 1195
Excavated 2008
Donglongguan Village, Luliang City, Fenyang, Shanxi 東龍觀村,呂梁市,汾陽市
Dimensions: The funerary chamber was 2.8m long and 5.24m high.

Description of Structure: The brick tomb consists of an eight-sided funerary chamber with a vaulted roof, a tomb passageway, tomb door, and an entranceway. The tomb was oriented roughly along a north-south axis with the entrance in the south.

Inscription: A brick with the words “王立之墓” written in red ink was found in the tomb. The brick epitaph (see Zhang Xiaozhou, 2008, no. 2, p30 – 31) dates the tomb to “明昌陸年伍月拾貳日”, the sixth year of the Mingchang reign, on the twelfth day of the fifth month (June 21, 1195 CE).

Tomb Chamber Murals: On the southwest wall of the tomb chamber is the mural of a woman behind a fake door with magpies and bamboo leaves painted above.
On the west wall is an image of currency exchange and flying birds above a window.

On the northwest wall of the tomb is a mural of food service. A shorter figure (male?) stands facing a taller figure. The shorter figure carries a tray with three shallow bowls. The shorter figure wears a white robe over a longer skirt made of a textile with crisscrossed diagonal black lines. The taller female figure wears a center opening robe and carries in her arms a tray of nine white buns, the pinched tops of which have been carefully delineated. The fabric of her long robe is dark with a four-petal diamond motif painted on in a regular pattern.

On the north wall is a scene of the tomb occupant and two women flanking him on the left and right. Male and female attendants stand on either side.

On the north east wall is a mural depicting preparation of tea. Two male attendants stand by a table with an assortment of tea preparation utensils. The background is covered with a red textile with a white diamond shaped medallion motif placed in a regular pattern. The male attendant in a white robe standing to the left heads to the north while carrying a saucer with a cup. The attendant in the brown robe to the right stands at the table using a bamboo whisk to froth tea powder and water in a small bowl. The items on the table include a tall spouted, narrow, covered pitcher with a handle and a round bowl with a floriated edge.

On the southeast wall is a window with a cat and a dog

On the ceiling are bamboo leaves.

On the south wall of the tomb is the entrance to the tomb. On the left and right stand male attendants. (image)
Funerary Objects: Some skeletal remains were found in the tomb, but they were in bad condition. It seemed like there was a skull roughly in the north part of the tomb.

Objects found in the tomb included the epitaph mentioned above, a “spirit” jar, an eight-sided porcelain pillow, several earthenware pots, an iron ox figurine, and an inkstone. The inkstone had a stamp with writing which reads, “Zezhou lu jia, dan fen luo tu, ch/deng ni yan ji 沧州路家, 丹粉 箩土, 澄泥硯记” Inside one of the pots was also discovered a stash of clay coins.

References:


Shanghaolao M1 (上好牢 M1)
Excavated 2010
Shang Haolao Village, Huguan County, Changzhi Region, Shanxi (上好牢村， 壶關縣，山西)
Dimensions: The front chamber is rectangular and measures 2.65 m (L) by 2.53 m (W) by 3.6 m (H). The back chamber is rectangular in shape with a corbelled roof (2.08 m (L), 1.5m (W), 2.1 m (H)). There a funerary bed set against the back north wall measuring 2.08m (L), 1.25m (W), 0.35m (H).
Description of Structure: The tomb consists of a rammed earth entrance corridor, a brick front room, a brick back room, and a west side room. The front chamber is rectangular with a corbeled ceiling. There are two red columns on each of the four walls. The bottom register has been carved out to look as if the structure is set upon stilts. On each wall are double fake doors with windows on either side. The arched entrance way is in the center of the south wall (H. 1.09m; W: 0.63m; D: 0.33 m). On the center of the west wall is an arched door that leads to the west side room. On the north wall is a door that leads to the corridor to the back chamber.

The western side chamber does not have any published images or any murals. It contains some fangmugou.

Inscription

In the entrance chamber there are three inscriptions:

1) 無窮歌舞今何在? 都殯荒蓁伴月明[north (left) side of the east wall]

2) 松柏蕭蕭夾路青,人人到此盡傷情。秦苑有花空笑日,漢陵無主自侵雲. [south (right) side of the east wall]

3) 丞相祠堂何處尋,錦江城外柏森森。君看 青史勳榮者,算來多葬北邙塵 [south (left) side of the west wall]

Tomb Chamber Murals

In the front entrance chamber there are murals on the south, north, and west walls. On the east wall is a fake door and windows, but below the windows and above the door there are three paintings. The main content of the murals are working in the fields, filial individuals, virtuous tales, zaju actors, wrestlers, and poems.
The South Wall has four murals. From west to east they include: a horse, drawing water from the well, hulling grains, and another horse. (images for all four are published) The east, north, and west wall scenes are each identified with inscriptions.

The East Wall has three murals. From south (right) to north (left) they include: Fourteen zaju performers above the door. There is an inscription on the far left of this register (see inscription #1 above). On the north side of the east wall there is the filial son Wang Xiang who lay upon the ice. Here he is accompanied by the cartouche which reads, “王祥卧冰之處.”

The north wall has four murals. From east to west they include: “耨夫” on the east (right) side, “管仲鲍叔” on the right of the door, “巢父飲牛” on the west side of the door, “許由洗耳”.

The west wall has four murals. From the north to the south (right to left) they include: “Mengzong cries 孟宗哭泣”, a grain milling scene, wrestlers, and an inscription (see inscription #3 above).

In the back chamber there are figure paintings painted as if on hanging scrolls. They have suffered water damage, but they seem to mostly be images of Daoist immortals.

The east wall of the back chamber has two male figures. Both wear different types of grass skirts and are bare chested. On the north (left) is a man carrying a basket on his back and he holds an open scroll with writing inside. He turns around and looks at the male figure on the south (right) who carries a basket in his hand. Both figures walk from
south to north (left to right). Between the two figures is a panel of orange ground with large red floral motif in a circle. This is repeated as panel bookends on either sides of the two figures.

The north wall of the back chamber has two figures. The one on the west (left) wears a long, round necked robe and has drawn the sleeve on his left up to show his bare arm. On the east the figure wears a long, round necked robe but not much else is discernible. The two figures face the central panel which is orange with a red motif circular floral motif. This orange background with a red floral motif in a circle is also depicted as panel bookends on either sides of the two figures.

The west wall also has two figures. On the south (left) side the figure is likely a woman because her hair is depicted in two buns on top of her head. She wears a grass skirt and carries in one hand a basket (and a hoe in her other hand?). On the north (right) side there is another figure, also likely a female figure, with a similar hairstyle. Both figure walk from north to south (right to left). Again alternation with the panels with floral motif in a circle, red on orange ground.

The south wall has two figures alternating with the orange and red panels. On the left (east) is an official figure in a round necked robe and a black official’s cap. On the right (west) is another figure perhaps also in a black cap (it has been heavily damaged).

Funerary Objects

Only two funerary objects were found, one white porcelain bowl and one stoneware bowl.

References:

Shanghaolao M3 (上好牢 M3)
Excavated 2010
Shang Haolao Village, Huguan County, Changzhi Region, Shanxi (上好牢村，壺關縣，山西)
Dimensions The tomb chamber’s dimensions 2.5m (L) x 1.0 m (W).

Description of Structure The tomb was roughly oriented on a north-south axis with the entrance in the south. The tomb consisted of a long entrance passage way and a single rectangular tomb chamber.

Inscription N/A

Tomb Chamber Murals The north, east, and west walls are similar and their main extant form of decoration is fang mugou in brick. Each wall has a central fake door and two slatted windows on either side. The bracket sets are preserved well. Altogether there are four corner bracket sets and two inter-columnar bracket sets on each wall. Floral motifs are painted in the spaces between bracket sets and black dot and zig-zag decorative motifs are depicted on the four corner columns.

The excavation report does not provide images of the murals that are supposedly on all four walls, stating that they have suffered a lot of damage. However, they list that there are inscriptions on the murals which include identification of a number of filial paragons including Dong Yong, Cao E, Liu Duan, Yao, Wang Wuzi’s Wife, Liu Mingda, Old Laizi, Cai Shun, Han Boyu, Yang Xiang, etc. The report also mentions male and female attendants and door guards, but no images are available.
Funerary Objects: N/A

References:

## Appendix Two

### Yanshansi’s Manjusri Hall’s West Wall Mural Inscription Transcriptions and Translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscription Location</th>
<th>Chinese Transcription</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Left side of West Wall, by the city market street</td>
<td>此是青衣買七枝金蓮花之處</td>
<td>The place [in the narrative pictorial sequence] where [one wearing] informal robes [青衣] purchased the seven golden lotus blossoms.</td>
<td>The jātaka of Sumehda. Chang Le cites the <em>Scripture on Causes and Effects</em> 因果經.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Left side of west wall, written on flag outside shop on city market street</td>
<td>野花攒地初村酒透瓶香</td>
<td>Wild Flowers from throughout the land here, local wine overflows from fragrant jars.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Left side of the west wall, men in tattered jackets and pants sweep with long brooms in a clearing in mountains above rooftops and</td>
<td>此是二貧人野外持道供佛之處</td>
<td>This the place where two poor people cleared the road for the Buddha.</td>
<td>Chang Le cites the <em>Scripture on Causes and Effects</em> 因果經 writing that these two peasants who cleaned the way for the Buddha later became</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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272 After Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiangshi*.

273 In each of these translations, when I translate *chu* 處 as “place,” I mean place “in the narrative pictorial sequence, visualized.” See note 1722 for further information and reference to Victor Mair’s work.

274 Karetzky, “The Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals Illustrating the Life of the Buddha at Yenshang-ssu, Shanhsi,” 248. Karetzky translates “Wild Flowers (girls) from throughout the land bloom here; full jars of local fragrant wine.”

275 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 34.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>flanking attendants.(^{276})</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Left side of the west wall (?) heavily damaged, image of man in military garb, male official and consort with several attendants in palatial courtyard setting.</td>
<td>This is the place forty miles into the wilderness where the officials greeted the Buddha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Left side of west wall, immediately left of (03); a larger than life Dipamkara Buddha descending with seven attendants. Below, his lotus blossom pedestal descends upon the spotted fur hide laid upon the ground. Māṇava is shown crouching with his face towards the ground and his long hair extended on the ground for the Buddha to walk upon.</td>
<td>此是鹿皮仙人铺(佈?)發掩泥之處</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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278 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 38. Chang Le transcribes “佈發掩泥”，but the image is blurry. According to Charles Muller, another common rendering of the phrase is 佈發掩泥. Charles Muller, “bufā yanni” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. 279 Chang Le, *Yashansi Xiang Shi*, 38. Chang Le cites the *Scripture on Causes and Effects*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>Left side of the west wall, immediately to the left of (05), shows an official with attendants bowing to a diminutive figure below a canopy. Onlookers with scholar’s caps look out from inside a palatial gate</th>
<th>Illegible</th>
<th>Illegible</th>
<th>This scene has been described by Chang Le as the Sujati Jataka.\textsuperscript{280}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Center of the west wall; riding a two-tusked white elephant, a bodhisattva shoots a ray into a palatial structure, the bodhisattva is surrounded by a large glowing halo, green and blue clouds, and eight robed figures. They float above the structures, a trail of vapor leading back to the mountains in the top register.</td>
<td>菩薩將內宮入夫人腹內之處 \textsuperscript{281}</td>
<td>The place where the Bodhisattva entered the belly of the wife in the palace.</td>
<td>The conception of the Buddha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{280} Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 40.  
\textsuperscript{281} Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 42.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>Left side of the west wall, to the upper right of (5), The queen is shown holding a short deciduous tree with patterned, regular leaves. She is accompanied by seven diminutive female attendants, two holding large fans. The scene is bordered by swirling clouds outlined in black.</th>
<th>摩耶夫人攀無憂樹降太子處</th>
<th>The place where Queen Maya held the “tree of no sorrow” and bore the Prince</th>
<th>Birth of the Buddha.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Upper left of the west wall, to the right of (8), naked baby Siddartha takes seven steps, symbolized by seven lotus blossoms.</td>
<td>周行七步三界稱吾獨尊之處</td>
<td>The place where the Buddha took his first seven steps in the three realms and said, “I, alone, am honored”</td>
<td>The phrase said by Shakyamuni at the time of his birth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

283 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 50.
284 Charles Muller, “weiwo duzun 唯我獨尊,” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Chinese Description</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Upper left of the west wall, between (8) and (9); Nine dragons are shown among the clouds with streams of water pouring from their mouths into a golden basin held up by two attendants. The Buddha as a baby is seated inside of the basin with a flaming halo surrounding him.</td>
<td>地神捧金盤九龍噴水沐浴處 285</td>
<td>The place where earthly deities held up a golden basin and nine dragons spouted water for bathing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Center of the west wall, below (15), in the palace structure five women in long robes gather at a staircase leading into a covered corridor. One woman raises her arm to strike a circular drum mounted on a column.</td>
<td>此是生下太子掴鼓報喜之處 286</td>
<td>After the birth, this is the place where the drum was struck and the joy reported.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

286 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 54. Chang has transcribed the inscription as “此是生下太子掴鼓報喜之處”
| 12 | Center of west wall, below (11); a raised platform is the gathering point for a number of officials. Two officials climb up the stairs of the left-facing platform under a roof where a central individual with a crown headdress stands. One of the two officials who climbs the stairs carries a shallow dish with a flaming object on it. | 梵王群臣朝覲詮名悉達處 287 | The place where the King of the Brahman Heaven and the crowds of officials held audience to proclaim the name of Siddartha. |

| 13 | Center left of the west wall. | 斯归等众净資格十千處 288 | The place where many brought tens of thousands of gifts (?) |

287 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 56.
288 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 58.
14 | Center of the west wall, cartouche placed near the open doors of a pavilion, to the left of (13) | 此是門開四十里聞香之處 | This is the place where the gate opened and the fragrance was smelled for forty li. | This cartouche is placed near the |
---|---|---|---|---|
15 | Center left, near the top, of the west wall; in the mountains, two figures emerge from a doorframe set into a large boulder. Steps leading down show a man in a robe and his attendant carrying a fan heading towards a saddled horse. | “此是遣使臣請阿斯仙人之處” | This is the place where the envoys and officials were sent to invite Asixian. | Asixian (Asita-ṛṣi) the sage who foretold the destinies of Siddartha as a baby and read the signs of the Buddha on his body. |
16 | Center-left of the west wall | 此是太子對鑄王棄象往空處 | This is the place where, before the various kings, the prince threw an elephant to the sky. | A story from the life of Siddartha before he left the palace when Siddartha and some of his attendants were leaving the palace when a large elephant was in its way. The |

289 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 59.
290 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 60.
292 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 63.
first attendant killed the elephant and a following attendant pushed it to the side of the road. When Siddartha saw the elephant, he felt sad and threw the elephant over the city wall. When the elephant landed, it was alive again.\textsuperscript{293}

| 17 | Center of the west wall, to the left of (16). The prince is shown on a horse completing a Parthian shot and galloping away from a series of drums cushioned in clouds. | 此是太子背射九重鐵鼓之處 \textsuperscript{294} | This is the place where the prince turned around and shot nine iron drums. |
| 18 | Center of the west wall, in the bottom center foreground. Quite | 此是太子東門見老傷嘆之處 \textsuperscript{295} | The place where the prince at the East Gate witnessed the injured sighs of old age. | One of Siddartha’s first four visits outside of the palace in which he encounters |

\textsuperscript{293} For a summary of the story, see Patricia E. Karetzky \textit{Early Buddhist Narrative Art: Illustrations of the Life of the Buddha from Central Asia to China, Korea and Japan} (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2000): xxxii.

\textsuperscript{294} Chang Le, \textit{Yanshansi Xiang Shi}, 65.

\textsuperscript{295} Chang Le, \textit{Yanshansi Xiang Shi}, 68.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>damaged, but the gate and cartouche are in decent condition.</strong></td>
<td><strong>old age, sickness, death, and an ascetic monk.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Left of the west wall, below (5). Sustained some damage, especially near depiction of prince and officials, but trees, water, and architectural structure remain.</td>
<td>The place where the prince at the South Gate witnessed the injured sighs of illness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Center of the west wall, upper portion, above the palatial structure. The prince is shown on a horse with an attendant pointing at a corpse on the ground being eaten by a dog and two crows.</td>
<td>The place where the prince at the west gate witnessed death and grieved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Right of the west wall. Damaged section of the mural. Some oxen are visible,</td>
<td>The place where the prince at the north gate met a monk and showed reverence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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296 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 69.
297 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 71.
298 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 73.
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cartouche is outside of palace.</td>
<td></td>
<td>sickness, death, and an ascetic monk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>22</strong> Right side of the west wall. Dark skinned and bearded figure in mid-length robe and pants, holds a gourd shaped bag in his hand, flies towards the roof of the palace in a blue and green cloud.</td>
<td>此是魔王見宮人奏樂送處</td>
<td>The place where the Demon King observed the people of the palace performing music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>23</strong> Right side of the west wall, below the Demon King.</td>
<td>此是耶輸夫人信香一辦處</td>
<td>The place where Yasodharā, the wife of Shakyamuni, would light incense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>24</strong> Right side of the west wall, emanating to the left of Yasodharā lighting incense, to left of the Demon King.</td>
<td>此是四天王捧馬足離宮之處</td>
<td>This is the place where the four guardian kings (heavenly kings) bore the horse’s feet when leaving the palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>25</strong> Center of the west wall. Below and the right of the west gate cartouche.</td>
<td>此是太子離宮尋見馬跡處</td>
<td>This is the place where, when the prince left the palace, they looked for traces of the horse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

299 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 74.
300 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 76.
301 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 81.
302 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 83.
| 26 | Left side of the west wall. At the top of the village street scene. | 此是太子回來問信處 | This is the place where … the prince returned to look for the truth (?) |
| 27 | Above and to the right of the center of the west wall. | 此是太子中年苦行修持之處 | This is the place where the prince in his middle years practiced the ascetic way. |
| 28 | Above and to the right of the center of the west wall, just to the right of (27). | 此是泥連河邊沐浴成佛之處 | This is the place near the muddy Nairaňjanā / Hiranyavatī River banks where he bathed and became the Buddha. Muller translates *lian he* 连河 as Nairaňjanā (*Digital Database*); Victor Mair translates it as Hiranyavatī (*Mair, T’ang Transformation Texts, 74)* |
| 29 | Upper right of the center of the west wall. | 此是牧牛女獻乳太子之處 | This is the place where the cowherd girl offered milk to the prince. |
| 30 | Center of the west wall. Below and to the left of (27). | 此是五君輪尋覺太子不見之處 | This is the place where the five gentlemen discussed and searched for the prince whom they could not see. |
| 31 | Right side of the west wall, to the left of (33). | 此是[種種?]吉祥五百白[兔之處?] | This is the place where the auspicious…five hundred |

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303 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 84.
304 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 85.
305 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 87.
306 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 89.
307 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 90.
308 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 91. The last three words are difficult to make out from the reproduced image, but this is the reading suggested by Chang Le.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Chinese Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Right side of the west wall, to the left of (33).</td>
<td>此是吉祥生五百童男童女之處</td>
<td>This is the place of the auspicious birth of five hundred boys and girls.</td>
<td>Children climbing trees outside of a pavilion with seated adults (damaged).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Right side of the west wall.</td>
<td>此是種種吉祥牛生麒麟之處</td>
<td>This is the place where the auspicious cows birthed qilin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Right side of the west wall.</td>
<td>此是種種「吉祥」雞生「鳳凰之處」</td>
<td>This is the place where the auspicious chicken birthed a phoenix.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Bottom center of the west wall.</td>
<td>此是優陀耶說佛神通廣大處</td>
<td>This is the great place where Uḍāyin [優陀夷] spoke of the large-scale of the Buddha’s “supernatural abilities [神通].”</td>
<td>Uḍāyin [優陀夷] was a disciple of Shakyamuni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Center of the west wall, below (20).</td>
<td>釋迦牟尼佛為梵王現神變處</td>
<td>The site where Siddartha Buddha manifested miraculous transformations for the foreign king. (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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309 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 92.
310 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 93.
311 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 96.
312 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 99.
313 Charles Muller, “*Youtuoyi 優陀夷 and Wutuoyi 烏陀夷*” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.*
314 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 101.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>37</th>
<th>净飯王礼佛踊身虚空遮谛&quot;315 – essentially illegible</th>
<th>38</th>
<th>Low center of the west wall, inside the palace complex.</th>
<th>Chang Le writes that after the birth of Siddartha, Queen Maya died and he was raised by his aunt who went on to become a monk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Right side of the west mural, beside (33).</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>此是姨母現[ ]金欄（闌）袈裟之處316</td>
<td>The site where the aunt found the golden monk robes(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>此是[耶輸]夫人火坑焚香之處317</td>
<td></td>
<td>This is the site where the wife [Yaśodharā, the wife of Shakyamuni] lit incense in the fire pit.</td>
<td>The two characters that Chang Le has transcribed as 耶輸 are damaged in the reproduced image. Additionally, this inscription is beside the qilin miracle, not in the palace. A diminutive figure with an oxidized face sits inside of a circular, flaming halo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315 Chang Le, Yanshansi Xiang Shi, 102.</td>
<td></td>
<td>316 Chang Le, Yanshansi Xiang Shi, 104.</td>
<td>317 Chang Le, Yanshansi Xiang Shi, 106.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 40  | Center of the west wall mural, to the left of (38). | 此是[對?]諸國王[等應難論之處?]  
|     |  | [unclear]  
|     |  | This is the site where various foreign kings….
|     |  | [unclear]  
|     |  | Unclear inscription. Shows a number of male figures in elaborate robes seated in an open pavilion structure.  

318 Chang Le, *Yanshansi Xiang Shi*, 108.
Illustrations

Images for Chapter 1


Image 1.2 Li Shan 李山 (mid-12th to early 13th century). Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines 風雪杉松圖 (F1961.34) Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 29.7 x 79.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Freer Sackler Gallery Collections Website https://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/, accessed March 26, 2015)
Image 1.3 Li Shan’s inscription on *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines*. “Created by Li Shan of Pingyang 平陽李山製” followed by a square seal that reads “Pingyang 平陽.” (Lin. “Notes on ‘Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines’ Part 1,” 7, plate 2)

Image 1.4 Comparison of details from Guo Xi’s (left and center) with a detail (on right) from Li Shan’s *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines*. (Guo Xi. Early Spring. 1072. Hanging Scroll, ink and light color on silk. 158 x 108 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Early Spring from Wikimedia Commons, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_Spring_(painting) Accessed December 19, 2017)


Image 1.12 Details from Image 1.9 showing withered trees. Attrib. Li Shan. *Travelers Among the Fir Pines.* Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
Image 1.13 Tang Di 唐棣. *Traveling in the Autumn Mountains.* Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk. 151.9 x 103.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. (Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty*, 61, plate 31)
Image 1.15 Comparison of waterfall detail from Guo Xi’s *Early Spring* (left) and *Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains* (right, detail of Image 1.14)
Image 1.17 Attrib. Li Shan. Winter Landscape. 1150 – 1201. Album leaf, ink and color on silk. Framed: 36.8 x 33cm. Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection (1952.52.25.7), Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut. (Yale University Art Gallery Website https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/64591)

Image 1.19 Tree branch detail from Image 1.18 *Flock of Birds Returning to Wintry Woods*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Image 1.20 Hut detail from Image 1.18 *Flock of Birds Returning to Wintry Woods*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Image 1.21 Feng Daozhen’s 馮道真 Funerary Landscape Mural. 1265. Tomb mural. 270 x 91 cm. Datong, Shanxi, China. (Xie Tingqi. “Shanxi sheng Datongshi Yuan dai Feng Daozhen, Wang Qing mu qingli jianbao,” plate 1)


Image 1.25 Comparison of Feng Daozhen’s funerary landscape mural (1265, Image 1.21) and *Clear Weather in the Valley* (Image 1.22) revolved 180 degrees along the y-axis


Image 1.29 a
Image 1.31 f

Image 1.32 a
Anonymous, spurious signature of Li Gonglin (c. 1040 – 1106).


Image 1.34 Detail of Zhao Lin 趙霖. The Six Steeds of Zhaoling 昭陵六駿圖. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 27.4 x 444.9 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing (From Beijing Palace Museum Website http://img.dpm.org.cn/Uploads/Picture/2017/04/01/s58defe50d83b7.jpg Accessed December 19, 2017)

Image 1.35 Zhang (Yu?) (early 13th century). Wenji Returns Home 文姬歸漢圖. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 120 x 29 cm. Jilin Provincial Museum. (Fu Xinian, ed. Liang Song Huihua, Zhongguo meisha quanji , huihua bian , vol. 1, 160 – 161)
Image 1.36 Liu Yuan (act. late 13th – early 14th century), Sima You’s Dream of the Courtesan Su Xiaoxiao. 1230’s – 1250’s. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 29.2 x 73.7cm. Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, OH (Hearn, “Painting and Calligraphy under the Mongols,” 214 – 215)

Images for Chapter 2

Image 2.1 Detail of ceiling *fang mugou* in Han Yi’s (936 – 995CE) Tomb. Liao Dynasty, c. 997 CE. (Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui, “Liao Hanyi mu fajue jianbao,” 418, image 2)


Image 2.4 Yuanzhuangcun Tomb No. 1 detail of Wang Pou from tomb chamber, south wall mural. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 7, 430.)
Image 2.5 Yuanzhangcun Tomb No.1 detail of Guo Ju from tomb chamber, south wall mural. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 7, 429.)

Image 2.6 Map of the Changzhi Region Tombs, created by author on Google MyMaps
Image 2.7 Line drawing of an east-west cross section of the Songcun tomb fang mugou (Wang Jinxian and Yang Linzhong, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” image 1)

Image 2.8 Details from the south wall of the tomb chamber on either side of the chamber entrance in the Songcun tomb. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang and Yang, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” 46 – 47, images 8 and 9)

Image 2.9 Detail of north wall mural from below the fang mugou window on the north wall. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang and Yang, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” 47, image 11)
Image 2.10 Detail of east wall mural in tomb chamber of the Songcun tomb. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang and Yang, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu” 47, image 11)

Image 2.11 Detail of west wall mural depicting idealized farm life, horses, and cows in tomb chamber of the Songcun tomb. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang and Yang, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” 48, image 13)

Image 2.13 Detail from Songcun tomb mural depicting the filial son Tian Zhen. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang Jinxian and Yang Linzhong, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” 49, image 14)
Image 2.14 Detail from Songcun tomb mural depicting filial paragon, Dong Yong. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang Jinxian and Yang Linzhong, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” 50, image 21)

Image 2.15 Detail of mural depicting a procession of zaju actors from south wall above the entrance from the Songcun tomb. Songcun, Tunliu County, Shanxi Province. Jin Dynasty, 1135 CE. (Wang and Yang, “Shanxi Tunliu Songcun Jin dai bihua mu,” backcover, images 1-2)
Image 2.16 Detail of mural depicting a procession over a bridge from the south wall of the Nanchuicun tomb’s tomb chamber. Nanchuicun, Changzhi city, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1153. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 141)

Image 2.17 Detail of mural depicting tomb occupants seated at a table from the north wall of the Nanchuicun tomb’s tomb chamber. Nanchuicun, Changzhi city, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1153. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 142)
Image 2.18 Detail of the north face ceiling mural depicting the filial son Tian Zhen from the Yuquancun tomb. Yuquancun, Fuchengzhen, Lingchuan, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1169. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 157)

Image 2.19 Detail of the west face of the ceiling mural depicting Yang Xiang from the Yuquancun tomb. Yuquancun, Fuchengzhen, Lingchuan, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1169. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 156)
Image 2.20 Detail of the south face of the ceiling mural depicting Dong Yong from the Yuquancun tomb. Yuquancun, Fuchengzhen, Lingchuan, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1169. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 155)

Image 2.21 Detail of the east face of the ceiling mural depicting Guo Ju from the Yuquancun tomb. Yuquancun, Fuchengzhen, Lingchuan, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1169. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 154)
Image 2.22 Detail of the southeast corner mural from the Yuquancun tomb chamber mural depicting attendants preparing food and drink. Yuquancun, Fuchengzhen, Lingchuan, Shanxi. Jin dynasty, 1169. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 149)


Image 2.27 Inscription with date from the entrance to the tomb chamber from the Xiaoguancun Tomb. 1174, Jin Dynasty. Xiaoguancun, Changzhi County, Shanxi. (Zhu Xiaofang, et al., “Shanxi Zhangzixian Xiaoguancun Jin dai jinian bihuamu,” 61, image 2)

Image 2.29 Xiaoguancun tomb chamber west wall mural. 1174, Jin Dynasty. Xiaoguancun, Changzhi County, Shanxi. (Zhu Xiaofang, et al., “Shanxi Zhangzixian Xiaoguancun Jin dai jinian bihuamu,” 63, image 6)
Image 2.30 Xiaoguancun Tomb, detail of filial paragons, Guo Ju and Dong Yong from east wall of tomb chamber. 1174, Jin Dynasty. Xiaoguancun, Changzhi County, Shanxi. (Zhu Xiaofang, et al., “Shanxi Zhangzixian Xiaoguancun Jin dai jinian bihuamu,” 66, image 17)


Image 2.34 a-d Xiaoguancun tomb occupant mural details. Top (L-R): north wall (a) female and (b) male tomb occupant images. Bottom (L-R): east wall (c) female and (d) male tomb occupant images. (Zhu Xiaofang, et al., “Shanxi Zhangzixian Xiaoguancun Jin dai jinian bihuamu,” 65, images 11, 12, 13, 14)

Image 2.36 Xiaoguancun detail of procession on upper east side of south wall mural. (Zhu Xiaofang, et al., “Shanxi Zhangzixian Xiaoguancun Jin dai jinian bihuamu,” 64, image 9)


Image 2.41 Guzhangcun Tomb’s south wall mural guard figures on either side of the entrance. Jin dynasty, 1189. Both 130 x 52 cm. Guzhangcun, Changzhi, Shanxi. (Xu Guangji, Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 158)

Image 2.43 Guzhangcun tomb’s west wall mural. Jin dynasty, 1189. 132 x 33 cm. Guzhangcun, Changzhi, Shanxi. (Zhu Xiaofang, et al., “Shanxi Changzhishi Guzhang Jin dai jinian mu,” 742, image 7)
Image 2.44 Guzhangcun Tomb’s west side of the north wall mural. Jin dynasty, 1189. 132 x 33 cm. Guzhangcun, Changzhi, Shanxi. (Xu Guangji. Zhongguo chutu bihua quan ji, vol. 2, 159)
Images for Chapter 3

Image 3.1 Detail of Town Street from Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, ed., Yanshansi Xiang Shi, 32)
Image 3.2 Detail of City Street from Zhang Zeduan 張擇端, *Qingming shang he tu* 清明上河圖. Northern Song, 11th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 24.8 x 528.7 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. (Digital Scrolling Paintings Project, Center for the Art of East Asia, The University of Chicago. [https://scrolls.uchicago.edu/scroll/spring-festival-along-river](https://scrolls.uchicago.edu/scroll/spring-festival-along-river) Accessed August 4, 2017)
Image 3.3 Detail of wine shop from Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, ed., Yanshansi Xiang Shi, 32)
Image 3.4 Detail of Wine Shop with jiaodian 脚店 sign from Zhang Zeduan, 張擇端, *Qingming shang he tu* 清明上河圖. Northern Song, 11th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 24.8 x 528.7 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. (Digital Scrolling Paintings Project, Center for the Art of East Asia, The University of Chicago. [https://scrolls.uchicago.edu/scroll/spring-festival-along-river](https://scrolls.uchicago.edu/scroll/spring-festival-along-river) Accessed August 4, 2017)
Image 3.5 Detail of the meeting of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Sumedha from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 39)
Image 3.6 Detail of Mountains from the meeting of the Dīpaṃkara Buddha and Sumedha from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 39)
Image 3.7 Detail of the Birth of the Buddha from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 49)
Image 3.8 Detail of the Bathing of the Buddha from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 53)
Image 3.9 Detail of the Sage Ashita from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 60)

Image 3.10 Detail of Siddartha shooting arrows from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 65)
Image 3.11 Detail of Siddartha throwing aside an elephant from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall's West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 63)

Image 3.12 Detail of the Bodhisattva riding the white elephant from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall's West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 42)
Image 3.13 Detail of the Ray that Impregnates Queen Maya from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 44)

Image 3.14 Detail of Maid and architectural structure from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 45)
Image 3.15 Detail of Siddartha witnessing death from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 71)
Image 3.16 Detail of Yaśodharā from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 76-77)
Image 3.17 Detail of Palace Interior with gables and corridor roofs from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, *Yanshansi xiang shi*, 58)
Image 3.18 Line Drawing of Palatial Structure from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall (Fu Xinian “Shanxi sheng Fanshi xian Yanshansi nan dian Jin dai bihua zhong suo hui jianzhu de chubu fenxi,” 290 – 291)

Image 3.19 Fu Xinian’s Line Drawings comparing the layouts of the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall Palatial Structure (left) and palace from the Jin Central Capital, Zhongdu 中都 (right). (Fu Xinian, “Shanxi sheng Fanshi xian Yanshansi nan dian Jin dai bihua…”, 295)
Image 3.20 Detail of Shepherd girl offering milk from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall's West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 86)

Image 3.21 Detail of Farmers and Oxen from the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall's West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi. (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 89)


Image 3.25 Detail of Oxen from right side of the Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s West Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 93)
Image 3.26 Hāritī. 9th century. Painting on ramie, 37.0 x 51.0 cm. Yarkhoto, Xinjiang, China. (MIK III 6302) Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. (Härtel and Yaldiz, Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums, 207)
Image 3.28 Detail of the Water Moon 水月 Guanyin mural from the Yulin Cave 2 Cave Chamber. South side of west wall mural. Western Xia period (1038 – 1227). Yulin Cave Site, Guazhou, Gansu. (Dunhuang Research Institute, Ansei Yurinkutsu 安西榆林窟, plate 137)
Image 3.31 Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s East Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 114)
Image 3.33 Yanshansi Mañjuśrī Hall’s East Wall. Jin Dynasty, 1167. Temple Hall Mural. Fanshi County, Shanxi (Chang Le, Yanshansi xiang shi, 119)
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